CHAPTER

5 Immigrant New York: A Regional Perspective

The impact of the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Amendments on the New York metropolitan region was initially localized in New York City, which for the first time saw the entry of large numbers of immigrants from Latin America, Asia, and the nonhispanic Caribbean. Gradually, new patterns of immigrant settlement emerged. While New York City continued to be the *primary* destination for immigrants in the area, counties adjacent to New York City became *secondary* destinations of settlement as many immigrants migrated out of the city to make their homes in suburban counties in the region. In recent decades, these counties have become gateway destinations in their own right as many newly arrived immigrants have bypassed the five boroughs in favor of settling in other parts of the region. These flows have resulted in enclaves of post-1965 immigrants across the region.

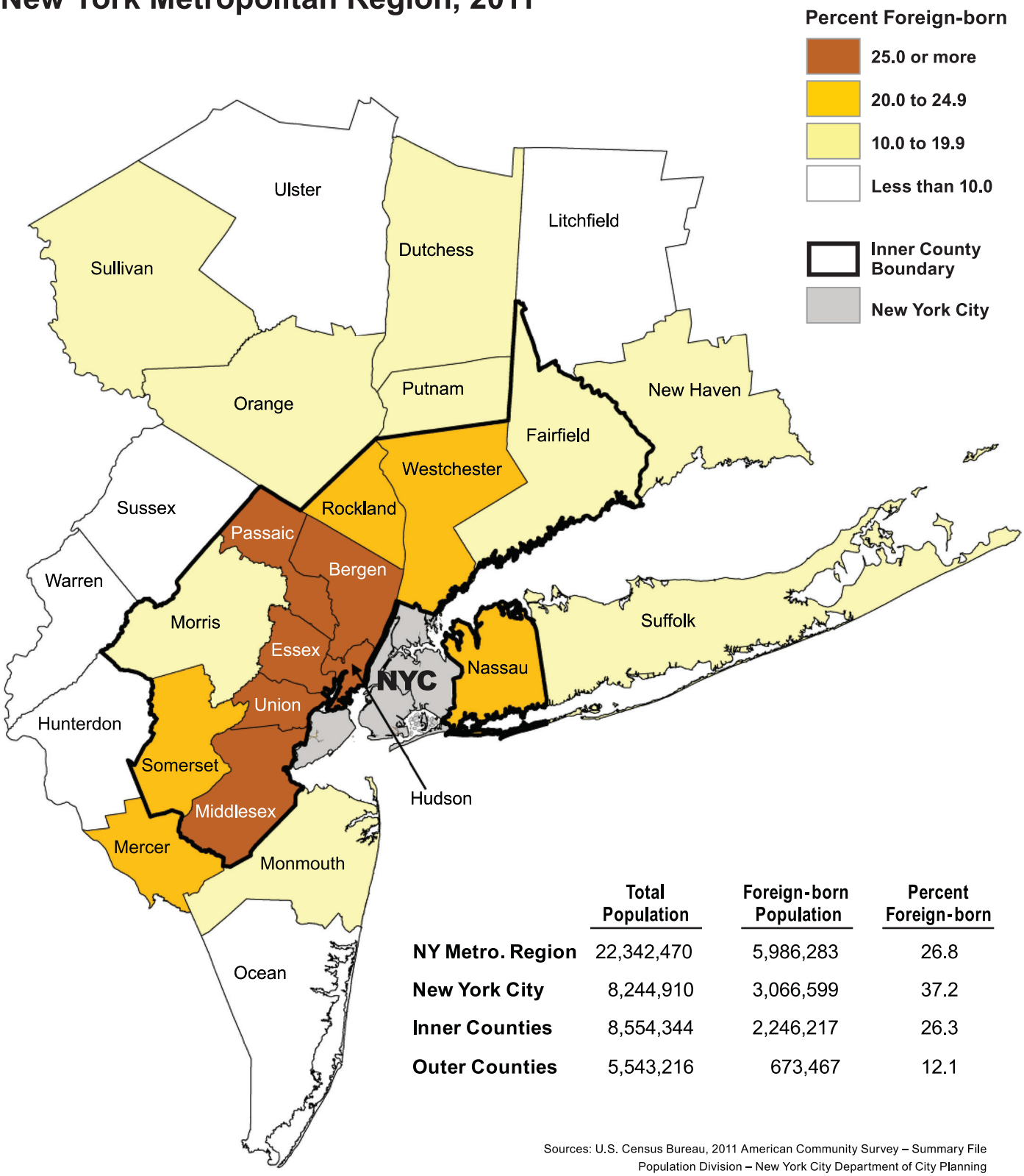
This chapter examines overall patterns of immigrant settlement in the New York metropolitan region. For the purposes of this analysis, the first section subdivides counties in the region into three subregions: New York City, the inner ring of counties that are adjacent to the city, and the outer counties along the region's periphery. The second section examines the role of the foreign-born in the population growth of each county and its impact on the racial make-up of the region. (Appendix Tables 5-1, 5-2, and 5-3 provide demographic information for each county.) The third section then analyzes immigrant settlement patterns by area of origin and country of birth for each subregion and county. The final section focuses on the diverse patterns of immigrant settlement, highlighting new patterns that show substantial immigrant settlement in wealthier places across the region.

The New York Metropolitan Region and its Subregions

The New York metropolitan region encompasses 12,600 square miles across portions of New York State, New Jersey, and Connecticut. The region was home to 22.3 million people in 2011, an all time high. The metropolitan region is comprised of 31 counties of varying population sizes (Figures 5-1 and 5-2): the five boroughs of New York City; seven counties in the Hudson Valley (Westchester, Rockland, Putnam, Dutchess, Ulster, Orange and Sullivan) and 2 on Long Island (Nassau and Suffolk); 3 counties in Connecticut (Fairfield, New Haven, and Litchfield); and 14 counties primarily in northern New Jersey (Hudson, Essex, Passaic, Union, Middlesex, Bergen, Morris, Somerset, Mercer, Monmouth, Sussex, Warren, Hunterdon, and Ocean). Although both New York City and the inner counties each represent nearly two-fifths of the region's population, New York City's 8.2 million persons occupy only 2 percent of the region's land area, resulting in a density in excess of 27,000 persons per square mile.

In 2011, 37 percent of New York City residents were foreign-born, but counties adjacent to the city also had relatively high immigrant concentrations, a reflection of their evolution into major destination areas for post-1965 immigrants. Hudson, across the river from New York City was 40 percent foreign-born—higher than any county in the region, except for Queens. Other counties that had substantial percentages of immigrants included Middlesex, Bergen, Passaic, Union, Essex (each more than one-quarter foreign-born), as well as Somerset, Westchester, Rockland, Nassau, Fairfield and Morris (each 19 percent or more foreign-born). These counties surrounding New York City had

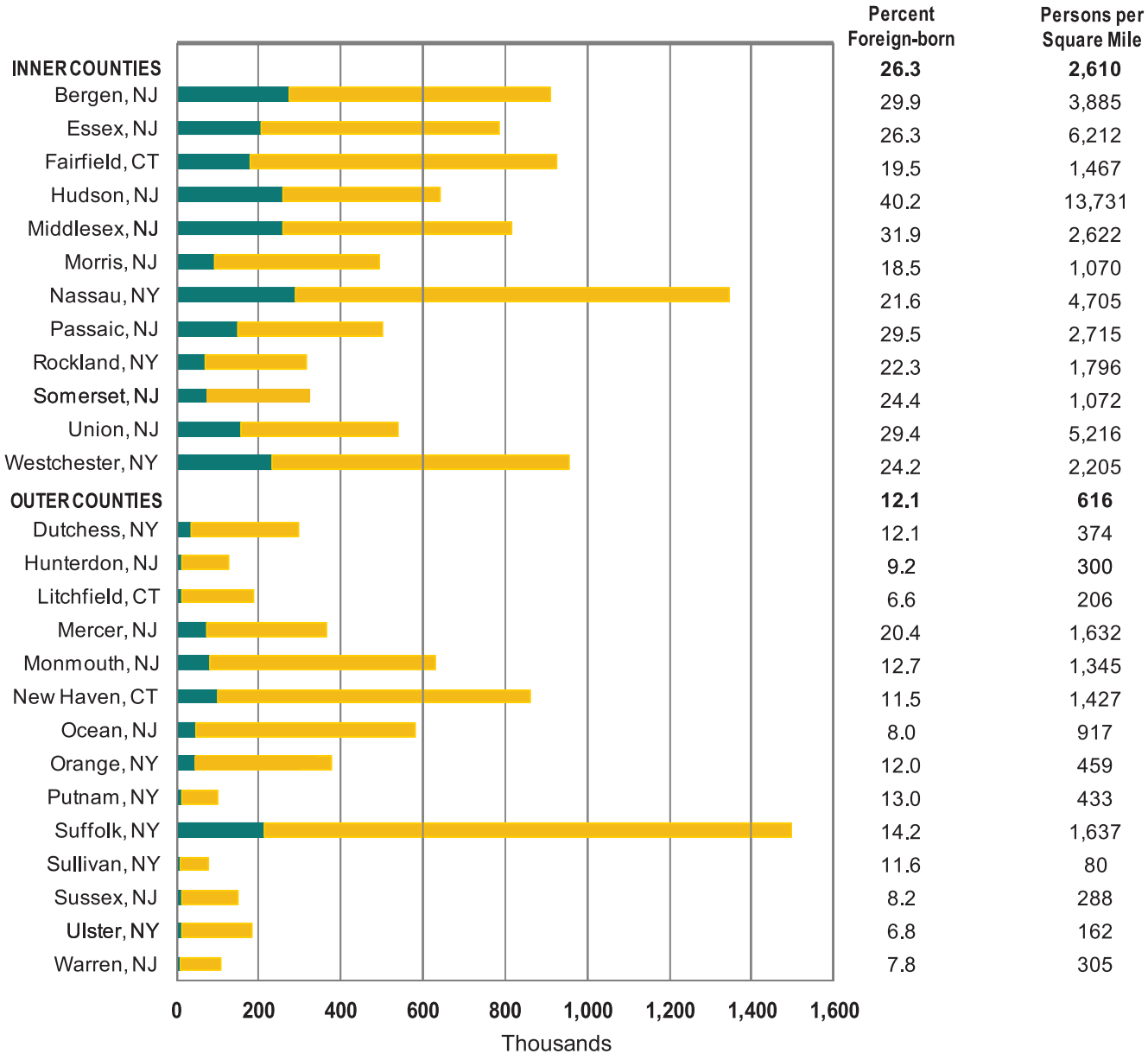
Figure 5-1
Percent Foreign-born by County
New York Metropolitan Region, 2011



	Total Population	Foreign-born Population	Percent Foreign-born
NY Metro. Region	22,342,470	5,986,283	26.8
New York City	8,244,910	3,066,599	37.2
Inner Counties	8,554,344	2,246,217	26.3
Outer Counties	5,543,216	673,467	12.1

Sources: U.S. Census Bureau, 2011 American Community Survey – Summary File
Population Division – New York City Department of City Planning

Figure 5-2
Total and Foreign-born Population by County Inner and Outer Counties for the New York Metropolitan Region, 2011

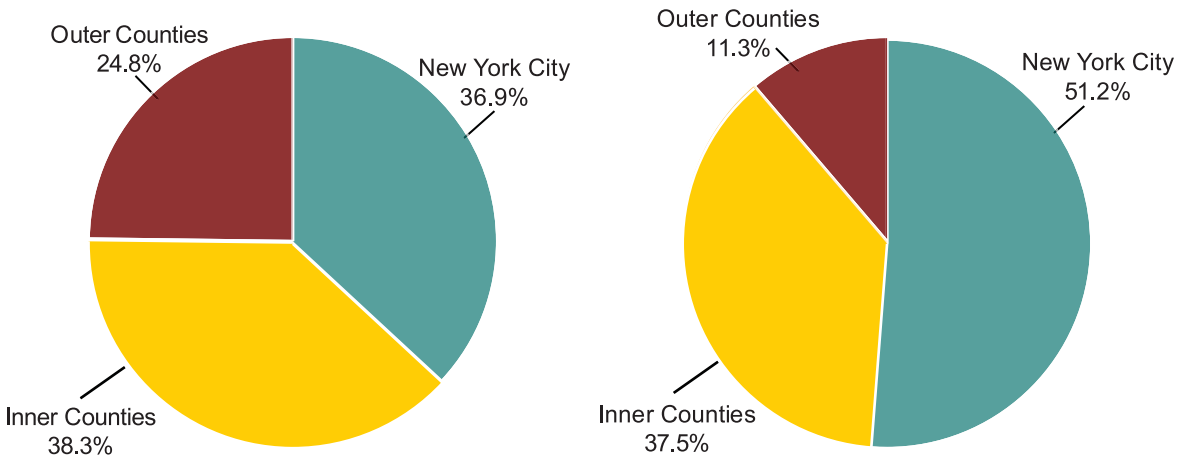


among the highest immigrant concentrations in the region, and given their proximity to the city, are labeled "inner counties." The inner counties had a population totaling 8.6 million, or 38 percent of the region's population. Population density in the inner counties averaged 2,600 persons per square mile, but ranged from a high of 13,700 persons per square mile in Hudson, to a low of 1,070 in Somerset and Morris.

The most populous inner county was Nassau, with 1.3 million people, followed by Westchester (955,900), Fairfield (925,900), and Bergen (911,100).

Counties that were farthest from New York City generally were less than 15 percent foreign-born (the exception being Mercer County, which was one-fifth foreign-born) and are labeled "outer counties."

Figure 5-3
Total and Foreign-born Population
New York Metropolitan Region and Subregions, 2011



Total Population = 22,342,470

Foreign-born Population = 5,986,283

This outer ring includes Orange, Putnam, Dutchess, Ulster, Sullivan and Suffolk in New York State; New Haven and Litchfield in Connecticut; and Sussex, Warren, Hunterdon, Mercer, Monmouth, and Ocean in New Jersey. The outer counties, with 5.5 million people, accounted for 25 percent of the region's population. These counties were less densely populated, with densities ranging from over 1,600 persons per square mile in Mercer and Suffolk to 80 persons per square mile in Sullivan; the average was 616 persons per square mile. Suffolk was, by far, the most populous county in the outer ring (1.5 million), followed by New Haven (861,100), Monmouth (631,000), and Ocean (579,400).

While population in the region was heavily concentrated in New York City and its adjacent counties, these areas accounted for an even greater share of the foreign-born. Of the 5.2 million foreign-born in the region, just over one-half lived in New York City, while 38 percent lived in the inner counties; just 11 percent of immigrants made their home in the outer counties (Figure 5-3).

Population Growth in the Subregions, 1900–2011: the Role of the Foreign-born

The New York metropolitan region saw dramatic growth in the last century, more than tripling in size, from 6.2 million in 1900 to 22.3 million in 2011 (Table 5-1 and Figure 5-4). This growth has been fueled by the entry of immigrants and their U.S.-born descendants. Over this period, New York City has remained at the region's core, but its share of the region's population has declined, from 56 percent in 1900 to 37 percent in 2011.

In the first decade of the last century, New York City's population increased 39 percent, from 3.4 million in 1900 to 4.8 million in 1910. This was a result of the large European flow to the city, which was reflected in the 53 percent growth in the city's foreign-born population in the decade. Overall population growth in the inner counties, however, was even higher (42 percent), with the foreign-born component increasing 55 percent. With immigration flows curtailed in the mid-1910s due to World War I, and again in the mid-1920s due to restrictionist immigration legislation, population growth was mod-

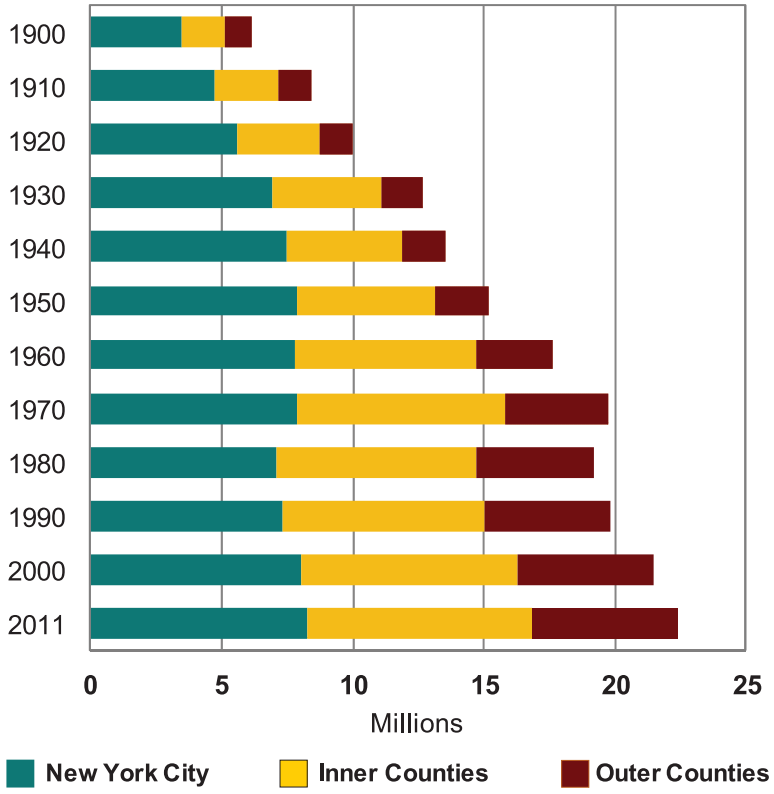
Table 5-1
Population by Nativity
New York Metropolitan Region and Subregions, 1900–2011

	Year	Total Population	Native-born	FOREIGN-BORN		GROWTH OVER DECADE		
				Number	Percent	Total Population	Native-born	Foreign-born
NEW YORK METROPOLITAN REGION	1900	6,179,423	4,254,108	1,925,315	31.2	–	–	–
	1910	8,391,061	5,458,713	2,932,348	34.9	35.8	28.3	52.3
	1920	10,023,449	6,916,290	3,107,159	31.0	19.5	26.7	6.0
	1930	12,636,464	9,010,213	3,626,251	28.7	26.1	30.3	16.7
	1940	13,565,549	10,330,614	3,234,935	23.8	7.4	14.7	-10.8
	1950	15,146,950	12,340,815	2,806,135	18.5	11.7	19.5	-13.3
	1960	17,625,675	15,014,661	2,611,014	14.8	16.4	21.7	-7.0
	1970	19,747,870	17,220,006	2,527,864	12.8	12.0	14.7	-3.2
	1980	19,190,781	16,230,641	2,960,140	15.4	-2.8	-5.7	17.1
	1990	19,843,157	16,167,965	3,675,192	18.5	3.4	-0.4	24.2
	2000	21,491,898	16,291,276	5,200,622	24.2	8.3	0.8	41.5
	2011	22,342,470	16,356,187	5,986,283	26.8	4.0	0.4	15.1
New York City	1900	3,437,202	2,167,122	1,270,080	37.0	–	–	–
	1910	4,766,883	2,822,526	1,944,357	40.8	38.7	30.2	53.1
	1920	5,620,048	3,591,888	2,028,160	36.1	17.9	27.3	4.3
	1930	6,930,446	4,571,760	2,358,686	34.0	23.3	27.3	16.3
	1940	7,454,995	5,316,338	2,138,657	28.7	7.6	16.3	-9.3
	1950	7,891,957	6,107,751	1,784,206	22.6	5.9	14.9	-16.6
	1960	7,783,314	6,224,624	1,558,690	20.0	-1.4	1.9	-12.6
	1970	7,894,798	6,457,740	1,437,058	18.2	1.4	3.7	-7.8
	1980	7,071,639	5,401,440	1,670,199	23.6	-10.4	-16.4	16.2
	1990	7,322,564	5,239,633	2,082,931	28.4	3.5	-3.0	24.7
	2000	8,008,278	5,137,246	2,871,032	35.9	9.4	-2.0	37.8
	2011	8,244,910	5,178,311	3,066,599	37.2	3.0	0.8	6.8
Inner Counties	1900	1,718,169	1,245,154	473,015	27.5	–	–	–
	1910	2,431,348	1,699,572	731,776	30.1	41.5	36.5	54.7
	1920	3,081,336	2,267,906	813,430	26.4	26.7	33.4	11.2
	1930	4,154,644	3,170,587	984,057	23.7	34.8	39.8	21.0
	1940	4,426,873	3,593,065	833,808	18.8	6.6	13.3	-15.3
	1950	5,248,250	4,480,659	767,591	14.6	18.6	24.7	-7.9
	1960	6,964,250	6,175,854	788,396	11.3	32.7	37.8	2.7
	1970	7,951,684	7,129,173	822,511	10.3	14.2	15.4	4.3
	1980	7,666,658	6,690,752	975,906	12.7	-3.6	-6.1	18.6
	1990	7,692,310	6,440,456	1,251,854	16.3	0.3	-3.7	28.3
	2000	8,243,503	6,401,250	1,842,253	22.3	7.2	-0.6	47.2
	2011	8,554,344	6,308,127	2,246,217	26.3	3.8	-1.5	21.9
Outer Counties	1900	1,024,052	841,832	182,220	17.8	–	–	–
	1910	1,192,830	936,615	256,215	21.5	16.5	11.3	40.6
	1920	1,322,065	1,056,496	265,569	20.1	10.8	12.8	3.7
	1930	1,551,374	1,267,866	283,508	18.3	17.3	20.0	6.8
	1940	1,683,681	1,421,211	262,470	15.6	8.5	12.1	-7.4
	1950	2,006,743	1,752,405	254,338	12.7	19.2	23.3	-3.1
	1960	2,878,111	2,614,183	263,928	9.2	43.4	49.2	3.8
	1970	3,901,388	3,633,093	268,295	6.9	35.6	39.0	1.7
	1980	4,452,484	4,138,449	314,035	7.1	14.1	13.9	17.0
	1990	4,828,283	4,487,876	340,407	7.1	8.4	8.4	8.4
	2000	5,240,117	4,752,780	487,337	9.3	8.5	5.9	43.2
	2011	5,543,216	4,869,749	673,467	12.1	5.8	2.5	38.2

Sources: U.S. Census Bureau, 1900–2000 Censuses; 2011 American Community Survey-FactFinder
Population Division-New York City Department of City Planning

Figure 5-4

Total Population by Subregion New York Metropolitan Region, 1900–2011



Year	PERCENTAGE OF REGION		
	New York City	Inner Counties	Outer Counties
1900	55.6	27.8	16.6
1910	56.8	29.0	14.2
1920	56.1	30.7	13.2
1930	54.8	32.9	12.3
1940	55.0	32.6	12.4
1950	52.1	34.6	13.2
1960	44.2	39.5	16.3
1970	40.0	40.3	19.8
1980	36.8	39.9	23.2
1990	36.9	38.8	24.3
2000	37.3	38.4	24.4
2011	36.9	38.3	24.8

erated, with New York City's population increasing 18 percent in the 1910s and 23 percent in the 1920s. But the inner counties once again saw higher growth than the city in both decades. Nonetheless, for both New York City and the inner counties, increases in the native-born population were far greater than those for the foreign-born.

Three decades into the 20th century, the region broke the 12 million mark, reaching 12.6 million in 1930. New York City's population more than doubled in size during this period, reaching 6.9 million in 1930. But the inner counties saw even higher growth, increasing by a factor of 2.4, from 1.7 million in 1900 to 4.2 million in 1930. As a result, the inner counties' share of the region's population increased from 28 percent in 1900 to 33 percent in 1930; New York City's share declined by less than 2 percentage points, to 55 percent in 1930. The outer counties, which saw the lowest growth of any subregion, saw their share of the region's population decline, from 17 percent to 12 percent during this period.

With the onset of the Great Depression, immigration plunged in the 1930s and remained low in the early 1940s due to World War II. While immigration bounced back in the post-World War II years, it did not reach the levels seen earlier in the century; moreover, cohorts that came in at the turn of the century began to die out. As a result, the region's foreign-born population, which peaked at 3.6 million in 1930, declined in each of the next four decades, reaching 2.5 million in 1970. But thanks to the growth of the native-born population, the region's overall population continued to increase each decade, reaching 19.7 million in 1970. This growth

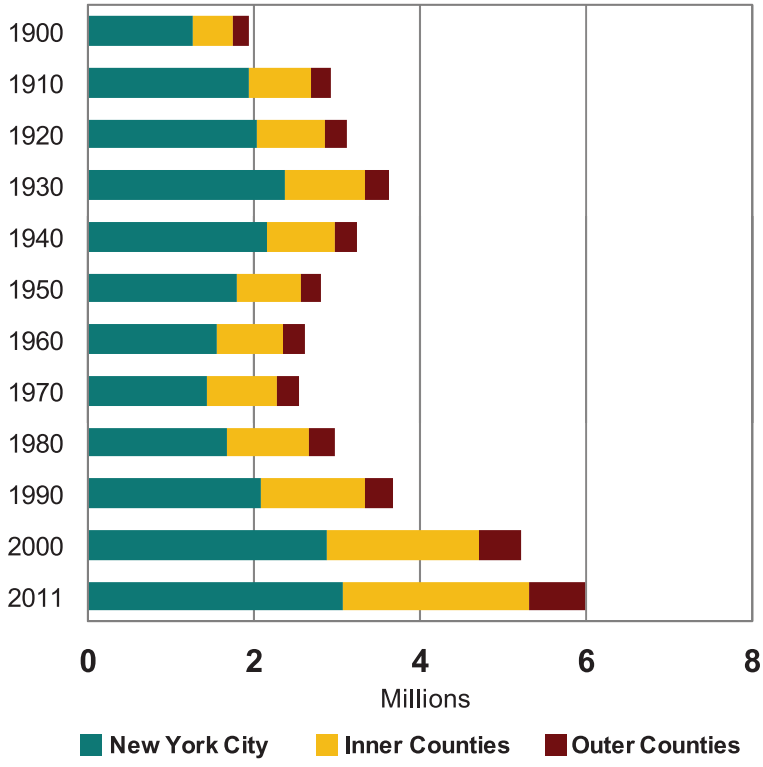
was due to immigrant—as well as second and third generation—fertility, and to the inflow of domestic migrants from other parts of the country.

Once again, patterns of growth varied by subregion. New York City had the lowest growth between 1930 and 1970. During this period, New York City's overall population increased from 6.9 million to 7.9 million, a new peak, but it accounted for just 40 percent of the region's population in 1970. Its foreign-born population declined each decade, reaching a low of 1.4 million in 1970. In comparison, the inner counties saw higher overall growth during this period, and by 1970 had surpassed New York City's population. The outer counties, which had lagged behind the other subregions, had the highest growth between 1930 and 1970. During this period, their population grew from 1.6 million to 3.9 million, and their share of the region's population increased from 12 percent to 20 percent. The growth in the inner, and to a lesser extent the outer counties, was partly due to out-migrants from New York City (both native- and foreign-born) settling in those subregions.

The passage of the 1965 amendments to the Immigration and Nationality Act led to a resurgence in immigration, bolstering the foreign-born population. By 1980, the foreign-born population in the region had increased to nearly 3 million, and by 1990 it had reached to the highest point in the century, 3.7 million. At the close of the century, the New York metropolitan region's foreign-born population hit a new peak of 5.2 million, and was just under 6 million in 2011—twice the number a century earlier. Nevertheless, the foreign-born in the region comprised a smaller *share* of the population in 2011 (27 percent) than in 1910, when 35 percent of the region was foreign-born. In terms of the distribution of the region's foreign-born in 2011, New York City settled one-half, down from over two-thirds a century earlier, and the outer counties account-

Figure 5-5

Foreign-born Population by Subregion New York Metropolitan Region, 1900–2011



Year	PERCENTAGE OF REGION		
	New York City	Inner Counties	Outer Counties
1900	66.0	24.6	9.5
1910	66.3	25.0	8.7
1920	65.3	26.2	8.5
1930	65.0	27.1	7.8
1940	66.1	25.8	8.1
1950	63.6	27.4	9.1
1960	59.7	30.2	10.1
1970	56.8	32.5	10.6
1980	56.4	33.0	10.6
1990	56.7	34.1	9.3
2000	55.2	35.4	9.4
2011	51.2	37.5	11.3

Table 5-2
Population by Nativity and County
New York Metropolitan Region, 1970–2011

	1970				1980			
	TOTAL POPULATION	NATIVE-BORN	FOREIGN-BORN		TOTAL POPULATION	NATIVE-BORN	FOREIGN-BORN	
			Number	Percent			Number	Percent
NEW YORK METROPOLITAN REGION	19,747,870	17,220,006	2,527,864	12.8	19,190,781	16,230,641	2,960,140	15.4
New York City	7,894,798	6,457,740	1,437,058	18.2	7,071,639	5,401,440	1,670,199	23.6
Bronx, NY	1,471,686	1,242,476	229,210	15.6	1,168,972	953,659	215,313	18.4
Brooklyn, NY	2,601,974	2,145,338	456,636	17.5	2,230,936	1,699,963	530,973	23.8
Manhattan, NY	1,539,225	1,231,595	307,630	20.0	1,428,285	1,079,704	348,581	24.4
Queens, NY	1,986,470	1,569,583	416,887	21.0	1,891,325	1,350,507	540,818	28.6
Staten Island, NY	295,443	268,748	26,695	9.0	352,121	317,607	34,514	9.8
Inner Counties	7,951,684	7,129,173	822,511	10.3	7,666,658	6,690,752	975,906	12.7
Bergen, NJ	898,012	802,619	95,393	10.6	845,385	731,100	114,285	13.5
Essex, NJ	929,984	837,152	92,832	10.0	851,116	744,541	106,575	12.5
Fairfield, CT	792,811	715,323	77,488	9.8	807,143	720,539	86,604	10.7
Hudson, NJ	609,261	501,862	107,399	17.6	556,972	423,397	133,575	24.0
Middlesex, NJ	583,812	539,483	44,329	7.6	595,893	540,357	55,536	9.3
Morris, NJ	383,454	357,331	26,123	6.8	407,630	374,602	33,028	8.1
Nassau, NY	1,428,077	1,310,067	118,010	8.3	1,321,582	1,185,700	135,882	10.3
Passaic, NJ	460,782	404,577	56,205	12.2	447,585	381,654	65,931	14.7
Rockland, NY	229,903	209,481	20,422	8.9	259,530	230,325	29,205	11.3
Somerset, NJ	198,372	182,999	15,373	7.7	203,129	186,513	16,616	8.2
Union, NJ	543,116	480,808	62,308	11.5	504,094	432,291	71,803	14.2
Westchester, NY	894,100	787,471	106,629	11.9	866,599	739,733	126,866	14.6
Outer Counties	3,901,388	3,633,093	268,295	6.9	4,452,484	4,138,449	314,035	7.1
Dutchess, NY	222,295	207,720	14,575	6.6	245,055	227,888	17,167	7.0
Hunterdon, NJ	69,718	65,778	3,940	5.7	87,361	83,003	4,358	5.0
Litchfield, CT	144,091	134,375	9,716	6.7	156,769	147,049	9,720	6.2
Mercer, NJ	303,968	282,465	21,503	7.1	307,863	284,484	23,379	7.6
Monmouth, NJ	459,378	432,515	26,863	5.8	503,173	471,492	31,681	6.3
New Haven, CT	744,947	684,179	60,768	8.2	761,337	702,124	59,213	7.8
Ocean, NJ	208,470	192,408	16,062	7.7	346,038	320,401	25,637	7.4
Orange, NY	221,657	208,082	13,575	6.1	259,603	243,294	16,309	6.3
Putnam, NY	56,695	51,940	4,755	8.4	77,193	70,948	6,245	8.1
Suffolk, NY	1,124,941	1,050,151	74,790	6.6	1,284,231	1,189,584	94,647	7.4
Sullivan, NY	52,580	48,115	4,465	8.5	65,155	59,763	5,392	8.3
Sussex, NJ	77,528	72,670	4,858	6.3	116,119	110,125	5,994	5.2
Ulster, NY	141,241	132,630	8,611	6.1	158,158	147,419	10,739	6.8
Warren, NJ	73,879	70,065	3,814	5.2	84,429	80,875	3,554	4.2

Sources: U.S. Census Bureau, 1970–2000 Censuses; 2011 American Community Survey-FactFinder
Population Division-New York City Department of City Planning

1990				2000				2011			
TOTAL POPULATION	NATIVE-BORN	FOREIGN-BORN		TOTAL POPULATION	NATIVE-BORN	FOREIGN-BORN		TOTAL POPULATION	NATIVE-BORN	FOREIGN-BORN	
		Number	Percent			Number	Percent			Number	Percent
19,843,157	16,167,965	3,675,192	18.5	21,491,898	16,291,276	5,200,622	24.2	22,342,470	16,356,187	5,986,283	26.8
7,322,564	5,239,633	2,082,931	28.4	8,008,278	5,137,246	2,871,032	35.9	8,244,910	5,178,311	3,066,599	37.2
1,203,789	928,996	274,793	22.8	1,332,650	946,823	385,827	29.0	1,392,002	920,866	471,136	33.8
2,300,664	1,628,095	672,569	29.2	2,465,326	1,533,557	931,769	37.8	2,532,645	1,586,134	946,511	37.4
1,487,536	1,103,670	383,866	25.8	1,537,195	1,084,755	452,440	29.4	1,601,948	1,140,623	461,325	28.8
1,951,598	1,244,445	707,153	36.2	2,229,379	1,201,040	1,028,339	46.1	2,247,848	1,158,661	1,089,187	48.5
378,977	334,427	44,550	11.8	443,728	371,071	72,657	16.4	470,467	372,027	98,440	20.9
7,692,310	6,440,456	1,251,854	16.3	8,243,503	6,401,250	1,842,253	22.3	8,554,344	6,308,127	2,246,217	26.3
825,380	676,519	148,861	18.0	884,118	661,817	222,301	25.1	911,004	638,327	272,677	29.9
778,206	656,870	121,336	15.6	793,633	625,468	168,165	21.2	785,137	578,686	206,451	26.3
827,645	726,684	100,961	12.2	882,567	733,529	149,038	16.9	925,899	745,171	180,728	19.5
553,099	383,665	169,434	30.6	608,975	374,378	234,597	38.5	641,224	383,669	257,555	40.2
671,780	576,676	95,104	14.2	750,162	568,401	181,761	24.2	814,217	554,881	259,336	31.9
421,353	376,888	44,465	10.6	470,212	397,574	72,638	15.4	494,976	403,379	91,597	18.5
1,287,348	1,118,037	169,311	13.2	1,334,544	1,096,130	238,414	17.9	1,344,436	1,054,435	290,001	21.6
453,060	364,983	88,077	19.4	489,049	358,758	130,291	26.6	502,007	353,915	148,092	29.5
265,475	226,677	38,798	14.6	286,753	231,987	54,766	19.1	315,158	244,801	70,357	22.3
240,279	214,104	26,175	10.9	297,490	243,553	53,937	18.1	324,893	245,506	79,387	24.4
493,819	403,084	90,735	18.4	522,541	391,625	130,916	25.1	539,494	380,957	158,537	29.4
874,866	716,269	158,597	18.1	923,459	718,030	205,429	22.2	955,899	724,400	231,499	24.2
4,828,283	4,487,876	340,407	7.1	5,240,117	4,752,780	487,337	9.3	5,543,216	4,869,749	673,467	12.1
259,462	241,443	18,019	6.9	280,150	256,550	23,600	8.4	297,999	261,833	36,166	12.1
107,776	102,402	5,374	5.0	121,989	114,281	7,708	6.3	128,038	116,225	11,813	9.2
174,092	164,671	9,421	5.4	182,193	172,295	9,898	5.4	188,789	176,353	12,436	6.6
325,824	297,434	28,390	8.7	350,761	302,102	48,659	13.9	367,063	292,356	74,707	20.4
553,124	511,416	41,708	7.5	615,301	551,494	63,807	10.4	631,020	551,052	79,968	12.7
804,219	749,414	54,805	6.8	824,008	749,581	74,427	9.0	861,113	762,070	99,043	11.5
433,203	407,013	26,190	6.0	510,916	477,764	33,152	6.5	579,369	532,823	46,546	8.0
307,647	285,574	22,073	7.2	341,367	312,657	28,710	8.4	374,872	329,950	44,922	12.0
83,941	78,271	5,670	6.8	95,745	87,325	8,420	8.8	99,933	86,892	13,041	13.0
1,321,864	1,217,653	104,211	7.9	1,419,369	1,260,844	158,525	11.2	1,498,816	1,285,957	212,859	14.2
69,277	64,234	5,043	7.3	73,966	68,091	5,875	7.9	76,900	67,958	8,942	11.6
130,943	124,796	6,147	4.7	144,166	135,995	8,171	5.7	148,517	136,392	12,125	8.2
165,304	155,731	9,573	5.8	177,749	167,281	10,468	5.9	182,448	169,983	12,465	6.8
91,607	87,824	3,783	4.1	102,437	96,520	5,917	5.8	108,339	99,905	8,434	7.8

ed for 11 percent (Figure 5-5). The inner counties were home to 38 percent of the foreign-born, a new high. This was a reflection of higher growth of the foreign-born in the inner counties, compared to the city, a testament to the region-wide impact of post-1965 foreign-born settlement.

The increasing foreign-born presence helped stabilize the region's population, which despite the influx of immigrants had declined from 19.7 million in 1970 to 19.2 million in 1980; modest growth in the next two decades edged the region's population past the 20 million mark, to 21.5 million in 2000. In the 1970s and 1980s, New York City had the lowest growth of any subregion, but in the 1990s, growth slightly surpassed that of the inner and outer counties, before once again lagging in the 2000-2011 period. The foreign-born played an especially crucial role in shoring up the population of New York City and the inner counties, both of which saw a decline in their native-born during each decade in the post-1970 period. Thus, if not for the entry of immigrants, the population decline in the 1970s in New York City and in the inner counties would have continued in the next three decades. The outer counties, however, saw increases in both their native- and foreign-born populations (partly fueled by inflows from the inner counties). They had the highest growth of any subregion in the 1970s and 1980s, and in the most recent decade, and by 2011, the outer counties accounted for one-quarter of the region's population, a 5 percentage point increase since 1970. As a result, both New York City and the inner counties saw concomitant declines in their shares of the region's overall population.

Population Growth by County, 1970–2011

For each county in the region, Table 5-2 examines population by nativity, from 1970, soon after the enactment of the 1965 immigration amendments, to 2011, the most recent year available. Many of the demographic processes that characterized New York City's population in the 1950s marked the inner counties in subsequent decades.

New York City's population hit a high of 7.9 million in 1950, but fell in the following decade as city residents began to suburbanize in large numbers. The population of Nassau county, for example, nearly doubled in the 1950s, to reach 1.3 million in 1960—the largest growth among counties in the inner ring. Fueled by high fertility and immigration, New York City's population rebounded by 1970 to just under its earlier high, despite continued outflows to adjacent counties. These outflows from the city continued to boost populations in the inner counties; Nassau, Westchester, Union, and Passaic counties each reached a new population peak in 1970.

In the 1970s, New York City skirted bankruptcy; its population declined more than 10 percent, to 7.1 million in 1980. This decline was caused by massive outflows from the city, primarily to the inner counties. Despite these flows, Nassau, Essex, Bergen, Westchester, Union, and Passaic counties lost population as many of their own residents moved away, often to the fringes of the inner ring or to the outer counties. As with New York City, immigration played a crucial role in reversing these population losses. In Westchester county, for example, the foreign-born population more than doubled, from 106,600 in 1970 to 231,500 in 2011, helping the county reach a new population peak of 955,900 in 2011. This came about despite the number of native-born residents having declined in the 1970s and 1980s, and growing only modestly thereafter. As a result, the share of foreign-born in Westchester county climbed from 12 percent to 24 percent during this period. A similar process occurred in Passaic county, where there has been a decline in the native-born in each decade of the 1970-2011 period. However, gains in the foreign-born were large enough to counteract these losses, helping Passaic cross the 500,000 mark for the first time; the share of foreign-born increased from 12 percent to 30 percent during the period. While increases in the foreign-born were notable in Nassau, Essex, and Union counties, these were not sufficient to counteract the native-born losses. As a result, the 2011 populations for these counties were still below their 1970 peaks.

Hudson county stands out in the inner ring as its population peaked as early as 1930 at 690,700. It declined each decade thereafter, reaching a low of 553,100 in 1990; by 2000, these losses were partially reversed, with its population climbing to 609,000 and to 641,200 in 2011. The foreign-born comprised 40 percent of the county's population in 2011; as noted earlier, this percentage was the highest among the inner counties. The fringes of the inner ring—Fairfield, Middlesex, Morris, and Somerset counties—are noteworthy because their populations increased each decade between 1900 and 2011; except for a small decline in 1920, Rockland county, too, saw steady population increases. The foreign-born were an increasing presence in each of these counties. But unlike the other counties in the inner ring, their native-born populations were generally increasing. The exceptions were Rockland, which saw small declines in its native-born population in the 1980s, and Middlesex, which saw its native-born population drop in the 1990s and 2000s. Thus, the process of foreign-for-native replacement that took place in the inner counties closest to New York City has begun to establish itself on the fringes of the inner ring.

Though the foreign-born population of some counties declined from 1980 to 1990, all outer counties saw an increase between 2000 and 2011, with the rate of increase far exceeding that of the native-born. Moreover, the percentage increase in the foreign-born far exceeded that of the native-born in each county, resulting in the foreign-born comprising a greater share of the population. In Mercer county, the foreign-born increased from 28,400 in 1990 to 74,700 in 2011, and the foreign-born share in the county climbed from 9 percent to 20 percent, the highest in the outer ring. During this period, the foreign-born in Suffolk county increased from 104,200 to 212,900; their share increased from 8 percent to 14 percent of the county's population. The outer ring, however, remained predominantly native-born, with every county showing an increase in their U.S.-born populations during each decade of the 1970-2000 period. However, between 2000 and 2011, the native-born population in Mercer declined by over three percent, and there were marginal declines in Monmouth, Sullivan and Putnam. This may herald wider declines in the native-born in the outer counties closest to New York City.

Race/Hispanic Origin in the Subregions and Counties, 1970–2011

The post-1965 flow of immigrants, which has been primarily from non-European source countries, has not only helped stabilize the region's population but has also dramatically changed the race/Hispanic composition of the region. White nonhispanics, who comprised 77 percent of the region's population in 1970, accounted for just over one-half in 2011 (Table 5-3 and Figure 5-6). In numerical terms, white nonhispanics declined from 15.3 million to 11.5 million during this period. In contrast, black nonhispanics saw their share increase, from 13 percent in 1970 to under 16 percent in 2000. By 2011, the black nonhispanic share declined to 15 percent though they represented a small numerical increase (Table 5-4). There were large increases in the number and share of Hispanics and Asians. Hispanics saw their share more than double, from 9 percent in 1970 to 22 percent in 2011. Thus, thanks to large flows from Latin America, in the space of four decades, the Hispanic population is over 40 percent larger than the black population. Asian nonhispanics, however, saw the largest growth, increasing their share 15 fold, from 0.6 percent in 1970 to 9 percent in 2011.[1]

New York City saw the steepest decline in the share of white nonhispanics—a result of both the entry of non-European immigrants and the outflow of native-born white nonhispanics. In 1970, white nonhispanics accounted for 63 percent of the population, but dropped to 52 percent in 1980, the last decade in which they comprised a majority of the population. By 2011, white nonhispanics accounted for just one-third of the population, but remained the largest group in New York City.

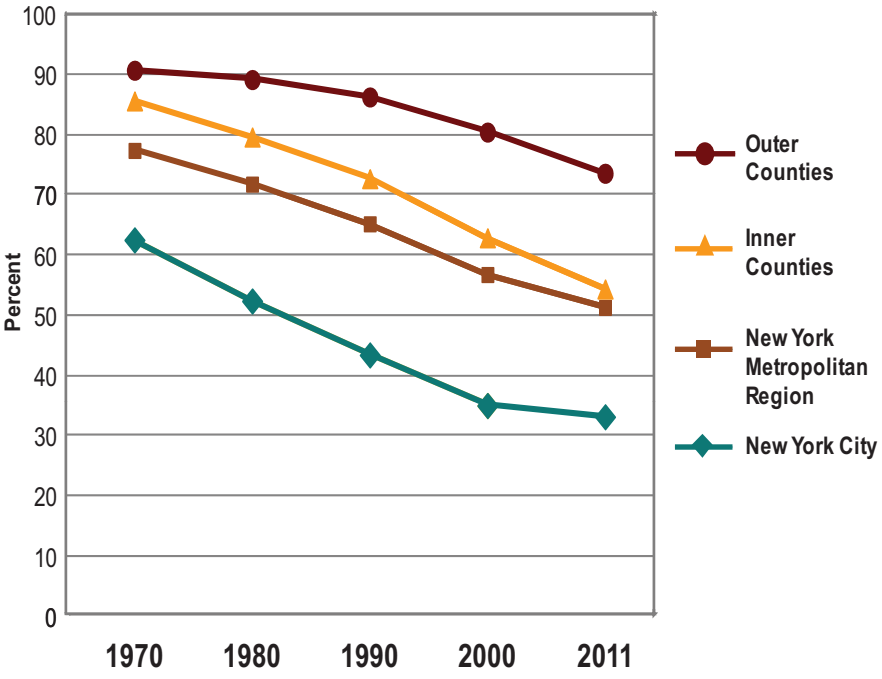
While white nonhispanics still comprise an overall majority in the inner counties, their share of the total population dropped, from 86 percent in 1970 to 54 percent in 2011. Indeed, white nonhispanics comprised a lower share in each of the 12 counties

Table 5-3
White Nonhispanics by County
New York Metropolitan Region, 1970–2011

	WHITE NONHISPANICS					CHANGE IN POPULATION			
	1970*	1980	1990	2000	2011	1970–80	1980–90	1990–00	2000–11
NEW YORK METROPOLITAN REGION	15,283,672	13,778,347	12,936,273	12,200,730	11,461,284	-9.8	-6.1	-5.7	-6.1
New York City	4,936,292	3,703,203	3,178,712	2,801,995	2,731,173	-25.0	-14.2	-11.9	-2.5
Bronx, NY	720,666	401,856	276,221	194,312	153,850	-44.2	-31.3	-29.7	-20.8
Brooklyn, NY	1,569,530	1,095,946	928,255	854,653	901,218	-30.2	-15.3	-7.9	5.4
Manhattan, NY	824,467	721,588	728,563	703,462	763,051	-12.5	1.0	-3.4	8.5
Queens, NY	1,555,260	1,183,038	941,890	732,968	613,997	-23.9	-20.4	-22.2	-16.2
Staten Island, NY	266,369	300,775	303,783	316,600	299,057	12.9	1.0	4.2	-5.5
Inner Counties	6,807,962	6,104,563	5,591,590	5,183,410	4,650,413	-10.3	-8.4	-7.3	-10.3
Bergen, NJ	846,332	762,809	683,864	637,644	558,052	-9.9	-10.3	-6.8	-12.5
Essex, NJ	586,002	448,140	352,765	298,726	256,936	-23.5	-21.3	-15.3	-14.0
Fairfield, CT	703,958	688,810	663,105	644,541	607,978	-2.2	-3.7	-2.8	-5.7
Hudson, NJ	452,223	328,837	263,892	214,797	195,440	-27.3	-19.7	-18.6	-9.0
Middlesex, NJ	533,068	512,726	519,013	463,779	393,390	-3.8	1.2	-10.6	-15.2
Morris, NJ	364,431	379,144	373,487	385,451	365,670	4.0	-1.5	3.2	-5.1
Nassau, NY	1,319,251	1,173,724	1,067,420	986,378	867,907	-11.0	-9.1	-7.6	-12.0
Passaic, NJ	375,525	322,624	286,213	251,713	223,414	-14.1	-11.3	-12.1	-11.2
Rockland, NY	207,026	224,849	212,120	205,288	202,817	8.6	-5.7	-3.2	-1.2
Somerset, NJ	186,981	185,466	204,783	220,274	199,910	-0.8	10.4	7.6	-9.2
Union, NJ	455,949	376,276	322,934	283,293	237,653	-17.5	-14.2	-12.3	-16.1
Westchester, NY	777,216	701,158	641,994	591,526	541,246	-9.8	-8.4	-7.9	-8.5
Outer Counties	3,539,418	3,970,581	4,165,971	4,215,325	4,079,698	12.2	4.9	1.2	-3.2
Dutchess, NY	202,225	218,591	223,031	224,979	220,113	8.1	2.0	0.9	-2.2
Hunterdon, NJ	67,553	84,934	102,505	112,770	111,422	25.7	20.7	10.0	-1.2
Litchfield, CT	141,407	153,807	168,946	172,230	171,297	8.8	9.8	1.9	-0.5
Mercer, NJ	246,206	237,550	236,790	225,079	197,669	-3.5	-0.3	-4.9	-12.2
Monmouth, NJ	408,182	441,918	469,673	495,716	482,446	8.3	6.3	5.5	-2.7
New Haven, CT	667,518	661,573	664,859	616,338	577,112	-0.9	0.5	-7.3	-6.4
Ocean, NJ	197,195	326,242	403,798	459,135	494,539	65.4	23.8	13.7	7.7
Orange, NY	200,734	230,574	260,815	265,003	252,797	14.9	13.1	1.6	-4.6
Putnam, NY	55,712	75,342	79,788	85,774	82,097	35.2	5.9	7.5	-4.3
Suffolk, NY	1,025,580	1,141,744	1,133,930	1,117,720	1,061,679	11.3	-0.7	-1.4	-5.0
Sullivan, NY	47,298	57,522	58,756	59,092	57,054	21.6	2.1	0.6	-3.4
Sussex, NJ	75,599	112,640	125,832	134,707	131,280	49.0	11.7	7.1	-2.5
Ulster, NY	132,062	146,049	149,544	152,218	148,430	10.6	2.4	1.8	-2.5
Warren, NJ	72,147	82,095	87,704	94,564	91,763	13.8	6.8	7.8	-3.0

* White nonhispanics were not tabulated in 1970. To make 1970 data comparable with those of subsequent censuses, a count of white nonhispanics was created by combining full count race data with the sample count data on Spanish language speakers. First, the number of Spanish language speakers was used as a proxy for Hispanics; we assumed that these Spanish language speakers were white. Second, the total number of whites was reduced by the number of Spanish language speakers to come up with the number of white nonhispanics. While the assumption that all Spanish language speakers were white is not entirely correct, it does result in a good approximation of the number of white nonhispanics. For New York City and its five boroughs, however, the count of white Spanish speakers was available and was used to derive the nonhispanic white population.

Figure 5-6
Percent White Nonhispanic by Subregion
New York Metropolitan Region, 1970–2011



Sources: U.S. Census Bureau: 2011 American Community Survey-FactFinder
Population Division-New York City Department of City Planning

in 2011 than in 1970, primarily a result of outflows of native-born whites. In 1970 and 1980, each inner county was majority-white, but starting in 1990, whites were in a minority in Essex and Hudson, with black nonhispanics (primarily native-born) and Hispanics, respectively, comprising a plurality for the past decade. In 2011, whites were in a minority in three additional inner counties—Union, Passaic, and Middlesex—though they still comprised a plurality. In the coming decade, Westchester is likely to see their white population comprise only a plurality, and Bergen and Somerset counties will see their white populations hover around the 50 percent mark.

The overall white nonhispanic population of the outer counties increased between 1970 and 2000, from 3.5 million to 4.2 million, but declined to under 4.1 million in 2011. With faster growth among other race/Hispanic groups, the white nonhispanic share of the population declined from 91 percent in 1970 to 80 percent in 2000, before declining further to 74 percent in 2011. Hispanics were the largest minority group in 2011 (13 percent), followed by black nonhispanics (8 percent), and Asian nonhispanics (4 percent). Between 1970 and 2000, just 2 of the 14 outer counties—Mercer and New Haven—saw a decline in the absolute number of white nonhispanics. In the following decade, whites were in numerical decline in nearly every outer county, resulting in decreasing white shares across the outer counties. The only county that saw a numerical increase in whites was Ocean, but the white share declined here as well, as other groups experienced faster growth. In 2011, just 54 percent of Mercer county and 67 percent of New Haven and Orange counties were white nonhispanic, the lowest percentages among the outer counties, while whites had the highest share in Litchfield, comprising over 9-in-10 residents.

Area of Origin and Country of Birth

While the previous section examined the changing race/Hispanic distribution of residents in the region, this section examines only the foreign-population, focusing on their birthplace—in terms of geographic area of origin and country of birth.

Although a disproportionate share of immigrants in the metropolitan region make their home in New York City, their area of origin was distinct from that of the inner and outer counties. Figure 5-7 shows that while 19 percent of immigrants in New York City were born in the nonhispanic Caribbean, this was true of just 10 percent of immigrants in both the inner and outer counties. On the other hand, while 16 percent of the New York City's immigrants were born in Europe, nearly one-quarter of immigrants in the outer ring were European. Immigrants

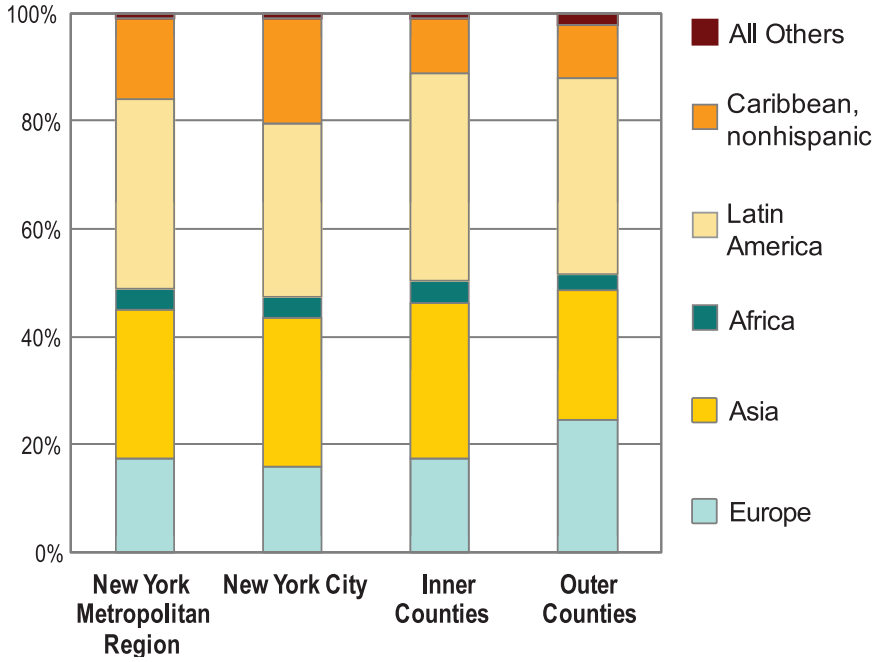
Table 5-4
Race/Hispanic Origin by County
New York Metropolitan Region, 1970–2011

NEW YORK METROPOLITAN REGION	1970*					1980				
	TOTAL POPULATION	NONHISPANIC			Hispanic	TOTAL POPULATION	NONHISPANIC			Hispanic
		White	Black	Asian			White	Black	Asian	
NEW YORK METROPOLITAN REGION	19,747,870	77.4	12.7	0.6	8.8	19,190,781	71.8	14.9	2.1	11.0
New York City	7,894,798	62.5	19.4	1.2	16.2	7,071,639	52.4	24.0	3.4	19.9
Bronx, NY	1,471,686	49.0	21.7	0.5	27.7	1,168,972	34.4	29.9	1.4	33.8
Brooklyn, NY	2,601,974	60.3	23.3	0.6	15.1	2,230,936	49.1	30.9	2.0	17.6
Manhattan, NY	1,539,225	53.6	22.2	3.1	20.3	1,428,285	50.5	20.3	5.2	23.5
Queens, NY	1,986,470	78.3	12.4	1.1	7.7	1,891,325	62.6	18.0	5.1	13.9
Staten Island, NY	295,443	90.2	5.1	0.4	4.2	352,121	85.4	6.9	2.0	5.5
Inner Counties	7,951,684	85.6	9.3	0.3	4.5	7,666,658	79.6	11.4	1.6	7.2
Bergen, NJ	898,012	94.2	2.8	0.3	2.5	845,385	90.2	3.8	2.4	3.4
Essex, NJ	929,984	63.0	30.0	0.4	5.9	851,116	52.7	36.6	1.3	9.1
Fairfield, CT	792,811	88.8	7.1	0.2	3.6	807,143	85.3	7.9	0.8	5.6
Hudson, NJ	609,261	74.2	10.0	0.4	14.7	556,972	59.0	11.9	2.7	26.1
Middlesex, NJ	583,812	91.3	4.5	0.3	3.7	595,893	86.0	5.9	2.1	5.7
Morris, NJ	383,454	95.0	2.2	0.3	2.3	407,630	93.0	2.5	1.7	2.7
Nassau, NY	1,428,077	92.4	4.6	0.3	2.6	1,321,582	88.8	6.6	1.1	3.3
Passaic, NJ	460,782	81.5	10.9	0.2	6.8	447,585	72.1	12.8	1.0	13.8
Rockland, NY	229,903	90.0	5.7	0.2	3.7	259,530	86.6	6.7	1.7	4.6
Somerset, NJ	198,372	94.3	3.6	0.3	1.6	203,129	91.3	5.0	1.4	2.1
Union, NJ	543,116	84.0	11.2	0.3	4.3	504,094	74.6	15.9	1.2	8.0
Westchester, NY	894,100	86.9	9.5	0.4	2.9	866,599	80.9	11.7	1.9	5.3
Outer Counties	3,901,388	90.7	6.3	0.2	2.5	4,452,484	89.2	6.5	0.8	3.3
Dutchess, NY	222,295	91.0	6.5	0.4	1.8	245,055	89.2	6.8	1.2	2.5
Hunterdon, NJ	69,718	96.9	1.7	0.1	1.1	87,361	97.2	1.2	0.5	1.0
Litchfield, CT	144,091	98.1	0.8	0.1	0.9	156,769	98.1	0.6	0.4	0.7
Mercer, NJ	303,968	81.0	16.4	0.3	2.0	307,863	77.2	17.8	1.4	3.5
Monmouth, NJ	459,378	88.9	8.3	0.3	2.2	503,173	87.8	8.3	1.0	2.6
New Haven, CT	744,947	89.6	7.6	0.2	2.3	761,337	86.9	8.7	0.6	3.6
Ocean, NJ	208,470	94.6	3.0	0.2	2.1	346,038	94.3	2.7	0.5	2.4
Orange, NY	221,657	90.6	6.4	0.1	2.5	259,603	88.8	6.1	0.5	4.3
Putnam, NY	56,695	98.3	0.3	0.2	1.1	77,193	97.6	0.4	0.5	1.4
Suffolk, NY	1,124,941	91.2	4.7	0.2	3.6	1,284,231	88.9	5.4	0.8	4.6
Sullivan, NY	52,580	90.0	6.5	0.3	2.7	65,155	88.3	6.6	0.8	3.9
Sussex, NJ	77,528	97.5	0.4	0.1	1.8	116,119	97.0	0.5	0.6	1.7
Ulster, NY	141,241	93.5	3.7	0.2	2.3	158,158	92.3	3.9	0.5	3.0
Warren, NJ	73,879	97.7	1.1	0.1	1.1	84,429	97.2	1.1	0.5	1.1

* Mutually exclusive race/Hispanic groups were not tabulated in 1970. To make 1970 data comparable with those of subsequent censuses, mutually exclusive race/Hispanic categories were created by combining full count race data with the sample count data on Spanish language speakers. First, the number of Spanish language speakers was used as a proxy for Hispanics; we assumed that these Spanish language speakers were white. Second, the total number of whites was reduced by the number of Spanish language speakers to come up with the number of white nonhispanics. While the assumption that all Spanish language speakers were white is not entirely correct, it does result in a good approximation of the relative number of Hispanics and white nonhispanics. The number of blacks was used as a proxy for black nonhispanics. For New York City and its five boroughs, however, the count of white and black Spanish speakers was available and was used to derive the population of nonhispanic whites and blacks. For all counties, Japanese, Chinese, and Filipinos were combined to obtain a count of Asian nonhispanics.These mutually exclusive race/Hispanic groups were then percentaged on the sample count population.

1990					2000					2011				
TOTAL POPULATION	NONHISPANIC White	Black	Asian	Hispanic	TOTAL POPULATION	NONHISPANIC White	Black	Asian	Hispanic	TOTAL POPULATION	NONHISPANIC White	Black	Asian	Hispanic
19,843,157	65.2	16.0	4.4	14.1	21,491,898	56.8	15.8	6.7	18.0	22,342,470	51.3	15.3	9.2	22.0
7,322,564	43.4	25.6	6.8	23.7	8,008,278	35.0	24.4	9.8	27.0	8,244,910	33.1	22.8	12.7	28.8
1,203,789	22.9	31.6	2.6	42.3	1,332,650	14.6	31.2	2.9	48.4	1,392,002	11.1	29.9	3.4	53.8
2,300,664	40.3	35.1	4.7	19.5	2,465,326	34.7	34.3	7.5	19.8	2,532,645	35.6	32.1	10.6	20.0
1,487,536	49.0	17.8	7.2	25.6	1,537,195	45.8	15.2	9.3	27.2	1,601,948	47.6	13.1	11.0	25.6
1,951,598	48.3	20.2	12.0	19.0	2,229,379	32.9	18.8	17.6	25.0	2,247,848	27.3	17.7	23.1	27.8
378,977	80.2	7.5	4.3	7.8	443,728	71.4	9.0	5.5	12.1	470,467	63.6	10.0	7.9	17.6
7,692,310	72.7	12.5	3.9	10.6	8,243,503	62.9	12.9	6.4	15.5	8,554,344	54.4	13.0	9.4	21.2
825,380	82.9	4.6	6.5	5.9	884,118	72.1	4.9	10.6	10.3	911,004	61.3	5.5	14.7	16.8
778,206	45.3	39.6	2.6	12.0	793,633	37.6	40.1	3.7	15.5	785,137	32.7	38.7	4.6	20.8
827,645	80.1	9.6	1.9	8.1	882,567	73.0	9.6	3.2	11.8	925,899	65.7	10.4	4.8	17.4
553,099	47.7	12.7	6.4	32.8	608,975	35.3	12.0	9.3	39.8	641,224	30.5	11.0	13.6	42.4
671,780	77.3	7.3	6.5	8.6	750,162	61.8	8.5	13.9	13.6	814,217	48.3	9.0	22.0	18.9
421,353	88.6	2.8	3.8	4.6	470,212	82.0	2.5	6.4	7.7	494,976	73.9	3.1	9.1	11.8
1,287,348	82.9	8.3	3.0	5.7	1,334,544	73.9	9.7	4.7	10.0	1,344,436	64.6	10.7	7.8	15.0
453,060	63.2	12.7	2.4	21.2	489,049	51.5	12.3	3.7	30.0	502,007	44.5	11.4	5.2	37.7
265,475	79.9	9.1	3.9	6.6	286,753	71.6	10.4	5.6	10.1	315,158	64.4	11.4	6.5	16.1
240,279	85.2	5.9	4.4	4.2	297,490	74.0	7.2	8.4	8.7	324,893	61.5	8.6	14.6	13.3
493,819	65.4	18.2	2.7	13.5	522,541	54.2	20.0	3.7	19.7	539,494	44.1	20.1	4.6	28.1
874,866	73.4	13.2	3.6	9.6	923,459	64.1	13.4	4.5	15.7	955,899	56.6	13.3	5.5	22.4
4,828,283	86.3	6.9	1.6	4.9	5,240,117	80.4	7.3	2.4	8.1	5,543,216	73.6	7.8	3.6	13.2
259,462	86.0	7.9	2.2	3.6	280,150	80.3	8.8	2.5	6.3	297,999	73.9	9.2	3.9	10.8
107,776	95.1	1.7	1.4	1.7	121,989	92.4	1.9	2.1	2.7	128,038	87.0	2.8	3.3	5.5
174,092	97.0	0.9	0.8	1.1	182,193	94.5	1.0	1.3	2.1	188,789	90.7	0.9	1.4	4.8
325,824	72.7	18.3	2.9	5.7	350,761	64.2	19.2	5.0	9.7	367,063	53.9	19.5	9.0	15.5
553,124	84.9	8.3	2.6	3.9	615,301	80.6	7.7	3.9	6.2	631,020	76.5	6.8	5.1	9.9
804,219	82.7	9.8	1.2	6.0	824,008	74.8	10.8	2.4	10.0	861,113	67.0	11.8	3.6	15.4
433,203	93.2	2.6	0.8	3.2	510,916	89.9	2.7	1.3	5.0	579,369	85.4	2.8	1.7	8.6
307,647	84.8	6.7	1.2	7.0	341,367	77.6	7.2	1.6	11.7	374,872	67.4	9.0	2.5	18.5
83,941	95.1	0.7	1.1	2.8	95,745	89.6	1.2	1.2	6.2	99,933	82.2	1.6	1.9	12.0
1,321,864	85.8	5.9	1.6	6.4	1,419,369	78.7	6.5	2.4	10.5	1,498,816	70.8	7.1	3.5	17.0
69,277	84.8	7.7	0.8	6.4	73,966	79.9	7.8	1.2	9.5	76,900	74.2	7.5	1.8	13.9
130,943	96.1	0.8	0.8	2.1	144,166	93.4	0.9	1.1	3.5	148,517	88.4	2.0	2.0	6.7
165,304	90.5	4.1	1.1	3.9	177,749	85.6	5.2	1.0	6.1	182,448	81.4	5.5	1.7	9.0
91,607	95.7	1.3	0.9	1.8	102,437	92.3	1.8	1.2	3.5	108,339	84.7	3.8	2.5	7.4

Figure 5-7
Foreign-born by Area of Origin New York Metropolitan Region, 2011



in New York City were less likely to be from Latin America (32 percent) than those in the inner counties (39 percent), but the Asian share was similar in both subregions (28 percent vs. 29 percent).

Table 5-5 shows the top 30 foreign-born groups in the metropolitan region in 2011 and where they stood in 2000, while Figure 5-8 shows the percentage of each of these groups by subgregion of residence. These data show that immigrant groups differ in their propensity to settle in New York City. Historically, newly arrived immigrants have been drawn to the city because of the availability of housing and jobs. Immigrant groups that have been in the U.S. longer have a stronger presence in the surrounding region. For these older, primarily European immigrant groups, the initial neighborhood of settlement may have been in New York City, but as with their native-born counterparts, many eventually moved to the suburbs and smaller cities in the region. Although newer entrants overall are still more likely to be concentrated in New York City, the pattern differs significantly by group. To better understand these patterns of settlement, Table 5-6 shows the top 30 source countries for each subregion, while Table 5-7 displays the top three source countries for each county in the region.

Dominicans (557,500) and Chinese (477,400)—who include immigrants from the mainland, Hong Kong, and Taiwan—were the two largest immigrant groups in the New York metropolitan region (Table 5-5), together accounting for over 17 percent of all immigrants. Both groups were heavily concentrated in New York City, with roughly seven-in-ten of each group residing in the city (Figure 5-8). But due to their overall size, they also leave a substantial imprint in the inner and outer counties. In fact, Dominicans were the second largest group in the inner counties and were ranked sixth in the outer counties (Table 5-6). Dominicans were the largest group in Passaic county (29,800) and the second largest in Hudson (23,200), Middlesex (18,600), Suffolk (15,200), Westchester (14,700), and Rockland (9,000) counties (Table 5-7); they were ranked third in Bergen county (15,100). The Chinese, who were the fourth largest group in the inner counties (95,700), ranked second in Somerset (5,900), and third in Middlesex (17,400) and Morris (7,400); other large concentrations were in Nassau (14,500) and Bergen (12,900) counties. Chinese were also the fourth largest group in the outer counties (31,400), with a notable presence in New Haven, Mercer, and Monmouth counties.

Mexicans were the third largest foreign-born group in the region (366,800), and just over one-half lived in New York City—the regional average. Nevertheless, there were substantial numbers of Mexicans in both the inner and outer counties. Mexicans ranked third in the inner counties; they were the largest foreign-born group in Westchester

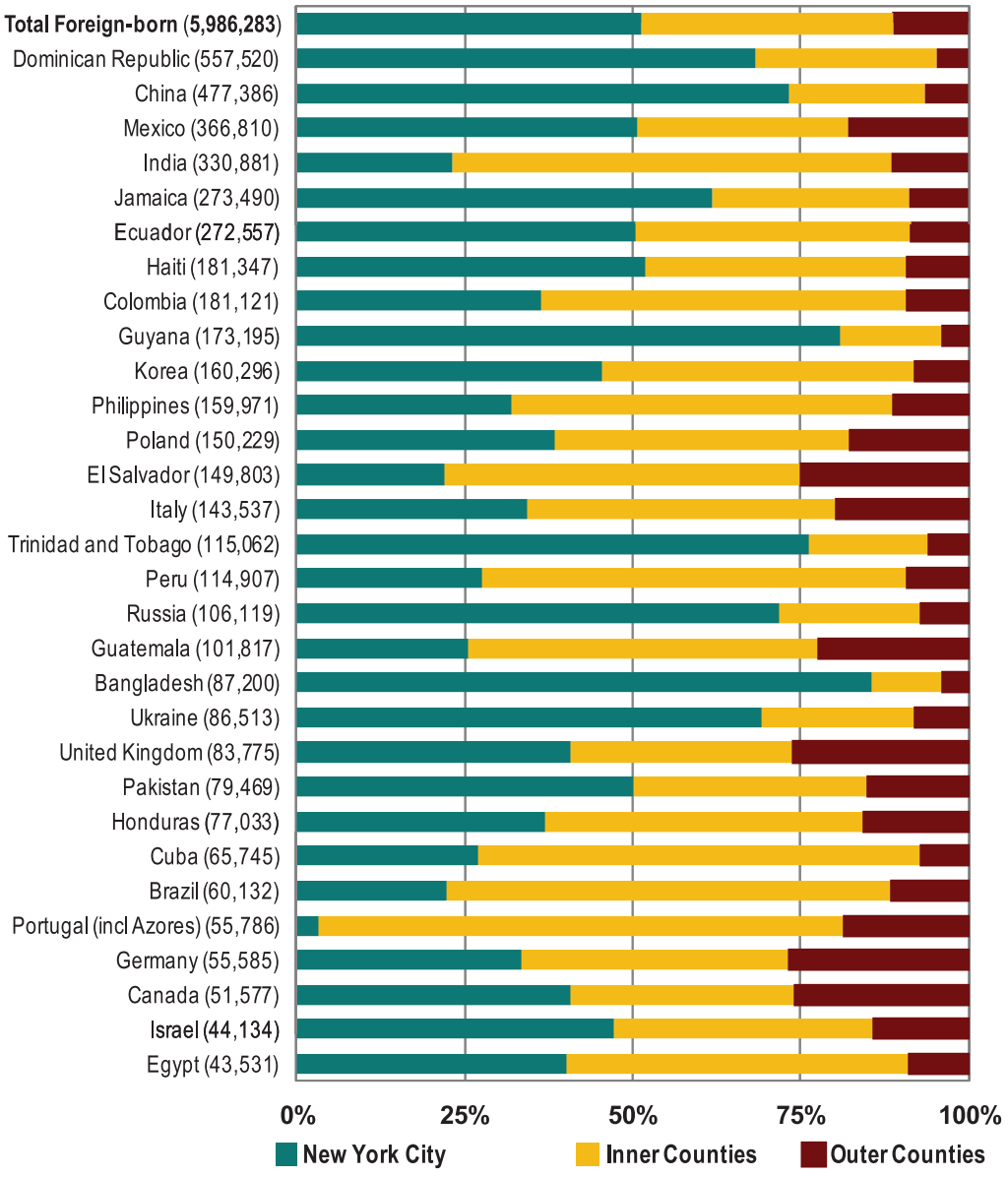
Table 5-5
Foreign-born Population by Country of Birth
New York Metropolitan Region, 2000 and 2011

	2011			2000			CHANGE, 2000–2011	
	RANK	NUMBER	PERCENT	RANK	NUMBER	PERCENT	NUMBER	PERCENT
TOTAL, Foreign-born		5,986,283	100.0	-	5,200,622	100.0	785,661	15.1
Dominican Republic	1	557,520	9.3	1	495,581	9.5	61,939	12.5
China*	2	477,386	8.0	2	354,829	6.8	122,557	34.5
Mexico	3	366,810	6.1	4	225,709	4.3	141,101	62.5
India	4	330,881	5.5	5	223,116	4.3	107,765	48.3
Jamaica	5	273,490	4.6	3	264,749	5.1	8,741	3.3
Ecuador	6	272,557	4.6	6	199,579	3.8	72,978	36.6
Haiti	7	181,347	3.0	9	161,147	3.1	20,200	12.5
Colombia	8	181,121	3.0	8	186,558	3.6	-5,437	-2.9
Guyana	9	173,195	2.9	10	158,708	3.1	14,487	9.1
Korea	10	160,296	2.7	12	139,097	2.7	21,199	15.2
Philippines	11	159,971	2.7	13	133,821	2.6	26,150	19.5
Poland	12	150,229	2.5	11	146,103	2.8	4,126	2.8
El Salvador	13	149,803	2.5	16	105,736	2.0	44,067	41.7
Italy	14	143,537	2.4	7	195,367	3.8	-51,830	-26.5
Trinidad and Tobago	15	115,062	1.9	15	110,775	2.1	4,287	3.9
Peru	16	114,907	1.9	18	90,521	1.7	24,386	26.9
Russia	17	106,119	1.8	14	111,295	2.1	-5,176	-4.7
Guatemala	18	101,817	1.7	25	57,899	1.1	43,918	75.9
Bangladesh	19	87,200	1.5	29	49,714	1.0	37,486	75.4
Ukraine	20	86,513	1.4	19	89,573	1.7	-3,060	-3.4
United Kingdom	21	83,775	1.4	21	85,689	1.6	-1,914	-2.2
Pakistan	22	79,469	1.3	22	64,519	1.2	14,950	23.2
Honduras	23	77,033	1.3	23	61,539	1.2	15,494	25.2
Cuba	24	65,745	1.1	17	90,524	1.7	-24,779	-27.4
Brazil	25	60,132	1.0	28	51,490	1.0	8,642	16.8
Portugal	26	55,786	0.9	24	58,165	1.1	-2,379	-4.1
Germany	27	55,585	0.9	20	86,433	1.7	-30,848	-35.7
Canada	28	51,577	0.9	30	49,228	0.9	2,349	4.8
Israel	29	44,134	0.7	33	36,785	0.7	7,349	20.0
Egypt	30	43,531	0.7	32	38,425	0.7	5,106	13.3
Greece	33	41,030	0.7	26	53,051	1.0	-12,021	-22.7
Ireland	36	36,958	0.6	27	52,926	1.0	-15,968	-30.2

*China includes the mainland, Hong Kong, and Taiwan.

Sources: U.S. Census Bureau, 2000 Census-Summary File 3; 2011 American Community Survey-FactFinder and Public Use Microdata Sample
Population Division-New York City Department of City Planning

Figure 5-8
Country of Birth by Subregion of Settlement
New York Metropolitan Region, 2011



county (27,500) and had a notable presence in Passaic (18,900), Middlesex (15,900), Hudson (10,500), and Fairfield (9,600) counties. In the outer counties, Mexicans were the largest group overall and were the number one group in Monmouth (12,800), New Haven (12,200), Ocean (10,200), Orange (8,700), and Sullivan and Ulster (2,100).

Given that New York City was home to over one-half of the metropolitan region's immigrant population, it helps determine the top immigrant groups in the region. Indeed, the city's three leading groups, Dominicans, Chinese, and Jamaicans were also the top three groups in the region overall. It is with India, the fourth largest group in the region,

Table 5-6
Top 30 Source Countries of the Foreign-born New York Metropolitan Subregions, 2011

NEW YORK CITY			INNER COUNTIES			OUTER COUNTIES		
	Total, Foreign-born	3,066,599		Total, Foreign-born	2,246,217		Total, Foreign-born	673,467
Rank			Rank			Rank		
1	Dominican Republic	380,160	1	India	216,759	1	Mexico	65,341
2	China	350,231	2	Dominican Republic	150,272	2	India	37,629
3	Mexico	186,298	3	Mexico	115,171	3	El Salvador	37,620
4	Jamaica	169,235	4	Ecuador	111,652	4	China	31,415
5	Guyana	139,947	5	Colombia	99,007	5	Italy	28,166
6	Ecuador	137,791	6	China	95,740	6	Dominican Republic	27,088
7	Haiti	94,171	7	Philippines	91,312	7	Poland	26,507
8	Trinidad and Tobago	87,635	8	Jamaica	79,937	8	Jamaica	24,318
9	India	76,493	9	El Salvador	79,280	9	Ecuador	23,114
10	Russia	76,264	10	Korea	74,802	10	Guatemala	22,810
11	Bangladesh	74,692	11	Peru	72,402	11	United Kingdom	21,999
12	Korea	72,822	12	Haiti	70,415	12	Philippines	17,734
13	Colombia	65,678	13	Italy	66,296	13	Haiti	16,761
14	Ukraine	59,820	14	Poland	65,996	14	Colombia	16,436
15	Poland	57,726	15	Guatemala	52,871	15	Germany	14,894
16	Philippines	50,925	16	Portugal	43,472	16	Canada	13,289
17	Italy	49,075	17	Cuba	43,369	17	Korea	12,672
18	Pakistan	39,794	18	Brazil	39,774	18	Honduras	11,966
19	United Kingdom	34,134	19	Honduras	36,515	19	Pakistan	11,949
20	El Salvador	32,903	20	Pakistan	27,726	20	Peru	10,656
21	Peru	31,849	21	United Kingdom	27,642	21	Portugal	10,413
22	Honduras	28,552	22	Guyana	26,450	22	Vietnam	8,342
23	Ghana	27,371	23	Russia	22,453	23	Russia	7,402
24	Guatemala	26,136	24	Egypt	22,272	24	Ireland	7,274
25	Barbados	23,798	25	Germany	22,034	25	Ukraine	6,994
26	Greece	22,915	26	Trinidad and Tobago	20,747	26	Brazil	6,974
27	Canada	21,070	27	Ukraine	19,699	27	Guyana	6,798
28	Uzbekistan	21,065	28	Ireland	17,292	28	Trinidad and Tobago	6,680
29	Israel	20,847	29	Canada	17,218	29	Israel	6,181
30	Germany	18,657	30	Israel	17,106	30	Greece	5,190

Sources: U.S. Census Bureau, 2011 American Community Survey-FactFinder and Public Use Microdata Sample
Population Division-New York City Department of City Planning

where New York City and the rest of the region significantly diverged. Just 23 percent of the foreign-born from India lived in New York, making them the 9th largest group in the city. However, Indians were the largest foreign-born group in the inner counties (216,800) and the 2nd largest in the outer counties (37,600). Indians were the top ranked group in Middlesex (72,700), Somerset (17,800), and Morris (15,700) counties, and had a notable presence in Mercer (11,500) and Monmouth (5,700), creating a significant concentration that straddled the inner-outer county boundary in central New Jersey. Other areas with substantial Indian populations included the inner counties of Hudson (28,500),

Table 5-7

Top Three Source Countries of the Foreign-born by County
New York Metropolitan Region, 2011

	TOTAL, FOREIGN-BORN	COUNTRY RANK 1		2		3	
		COUNTRY	NUMBER	COUNTRY	NUMBER	COUNTRY	NUMBER
NEW YORK METROPOLITAN REGION	5,986,283	Dominican Republic	557,520	China	477,386	Mexico	366,810
New York City	3,066,599	Dominican Republic	380,160	China	350,231	Mexico	186,298
Bronx, NY	471,136	Dominican Republic	156,165	Jamaica	52,533	Mexico	42,487
Brooklyn, NY	946,511	China	129,219	Jamaica	70,508	Haiti	61,550
Manhattan, NY	461,325	Dominican Republic	109,780	China	65,750	Mexico	23,773
Queens, NY	1,089,187	China	142,957	Guyana	82,538	Ecuador	72,736
Staten Island, NY	98,440	Mexico	7,846	Italy	7,174	China	6,347
Inner Counties	2,246,217	India	216,759	Dominican Republic	150,272	Mexico	115,171
Bergen, NJ	272,677	Korea	46,228	India	17,605	Dominican Republic	15,146
Essex, NJ	206,451	Ecuador	21,475	Haiti	17,891	Jamaica	14,722
Fairfield, CT	180,728	Ecuador	14,000	Jamaica	10,461	Mexico	9,609
Hudson, NJ	257,555	India	28,525	Dominican Republic	23,233	Ecuador	19,012
Middlesex, NJ	259,336	India	72,748	Dominican Republic	18,613	China	17,444
Morris, NJ	91,597	India	15,733	Colombia	11,196	China	7,406
Nassau, NY	290,001	El Salvador	30,786	India	22,443	Haiti	15,686
Passaic, NJ	148,092	Dominican Republic	29,811	Mexico	18,869	Peru	12,709
Rockland, NY	70,357	Haiti	10,079	Dominican Republic	8,954	India	4,778
Somerset, NJ	79,387	India	17,812	China	5,876	Philippines	4,973
Union, NJ	158,537	Colombia	14,817	Haiti	11,360	Portugal	10,623
Westchester, NY	231,499	Mexico	27,501	Dominican Republic	14,697	Jamaica	14,393
Outer Counties	673,467	Mexico	65,341	India	37,629	El Salvador	37,620
Dutchess, NY	36,166	Mexico	4,807	Jamaica	2,755	India	2,664
Hunterdon, NJ	11,813	Philippines	964	China	940	Germany	784
Litchfield, CT	12,436	Dominica	1277	Canada	916	Italy	874
Mercer, NJ	74,707	India	11,543	China	6,103	Guatemala	5,847
Monmouth, NJ	79,968	Mexico	12,842	India	5,682	China	4,917
New Haven, CT	99,043	Mexico	12,191	China	7,226	India	6,081
Ocean, NJ	46,546	Mexico	10,186	Philippines	3,524	Italy	2,528
Orange, NY	44,922	Mexico	8,715	Guatemala	3,211	Honduras	3,198
Putnam, NY[1]	13,041	Guatemala	2,139	Italy	1,530	Mexico	1,280
Suffolk, NY	212,859	El Salvador	30,496	Dominican Republic	15,207	Ecuador	11,800
Sullivan & Ulster, NY	8,942	Mexico	2,059	Italy	1,477	United Kingdom	1,003
Sussex, NJ	12,125	Philippines	1,054	Romania	812	Germany	641
Warren, NJ	8,434	Philippines	1,683	Jamaica	1,040	India	769

[1]Contains a small portion of Westchester, NY

Sources: U.S. Census Bureau, 2011 American Community Survey-FactFinder and Public Use Microdata Sample
Population Division-New York City Department of City Planning

Note: The total foreign-born was derived from 2011 American Community Survey-FactFinder estimates. In addition, 2011 American Community Survey-FactFinder data were used to calculate place of birth data for the following counties: Bronx, Brooklyn, Manhattan, Queens, Staten Island, Bergen, Essex, Fairfield, Middlesex, Nassau, Westchester, and Suffolk. Because place of birth data were not available for counties with small foreign-born populations, the remaining counties used 2011 American Community Survey-Public Use Microdata Sample.

Nassau (22,400), Bergen (17,600), and Westchester (9,500) counties, along with the outer counties of Suffolk (7,600) and New Haven (6,100).

Jamaicans were the 5th largest foreign-born group in the region (273,500), and 62 percent lived in New York City. The propensity of Jamaicans to settle in New York reflects the nonhispanic Caribbean influence that is more pronounced in the city than in any other part of the region. Despite their concentration in New York City, Jamaicans were in the top 10—ranked eighth—in both the inner and outer counties. They were the 3rd largest group in Essex (14,700) and Westchester counties (14,400), and had an equally large presence in Nassau county (14,400). In the outer counties, Jamaicans had a significant presence in Suffolk (6,400) and New Haven (5,500), and were ranked 2nd in Dutchess (2,800) and Warren (1,000) counties.

The higher percentage of Latin American immigrants in both the inner and outer counties is reflected in this group claiming one-half of the top ten spots in each subregion, including four of the top five spots in the inner counties. After the Dominican Republic and Mexico, Ecuador is the largest Latin American group in the region. Its population in the region increased by over one-third since 2000 and it has a growing presence in the inner counties, where it is now the fourth largest source country. Ecuadorians were the top group in Essex (21,500) and Fairfield (14,000), and had a notable presence in Hudson (19,000) and in Westchester (13,800), as well as in the outer county of Suffolk (11,800). While the Ecuadorian population in the region saw a huge increase, Colombians declined three percent. Colombians were ranked fifth in the inner counties, down from third in 2000 (data not shown) and were the top group in Union (14,800) and ranked second in Morris (11,200) counties; large Colombian populations were also present in Bergen (14,100), Hudson (10,800), and Nassau (10,600) counties.

Salvadorans, who grew by 42 percent over 2000, showed a much higher-than-average propensity to settle in the inner and outer counties, mostly on Long Island. They were the largest group in both Nassau (30,800) and Suffolk (30,500) counties; these two counties were home to four-in-ten Salvadorans in the region. The largest Guatemalan presence was in Westchester (9,800) and Union (8,100) counties; while they had a numerically smaller presence in the outer counties, they were ranked among the top three groups in Mercer (5,800), Orange (3,200), and Putnam (2,100) counties. The region's Hondurans, who grew by 25 percent since 2000, are now larger than the Cuban population, which declined by over one-quarter. Both Hondurans and Cubans were disproportionately present in the inner counties and both groups had their highest concentration in Hudson county. Among the region's Cubans, over one-quarter or nearly 17,800 lived in Hudson county, as did 7,300 Hondurans. In the outer counties, there was also a notable concentration of Hondurans in Suffolk (4,600), as well as in Orange (3,200), where they were the third largest group.

Europe was the only area of the world that saw a decline in its regional population since 2000—down 11 percent to just over 1 million. With the exception of Poland, every major European country saw declines, ranging from 36 percent for Germany and 27 percent for Italy, to under five percent for the United Kingdom, Ukraine, Portugal, and Russia. For the first time, no European country was among the top 10 in the overall region or in the inner counties. With Poles increasing by three percent, they bypassed Italians as the largest European source country in the region. In the inner counties, Poles had their largest presence in Bergen county (13,700) and Italians in Nassau county (13,700). The Portuguese were overwhelmingly concentrated in the inner counties, especially in Essex (11,000) and in Union county (10,600), where they were ranked 3rd—the only European country to make the top 3 list in an inner county. In the outer counties, Italians and Poles were the 2 European countries in the top 10 and they were concentrated primarily in Suffolk and New Haven counties. Smaller Italian populations present in Ocean, Putnam, Sullivan and Ulster, and Litchfield placed Italy among the top three groups in these counties.

An exception to the disproportionate presence of European groups in the inner and outer counties was among the foreign-born from Russia and the Ukraine. Both showed a marked proclivity to live in New York City, 72 percent and 69 percent, respectively. Russia ranked 10th and the Ukraine 14th on the list for New York City, but ranked far lower on the lists for the inner and outer counties. Outside New York City, Bergen county had the largest presence of Ukrainians (4,400) and Russians (4,200).

While the share of Asians in each subregion mirrored that of all immigrants, there were marked differences among groups. As discussed earlier, while the Chinese population can be found in many communities throughout the region, 73 percent reside in New York City. Among Bangladeshis, 86 percent live in the city, especially in Queens (see Chapter 4). In contrast, over three-quarters of Indians and over two-thirds of Filipinos live outside the city; one-third of Filipinos lived in just four counties—Middlesex, Hudson, Bergen, and Nassau. Filipinos were also the third largest group in Somerset county, with 5,000 residents. Koreans have a higher than average proclivity to live in the inner counties; their major area of settlement is Bergen county (46,200), home to over 60 percent of Koreans in the inner counties.

The inner and outer counties have proportionately fewer immigrants from the nonhispanic Caribbean. This is true of Jamaica, as noted earlier, but is also true of other neighboring countries. Guyana, Haiti, and Trinidad and Tobago were ranked 5th, 7th, and 8th in New York City, but do not make the top 10 in either the inner or outer counties. Indeed, Guyana was ranked 22nd on the inner county list and 27th on the list for the outer counties, a reflection of the fact that 81 percent of all Guyanese immigrants to the region settle in New York City. Similarly, with 76 percent of Trinidadians living in New York City, they were ranked 26th in the inner counties and 28th in the outer counties. While above-average, the Haitian concentration in the city (52 percent) was not as high as that of the Guyanese or Trinidadians. Haitians were ranked 12th in the inner counties and 13th in the outer counties. Their largest concentrations were in Essex (17,900), Nassau (15,700), Union (11,400), and Rockland (10,100)—in each of these counties they were among the top three groups.

Places with High Foreign-born Concentrations

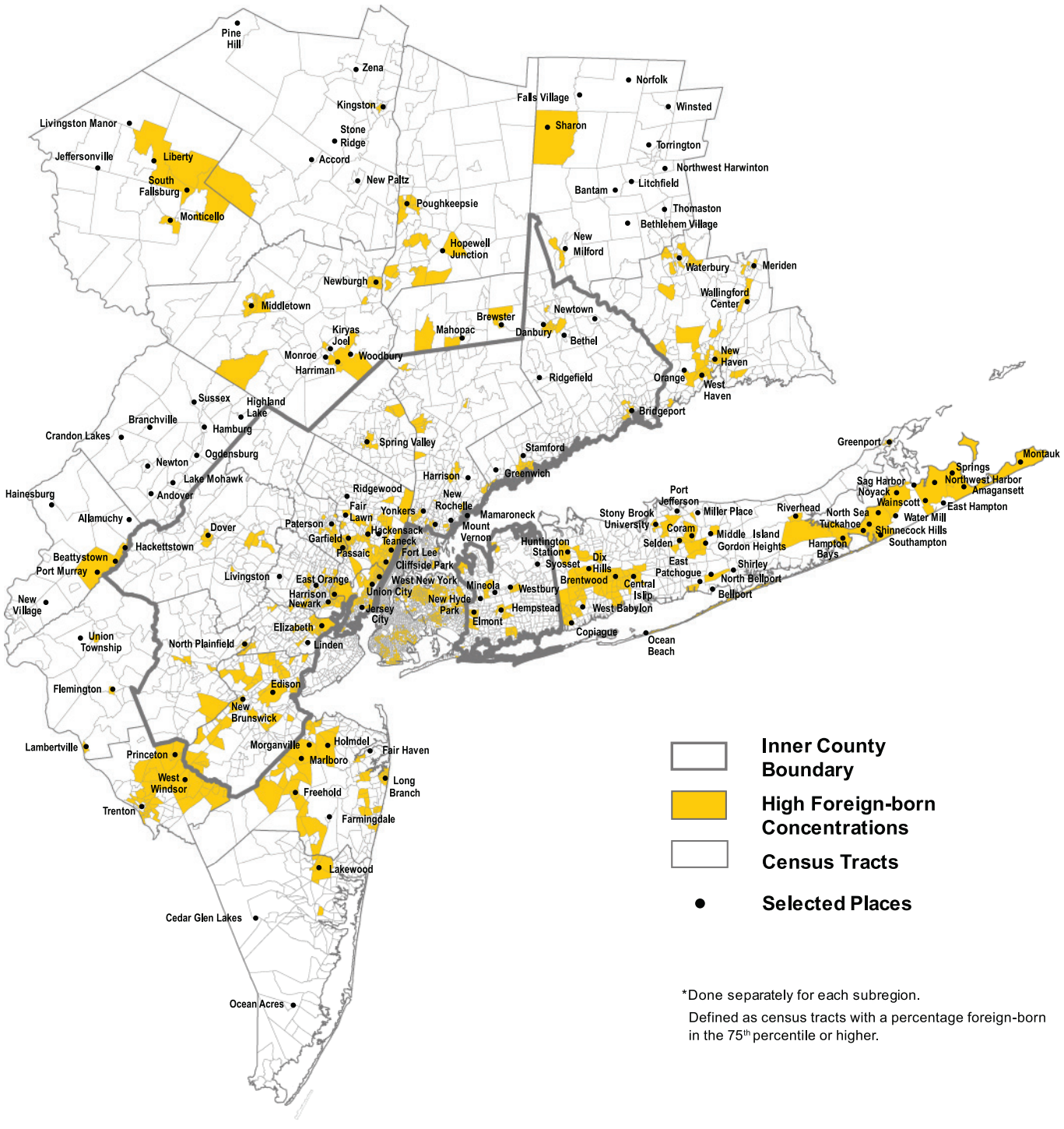
While the prior sections examined the foreign-born population at the county level, this section focuses on areas *within* counties that have the highest foreign-born concentrations. Figure 5-9 shows census tracts that were in the 75th percentile or higher in terms of the percent foreign-born along with cities, villages, and towns ("urban places" in census terminology) that encompass these census tracts.[2]

There were distinct patterns of immigrant settlement in the inner and outer counties (for patterns in New York City, please see Chapter 3). In the inner counties, areas with high foreign-born concentrations (or "high immigrant areas") were in close proximity to New York City. These included cities in New Jersey that were located across the Hudson river: Hackensack, Garfield, and Cliffside Park in Bergen county; Jersey City, Union City, and West New York in Hudson county; and Elizabeth and Union in Union county. North of the Bronx, high immigrant areas included Yonkers, Mt. Vernon, and New Rochelle in the southern section of Westchester county, as well as Spring Valley in Rockland county. To the east, across the Queens border in Nassau county, Hempstead, Elmont, and Mineola had high foreign-born concentrations.

Immigrant concentrations were also present along U.S. Route 1 in New Jersey, including Fort Lee in Bergen county, and Elizabeth and Linden in Union county. Farther south along this route, high immigrant areas included Edison and New Brunswick in Middlesex county, and Princeton and Trenton in the outer county of Mercer. High immigrant concentrations were also evident in Dover in Morris county, in Paterson and Passaic in Passaic county, and North Plainfield in Somerset county. In Connecticut, there were immigrant concentrations along I-95, in Stamford in Fairfield county, and in New Haven and West Haven in the outer county of New Haven.

Figure 5-9

Census Tracts with High Foreign-born Concentrations*
New York Metropolitan Region, 2007–2011



*Done separately for each subregion.

Defined as census tracts with a percentage foreign-born in the 75th percentile or higher.

Sources: U.S. Census Bureau, 2007–2011American Community Survey-Summary File

Other high immigrant areas in the outer counties included Poughkeepsie in Dutchess county, and Newburgh in Orange county, both on the Hudson river. Middletown, in the western section of Orange county, New Paltz in Ulster county, and Mahopac and Brewster in Putnam county also had concentrations of immigrants. In Monmouth county, there were two immigrant clusters, one centered around Long Branch on the Jersey shore, the other to the west around Freehold and Morganville. Farther south, in Ocean county, Lakewood had a high concentration of immigrants. In Suffolk county, which had the largest immigrant population in the outer ring, there was a big band of immigrant settlement along the border with Nassau county, in Huntington Station and Copiague, and east into West Babylon, Brentwood and Central Islip. Another stretch of high immigrant areas began in Riverhead, extending east toward Montauk on the south fork of Long Island.

High immigrant areas were home to approximately one-half of the foreign-born residents of the inner and the outer counties. As we shall see in the next section, many of these are lower income areas that have historically settled newly arrived immigrants in the region.

Diverse Patterns of Settlement in the New York Metropolitan Region

The inner and outer counties are home to places where patterns of settlement mimic patterns historically seen in New York City, as well as new patterns of settlement. To better discern these patterns, we distinguish areas in the region that are lower income (census tracts with a median household income in the 25th percentile or lower) from those that are upper income (census tracts with a median household income in the 75th percentile and above).[3] As we shall see, places in each income group have distinct patterns of settlement (Figure 5-10).

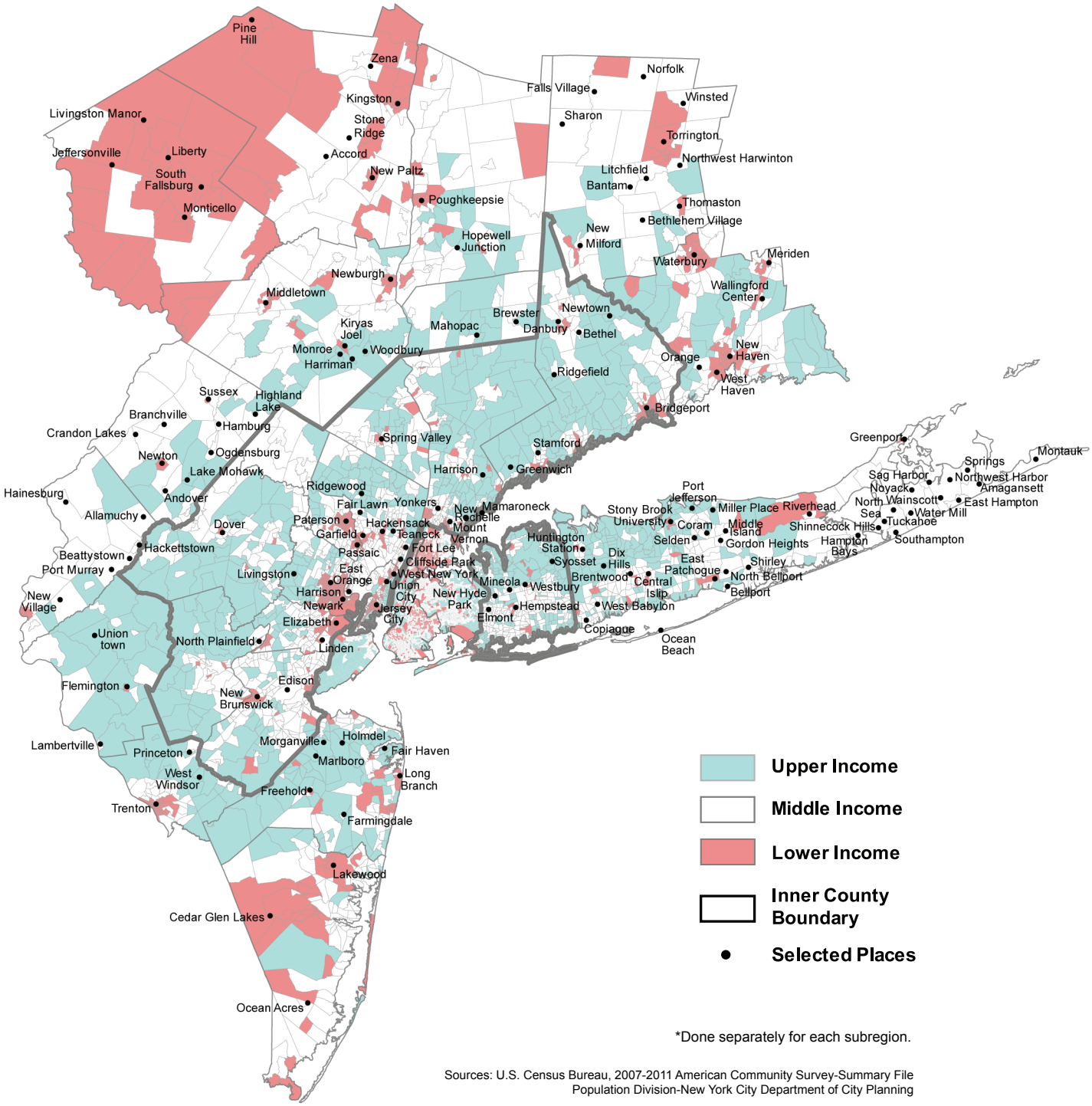
Tables 5-8, 5-12, and 5-13 examine the socio-demographic characteristics of places that are lower income, upper income, and middle income, respectively, for the 2007–2011 period. For these places, Table 5-9 shows the overall population and the shares of whites and the foreign-born over time, from 1970 to 2007–2011, while Table 5-10 examines the top 5 foreign-born groups for the 2007–2011 period. Table 5-11 and Figure 5-11 show the distribution of the top immigrant groups by neighborhood type.

LOWER INCOME NEIGHBORHOODS—TRADITIONAL AREAS OF IMMIGRANT SETTLEMENT

Most immigrant groups generally begin their American experience on the lower rungs of the socio-economic ladder and this is reflected in their initial neighborhoods of residence, which have historically been in lower income areas. In the New York metropolitan region, lower income census tracts were home to 1.6 million immigrants (Table 5-8). Since family networks tend to feed immigration and influence immigrant settlement, lower income neighborhoods are home to large foreign-born concentrations. Essentially, new immigrants tend to move into neighborhoods that are home to other immigrants.

In the inner counties, lower income neighborhoods were on average 36 percent foreign-born, 10 points higher than for the inner counties as a whole. In the lower income urban places selected for this section, the *share* of foreign-born residents in 2011 ranged from a high of around 60 percent in West New York and Union City, to a low of around one-quarter in Bridgeport and Newark. Lower income areas in the inner counties also had higher population densities, averaging 11,800 persons per square mile. In Union City and West New York, densities were approximately 50,000 persons per square mile, and stood at 22,000 persons per square mile in Passaic, and 17,300 persons per square mile in Paterson—compared with under 2,600 persons per square mile in the inner counties overall. The high population densities were related to the large number of multi-unit structures present. Given that most immigrant groups lack substantial economic resources when they first immigrate to the U.S., these multi-unit buildings—often between 5 and 10 units—are very appealing to new immigrants as they are primarily rentals.

Figure 5-10
Census Tracts by Income Level*
New York Metropolitan Region, 2007–2011



*Done separately for each subregion.

Sources: U.S. Census Bureau, 2007-2011 American Community Survey-Summary File
Population Division-New York City Department of City Planning

Table 5-8
Characteristics of Selected Lower Income Areas*
New York Metropolitan Region and Subregions, 2007–2011

	POPULATION				TOTAL UNITS		
	Total	Foreign-born	% foreign-born	Persons per Square Mile**	Total	% in Multi-unit Structures***	% built prior to 1950
TOTAL, NEW YORK METROPOLITAN REGION	**22,101,595**	**5,811,480**	**26.3**	**1,758**	**8,844,982**	**34.3**	**38.3**
Lower Income	5,238,511	1,614,314	30.8	2,383	2,093,490	49.2	45.4
Total, New York City	**8,128,980**	**2,989,825**	**36.8**	**26,860**	**3,356,992**	**59.9**	**53.1**
Lower Income	2,180,250	777,019	35.6	27,709	819,937	76.7	53.4
Total, Inner Counties	**8,454,358**	**2,160,859**	**25.6**	**2,580**	**3,213,791**	**22.8**	**33.7**
Lower Income	1,812,305	648,046	35.8	11,835	707,260	38.3	44.3
Newark, Essex, NJ	275,512	73,150	26.6	11,391	109,504	34.4	39.7
Paterson, Passaic, NJ	145,915	42,745	29.3	17,313	49,664	25.9	50.1
Bridgeport, Fairfield, CT	143,412	37,729	26.3	8,978	59,038	30.2	48.6
Passaic, Passaic, NJ	69,253	32,089	46.3	22,012	22,029	42.8	57.2
Union City, Hudson, NJ	66,095	38,068	57.6	51,529	25,062	52.5	44.5
West New York, Hudson, NJ	48,973	29,316	59.9	48,612	19,852	63.7	45.2
Total, Outer Counties	**5,518,257**	**660,804**	**12.0**	**614**	**2,274,199**	**12.6**	**23.0**
Lower Income	1,245,956	189,249	15.2	634	566,293	23.0	35.3
New Haven, New Haven, CT	129,213	21,570	16.7	6,918	57,133	33.7	58.2
Waterbury, New Haven, CT	110,075	15,850	14.4	3,860	48,426	27.1	40.4
Trenton, Mercer, NJ	85,044	19,683	23.1	11,119	35,201	21.7	65.0
Lakewood, Ocean, NJ	49,646	7,617	15.3	7,014	11,578	23.0	12.3
Poughkeepsie, Dutchess, NY	32,564	7,265	22.3	6,331	15,017	31.7	54.2
Newburgh, Orange, NY	28,999	7,531	26.0	7,623	10,920	21.6	72.4

* Census tracts with a median household income in the 25th percentile or lower are categorized as lower income.

**The total persons per square mile is based on 2007–2011 American Community Survey population estimates, which differs from the one year estimate seen earlier in the chapter.

***Structures containing five or more housing units.

Lower income areas with an abundance of small multi-unit structures and rental units often showed the most traditional patterns of immigrant settlement. In these places, the process of post-1965 immigrant settlement usually involved newer immigrant groups succeeding longer resident groups who had moved out. Housing vacated by these departing residents was then occupied by newly arrived immigrants. This process of immigrant succession, which is well documented in New York City, has occurred in urban places across the inner and outer counties, resulting in large post-1965 foreign-born concentrations in cities across the New York region. In addition to high population densities, a higher proportion of small multi-unit structures, and a greater proportion of rental units, lower income areas that attract immigrants tend to have an older housing stock and are disproportionately minority.

In the inner county of Passaic, the cities of Paterson and Passaic, which were once home to European immigrants, are now emblematic of poor areas—nearly 3-in-10 lived in poverty—that have attracted post-1965 immigrants. In both cities, approximately 3-in-4 occupied units were rentals—a

OCCUPIED UNITS		RACE/HISPANIC ORIGIN (%)				ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS			
		NONHISPANICS				MEDIAN HOUSEHOLD INCOME			
Total	% Rentals	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic	Total	Foreign-born	% Below Poverty	% Bachelor's Degree or Higher
8,038,714	**44.9**	**52.4**	**15.4**	**9.0**	**21.3**	**$66,449**	**–**	**12.6**	**35.9**
1,860,088	72.0	25.9	28.2	5.3	38.8	$34,698	–	27.1	17.3
3,049,978	**67.4**	**33.5**	**23.1**	**12.6**	**28.4**	**$51,090**	**–**	**19.4**	**33.7**
753,375	89.6	12.8	31.5	7.7	46.3	$26,785	–	35.4	16.0
2,988,022	**35.4**	**55.9**	**13.0**	**9.0**	**20.2**	**$78,453**	**–**	**8.9**	**40.1**
624,056	70.3	19.8	31.6	4.1	42.6	$39,619	–	22.4	16.6
91,712	75.1	12.9	50.4	1.5	32.6	$35,696	$42,887	26.1	12.5
43,640	70.2	10.6	29.2	3.0	56.2	$34,302	$42,816	27.1	9.9
51,014	55.4	24.2	33.1	3.5	36.7	$40,947	$47,948	21.9	15.2
20,357	72.5	17.7	7.6	4.5	69.6	$30,363	$28,892	29.2	14.8
22,408	80.3	13.9	2.1	2.1	81.3	$40,108	$37,970	21.1	16.2
18,331	78.8	14.3	2.0	4.8	78.0	$44,640	$40,205	19.0	25.3
2,000,714	**24.9**	**74.7**	**7.7**	**3.5**	**12.4**	**$74,246**	**–**	**8.3**	**32.6**
482,657	46.8	57.7	17.5	2.6	20.0	$42,844	–	19.3	20.2
49,247	68.9	32.9	32.8	4.8	26.3	$39,094	$43,750	26.3	32.1
42,599	50.4	46.7	17.8	1.6	30.1	$41,499	$41,915	20.6	17.2
28,285	57.9	15.2	49.5	0.9	32.9	$37,219	$51,875	25.6	10.9
10,583	62.9	79.1	4.5	0.4	15.6	$36,079	$50,844	32.0	24.6
13,044	60.5	41.3	33.9	1.5	20.2	$39,061	$43,384	25.0	22.1
9,162	64.9	21.0	29.1	0.4	48.1	$37,671	$44,246	26.3	13.1

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2007–2011 American Community Survey-Summary File
Population Division-New York City Department of City Planning

hallmark of cities that are attractive to newly arrived immigrants. Both cities were white-majority in 1970 (Table 5-9), and as whites began leaving they were succeeded by immigrants, particularly Dominicans. Interestingly, the original Dominican presence in Washington Heights in New York City extended west across the Hudson into Passaic county (as well as east, across the Harlem River into the West Bronx). Dominicans comprised nearly 30 percent of the foreign-born in Paterson and over one-fifth in Passaic (Table 5-10). By 2011, Passaic was overwhelmingly Hispanic (70 percent), while Paterson was majority Hispanic, with a significant black presence (29 percent). Both cities are examples of how immigration has changed the racial/ethnic composition of cities in the inner counties.

Other cities that received substantial Latin American flows were West New York and Union City in Hudson County. Both cities were also once home to newly arrived European immigrants at the turn of the 20th century and now to post-1965 immigrant flows. West New York and Union City saw an enormous inflow of immigrants (especially Cubans) in the 1960s; by1970, the share of the for-

Table 5-9
Share of the Foreign-born and White Nonhispanics for Selected Urban Places by Income Level* New York Metropolitan Region, 1970 to 2007–2011

		1970**				1980			
		TOTAL	% WHITE	FOREIGN-BORN		TOTAL	% WHITE	FOREIGN-BORN	
URBAN PLACE	COUNTY & STATE	POPULATION	NONHISPANIC	Number	Percent	POPULATION	NONHISPANIC	Number	Percent
TOTAL, NEW YORK METROPOLITAN REGION		**19,747,870**	**77.4**	**2,527,864**	**12.8**	**19,190,781**	**71.8**	**2,960,140**	**15.4**
Inner Counties		7,951,684	85.6	822,511	10.3	7,666,658	79.6	975,906	12.7
Outer Counties		3,901,388	90.7	268,295	6.9	4,452,484	89.2	314,035	7.1
Lower Income, Inner Counties									
Newark	Essex, NJ	382,374	32.1	40,104	10.5	329,248	22.8	47,739	14.5
Paterson	Passaic, NJ	144,835	59.2	21,001	14.5	137,970	37.1	25,537	18.5
Bridgeport	Fairfield, CT	156,542	73.6	20,000	12.8	142,546	59.8	19,138	13.4
Passaic	Passaic, NJ	55,124	62.9	10,405	18.9	52,463	44.4	12,850	24.5
Union City	Hudson, NJ	58,537	58.1	22,746	38.9	55,593	33.9	27,094	48.7
West New York	Hudson, NJ	40,666	55.6	17,793	43.8	39,194	34.5	21,742	55.5
Lower Income, Outer Counties									
New Haven	New Haven, CT	137,721	69.0	13,784	10.0	126,109	59.1	10,930	8.7
Waterbury	New Haven, CT	108,032	85.8	12,580	11.6	103,266	81.1	11,941	11.6
Trenton	Mercer, NJ	104,521	57.9	8,023	7.7	92,124	46.2	6,143	6.7
Lakewood	Ocean, NJ	17,874	79.9	2,901	16.2	22,863	74.0	3,423	15.0
Poughkeepsie	Dutchess, NY	32,029	81.2	2,765	8.6	29,757	72.8	2,672	9.0
Newburgh	Orange, NY	26,219	70.0	1,738	6.6	23,438	60.0	1,917	8.2
Upper Income, Inner Counties									
Greenwich	Fairfield, CT	59,755	97.5	6,809	11.4	59,578	94.8	8,594	14.4
Mamaroneck	Westchester, NY	31,243	95.2	3,978	12.7	29,017	90.3	4,332	14.9
Livingston	Essex, NJ	30,127	99.3	1,697	5.6	28,040	94.9	2,380	8.5
Harrison	Westchester, NY	21,544	98.1	28	0.1	23,046	93.8	3,282	14.2
Ridgewood	Bergen, NJ	27,547	98.2	1,702	6.2	25,208	93.8	2,142	8.5
Syosset	Nassau, NY	10,084	98.6	749	7.4	9,818	96.6	855	8.7
Upper Income, Outer Counties									
Marlboro	Monmouth, NJ	12,273	94.2	607	4.9	17,560	92.2	1,083	6.2
Dix Hills	Suffolk, NY	10,050	99.3	638	6.3	26,693	95.6	2,338	8.8
West Windsor	Mercer, NJ	6,431	96.6	506	7.9	8,542	92.2	840	9.8
Holmdel	Monmouth, NJ	6,117	99.1	228	3.7	8,447	95.1	561	6.6
Middle Income, Inner Counties									
Jersey City	Hudson, NJ	260,549	68.7	26,635	10.2	223,532	49.4	36,352	16.3
Yonkers	Westchester, NY	204,367	89.4	27,513	13.5	195,351	79.1	32,582	16.7
Stamford	Fairfield, CT	108,848	83.2	12,810	11.8	102,453	78.0	14,784	14.4
Edison	Middlesex, NJ	–	–	–		70,193	90.9	6,589	9.4
Teaneck	Bergen, NJ	–	–	–		39,007	72.0	5,815	0.2
Fort Lee	Bergen, NJ	30,631	97.4	5,939	19.4	32,449	82.6	8,594	26.5
Fair Lawn	Bergen, NJ	37,975	99.4	4,358	11.5	32,229	98.6	3,997	12.4
New Hyde Park	Nassau, NY	10,116	99.2	1,232	12.2	9,801	96.8	1,056	10.8
Middle Income, Outer Counties									
Brentwood	Suffolk, NY	–	–	–	–	44,321	68.0	4,019	9.1
Central Islip	Suffolk, NY	36,391	94.4	2,130	5.9	19,734	62.0	1,549	7.8
Lawrence	Mercer, NJ	19,567	93.5	1,390	7.1	19,724	88.8	1,620	8.2
Naugatuck	New Haven, CT	23,034	99.3	2,557	11.1	26,456	95.9	3,083	11.7
Ocean	Monmouth, NJ	18,643	99.2	849	4.6	23,570	94.0	1,683	7.1
East Windsor	Mercer, NJ	11,736	95.4	659	5.6	21,041	89.0	1,630	7.7

* Census tracts with a median household income in the 75th percentile or higher are labeled upper income, while those in the 25th percentile or lower are categorized as lower income.

**White nonhispanics were not tabulated in 1970. To make 1970 data comparable with those of subsequent censuses, a count of white nonhispanics was created by combining full count race data with the sample count data on Spanish language speakers. First, the number of Spanish language speakers was used as a proxy for Hispanics; we assumed that these Spanish language speakers were white. Second, the total number of whites was reduced by the number of Spanish language speakers to come up with the number of white nonhispanics. While the assumption that all Spanish language speakers were white is not entirely correct, it does result in a good approximation of the number of white nonhispanics. These white nonhispanics were then percentaged on the sample count population.

1990				2000				2011			
TOTAL POPULATION	% WHITE NONHISP.ANIC	FOREIGN-BORN Number	FOREIGN-BORN Percent	TOTAL POPULATION	% WHITE NONHISPANIC	FOREIGN-BORN Number	FOREIGN-BORN Percent	TOTAL POPULATION	% WHITE NONHISPANIC	FOREIGN-BORN Number	FOREIGN-BORN Percent
19,843,157	**65.2**	**3,675,192**	**18.5**	**21,491,898**	**56.8**	**5,200,622**	**24.2**	**22,101,595**	**52.4**	**5,811,480**	**26.8**
7,692,310	72.4	1,251,854	16.3	8,243,503	62.9	1,842,253	22.3	8,454,358	55.9	2,160,859	25.6
4,828,283	86.1	340,407	7.1	5,240,117	80.4	487,337	9.3	5,518,257	74.7	660,804	12.0
275,221	16.8	51,423	18.7	273,546	14.3	66,057	24.1	275,512	12.9	73,150	26.6
140,891	25.1	35,355	25.1	149,222	13.2	48,924	32.8	145,915	10.6	42,745	29.3
141,686	46.4	20,731	14.6	139,529	30.9	28,638	20.5	143,412	24.2	37,729	26.3
58,041	28.5	20,997	36.2	67,861	18.3	31,101	45.8	69,253	17.7	32,089	46.3
58,012	21.2	31,959	55.1	67,088	13.4	39,378	58.7	66,095	13.9	38,068	57.6
38,125	23.7	23,028	60.4	45,768	14.9	29,831	65.2	48,973	14.3	29,316	59.9
130,474	49.0	10,633	8.1	123,626	35.7	14,350	11.6	129,213	32.9	21,570	16.7
108,961	73.8	9,461	8.7	107,271	58.2	12,950	12.1	110,075	46.7	15,850	14.4
88,675	37.8	6,695	7.6	85,258	24.7	12,024	14.1	85,044	15.2	19,683	23.1
26,095	67.6	3,053	11.7	36,065	68.3	5,651	15.7	49,646	79.1	7,617	15.3
28,444	64.4	2,878	10.1	29,871	49.2	4,138	13.9	32,564	41.3	7,265	22.3
26,454	42.3	3,201	12.1	28,259	28.2	5,742	20.3	28,999	21.0	7,531	26.0
58,441	90.0	10,199	17.5	61,101	85.5	11,601	19.0	61,023	79.9	12,857	21.1
27,974	88.4	2,608	9.3	36,398	81.5	5,621	15.4	29,069	79.5	5,978	20.6
26,609	87.7	4,102	15.4	27,391	80.9	5,154	18.8	29,023	73.6	6,565	22.6
23,308	89.3	4,014	17.2	24,154	85.2	4,520	18.7	27,103	75.6	5,949	21.9
24,152	88.0	3,307	13.7	24,936	83.9	4,005	16.1	24,895	74.6	4,817	19.3
18,967	89.6	2,578	13.6	18,544	82.4	3,261	17.6	19,064	72.6	3,620	19.0
27,706	85.9	5,363	19.4	28,967	82.0	6,322	21.8	39,740	75.0	8,219	20.7
25,849	89.6	2,783	10.8	26,024	83.9	3,717	14.3	26,829	80.5	4,477	16.7
16,021	80.2	2,438	15.2	21,907	68.9	4,906	22.4	26,669	53.7	8,586	32.2
11,532	86.3	1,415	12.3	15,781	78.2	2,970	18.8	16,668	77.3	3,226	19.4
228,537	37.0	56,326	24.6	240,055	23.6	81,554	34.0	245,226	21.9	93,673	38.2
188,082	67.4	38,067	20.2	196,086	50.7	51,687	26.4	195,506	42.1	60,841	31.1
108,056	71.2	20,075	18.6	117,083	61.0	34,670	29.6	121,784	51.3	45,628	37.5
88,680	77.0	15,782	17.8	97,687	55.8	32,351	33.1	99,825	39.8	40,348	40.4
37,825	62.6	6,506	17.2	39,260	51.5	9,435	24.0	39,636	45.9	9,155	23.1
31,997	73.0	11,230	35.1	35,461	57.4	15,864	44.7	35,274	48.0	17,377	49.3
30,548	93.1	5,069	16.6	31,637	87.7	8,476	26.8	32,286	76.6	9,100	28.2
9,728	91.5	1,523	15.7	9,523	76.9	2,016	21.2	9,661	61.0	3,192	33.0
45,218	52.2	7,721	17.1	53,883	25.0	18,721	34.7	56,302	15.8	23,874	42.4
26,028	48.1	3,645	14.0	31,950	31.8	7,325	22.9	36,638	19.4	13,093	35.7
25,787	84.8	2,708	10.5	29,159	76.6	5,097	17.5	32,994	62.3	8,109	24.6
30,625	93.8	2,721	8.9	30,989	88.9	3,511	11.3	31,778	79.6	3,865	12.2
25,058	88.4	2,686	10.7	26,959	81.8	4,240	15.7	27,278	75.6	4,388	16.1
22,353	82.7	2,372	10.6	24,919	65.9	5,764	23.1	26,994	51.9	7,985	29.6

Sources: U.S. Census Bureau, 1970–2000 decennial censuses; 2007–2011 American Community Survey-Summary File
Population Division-New York City Department of City Planning

Table 5-10
Top 5 Countries of Birth for the Foreign-born New York Metropolitan Region, 2007–2011

INNER COUNTIES

Lower Income

Newark, NJ		Paterson, NJ		Bridgeport, CT	
Total	**73,150**	**Total**	**42,745**	**Total**	**37,729**
Ecuador	11,670	Dominican Republic	12,816	Jamaica	5,690
Portugal	9,188	Peru	6,262	Mexico	3,748
Brazil	8,484	Mexico	3,499	Brazil	3,481
Dominican Republic	6,729	Jamaica	3,130	Haiti	2,808
Mexico	3,172	Colombia	2,863	Ecuador	1,758

Passaic, NJ		Union City, NJ		West New York, NJ	
Total	**32,089**	**Total**	**38,068**	**Total**	**29,316**
Mexico	12,266	Cuba	6,739	Cuba	5,991
Dominican Republic	6,855	Dominican Republic	5,899	Dominican Republic	3,846
Peru	1,973	Mexico	5,127	Mexico	3,371
India	1,744	Ecuador	4,651	El Salvador	3,117
Colombia	1,486	El Salvador	3,522	Ecuador	2,957

Middle Income

Jersey City, NJ		Yonkers, NY		Stamford, CT	
Total	**93,673**	**Total**	**60,841**	**Total**	**45,628**
India	19,149	Dominican Republic	9,248	Guatemala	7,514
Philippines	12,229	Mexico	8,172	Haiti	4,008
Dominican Republic	7,475	India	4,046	India	3,658
Ecuador	5,025	Jamaica	2,988	Ecuador	2,403
China	4,123	Italy	2,782	Jamaica	2,306

Edison, NJ		Fort Lee, NJ		New Hyde Park, NY	
Total	**40,348**	**Total**	**17,377**	**Total**	**3,192**
India	20,467	Korea	5,889	India	927
China	4,842	Japan	1,525	Italy	317
Philippines	1,955	China	1,242	Guyana	271
Pakistan	1,178	Russia	908	Korea	150
Korea	787	Dominican Republic	677	Pakistan	146

Upper Income

Greenwich, CT		Mamaroneck, NY		Livingston, NJ	
Total	**12,857**	**Total**	**5,978**	**Total**	**6,565**
United Kingdom	1,069	Mexico	564	China	1,622
Japan	844	Guatemala	518	India	784
Peru	803	France	515	Korea	579
India	757	Colombia	331	Philippines	331
Brazil	753	Peru	285	Ukraine	310

Harrison, NY		Ridgewood, NJ		Syosset, NY	
Total	**5,949**	**Total**	**4,817**	**Total**	**3,620**
Italy	965	Korea	867	China	985
Japan	758	India	589	Korea	581
Brazil	398	China	384	India	464
Uruguay	233	Japan	326	Italy	206
Argentina	203	Costa Rica	250	Greece	169

OUTER COUNTIES

Lower Income

New Haven, CT		Waterbury, CT		Trenton, NJ	
Total	**21,570**	**Total**	**15,850**	**Total**	**19,683**
Mexico	3,951	Albania	1,852	Guatemala	6,220
China	2,158	Dominican Republic	1,703	Mexico	2,006
Jamaica	1,537	Jamaica	1,440	Dominican Republic	1,331
Ecuador	1,308	Italy	957	Jamaica	1,249
Dominican Republic	940	Brazil	930	Liberia	1,141

Lakewood, NJ		Poughkeepsie, NY		Newburgh, NY	
Total	**7,617**	**Total**	**7,265**	**Total**	**7,531**
Mexico	3,760	Jamaica	2,289	Mexico	3,383
Israel	385	Mexico	1,903	Honduras	1,288
Poland	330	Dominican Republic	334	Peru	459
Costa Rica	323	Ecuador	262	Colombia	333
Canada	296	Italy	216	El Salvador	283

Middle Income

Brentwood, NY		Central Islip, NY		Lawrence, NJ	
Total	**23,874**	**Total**	**13,093**	**Total**	**8,109**
El Salvador	8,822	El Salvador	4,740	India	1,890
Dominican Republic	2,777	Guatemala	1,318	Poland	1,285
Ecuador	1,384	Haiti	938	Guatemala	769
Peru	1,383	Ecuador	764	China	736
Honduras	1,209	Honduras	691	Philippines	539

Naugatuck, CT		Ocean, NJ		East Windsor, NJ	
Total	**3,865**	**Total**	**4,388**	**Total**	**7,985**
Portugal	1,055	Haiti	726	India	2,071
India	357	India	379	Ecuador	1,835
Canada	206	Philippines	378	China	503
Vietnam	204	Mexico	361	Mexico	347
Ecuador	163	Pakistan	173	Guatemala	303

Upper Income

Marlboro, NJ		Dix Hills, NY		West Windsor, NJ	
Total	**8,219**	**Total**	**4,477**	**Total**	**8,586**
India	1,509	India	641	India	3,127
China	1,489	China	594	China	1,894
Korea	698	Korea	370	Korea	628
Russia	541	Italy	274	United Kingdom	278
Italy	418	Poland	247	Japan	222

Holmdel, NJ	
Total	**3,226**
China	1,079
India	268
Italy	186
Turkey	180
Ukraine	179

Sources: U.S. Census Bureau, 1970–2000 decennial censuses; 2007–2011 American Community Survey-Summary File
Population Division-New York City Department of City Planning

eign-born was 44 percent and 39 percent, respectively. Immigrants continued to settle in these cities in subsequent decades, and by 2000, both the overall population and the share of the foreign-born had reached a new peak. While the foreign-born share dipped slightly by 2011, immigrants still accounted for approximately six-in-ten residents in each city. White nonhispanics, who comprised a majority in West New York and Union City in 1970, saw their share dwindle to a new low of 13 percent and 11 percent, respectively; Hispanics accounted for roughly four-fifths of the population. West New York and Union City were quintessentially immigrant cities with very high population densities (Table 5-8). In West New York, nearly two-thirds of housing units were in small multi-unit structures, while this was true of a majority of units in Union City; around 80 percent of the housing stock in each city was comprised of rental units. These characteristics — that we have previously identified as being common to lower income areas — are most often found in urban environments and tend to be the initial destination of immigrants entering the region. Both West New York and Union City had poverty rates more than twice that of the inner counties as a whole, and the percentages of those with a bachelor's degree (25 percent and 12 percent, respectively) were much lower than the 40 percent average for the inner ring.

While Newark has had a long and storied immigrant history, it had not been a prime destination in the initial decades of the post-1965 immigration era despite having the defining physical characteristics of an immigrant city. Rental units in Newark—the largest urban place in the region outside of New York City—comprised the bulk (79 percent) of the housing stock, and 33 percent of housing units were in small multi-unit buildings. However, public housing comprises a disproportionate share of its housing stock, and until recently, Newark has not been able to attract large flows of immigrants to counteract native-born outflows. These outflows, which were initially overwhelmingly white, turned Newark from a majority-white city to one that was majority-black by 1970 (Table 5-9). But immigrants have played an increasing role in recent decades, with the share of the foreign-born increasing, from 11 percent in 1970 to 27 percent in 2011. While Newark's 2011 population of 277,500 is less than three-quarters of its1970 population of 382,400, it does represent a small increase since 2000.

In the outer counties, the cities of New Haven and Waterbury had many of the attributes that characterize lower income areas. This included a majority of the housing stock comprised of rentals, and a high proportion of housing units in small multi-unit structures. Each of these cities saw a population decline in the 1990s, but growth reemerged in the following decade in New Haven and Waterbury. In New Haven, this growth was spurred by a large increase in the foreign-born (especially Mexicans and Chinese) who increased their share of the population from 12 percent in 2000 to 17 percent in 2011. Waterbury also grew, primarily due to growth in its foreign-born population; whites remained a plurality in both cities.

In New Jersey, Trenton in the outer county of Mercer, was similar in many respects to Newark in the inner country of Essex. Trenton was a majority-white city in 1970, but saw white flight in the following decades and a precipitous decline in population. Starting in the 1990s, it began to see an influx of immigrants, with the foreign-born nearly doubling to 15 percent in 2000. By 2011, the immigrant share had increased to 23 percent and the entry of immigrants had helped stabilize the overall population of this majority-black city.

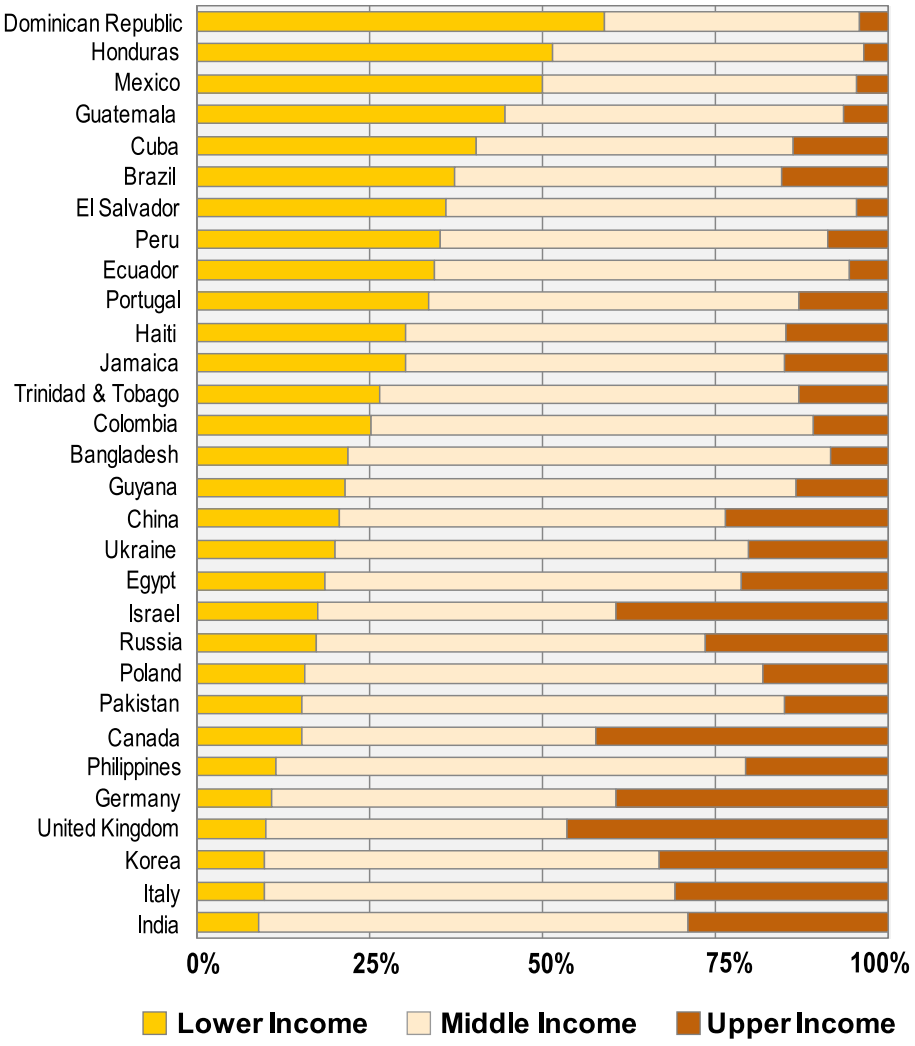
The 1.6 million immigrants in lower income areas of the region represented 28 percent of all immigrants, compared with 24 percent of the overall population that lived in lower income areas. Latin American immigrant groups were dispropor-

Table 5-11
Area of Origin and Country of Birth by Neighborhood Income*
New York Metropolitan Region, 2007–2011

	TOTAL REGION	PERCENT LIVING IN NEIGHBORHOODS THAT ARE:		
		Lower Income	Middle Income	Upper Income
TOTAL POPULATION	**22,101,595**	**23.7**	**50.4**	**25.9**
Foreign-born	5,811,480	27.8	54.6	17.7
Europe	1,033,501	14.5	56.4	29.1
Asia	1,584,984	14.8	60.0	25.2
Africa	221,908	37.7	47.7	14.6
Caribbean, nonhispanic	861,996	28.6	57.5	13.9
Latin America	2,042,534	43.6	49.3	7.1
All Others	66,557	14.1	42.0	43.8
Dominican Republic	523,521	59.1	36.8	4.2
China	454,827	20.6	55.9	23.5
Mexico	350,748	50.0	45.3	4.6
India	324,645	9.1	61.8	29.1
Jamaica	262,350	30.2	54.7	15.1
Ecuador	264,089	34.4	60.0	5.6
Haiti	171,471	30.3	55.0	14.8
Colombia	172,908	25.2	63.9	10.9
Guyana	167,313	21.5	65.1	13.4
Korea	159,967	9.8	57.0	33.2
Philippines	162,197	11.5	67.9	20.6
Poland	133,103	15.8	66.1	18.2
El Salvador	138,678	36.1	59.3	4.6
Italy	149,374	9.8	59.4	30.9
Trinidad and Tobago	116,275	26.6	60.5	12.9
Peru	112,512	35.3	56.0	8.7
Russia	105,832	17.4	56.0	26.5
Guatemala	95,104	44.6	48.9	6.5
Bangladesh	76,670	21.9	69.8	8.3
Ukraine	79,984	20.1	59.6	20.2
United Kingdom	81,743	10.0	43.6	46.4
Pakistan	73,238	15.3	69.7	15.0
Honduras	76,989	51.5	44.9	3.6
Cuba	74,670	40.4	45.9	13.7
Brazil	65,153	37.3	47.2	15.5
Portugal	55,889	33.6	53.6	12.8
Germany	62,722	10.9	49.7	39.4
Canada	53,361	15.2	42.7	42.2
Israel	43,771	17.5	43.1	39.5
Egypt	37,914	18.5	60.2	21.3

*For each subregion, census tracts with a median household income in 25th percentile or lower were labeled lower income, while those in the 75th percentile or higher were categorized as upper income. For New York City, this translated into a median household income under $35,800 for lower income neighborhoods, and above $69,500 for upper income neighborhoods. For the inner counties, these thresholds were $52,800 and $108,300, respectively; for the outer counties, they were $58,200 and $95,400, respectively.

Figure 5-11
Country of Birth by Neighborhood Income
New York Metropolitan Region, 2007–2011



Sources: U.S. Census Bureau, 2007–2011 American Community Survey-Summary File
Population Division-New York City Department of City Planning

tionately represented in lower income neighborhoods, which were home to nearly 60 percent of Dominicans, approximately one-half of Hondurans and Mexicans, over 4-in-10 Guatemalans and Cubans, and over one-third of Brazilians, El Salvadorans, Peruvians, and Ecuadorians. Overall, 44 percent of Latin Americans lived in these neighborhoods (Table 5-11 and Figure 5-11).

UPPER INCOME NEIGHBORHOODS—NEW PATTERNS OF IMMIGRANT SETTLEMENT

While lower income areas, especially in urban settings, have historically been the destination of choice for immigrants, a new pattern has been emerging that shows substantial immigrant settlement in wealthier areas. In the region as a whole, these upper income areas were home to over one million immigrants (Table 5-12).

In the inner counties, upper income areas had a median household income of $135,400, significantly higher than the $78,500 for the subregion as a whole, and were home to 340,800 immigrants. These immigrants include those who settled in these areas directly from their home countries, as well as those who moved in from other parts of the region or from elsewhere in the country. Upper income areas in the inner counties not only had superior socioeconomic characteristics compared with the subregion, but had a more advantageous housing profile. They had a more recently built housing stock, compared with the inner counties as a whole, a smaller proportion of multi-unit buildings and rental units, and a lower population density. These areas were also disproportionately white (80 percent versus 56 percent in the inner counties as a whole), and well educated (63 percent had a college degree versus 40 percent in the inner counties).

In upper income places such as Greenwich, Mamaroneck, Livingston, Harrison, Ridgewood, and Syosset, immigrants comprised roughly one-fifth of the population, compared with 26 percent in the inner counties overall. These places are indicative of how wealthier immigrants have established themselves in "nontraditional" areas. But these areas are home to not only wealthy immigrants, but sometimes to poorer immigrants who often work in service occupations in these wealthy neighborhoods. In Greenwich, immigrant household income stood at $113,500, with the largest groups coming from the United Kingdom, Japan, Peru, India, and Brazil (Table 5-10). In Ridgewood, household income stood at $154,300 (data were unavailable for just the foreign-born) and the largest immigrant groups were Koreans, Indians, and Chinese. In Livingston and Syosset, each with household income in excess of $132,000, the Chinese were the largest group, followed by Koreans and Indians. The Asian presence in these upper income places reflects the large Asian presence in upper income areas across the inner counties.

In the outer counties, upper income areas had a more recently built housing stock, a smaller proportion of multi-unit buildings and rental units, but a slightly *higher* population density, compared with the subregion (Table 5-12). Upper income areas, which were home to 148,300 immigrants, had a household income ($108,400) nearly 50 percent higher than subgregion ($74,200) as a whole, and poverty (3 percent) less than one-half the rate of the subregion. Upper income places in the outer counties included Marlboro, West Windsor, Dix Hills, and Holmdel, each with a foreign-born component that substantially exceeded the 12 percent share of immigrants in the outer counties. Dix Hills, with a median household income of $150,500—over twice that of the outer counties as a whole—was 16 percent foreign-born; Indians, Chinese, and Koreans accounted for one-third of the immigrant total. When compared with other upper income areas, West Windsor stood out in that it was nearly one-third foreign-born and had unique housing characteristics. Nearly one-quarter of its housing stock was in small multi-unit structures and a similar percentage of units were rentals. Whites comprised just over one-half the population, with Asians accounting for over one-third, and the median household income was $153,800.

The over one million immigrants who lived in upper income neighborhoods across the region comprised 18 percent of the overall foreign-born population (Table 5-11). Upper income areas, however, were home to 26 percent of the overall population, and only European (29 percent) and Asian immigrants (25 percent) had a similar share living in these areas. Immigrants from the United Kingdom (46 percent) had the largest percentage living in upper income areas, followed by Canadian, Israeli, and German immigrants (approximately 40 percent each). Among Asians, Koreans (33 percent) and Indians (29 percent) had the highest shares living in upper income areas. While under one-quarter of foreign-born Chinese lived in upper income neighborhoods, this

Table 5-12
Characteristics of Selected Upper Income Areas*
New York Metropolitan Region and Subregions, 2007–2011

	POPULATION				TOTAL UNITS		
	Total	Foreign-born	% foreign-born	Persons per Square Mile**	Total	% in Multi-unit Structures**	% built prior to 1950
NEW YORK METROPOLITAN REGION	22,101,595	5,811,480	26.3	1,758	8,844,982	34.3	38.3
Upper Income	5,723,018	1,025,736	17.9	1,368	2,291,811	30.3	33.2
New York City	8,128,980	2,989,825	36.8	26,860	3,356,992	59.9	53.1
Upper Income	2,050,204	536,605	26.2	22,269	987,924	60.3	48.7
Inner Counties	8,454,358	2,160,859	25.6	2,580	3,213,791	22.8	33.7
Upper Income	2,180,761	340,836	15.6	1,192	769,648	9.1	26.0
Greenwich, Fairfield, CT	61,023	12,857	21.1	1,276	24,417	13.1	37.8
Mamaroneck, Westchester, NY	29,069	5,978	20.6	4,369	11,574	33.5	55.2
Livingston, Essex, NJ	29,023	6,565	22.6	2,108	9,898	5.9	17.6
Harrison, Westchester, NY	27,103	5,949	21.9	1,617	9,020	12.1	33.9
Ridgewood, Bergen, NJ	24,895	4,817	19.3	4,328	8,694	8.4	54.6
Syosset, Nassau, NY	19,064	3,620	19.0	3,833	6,302	1.3	12.0
Outer Counties	5,518,257	660,804	12.0	614	2,274,199	12.6	23.0
Upper Income	1,492,053	148,295	9.9	665	534,239	5.4	15.2
Marlboro, Monmouth, NJ	39,740	8,219	20.7	1,309	12,826	4.4	2.8
West Windsor, Mercer, NJ	26,669	8,586	32.2	1,043	9,503	23.2	3.9
Dix Hills, Suffolk, NY	26,829	4,477	16.7	1,682	8,406	2.4	5.2
Holmdel, Monmouth, NJ	16,668	3,226	19.4	931	5,773	5.1	5.1

*Census tracts with a median household income in the 75th percentile or higher are labeled upper income.

**The total persons per square mile is based on 2007-2011 American Community Survey population estimates, which differs from the one year estimate seen earlier in the chapter.

***Structures containing five or more housing units

represented 106,700 Chinese in numerical terms, the largest immigrant presence in these neighborhoods.

MIDDLE INCOME NEIGHBORHOODS—HOME TO A MAJORITY OF IMMIGRANTS

While the focus of this section has been on lower and upper income areas, so as to distinguish old patterns of immigrant settlement from emerging trends, it is important to remember that 55 percent of immigrants—3.2 million out of 5.8 million (Table 5-13)—live in middle income areas. Since middle income is broadly defined—census tracts with household incomes between the 25th and 75th percentiles—the socio-demographic characteristics of middle income areas broadly reflect those of the subregion in which they are located. We highlight a few unique middle income places in each subregion.

Edison, which was 40 percent foreign-born, had a household income of $88,700, but immigrant household income was substantially higher, at $105,200. Asian Indians comprised one-half the foreign-born population, and Asians—irrespective of nativity—account for a plurality of Edison's overall population. Edison is an example of Asian immigrants advancing economically to a point where they can afford a suburban enclave, and

OCCUPIED UNITS		RACE/HISPANIC ORIGIN (%)				ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS			
		NONHISPANICS				MEDIAN HOUSEHOLD INCOME		%	% Bachelor's
Total	% Rentals	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic	Total	Foreign-born	Below Poverty	Degree or Higher
8,038,714	44.9	52.4	15.4	9.0	21.3	$66,449	–	12.6	35.9
2,106,766	27.6	75.0	6.3	9.2	7.7	$110,750	–	4.5	56.5
3,049,978	67.4	33.5	23.1	12.6	28.4	$51,090	–	19.4	33.7
874,045	50.8	62.5	12.4	11.5	11.2	$91,964	–	7.4	56.9
2,988,022	35.4	55.9	13.0	9.0	20.2	$78,453	–	8.9	40.1
732,807	11.9	80.4	2.7	9.7	5.6	$135,429	–	2.7	62.6
22,249	27.8	79.9	2.1	7.1	9.0	$127,201	$113,454	3.7	63.7
10,796	29.8	79.5	2.0	3.9	13.4	$111,159	–	4.8	64.8
9,667	7.4	73.6	1.3	20.1	4.0	$133,304	–	1.7	69.6
8,679	33.6	75.6	1.4	7.6	14.0	$109,005	–	5.3	50.0
8,330	19.2	74.6	1.8	13.7	7.4	$154,348	–	3.6	74.6
6,127	4.9	72.6	0.2	19.5	5.9	$132,435	–	2.8	63.4
2,000,714	24.9	74.7	7.7	3.5	12.4	$74,246	–	8.3	32.6
499,914	10.3	84.4	3.1	5.2	6.0	$111,922	–	3.2	46.9
12,567	4.3	75.0	2.1	17.2	4.8	$134,269	$152,422	1.4	56.1
9,107	23.9	53.7	3.0	34.7	5.2	$153,797	$156,227	5.0	76.7
8,213	6.2	80.5	3.5	10.4	4.9	$150,501	–	1.4	59.3
5,336	8.3	77.3	0.5	17.5	3.1	$129,444	–	3.8	57.4

Note: Incorporated cities or township with a population of at least 16,000 people and a percent foreign-born near the subregional average were selected to be included in the above list of places.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2007–2011 American Community Survey-Summary File
Population Division-New York City Department of City Planning

how Asian immigrants and their children have now come to define a relatively affluent city. Fort Lee, where immigrants comprised nearly one-half of the population, also had a strong Asian presence, particularly of Koreans. Asians—irrespective of nativity—comprised over one-third of the population, and whites were just under one-half. Another city that had a very diverse racial/ethnic mix was Jersey City, where the major groups were roughly similar in size. Hispanics, the largest group, comprised just 28 percent of the population, and whites, Asians, and blacks each comprised between 22 percent and 24 percent. Jersey City was 38 percent foreign-born, and immigrant household income ($62,200) exceeded that of all residents ($57,500). The above cities have a large immigrant presence and the lack of a majority racial group lends them a racial composition that is similar to New York City.

In New York State, New Hyde Park in Nassau and Yonkers in Westchester are emblematic of how immigrant groups in New York City have spilled over into adjacent counties. The Irish presence in the Woodlawn section of the Bronx has now established itself across the border in Yonkers. Similarly, the Asian Indian presence in Floral Park in Queens now extends into New Hyde Park.

Table 5-13
Characteristics of Selected Middle Income Areas*
New York Metropolitan Region and Subregions, 2007–2011

	POPULATION				TOTAL UNITS		
	Total	Foreign-born	% foreign-born	Persons per Square Mile**	Total	% in Multi-unit Structures**	% built prior to 1950
NEW YORK METROPOLITAN REGION	22,101,595	5,811,488	26.3	1,758	8,844,982	34.3	38.3
Middle Income	11,140,066	3,171,430	28.5	1,799	4,459,681	29.3	37.6
New York City	8,128,980	2,989,825	36.8	26,860	3,356,992	59.9	53.1
Middle Income	3,898,526	1,676,193	43.0	33,713	1,549,131	50.8	55.7
Inner Counties	8,454,358	2,160,859	25.6	2,580	3,213,791	22.8	33.7
Middle Income	4,461,292	1,171,977	26.3	3,447	1,736,883	22.5	32.8
Jersey City, Hudson, NJ	245,226	93,673	38.2	16,576	108,750	46.4	50.2
Yonkers, Westchester, NY	195,506	60,841	31.1	39,309	79,914	48.2	45.6
Stamford, Fairfield, CT	121,784	45,628	37.5	3,236	48,660	35.9	23.1
Edison, Middlesex, NJ	99,825	40,348	40.4	3,334	34,700	29.0	10.9
Fort Lee, Bergen, NJ	35,274	17,377	49.3	13,883	18,031	67.3	14.4
New Hyde Park, Nassau, NY	9,661	3,192	33.0	11,239	3,683	4.0	49.2
Outer Counties	5,518,257	660,804	12.0	614	2,274,199	12.6	23.0
Middle Income	2,780,248	323,260	11.6	581	1,173,667	10.8	20.6
Brentwood, Suffolk, NY	56,302	23,874	42.4	5,127	14,580	4.5	11.8
Central Islip, Suffolk, NY	36,638	13,093	35.7	5,152	10,352	16.3	10.4
Lawrence, Mercer, NJ	32,994	8,109	24.6	1,513	12,766	27.0	13.2
Naugatuck, New Haven CT	31,778	3,865	12.2	1,949	13,212	13.5	31.5
Ocean, Monmouth, NJ	27,278	4,388	16.1	2,508	11,602	23.4	17.6
East Windsor, Mercer, NJ	26,994	7,985	29.6	1,725	10,529	34.2	4.3

*Census tracts with a median household income between the 25th and 75th percentiles are labeled middle income.

**The total persons per square mile is based on 2007–2011 American Community Survey population estimates, which differs from the one year estimate seen earlier in the chapter.

***Structures containing five or more housing units

In the outer counties, immigrants comprised the largest share in Brentwood (44 percent). But unlike immigrant cities in the inner counties, Brentwood came into its own after World War II—only 12 percent of its housing stock was built before 1950. It was an atypical immigrant area on other dimensions as well in that only five percent of its housing units were in small multi-unit structures, well below average for the outer ring. The biggest spurt in the foreign-born population took place between 1990 and 2000, resulting in the share of immigrants doubling to 35 percent, further increasing to 44 percent by 2011. While the population reached a peak of 56,200 in 2011, whites comprised just 14 percent of the total.

There were groups that had a disproportionately large presence in middle income neighborhoods—and a small presence in both lower income and upper income neighborhoods (Table 5-11). This was especially true of immigrants from Poland, the Philippines, and Egypt, with over 6-in-10 immigrants from these countries living in middle income neighborhoods, compared with one-half of the overall population.

While the focus in this chapter has been the inner and outer counties, neighborhoods in New York City also run the gamut from lower income to upper income. As in the rest of the region, lower income areas

OCCUPIED UNITS		RACE/HISPANIC ORIGIN (%)				ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS			
		NONHISPANICS				MEDIAN HOUSEHOLD INCOME			
Total	% Rentals	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic	Total	Foreign-born	% Below Poverty	% Bachelor's Degree or Higher
8,038,714	44.9	52.4	15.4	9.0	21.3	$66,449	–	12.6	35.9
4,071,860	41.5	53.2	14.1	10.6	20.0	$67,399	–	10.0	33.2
3,049,978	67.4	33.5	23.1	12.6	28.4	$51,090	–	19.4	33.7
1,422,558	65.9	29.9	24.0	15.9	27.5	$49,988	–	16.8	29.2
2,988,022	35.4	55.9	13.0	9.0	20.2	$78,453	–	8.9	40.1
1,631,159	32.7	58.6	10.5	10.8	18.2	$79,292	–	6.5	38.3
94,599	68.2	21.9	24.2	22.9	28.0	$57,520	$62,171	16.4	40.6
74,242	53.1	42.1	16.4	6.3	33.5	$56,816	$52,781	2.8	29.2
45,478	43.6	51.3	14.4	8.0	24.4	$78,201	$64,192	11.0	43.9
33,355	35.8	39.8	7.1	42.0	8.4	$88,706	$105,206	6.7	50.4
16,404	39.2	48.0	1.3	36.5	12.2	$69,911	$66,076	8.8	53.9
3,347	18.9	61.0	1.3	23.3	11.4	$86,875	–	2.7	32.6
2,000,714	24.9	74.7	7.7	3.5	12.4	$74,246	–	8.3	32.6
1,018,143	21.6	77.2	5.8	2.9	12.4	$76,234	–	6.2	30.4
13,874	24.9	15.8	14.7	2.6	65.1	$70,816	$68,435	8.7	13.6
9,833	28.4	19.4	21.9	3.7	52.8	$70,310	$73,320	10.1	16.5
11,948	28.5	62.3	11.6	15.1	8.0	$86,715	$97,774	5.8	52.2
12,386	30.8	79.6	4.0	4.3	9.7	$63,414	–	8.5	23.2
10,786	33.0	75.6	8.6	6.7	7.6	$80,000	–	5.6	44.6
10,053	30.5	51.9	8.9	16.8	20.3	$85,859	$81,375	6.6	44.2

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2007-2011 American Community Survey-Summary File
Population Division-New York City Department of City Planning

in the city had the highest share of housing in multi-unit structures (75 percent) in heavily immigrant neighborhoods such as Washington Heights and Chinatown in Manhattan. But lower income areas also include neighborhoods such as Mott Haven-Port Morris, Melrose, Brownsville, Ocean Hill, and East New York that have high-rise public housing, home to primarily a poor, native-born population. In contrast with lower income neighborhoods, just 56 percent of housing in middle-income neighborhoods was in multi-unit structures. But the city's housing stock and socio-demographic make-up result in neighborhood characteristics that are often distinct from those in the region (Tables 5-8, 5-12, and 5-13). For example, lower income neighborhoods had a percentage foreign-born (36 percent) that was slightly *lower* than the city average of 37 percent, while middle income neighborhoods had the highest percentage of residents who were foreign-born (43 percent) and had the highest population density (33,700 persons per square mile). These middle income areas included Corona, Elmhurst, and Jackson Heights, among the most densely populated—and disproportionately foreign-born—neighborhoods in the city. Upper income neighborhoods included a swath of low density neighborhoods in eastern

Queens, southern Brooklyn, and the southern section of Staten Island. But they also included many neighborhoods in Manhattan, including the Upper East and Upper West side. As a result, upper income neighborhoods had relatively high densities, averaging 22,300 persons per square mile, with over one-quarter of residents born abroad. Thus, dense immigrant concentrations in New York City were a feature of not only poor neighborhoods, but of many wealthy ones as well.

SUMMARY

The 1965 Immigration and Nationality Amendments had a two-fold impact on the New York metropolitan region: it increased overall immigration and led to a surge in flows from non-European sources. The initial impact was felt primarily in New York City, which saw the entry of large numbers of immigrants from the Caribbean, Asia, and Latin America. Over time, however, many of these immigrants migrated out of New York City, making their home in the suburbs. Their numbers were supplemented by newly arrived immigrants bypassing the five boroughs and settling in immigrant enclaves across the region. By 2011, while New York City was still home to a majority of the region's foreign-born, the inner counties accounted for 38 percent, while the outer counties settled over 11 percent.

With many parts of the region showing a decline in their native-born populations, immigrants have helped shore up the population of many counties in the region. Foreign-for-native replacement, which first took place in New York City, has been replicated in many of the inner counties. The flow of immigrants has also altered the racial/Hispanic composition of the region, as the primarily non-European flow of immigrants has succeeded departing white nonhispanics. Again, New York City's experience of white nonhispanics comprising only a plurality has been mirrored in the inner counties of Union, Passaic, and Middlesex; in Hudson and Essex, whites were in the minority, but were too small to comprise a plurality. Increasingly, post-1965 immigrants have made their presence felt in the outer counties, leading to declines in the share of the native-born and white nonhispanics; however, these groups still comprise the overwhelming majority in the outer ring. With Mercer at just 54 percent white in 2011, it is soon likely to be the first outer county where whites will comprise a plurality.

As in New York City, immigrants in the inner and outer counties tend to cluster in places with an abundance of older housing, much of it in small multi-unit buildings, which produce high population densities. Since newly arrived immigrants often settle in existing enclaves, these areas also tend to be disproportionately immigrant, heavily minority, and with incomes that are lower than the subregion average. While the foreign-born have disproportionately made their home in older cities that have traditionally housed newly arrived immigrants, they also have a notable presence in wealthier urban places in the region. These places reflect the overall racial make-up of the inner or outer counties, and often have a higher socioeconomic profile than the subregion in which they are located.

ENDNOTES

1 Unlike previous censuses, separate counts were available for Asians and Pacific Islanders in 2000 and 2011. In this analysis, Asians and Pacific Islanders were combined in both periods to obtain a count that was comparable with previous decades.

2 Given the differences in the percentage foreign-born between subregions, areas with high foreign-born concentrations were defined separately for census tracts in New York City, the inner ring of counties, and the outer ring. Since urban places are not necessarily coterminous with census tract boundaries, the urban places selected have their centroid in a census tract with a high concentration of the foreign-born.

3 For each subregion, census tracts with a median household income in 25th percentile or lower were labeled lower income, while those in the 75th percentile or higher were categorized as upper income. For New York City, this translated into a median household income under $35,800 for lower income neighborhoods, and above $69,500 for upper income neighborhoods. For the inner counties, these thresholds were $52,800 and $108,300, respectively; for the outer counties, they were $58,200 and $95,400, respectively.