

New Americans on Long Island – A Vital Fifth of the Economy

by David Dyssegaard Kallick

According to a study conducted by the Job Accommodation Network (JAN), a service of the U.S. Department of Labor's Office of Disability Employment Policy (ODEP), workplace accommodations not only are low cost, but also positively impact the workplace in many ways. JAN, in partnership with the University of Iowa's Law, Health Policy, and Disability Center (LHPDC), interviewed 1,182 employers between January 2004 and December 2006. In addition, JAN, in partnership with the West Virginia University School of Social Work (formerly School of Applied Social Sciences), interviewed 945 employers between June 28, 2008, and July 31, 2014. Employers in the JAN study represented a range of industry sectors and sizes and contacted JAN for information about workplace accommodations, the ADA, or both. Approximately eight weeks after their initial contact, the employers were asked a series of questions about the situation they discussed with JAN and the quality of the services JAN provided. The employers in the study reported that a high percentage (57%) of accommodations cost absolutely nothing to make, while the rest typically cost only \$500.

DIRECT BENEFITS	
Retained a valued employee	90%
Increased the employee's productivity	71%
Eliminated costs associated with training a new employee	60%
Increased the employee's attendance	54%
Increased diversity of the company	41%
Saved workers' compensation or other insurance costs	38%
Hired a qualified person with a disability	13%
Promoted an employee	9%
INDIRECT BENEFITS	
Improved interactions with co-workers	64%
Increased overall company morale	59%
Increased overall company productivity	56%
Improved interactions with customers	44%
Increased workplace safety	44%
Increased overall company attendance	41%
Increased profitability	29%
Increased customer base	17%

Source: Job Accommodation Network (Original 2005, Updated 2007, Updated 2009, Updated 2010, Updated 2011, Updated 2012, Updated 2013, Updated 2014). Workplace accommodations: Low cost, high impact. Retrieved 4-14-2015, from <http://AskJAN.org/media/lowcosthighimpact.html>

After several decades in the mid-20th century with little immigration, Long Island, like the country as a whole, has seen a significant increase in the immigrant share of the population in the past few decades. This has led to natural questions about the role of immigrants in the local economy, as well as to misunderstanding about who immigrants on Long Island are and the economic roles they play.

In 2011, the Fiscal Policy Institute published the first version of this report as a response to these questions. The title was *New Americans on Long Island: A Vital Sixth of the Economy*. The title of this new report remains the same, but the subtitle must be updated to reflect the latest data: immigrants now make up a vital fifth of the Long Island economy.

In general, we see that immigrants are playing a slightly bigger role across the board than we saw in the previous study. The immigrant population, and in particular the immigrant share of the working-age population, is somewhat larger, and the economic contribution is correspondingly larger.

Immigrants on Long Island are a comparatively affluent group, like Long Island residents in general. Nassau and Suffolk Counties are among the most affluent suburban counties in the United States—Nassau ranks 11th and Suffolk 34th among all U.S. counties, with overall median family incomes of \$112,000 in Nassau and \$98,000 in Suffolk—both far above the national median of \$64,000.

Immigrants on Long Island have at the same time a lower income than other Long Islanders and a far higher income than most Americans. The median income for families with at least one immigrant adult on Long Island was \$97,000 in 2013. That is below the median for Long Island families in which all family members were born in the United States (\$119,000). Yet the immigrant family income on Long Island is fully 50 percent higher than the overall family income for the United States.

Immigrants make an economic contribution to Long Island that is closely proportionate to their share of the population. Immigrants work in a wide range of jobs, pay a substantial amount in taxes, and are slightly more likely than U.S.-born Long Islanders to be small business owners. On the other hand, not everything about immigration is positive: immigrants earn lower wages than similarly educated U.S.-born workers; there are considerable differences in outcomes for both U.S.- and foreign-born workers by race and ethnicity; and there is no doubt that undocumented immigrants are working primarily in low-wage jobs.

Figure 1. Immigrant share of economic output matches share of population

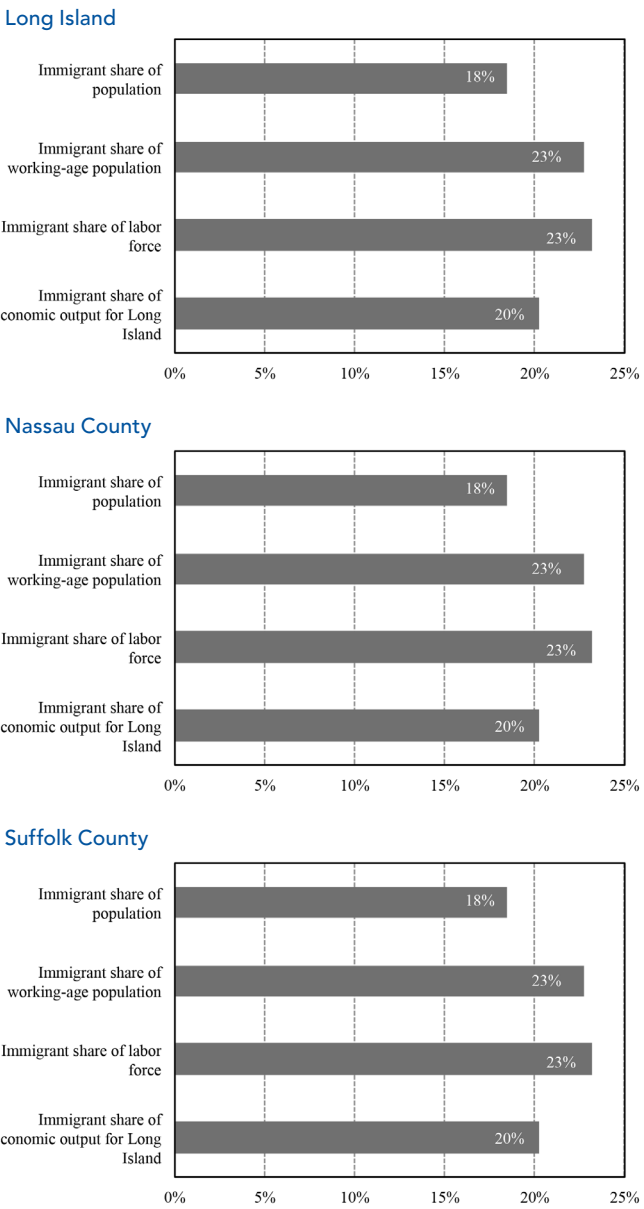
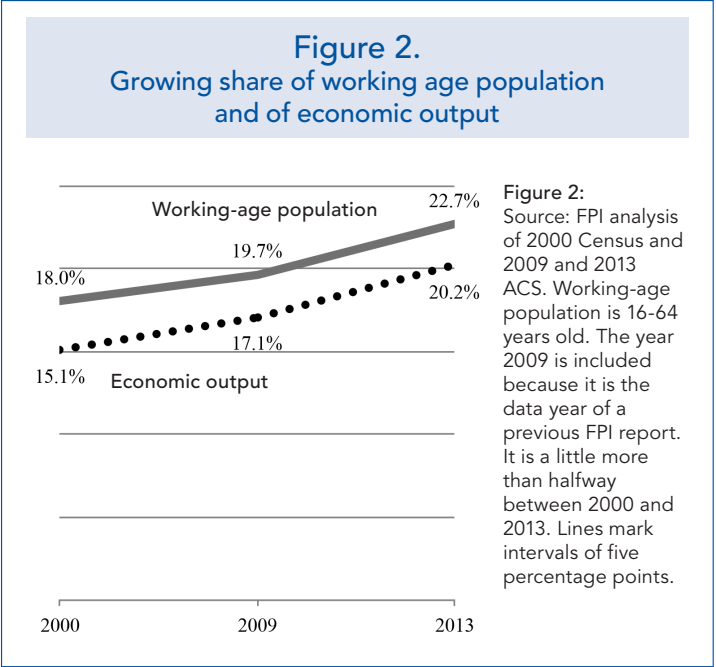


Figure 1: Source: FPI analysis of 2013 ACS. For detailed source notes, see appendix.



New Americans on Long Island: A Vital Fifth of the Economy attempts to put these issues into perspective. It is our hope the report’s findings can help inform policy debates and lead to approaches that maximize the positive role of immigrants while minimizing negative repercussions for U.S.-born residents. Federal immigration reform discussions should be considered in light of an understanding of both the positive role immigrants are playing and the areas where there are legitimate concerns about negative impacts. State and local policy debates about such issues as labor law enforcement or investment in English language programs might benefit, too, from a closer understanding of the economic role of immigrants.

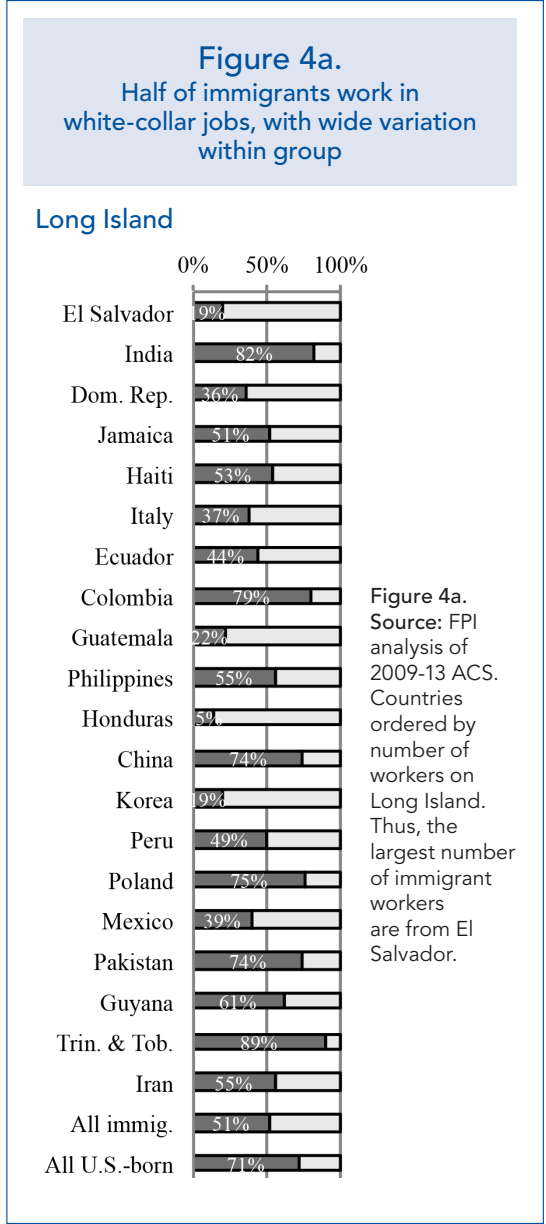
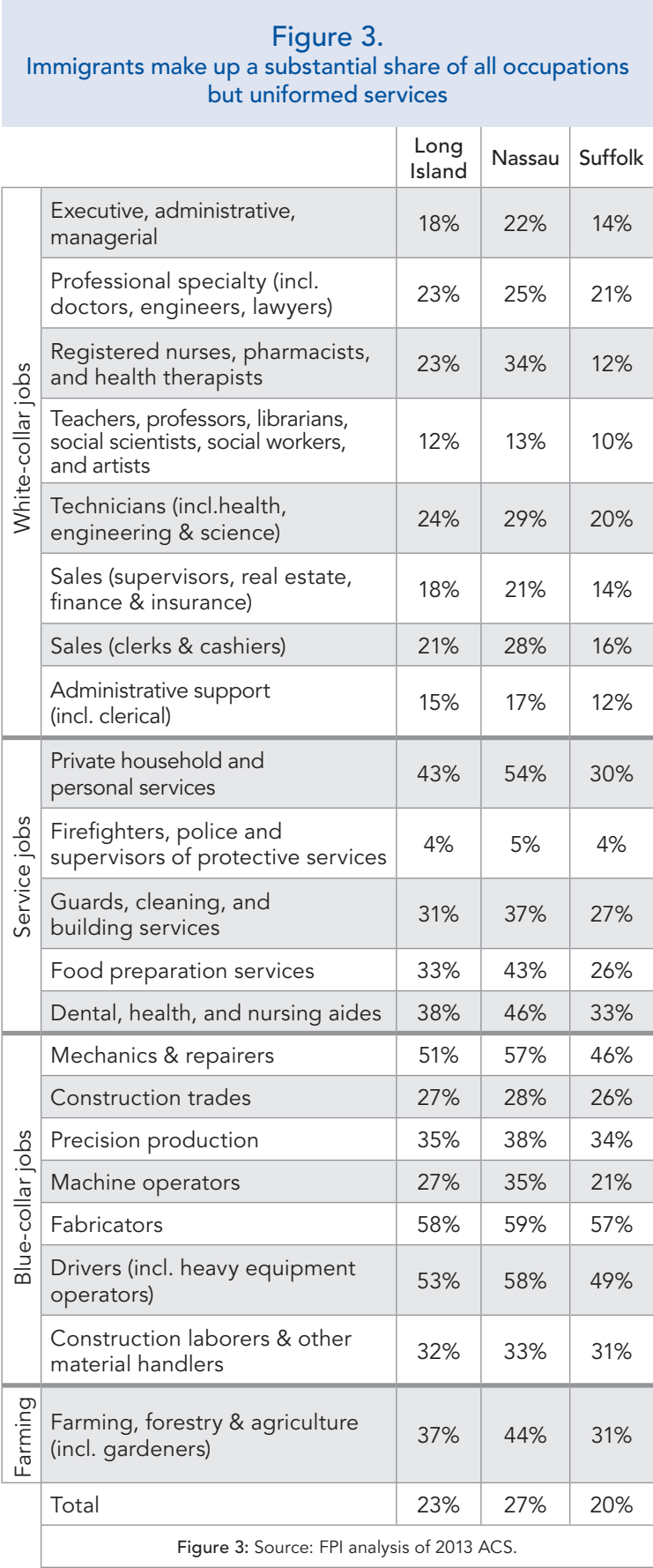
Immigrant Contributions Immigrants Are Pulling Their Weight in the Economy

Immigrants – authorized and unauthorized immigrants combined – make up 18 percent of the population of Long Island, and account for 20 percent of total economic output.

The 291,000 immigrants living in Nassau County and 235,000 living in Suffolk County combine to a total of 526,000 immigrants living on Long Island altogether.

It may come as a surprise that immigrant contribution to the Long Island economy is in close alignment with, and even slightly greater than, the immigrant share of population. This proportionate economic contribution is similar to what the Fiscal Policy Institute has seen in national studies—in *Immigrants and the Economy*, for example, FPI found that immigrant share of population closely parallels immigrant share of economic output in the country’s 25 largest metropolitan areas.

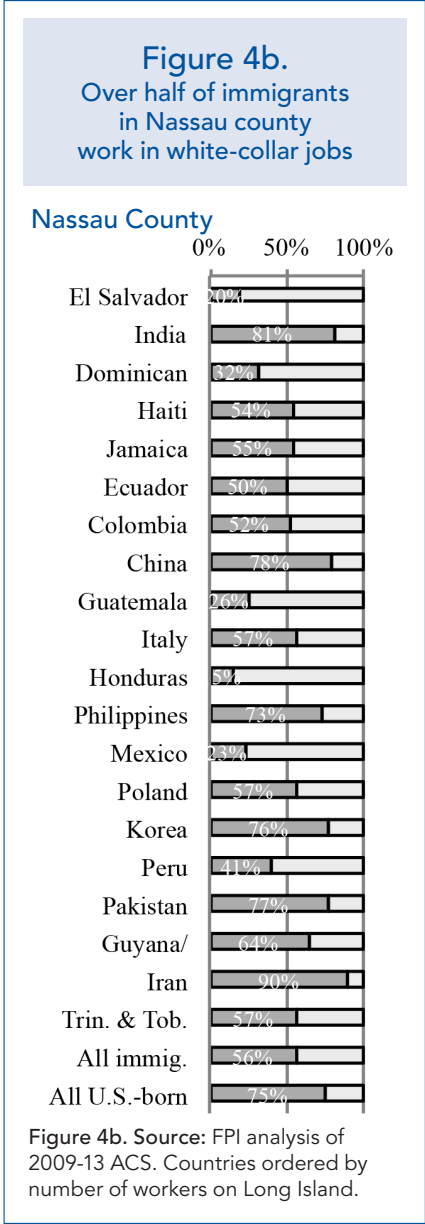
The main factor driving this greater share of economic output is that immigrants are considerably more likely to be of prime working age than their U.S.-born counterparts. This is true throughout the



United States as a whole, and it is particularly true on Long Island. Immigrants make up 18 percent of the Long Island population, 23 percent of the working-age population, 23 percent of the labor force, and 20 percent of economic output.

If immigrants were all working in very low-paid, low-skilled jobs, even this higher share of the labor force would not be enough to result in such a strong economic performance.

But, as will be seen in detail below, immigrants are far more widely spread across the economic spectrum than is generally recognized. Immigrants do, on average, work in somewhat lower-skilled jobs than their U.S.-born counterparts, and are paid less for their work even at the same educational level, but the difference is not nearly as great as is sometimes imagined.



Also important to consider is the role of immigrants as entrepreneurs. Immigrants make up a somewhat larger share of entrepreneurs than their U.S.-born counterparts. And, although immigrant businesses have on average lower earnings than businesses owned by U.S.-born Long Islanders, this is balanced by the fact that the share of small business owners is higher than the immigrant share of population (and closer to the immigrant share of the labor force).

Similar trends hold true for Nassau and Suffolk counties. In Nassau, immigrants make up 22 percent of the population, 26 percent of those in prime working age, and 23 percent of total economic output. In Suffolk County, immigrant share of the population is 16 percent, share of prime working age is 19 percent, and share of economic output is 17 percent.

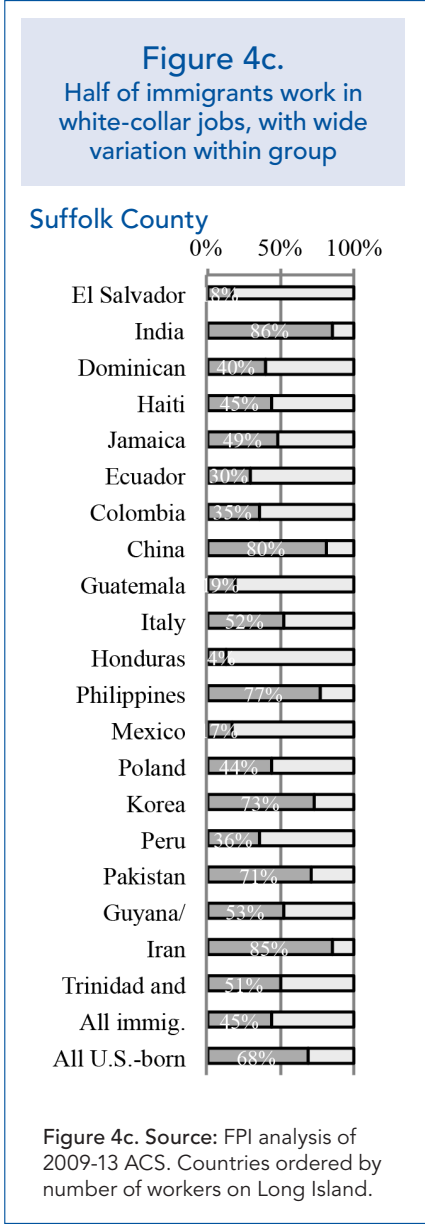




Figure 5.
Where Do Unauthorized Immigrants Work?
Food Services, Construction, Retail, Child Care, and More

Unauthorized Workers: Employment by Industry	Long Island		Nassau		Suffolk	
Arts, entertainment, recreation, accommodation, and food services	9,000	17%	4,000	16%	5,000	17%
Construction	9,000	17%	4,000	15%	5,000	17%
Retail trade	7,000	13%	3,000	13%	4,000	15%
Educational, health, and social services	7,000	13%	3,000	13%	4,000	13%
"Other services"	6,000	11%	3,000	12%	3,000	11%
All other	15,000	28%	6,000	26%	9,000	30%
Civilian employed population ages 16 and older	53,000	100%	23,000	100%	30,000	100%
Figures 5. Source: FPI tabulation of Migration Policy Institute analysis of data from the ACS 2012 5-year data and the 2008 Survey of Income and Program Participation, by James Bachmeier of Temple University and Jennifer Van Hook of The Pennsylvania State University, Population Research Institute. Note: "Other services" is the name of an industry category in the American Community Survey; it includes an assortment of jobs ranging from auto repair and car washes to barber shops, nail salons, laundry services, and work in private households.						

As Long Island’s immigrant population has grown, so too has immigrants' contribution to the economy. In particular, the immigrant share of the working-age population (those 16 to 64 years old) runs in close parallel to the immigrant share of economic output.

Immigrants Work in a Wide Range of Jobs

Immigrants who live on Long Island are working in a far wider range of jobs than is commonly recognized. Immigrants make up at least 10 percent of all occupations except uniformed services. Immigrants make up 23 percent of all jobholders living on Long Island (the “total” line in Figure 3), and they make up 18 percent of generally highly paid executive, administrative and managerial workers. Immigrants are slightly overrepresented among technicians, and are strongly represented among doctors, engineers, and other professional specialties (23 percent), and among registered nurses, pharmacists, and health therapists (23 percent).

Immigrants are significantly over-represented in some blue-collar and service jobs. Immigrants make up 58 percent of fabricators, 51 percent of mechanics and repairers, 43 percent of private households and personal services workers, 37 percent of gardening and farm workers, 33 percent of food preparation services workers, and 32 percent of construction laborers and other material handlers (jobs that require less skill and are less well paid than construction trades jobs). Immigrants are substantially under-represented in just one service category: the uniformed services, where just four percent of firefighters, police, and supervisors of protective services workers are foreign-born.

In looking at the economic role of immigrants, it is very important to recognize how diverse the range of immigrants on Long Island is. Immigrants from different countries, for example, have widely varying experiences in the Long Island labor market—in part because of ethnic niches established in particular jobs, in part because of varying levels of educational attainment, and no doubt also in part because some groups contain larger numbers of undocumented immigrants.

Overall, the majority of immigrants on Long Island work in white-collar jobs. The balance—a little less than half—work in blue-collar jobs, generally low-wage service jobs or farming, fishing, and forestry jobs.

Yet, while slightly more than half (51 percent) of immigrants

on Long Island work in white-collar jobs, the same is true for just five percent of immigrants from Honduras, 19 percent of immigrants from El Salvador (the group with the most immigrants on Long Island), and 36 percent of immigrants from the Dominican Republic, for example. More than half of immigrants from Haiti (53 percent) and Jamaica (51 percent) work in white-collar jobs, as do more than three quarters of those from Colombia (79 percent), India (82 percent), and Trinidad and Tobago (89 percent). As a point of comparison, about three quarters (71 percent) of U.S.-born workers on Long Island hold white-collar jobs, and just a little more than a quarter (29 percent) hold blue-collar, service or farming fishing and forestry jobs.

A similar pattern holds true for Nassau and Suffolk Counties. In Nassau, just over half (56 percent) of immigrants hold white-collar jobs, as do just under half (45 percent) of immigrants living in Suffolk. In both cases, as on Long Island overall, these averages are a compilation of a diverse group of immigrants with widely varying experiences.

It is more difficult to get an accurate read on where undocumented immigrants are working, since they are of course not identified in Census Bureau data. In the previous edition of this report we showed data from The Pew Hispanic Center for three downstate counties combined—Westchester, Nassau, and Suffolk. Since that time the Migration Policy Institute has published county-level data that allows us to profile unauthorized immigrants in Nassau and Suffolk, as well as to combine the two in an estimate for Long Island.



Figure 6.
The large majority of immigrants live in families with incomes over \$80,000/year

LONG ISLAND Share of individuals in families with incomes	Foreign born	U.S.-born	Percentage point or percent difference
Under \$20,000	5%	4%	1%
\$20,000 to \$39,999	11%	6%	5%
\$40,000 to \$59,999	12%	8%	4%
\$60,000 to \$79,999	12%	10%	2%
\$80,000 to \$199,999	47%	52%	-5%
\$200,000 plus	14%	20%	-6%
Median family income	\$96,800	\$118,700	-18%
Nassau			
Under \$20,000	4%	3%	1%
\$20,000 to \$39,999	11%	5%	5%
\$40,000 to \$59,999	12%	7%	5%
\$60,000 to \$79,999	12%	8%	4%
\$80,000 to \$199,999	45%	51%	-7%
\$200,000 plus	25%	-9%	
Median family income	\$100,000	\$132,000	-24%
Suffolk			
Under \$20,000	5%	4%	1%
\$20,000 to \$39,999	11%	6%	5%
\$40,000 to \$59,999	13%	9%	3%
\$60,000 to \$79,999	11%	12%	0%
\$80,000 to \$199,999	49%	53%	-4%
\$200,000 plus	11%	16%	-5%
Median family income	\$92,100	\$110,000	-16%
Figures 6. Source: FPI analysis of 2013 ACS. Rows may not sum due to independent rounding.			

Unauthorized immigrants on Long Island are, as expected, generally in low-wage jobs. It is worth noting, however, that they work across a range of industries including food services, retail, child care and home health care, and in private households. Some small number of undocumented workers, mostly visa-overstayers, work in higher-wage technical and professional jobs.

Roughly equal numbers of unauthorized immigrants work in construction and in the industry that contains food services and accommodation (this industry also includes arts, entertainment, and recreation)—in each case, about 9,000 unauthorized immigrants, or 17 percent of the total. Another 7,000 work in retail trade, and 7,000 in the educational health and social services sector

that includes child care, and home health care. Some 6,000 work in “other services,” which includes jobs in private households. And, 28 percent work in other industries besides these.

The data in the American Community Survey are not particularly well suited to account for farm workers, who are often seasonally employed. Using an approach based on the more appropriate Census of Agriculture, Max Pfeffer, professor of development sociology at Cornell University, has previously estimated that there are roughly 3,500 farmworkers in Suffolk County, and perhaps another 200 in Nassau County. Of these, roughly 1,500 are seasonal workers—some migrants, others finding local work in non-agricultural jobs during the off season. A high proportion of the migrant workers are estimated to be immigrants—perhaps 80 percent or more. Something on the order of two thirds of seasonal workers are estimated to be undocumented, as are some (but probably a smaller portion) of the year-round farm workers.¹

On Long Island, a rather astonishing amount of attention has been given to the question of day laborers—people hired from shape-up sites. While there are reasonable concerns about these shape-up sites, it is important to note that immigrants hired in this way make up less than one percent of all half-million immigrants on Long Island, and are in fact a small share even of undocumented immigrants.

Indeed, of the 9,000 unauthorized immigrants working in construction on Long Island, only a portion are day laborers. In the entire New York City metro area, the most comprehensive academic study on the topic found in 2003 that there were roughly 6,000 to 8,000 day laborers hired through shape-up sites. There are, of course, also some U.S.-born workers hired at shape-up sites, though there is little doubt that the overwhelming majority of day laborers are immigrants and that a high proportion are undocumented.²

Most Immigrant Families Make Over \$80,000/year

Sixty-one percent of immigrants on Long Island live in families with incomes of over \$80,000 per year – 47 percent in families making between \$80,000 and \$199,999, and another 14 percent making \$200,000 or more. Among U.S.-born Long Islanders, the comparable figures are higher, but not dramatically so: 52 percent live in families making \$80,000 to \$199,999, and 20 percent in families making \$200,000 or more. Immigrant families are defined here as those with at least one immigrant adult.

At the lower end of the income ladder, 16 of immigrants live in families making less than \$40,000, compared to 10 percent for U.S.-born Long Island residents.

The picture is similar in both Nassau and Suffolk Counties, with the majority of immigrants living in families making at least \$80,000 per year, in both cases less than the U.S.-born share, but not as dramatically as might be expected. In Nassau, 15 percent of immigrants live in families with incomes of less than \$40,000 a year, and in Suffolk 16 percent.



Figure 7.
Immigrants Often Earn 1/4 to 1/3 Less than U.S.-born Workers

Long Island	Foreign born	U.S.-born	Percent difference	Share of foreign born	Share of U.S.-born
Less than high school	\$28,000	\$40,000	-30%	20%	3%
High school	\$35,000	\$50,000	-30%	25%	20%
Some college	\$45,000	\$55,000	-18%	20%	29%
College completion	\$70,000	\$76,000	-8%	19%	27%
Advanced degree	\$95,000	\$95,000	0%	17%	22%
All	\$45,000	\$65,000	-31%	100%	100%
Nassau	Foreign born	U.S.-born	Percent difference	Share of foreign born	Share of U.S.-born
Less than high school	\$28,000	\$40,000	-30%	18%	2%
High school	\$34,000	\$50,000	-32%	21%	17%
Some college	\$42,000	\$59,000	-29%	20%	26%
College completion	\$73,000	\$75,000	-3%	21%	30%
Advanced degree	\$90,000	\$95,000	-5%	20%	24%
All	\$46,900	\$68,000	-31%	100%	100%
Suffolk	Foreign born	U.S.-born	Percent difference	Share of foreign born	Share of U.S.-born
Less than high school	\$27,000	\$40,000	-33%	23%	3%
High school	\$35,000	\$50,000	-30%	29%	22%
Some college	\$50,000	\$55,000	-9%	19%	31%
College completion	\$65,000	\$78,000	-17%	16%	24%
Advanced degree	\$100,000	\$96,000	4%	13%	20%
All	\$44,000	\$62,000	-29%	100%	100%

Figure 7. Source: FPI analysis of 2013 ACS.

Looking at individuals rather than families shows that immigrants earn on average 31 percent less than their U.S.-born neighbors in Nassau, 29 percent less in Suffolk, and 31 percent less on Long Island as a whole. After correcting for level of educational attainment, the earnings differential looks much bigger for those with less education, while among those with a college degree immigrants earn eight percent less and among those with an advanced degree they have achieved parity on Long Island as a whole.

One important factor in understanding immigrant family income is immigrant families have on average more working adults than their U.S.-born counterparts, whether these are older children or extended families. On Long Island, 28 percent of immigrant families have at least three adults working, compared to just 18 percent of families in which all family members were born in the United States. Having more family members working raises family

income, while living in larger family units helps make middle-class life more affordable.

Nativity and education play a role in wage differentials, but so does the way immigrants fit into American racial and ethnic categories. Looking at earnings by nativity as well as by race and ethnicity, whites and Asians have the highest annual earnings. Indeed, foreign-born whites and U.S.-born Asians have slightly higher earnings than U.S.-born whites on Long Island. But blacks and Latinos earn considerably less, whether they are immigrants or born in the United States.

Indexing other groups to the level of U.S.-born whites shows that, on Long Island, foreign-born blacks earn 66 percent of the wages of U.S.-born whites. U.S.-born blacks earn 71 percent, foreign-born Latinos earn 52 percent, and U.S.-born Latinos 74 percent of the wages of U.S.-born whites.

Figure 8.
Immigrant families have more family members working

	Foreign-born	U.S.-born
LONG ISLAND		
2 family members work	39%	42%
3 or more family members work	28%	18%
Nassau County		
2 family members work	41%	42%
3 or more family members work	26%	18%
Suffolk County		
2 family members work	36%	42%
3 or more family members work	31%	17%

Figures 8. Source: FPI analysis of 2013 ACS.

Nearly Half of Immigrants are College-Educated

The total number of workers with high school or less is shrinking, with immigrants filling in as more U.S.-born workers attend college. Immigrants are on average less likely than U.S.-born workers to have experience in college. Among Long Islanders 25 years and older, about half of immigrants (47 percent) have some college or more, compared to 68 percent of U.S.-born residents.

Immigrant Small Business Ownership

Immigrants are not just employees; they are also small business owners. Of the 62,000 small businesses located on Long Island, 14,000—23 percent—are owned by immigrants, generating earnings of \$1.06 billion, or 18 percent of all small business owners’ earnings. Small business is here defined as people who are self-employed, and whose full-time job is to run their own incorporated business. The data refer to the years 2009-13 combined, to give a big enough sample to look at detailed industries of businesses (Figure 11a).

In Nassau, immigrants own 28 percent of all small businesses located in the county, generating total earnings for business owners of \$651 million, or 22 percent of all small business owners’ earnings. In Suffolk immigrants own 18 percent of the county’s small businesses, generating total earnings of \$409 million, or 14 percent of the earnings of small business owners.

Immigrant small businesses tend to be somewhat smaller than those of U.S.-born owners, so immigrant owners’ share of small business earnings is not as high as the immigrant share of small business owners.

Immigrant-owned small businesses on Long Island have been growing as immigration has grown: immigrants made up 18 percent of all business owners on Long Island in 2000 and 23 percent by 2013, growing from 11,000 to 14,000 small businesses.

Figure 9.
Race and ethnicity can make as much difference as nativity

LONG ISLAND	Median annual earnings		Earnings of group as a share of earnings of U.S.-born whites	
	Foreign born	U.S.-born	Foreign born	U.S.-born
Total	\$43,000	\$62,000	66%	95%
White	\$66,000	\$65,000	102%	100%
Black	\$43,000	\$46,000	66%	71%
Latino/Hispanic	\$34,000	\$48,000	52%	74%
Asian	\$60,000	\$70,000	92%	108%
Nassau	Median annual earnings			
	Foreign born	U.S.-born	Foreign born	U.S.-born
Total	\$45,000	\$65,000	64%	93%
White	\$70,000	\$70,000	100%	100%
Black	\$50,000	\$53,000	71%	76%
Latino/Hispanic	\$33,600	\$53,000	48%	76%
Asian	\$55,000	\$68,000	79%	97%
Suffolk	Median annual earnings			
	Foreign born	U.S.-born	Foreign born	U.S.-born
Total	\$42,000	\$60,000	67%	95%
White	\$65,000	\$63,000	103%	100%
Black	\$37,000	\$41,300	59%	66%
Latino/Hispanic	\$35,000	\$45,000	56%	71%
Asian	\$71,000	\$73,000	113%	116%

Figures 9. Source: FPI analysis of 2013 ACS. Earnings are indexed to the amount earned by U.S.-born whites. For example, in Suffolk County, foreign-born whites earned 103 percent of what U.S.-born whites earned.

What kinds of businesses do immigrants own? On Long Island, the biggest numbers are in professional and business services. Immigrants make up 18 percent of small professional and business services business owners. Immigrants make up 28 percent of all retail store owners and 23 percent of small business owners in educational, health and social services. Immigrants make up a third (32 percent) of small business owners in arts, entertainment, recreation, accommodations and food services.

Looking at the detailed industry categories in Figure 12, the type of small business most dominated by immigrant owners is nail salons—80 percent of all nail salons on Long Island that are small

Figure 10.
About half of immigrants have some college or more

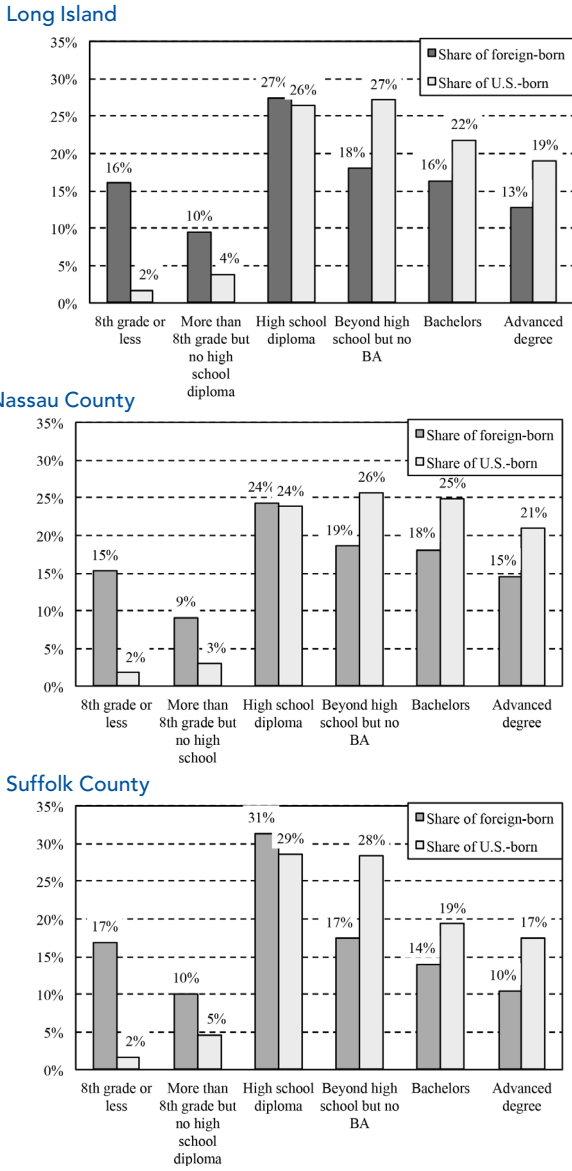


Figure 10: Source: FPI analysis of 2013 ACS.

Figure 11a.
Immigrants are small business owners

	Long Island		Nassau		Suffolk	
	Small businesses	Small business earnings (in millions)	Small businesses	Small business earnings (in millions)	Small businesses	Small business earnings (in millions)
U.S.-born	48,050	\$4,824	22,019	\$2,323	26,031	\$2,501
Foreign-born	14,448	\$1,060	8,583	\$651	5,865	\$409
Total	62,498	\$5,884	30,602	\$2,974	31,896	2,910
Percent foreign-born	23%	18%	28%	22%	18%	14%

Figure 11a. Source: FPI analysis of 2009-13 ACS.

businesses are owned by immigrants. Fifty percent of services to buildings and dwellings that are locally owned by an individual are owned by immigrants. So are 42 percent of restaurants, 28 percent of landscaping services companies, 24 percent of physicians’ offices, 21 percent of individually owned and incorporated construction businesses, and 19 percent of real estate companies. This analysis includes all small businesses with 400 or more immigrant small business owners.

Some of these businesses rely heavily on family members to make them run, and some pay employees very low wages. Yet, it is also clear that some types of immigrant-run businesses—such as restaurants and retail stores—are exactly the kinds of enterprises that bring life to streets and add a cosmopolitan flavor to downtowns. Immigrant businesses have played an important role in spurring the revival and growth of areas such as Hicksville, Brentwood, Hempstead, and Patchogue.

Immigrants’ Property Tax Payments

There is a scarcity of rental housing available on Long Island, so it is perhaps to be expected that most immigrants own their own homes. Indeed, 73 percent of immigrants on Long Island live in owner-occupied housing, as do an even higher share—85 percent—of U.S.-born Long Islanders. This figure is the same for Nassau and varies by only about a percentage point for Suffolk (Figure 13.).

Among homeowners, the median property taxes paid by immigrants and U.S.-born households is the same in both Nassau and Suffolk Counties. However, because the level is higher in Nassau and more immigrants live in Nassau, the overall median for property taxes paid on Long Island is actually higher for immigrant homeowners than it is for U.S.-born homeowners.

Looked at by a different measure: on Long Island as a whole, immigrant homeowners were as likely as their U.S.-born counterparts to pay over \$10,000 in property tax—40 percent of immigrants and 40 percent of U.S.-born homeowners paid over \$10,000 in property tax in 2013. In Suffolk 48 percent of each group pays over \$10,000 in property taxes, while in Suffolk 33 percent of U.S.-born and 30 percent of foreign-born families pay that much (Figure 14a.).

Figure 11b.
What kind of small businesses do immigrants own?

LONG ISLAND	Immigrant owned businesses	Immigrant-owned share of all small businesses in industry
Agriculture, forestry, fishing & hunting	n/a	n/a
Construction	2,428	21%
Manufacturing	733	26%
Wholesale trade	626	21%
Retail trade	2,035	28%
Transportation and warehousing	579	34%
Information and communications	n/a	n/a
Finance, insurance, real estate	725	13%
Professional, scientific, management, administrative, and waste management	2,545	18%
Educational, health and social services	1,558	23%
Arts, entertainment, recreation, accommodations, and food services	1,439	32%
Other services	1,670	35%
Total	14,448	23%
Nassau County		
Agriculture, forestry, fishing & hunting	n/a	n/a
Construction	1,303	30%
Manufacturing	n/a	n/a
Wholesale trade	n/a	n/a
Retail trade	1,231	34%
Transportation and warehousing	n/a	n/a
Information and communications	n/a	n/a
Finance, insurance, real estate	637	20%
Professional, scientific, management, administrative, and waste management	1,420	19%
Educational, health and social services	993	24%
Arts, entertainment, recreation, accommodations, and food services	722	36%
Other services	1,008	45%
Total	8,583	28%
Suffolk County		
Agriculture, forestry, fishing & hunting	n/a	n/a
Construction	1,124	16%
Manufacturing	n/a	n/a
Wholesale trade	n/a	n/a
Retail trade	805	23%
Transportation and warehousing	n/a	n/a
Information and communications	n/a	n/a
Finance, insurance, real estate	n/a	n/a
Professional, scientific, management, administrative, and waste management	1,125	17%
Educational, health and social services	565	22%
Arts, entertainment, recreation, accommodations, and food services	716	28%
Other services	662	26%
Total	5,865	18%

Figure 11b: Source: FPI analysis of 2009-13 ACS.

Renters do not pay property tax directly, but rent helps landlords defray the cost of the property tax bill. Long Island immigrants paid a median rent of \$1,300 per household in 2013, with an average of 3.1 people living in the household. The median rent paid by U.S.- born Long Islanders in rental housing was the same, but with an average of 2.1 people living in each household (Figure 14b.).

It is, of course, difficult to estimate directly the taxes paid by undocumented immigrants. A 2011 study based on the tax model of the nonpartisan Institute on Taxation and Economic Policy estimating the taxes paid by undocumented immigrants showed that undocumented immigrants in New York State paid a total of \$104 million in state personal income taxes, \$95 million in property taxes, and \$463 million in sales taxes. On average, the model estimated that undocumented immigrants paid \$2,000 per family in state and local taxes in New York, the bulk of it in sales tax. The study is based on a detailed model that estimates that at least half of undocumented immigrants pay income taxes — a conclusion reached in an economic report published by the Bush Administration in 2005.³

In addition to state and local taxes, about half of undocumented immigrants are estimated to pay federal income tax. In addition, the Social Security Administration estimates that roughly half of all undocumented immigrants have payroll taxes withheld—the biggest tax on low-wage workers. Because these taxes are paid using false Social

Figure 12.

Immigrant small businesses by detailed industry

	Foreign-born small business owners	All small business owners	Foreign-born share
Nail salons and other personal care services	462	578	80%
Services to buildings and dwellings	446	888	50%
Restaurants and other food services	1,232	2,944	42%
Landscaping services	539	1,908	28%
Offices of physicians	524	2,144	24%
Construction	2,428	11,457	21%
Real estate	468	2,442	19%
Total	14,448	62,498	23%

Figure 12. Source: FPI analysis of 2009-13 ACS.

Security numbers, among other reasons, undocumented immigrants are highly unlikely ever to receive Social Security benefits, so this money goes into the Social Security suspense file. The Social Security Administration’s chief actuary estimated that the payroll taxes of undocumented immigrants resulted in a net gain of \$12 billion to Social Security in a single year.⁴

Who are Long Island’s immigrants?

Immigration is a significant and diverse part of Long Island’s population. Immigrants make up 18 percent of the population of Long Island overall – 22 percent of the population of Nassau and 16 percent of the population of Suffolk (Figure 15.).

In the United States as a whole, 28 percent of all immigrants were born in Mexico—making Mexicans the predominant group of immigrants, though still far from the majority. On Long Island, however, no single group of immigrants predominates in the same way. The top seven countries of birth for immigrants on Long Island are El Salvador (14 percent); India (7 percent); and the Dominican Republic (5 percent). In a pattern quite different than for the United States as a whole, Mexicans make up a very small part of the Long Island immigrant population—about 11,000 total, just 2 percent of the overall immigrant population. In Nassau County, the top seven countries of birth are El Salvador, India, the Dominican Republic, Jamaica, Haiti, Italy, and China. And, in Suffolk County, the top seven are El Salvador, Ecuador, the Dominican Republic, India, Haiti, Guatemala, and Italy. On Long Island as a whole and in each of the counties, the top seven groups together comprise about 40 percent of the total; another 60 percent of immigrants come from countries other than these top groups, that is to say from a wide range of countries each of which makes up less than four percent of the total.

Latinos make up 41 percent of immigrants on Long Island as a whole: 35 percent in Nassau, and 49 percent in Suffolk. But immigrants are also substantially represented among all major ethnic and racial groups, while U.S.-born residents are highly concentrated among whites.

Turning the fraction the other way around, the majority of Latinos on Long Island were born in the United States: Fewer than half of Latinos are immigrants (45 percent on Long Island, 48 percent in Nassau, 43 percent in Suffolk). About 25 percent of blacks in each of the three regions are immigrants.

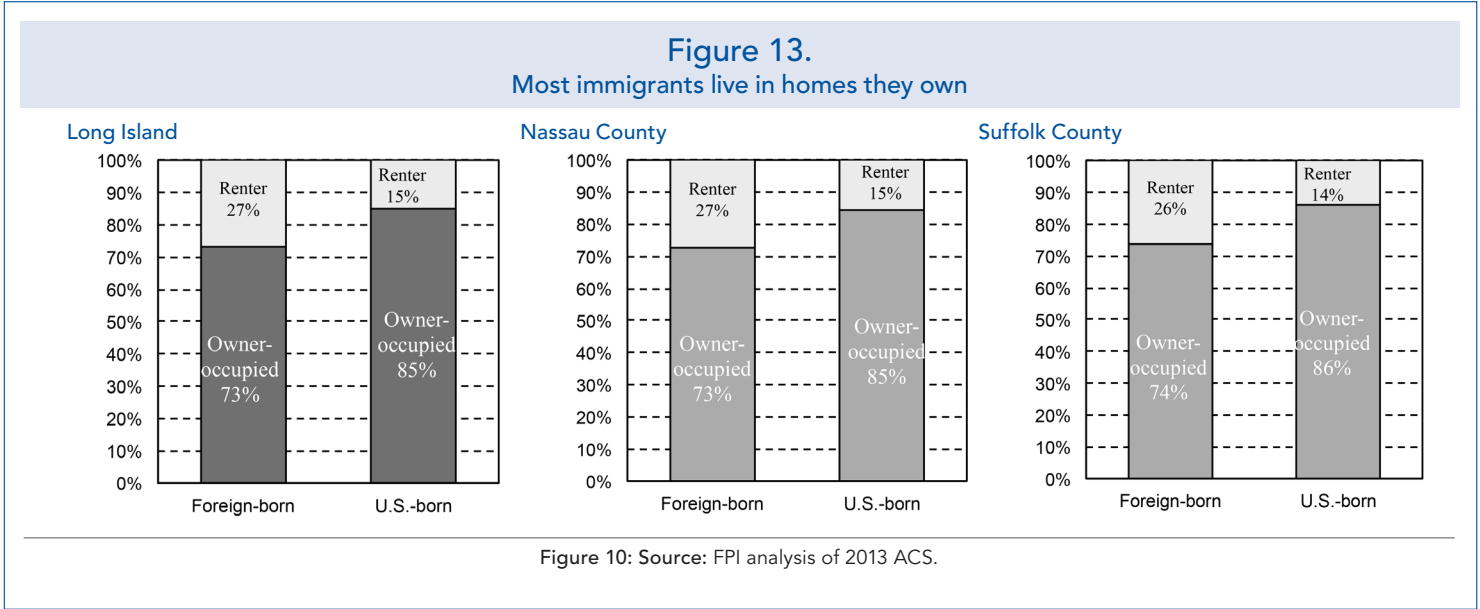


Figure 14a and 14b.

Immigrants pay property taxes

	Long Island		Nassau		Suffolk	
	U.S.-born	Foreign born	U.S.-born	Foreign born	U.S.-born	Foreign born
Median property taxes	\$8,500	\$9,500	\$9,500	\$9,500	\$8,500	\$8,500
Number of households	604,844	139,020	266,675	78,682	338,169	60,338
Average number of people per household	2.8	3.7	2.8	3.6	2.8	3.9
Percent who pay \$10,000 or more	40%	40%	48%	48%	33%	30%

Renters also help cover property tax costs, and immigrant rents are not low

	Long Island		Nassau		Suffolk	
	U.S.-born	Foreign born	U.S.-born	Foreign born	U.S.-born	Foreign born
Median rent	\$1,300	\$1,300	\$1,300	\$1,300	\$1,300	\$1,200
Number of households that rent	134,918	56,765	62,294	30,938	72,624	25,827
Average number of people per household	2.1	3.1	2.1	3.2	2.1	3.0

Figure 14a and 14b: Source: FPI analysis of 2013 ACS.

Figure 15.

Immigrant share of population

	Foreign born	Total population	Percent foreign born
Nassau	291,011	1,351,448	22%
Suffolk	234,798	1,499,214	16%
Long Island	525,809	2,850,662	18%

Figure 15. Source: FPI analysis of 2013 ACS.

Immigration and Suburban Population Growth

This isn’t the first time Long Island has received new immigrants. Looking back at the population trends on Long Island of the past century reveals two major stories. The first is a story of suburban growth. The total population of Long Island grew through the early part of the 20th century, but really took off exponentially during the 1950s and ’60s as Long Island was at the leading edge of a national trend toward suburbanization. By the 1970s, Long Island’s population had more or less reached a plateau; Suffolk County continued to grow after 1970, but at a much more modest pace than in the prior decades.

The second is a story of immigration in the suburbs. The number of immigrants living on Long Island has increased in every decade going back to 1900. But the immigrant share of the population has changed dramatically, from a peak of 23 percent in 1910 to just 8 percent in 1970. The drop in immigrant share during this period is not due to a decrease in the number of immigrants; it is due to a slow-growing number of immigrants in the context of a fast-growing population of U.S.-born residents.

After 1970, the trends in Long Island’s two counties diverge. In Nassau the U.S.-born population began to decline, while in Suffolk the U.S.-born population continued to grow. Both areas saw continued growth in the immigrant population.

In Nassau, between 1970 and 2013 the total population stopped growing, and in fact declined a little, by 77,000. The U.S.-born population drop of 250,000 was offset by an increase of 173,000 immigrants in the county.

In Suffolk, the trend from 1970 was continued growth of both U.S.- and foreign-born populations, but with the foreign-born growing at a faster pace. Between 1970 and 2013 the U.S.-born population of Suffolk increased by 214,000 and the foreign-born population increased by 160,000.

Long Islanders who grew up in or moved to the area around the 1970s have experienced a very rapid increase in the immigrant share of the population. Immigrants in 1970 made up just 8 percent of Long Island’s population, a century-long lowpoint. By 2013, that share was 18 percent. The number of immigrants on Long Island has leveled off in recent years in response to the national recession, and perhaps also due to increasingly aggressive immigration law enforcement.

Unauthorized Immigrants on Long Island

According to FPI’s analysis of the Migration Policy Institute county-level estimates of unauthorized immigrants, there are 76,000 unauthorized immigrants living on Long Island—34,000 in Nassau and 42,000 in Suffolk. This means the unauthorized share of the immigrant population is higher in Suffolk, since there are more immigrants overall in Nassau.

About half of the unauthorized population is from Central America (which, in the Census and MPI tabulation, includes Mexico). Another 20 percent are from South America, 16 percent from Asia, and 13 percent from all other regions.

Figure 16a, 16b, 16c.

Immigrants come from around the world

LONG ISLAND	Number of immigrants	Share of all immigrants
El Salvador	73,550	14%
India	36,751	7%
Dominican Republic	27,213	5%
Jamaica	23,307	4%
Haiti	22,892	4%
Ecuador	20,515	4%
Italy	19,419	4%
Colombia	18,241	3%
Guatemala	17,547	3%
China	17,126	3%
Honduras	14,666	3%
Philippines	14,496	3%
Pakistan	13,889	3%
Korea	11,590	2%
Peru	11,028	2%
Mexico	10,984	2%
Germany	10,576	2%
Iran	9,288	2%
Trinidad and Tobago	8,535	2%
Poland	8,119	2%
Guyana/British Guiana	7,077	1%
Ukraine	6,279	1%
Canada	5,439	1%
Ireland	5,090	1%
Taiwan	5,080	1%
Countries with fewer than 5,000	107,112	20%
Total	525,809	100%

Figure 16a, 16b and 16c. Source: FPI analysis of 2013 ACS.

NASSAU	Number of immigrants	Share of all immigrants
El Salvador	2 9,719	10%
India	2 6,276	9%
Dominican Republic	16,094	6%
Jamaica	15,519	5%
Haiti	13,619	5%
Italy	11,095	4%
China	11,041	4%
Philippines	10,323	4%
Colombia	10,144	3%
Honduras	9,410	3%
Guatemala	8,389	3%
Iran	7,741	3%
Korea	6,672	2%
Pakistan	6,475	2%
Ecuador	5,852	2%
Germany	5,689	2%
Mexico	5,634	2%
Guyana/British Guiana	5,339	2%
Trinidad and Tobago	5,067	2%
Countries with fewer than 5,000	80,913	28%
Total	291,011	100%

SUFFOLK	Number of immigrants	Share of all immigrants
El Salvador	43,831	19%
Ecuador	14,663	6%
Dominican Republic	11,119	5%
India	10,475	4%
Haiti	9,273	4%
Guatemala	9,158	4%
Italy	8,324	4%
Colombia	8,097	3%
Jamaica	7,788	3%
Pakistan	7,414	3%
China	6,085	3%
Peru	6,066	3%
Mexico	5,350	2%
Honduras	5,256	2%
Countries with fewer than 5,000	81,899	35%
Total	291,011	100%

Figure 17.

Most immigrants are not Latino, and most Latinos are not immigrants

LONG ISLAND	Share of immigrants who are white/black/Latino/Asian	Share of whites/blacks/Latinos/Asians who are immigrants
White	23%	6%
Black	12%	25%
Latino/Hispanic	41%	45%
Asian	22%	68%
Other	1%	17%
Total	100%	22%

NASSAU	Share of immigrants who are white/black/Latino/Asian	Share of whites/blacks/Latinos/Asians who are immigrants
White	22%	8%
Black	14%	28%
Latino/Hispanic	35%	48%
Asian	27%	67%
Other	2%	20%
Total	100%	22%

SUFFOLK	Share of immigrants who are white/black/Latino/Asian	Share of whites/blacks/Latinos/Asians who are immigrants
White	24%	5%
Black	10%	21%
Latino/Hispanic	49%	43%
Asian	17%	70%
Other	1%	13%
Total	100%	16%

Figure 17. Source: FPI analysis of 2013 ACS. “Share of immigrants who are white/black/Latino/Asian” can be read, for example, to see that 23 percent of immigrants living on Long Island are white. “Share of whites/blacks/Latinos/Asians who are immigrants” can be read to see that 6 percent of white people living on Long Island are immigrants.

In Suffolk, there are four to five thousand unauthorized immigrants from Guatemala, Mexico, and Ecuador, and in Nassau, there are an estimated 2,000 unauthorized immigrants from India.

A recent analysis of the trends in unauthorized immigration at the state level by Robert Warren and John Robert Warren shows that the unauthorized immigration is much more sensitive to economic conditions and enforcement trends than the flow of legal immigration. The number of unauthorized immigrants living in

New York State peaked, according to this analysis, in 2004, and has declined since then.⁵

Immigrants Learn English Over Time

Immigrants on Long Island who do not already speak English when they come to the United States generally learn to speak the language if they stay. More than half (57 percent) of immigrants living on Long Island who have been in the United States for at least 10 years either speak only English at home or speak English “very well,” a level that is generally considered to be equivalent to proficiency. In Nassau, that figure is 58 percent and in Suffolk it is 55 percent. In all three cases, an additional share of 20 to 22 percent report speaking English “well,” a level that indicates at least some English language ability.

Not surprisingly, the ability to speak English well improves over time. By the time immigrants have been here ten years or more, 57 percent can speak very well or speak only English, and another 21 percent speak well.

Among unauthorized immigrants, about half report speaking English not at all or very little, while the other half are divided about equally between speaking “very well” and “well,” in both Nassau and Suffolk counties, according to data from the Migration Policy Institute.

Most Immigrants are U.S. Citizens

More than half of foreign-born Long Islanders have become naturalized U.S. citizens. Naturalized citizens 18 years and older are eligible to vote, which means there are 279,000 eligible voters on Long Island who are immigrants, including 167,000 in Nassau and 112,000 in Suffolk.

The children of immigrants are overwhelmingly U.S.-born, and thus citizens by birth. Of the children living in families with at least one immigrant adult, 89 percent were born in the United States (90 percent in Nassau, 88 percent in Suffolk).

Looked at a different way: today, 32 percent of all children on Long Island are living in a family with at least one immigrant adult, as are 38 percent of children in Nassau and 27 percent in Suffolk.

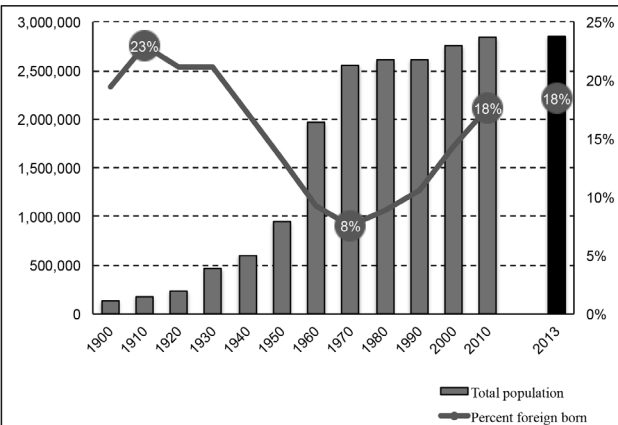
Long Island towns: A wide range of experiences

This report has focused on Long Island as a whole, and on Nassau and Suffolk counties. But, each of Long Island’s towns has its own character.

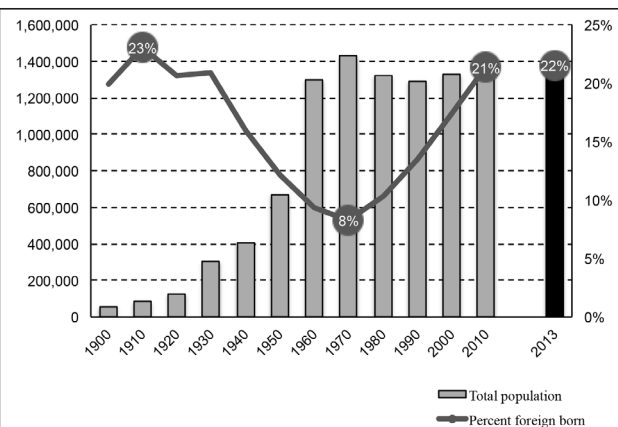
Hempstead, which is the biggest town, also has the most immigrants. Hempstead also has among the highest immigrant share of the population, at 22 percent, though both North Hempstead (at 29 percent) and Glen Cove City (at 33 percent) are higher. By contrast, Smithtown has just 10,000 immigrants, making up 9 percent of

Figure 18.
The outlier period for immigration on Long Island is the mid-20th century

Long Island



Nassau County



Suffolk County

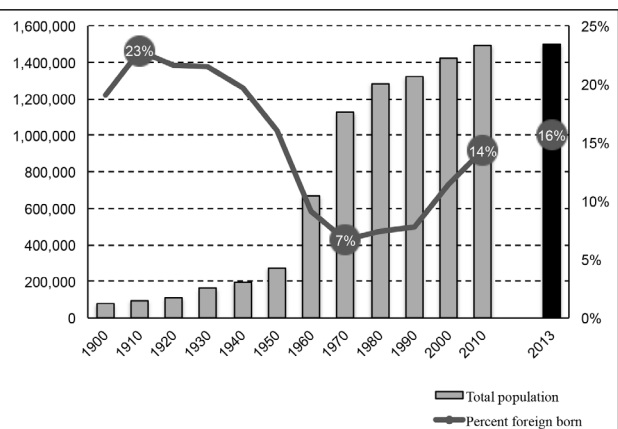


Figure 18. Source: FPI analysis of Census historical data and 2013 ACS.

a population of 118,000. The only other town with as small an immigrant share of the population is Southold.

Figure 24 presents the number of immigrants and the immigrant share of the population for the various Long Island towns and cities. For this analysis, we use the American Community Survey's 2013 3-year data, which allows for more detailed analysis.

Notes

- ¹ Max Pfeffer has conducted extensive research on the farm economy and rural communities of New York. Estimates of the number of farm workers in the downstate suburbs were calculated by Professor Pfeffer, at FPI's request, for the 2011 version of this report. Pfeffer's findings are broadly consistent with the recent study of Hudson River farm workers, which found 71 percent of farm workers in the Hudson Valley to be undocumented and 21 percent to be guest workers. See Margaret Gray, with Emma Kreyche, The Hudson Valley Farmworker Report, (Annandale-on-Hudson, New York: Bard College Migrant Labor Project in association with Adelphi University, 2007).
- ² Estimate of unauthorized immigrant population on Long Island is from the Migration Policy Institute's Data Hub, Unauthorized Population Profiles, County-level, based on the 2012 American Community Survey. Estimates of day laborers from Abel Valenzuela, Jr. and Edwin Meléndez, "Day Labor in New York: Findings from the NYDL Survey," Community Development Research Center of the New School University, and Center for the Study of Urban Poverty of the University of California, Los Angeles (4/11/2003).
- ³ "Unauthorized Immigrants Pay Taxes, Too: Estimates of the State and Local Taxes Paid by Unauthorized Immigrant Households," Immigration Policy Center (4/18/2011), based on data from the model of the Institute on Taxation and Economic Policy. Estimate per family was provided to the Fiscal Policy Institute by the Institute for Taxation and Economic Policy, for this report.
- ⁴ Stephen C. Goss, Letter to the Honorable Richard J. Durbin (6/5/2007), p. 3, cited in Paul N. Van de Water, "Immigration and Social Security," Center on Budget and Policy Priorities (2/20/2008).
- ⁵ Robert Warren and John Robert Warren, "Unauthorized Immigration to the United States: Annual Estimates and Components of Change, by State, 1990 to 2010," International Migration Review (2/15/2013).

Appendix – Note on sources

Data in this report are drawn primarily from the Public Use Microdata file of the 2009 American Community Survey (ACS). In some instances, summary data from the 2010 ACS was used.

Figure 1. Immigrant share of economic output matches share of population. FPI analysis of 2003 ACS. Working age is 16-64 years old. Economic output is derived from wage and salary and proprietors' income.

Figure 19.
Unauthorized immigrants come from around the world, with more from El Salvador than from any other single country

	Long Island		Nassau		Suffolk	
Central America (includes Mexico)	39,000	51%	17,000	50%	22,000	52%
El Salvador	17,000		9,000		8,000	
Guatemala	n/a		n/a		5,000	
Mexico	n/a		n/a		5,000	
South America	15,000	20%	6,000	18%	9,000	21%
Ecuador	n/a		n/a		4,000	
Europe/Canada/Oceania	4,000	5%	2,000	6%	2,000	5%
Asia	12,000	16%	7,000	21%	5,000	12%
India	n/a		2,000		n/a	
All other	6,000	8%	2,000	6%	4,000	10%
Total	76,000	100%	34,000	100%	42,000	100%

Figure 19. Source: FPI tabulation of Migration Policy Institute analysis based on ACS 2012 5-year data.

Figure 20.
Unauthorized immigration is down in recent years in response to the recession and increased enforcement

Unauthorized Immigrants in New York State

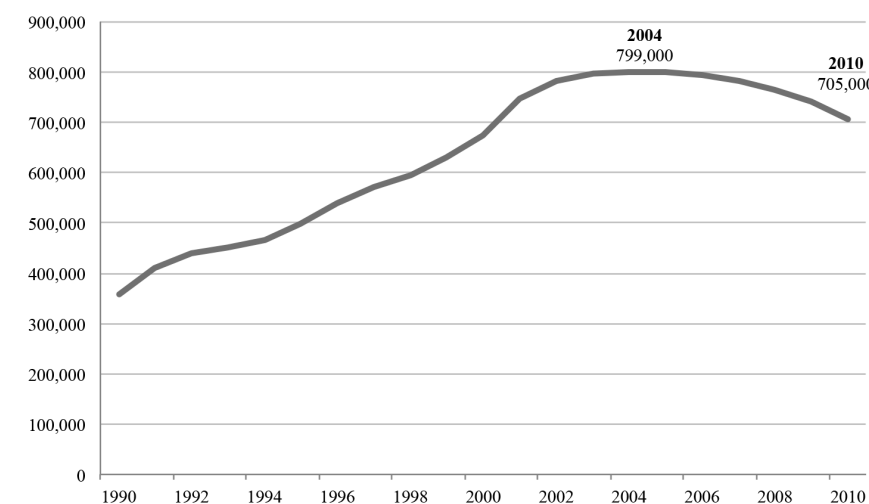


Figure 21. Source: FPI chart based on Robert Warren and John Robert Warren, "Unauthorized Immigration to the United States: Annual Estimates and Components of Change, by State, 1990 to 2010," *International Migration Review*, February 15, 2013.

Figure 2. Growing share of working age population and of economic output. FPI analysis of 2000 Census and 2009 and 2013 ACS.

Figure 3. Immigrants make up a substantial share of all occupations but uniformed services. FPI analysis of 2013 ACS, based on occupational categories defined in Immigrants and the Economy (Fiscal Policy Institute 2009). Universe: Long Island residents 16 years of age and older employed in the civilian labor force.

Figures 4a, 4b, and 4c. Half of immigrants work in white-collar jobs, with wide variation within group. FPI analysis of 2013 ACS 5-year data. Figure 3 indicates jobs in "white-collar" and "other" occupations; for detailed explanation of occupational categories see Immigrants in the Economy, Fiscal Policy Institute, 2009. Universe: Long Island residents 16 years of age and older employed in the civilian labor force.

Figure 5. Where do unauthorized immigrants work? FPI analysis of data from the Migration Policy Institute's Data Hub: Profile of the Unauthorized Population by County, which is based on ACS 2012 data and data from the Survey of Income and Program Participation.

Figure 21.
Within ten years, most immigrants speak English very well or speak only English

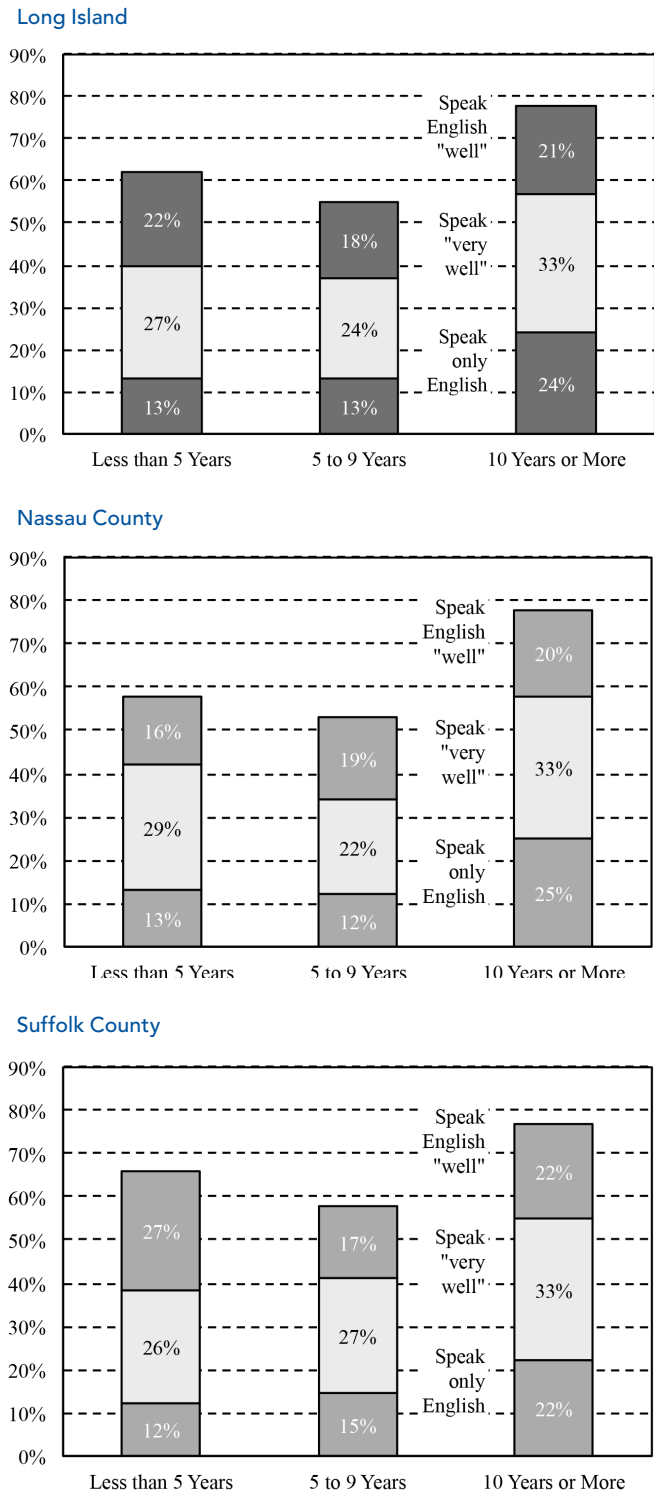


Figure 21. Source: FPI analysis of 2013 ACS.

Figure 6. The large majority of immigrants live in families earning over \$80,000 per year. FPI analysis of 2013 ACS. Universe: Primary families with at least two related members in a household. Foreign-born families are families with at least one foreign-born member who is 18 years of age or older. Incomes are in 2009 dollars.

Figure 7. Immigrant workers often earn 1/4 to 1/3 less than U.S.-born. FPI analysis of 2013 ACS. Universe: Long Island residents, age 25 and older who are employed full-time (at least 35 hours per week) and year-round (at least 50 weeks per year) in the civilian labor force. Incomes are in 2013 dollars.

Figure 8. Immigrant families have more working adults. FPI analysis of 2013 ACS. Universe: Primary families with at least two related members in a household. Foreign-born families are families with at least one foreign-born member who is 18 years of age or older.

Figure 9. Race and ethnicity can make as much difference as nativity. FPI analysis of 2013 ACS. Universe: Long Island residents, age 16 and older, who are employed full-time (at least 35 hours per week) and year-round (at least 50 weeks per year) in the civilian labor force. Incomes are in 2013 dollars.

Figure 10. About half of immigrants have some college or more. FPI analysis of 2013 ACS. Universe: Long Island residents, age 25 and older. (Shares differ from those in figure 9, which refer not to all residents 25 and older but all full-time, year-round workers 25 and older.)

Figures 11a and 11b. Immigrants are small business owners. FPI analysis of 2013 ACS 5-year data. Universe: Self-employed incorporated business owners who have their business on Long Island, but may live elsewhere. Total earnings are derived from wage and salary and proprietors' income. Businesses by detailed industry are all those with over 500 immigrant small businesses.

Figure 12. FPI analysis of 2013 ACS 5-year data.

Figure 13. Most immigrants live in homes they own. FPI analysis of 2013 ACS.

Figures 14a and 14b. Immigrants pay substantial property taxes; renters also help cover property tax costs. FPI analysis of 2013 ACS. Property taxes are top-coded at \$10,000 and are in 2013 dollars. Nativity of household head determines nativity of household.

Figure 15. Immigrant share of population. FPI analysis of 2013 ACS.

Figures 16a, 16b, and 16c. Immigrants come from around the world. FPI analysis of 2013 ACS.

Figure 22.
Half or more of foreign-born adults have become naturalized U.S. citizens

	Number	Share	Number	Share	Number	Share
All foreign-born	Long Island		Nassau County		Suffolk County	
Naturalized U.S. citizen	289,250	55%	172,394	59%	116,856	50%
Non-citizen	236,559	45%	118,617	41%	117,942	50%
Foreign-born adults (18+)						
Naturalized U.S. citizen	278,749	56%	166,760	60%	111,989	50%
Non-citizen	221,790	44%	111,389	40%	110,401	50%

Figure 22. Source: FPI analysis of 2013 ACS.

Figure 23.
The vast majority of children living in immigrant families were born in the United States, and a significant share of all kids live in immigrant families

	Long Island	Nassau County	Suffolk County
All children on Long Island	669,144	310,913	358,231
Children living in immigrant families	214,509	118,570	95,939
Born in the United States	191,187	106,970	84,217
Foreign-born	23,322	11,600	11,722
Percent of children living in immigrant families who were born in the U.S.	89%	90%	88%
Percent of all children on Long Island who live in immigrant families	32%	38%	27%

Figure 23. Source: FPI analysis of 2013 ACS.

Figure 24.
Immigration levels vary significantly among Long Island's towns and cities

	Total Population	Foreign-born	Foreign-born share
Nassau County			
Glen Cove City	27,135	9,009	33%
Hempstead	764,671	166,339	22%
Long Beach City	33,484	5,540	17%
North Hempstead	227,892	66,940	29%
Oyster Bay	295,381	45,670	15%
Suffolk County			
Babylon	213,971	40,819	19%
Brookhaven	488,264	57,639	12%
East Hampton	22,142	4,206	19%
Huntington	203,776	27,142	13%
Islip	336,455	64,502	19%
Riverhead	33,642	4,360	13%
Smithtown	118,269	10,079	9%
Southampton	57,483	11,182	19%
Southold	22,117	1,930	9%

Figure 24. Source: FPI analysis of 2013 ACS 3-year data.

Figure 17. Most immigrants are not Latino, and most Latinos are not immigrants. FPI analysis of 2013 ACS.

Figure 18. The outlier period for immigration on Long Island is the mid 20th century. For 1900 to 1980, the NYC Department of Planning; for 1990 to 2013, FPI analysis of Census and ACS.

Figure 19. Unauthorized immigrants come from around the world. FPI analysis of data from the Migration Policy Institute’s Data Hub: Profile of the Unauthorized Population by County, which is based on ACS 2012 data and data from the Survey of Income and Program Participation.

Figure 20. Unauthorized immigration is down in recent years. Source: FPI chart based on Robert Warren and John Robert Warren, “Unauthorized Immigration to the United States: Annual Estimates and Components of Change, by State, 1990 to 2010,” *International Migration Review* (2/15/2013).

Figure 21: Within ten years, most immigrants speak English very well or speak only English. FPI analysis of 2013 ACS. Universe is immigrants five years of age and older.

Figure 22. Half or more of foreign-born adults have become naturalized U.S. citizens. FPI analysis of 2013 ACS.

Figure 23. The vast majority of children living in immigrant families were born in the United States, and a significant share of all kids live in immigrant families. FPI analysis of 2013 ACS. Families are defined as primary families with at least two related members in a household. Foreign-born families are families with at least one foreign-born member who is 18 years of age or older. **Figure 24. Immigration levels vary significantly among Long Island’s towns and cities.** FPI analysis of 2013 ACS 3-year data.

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New Technology, Deskilling and Economic Power

The Glass Cage: Automation and Us, by Nicholas Carr. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2014.

Reviewed by Russell Harrison

This book looks at automation in a number of industries (airline, automobile, health care, financial services, law, architecture etc. Carr’s thesis, in a nutshell, suggests that automation poses a number of threats that have not been adequately examined in the rush to attain increased “efficiency.” He further argues that the issue of de-skilling has been almost completely overlooked. Indeed, he makes an interesting point when he asserts that de-skilling is built into many workplace practices.

One thing that all of his examples reveal is the tremendous hype that accompanies the introduction of any new technology in the field of automation. To take but one example: In the field of health care, the introduction of electronic medical records (EMR) was touted, by the RAND corporation, as having the potential of saving “more than \$81 billion annually [my emphasis] and improve [ing] the quality of care” (92). This was in 2005. In 2013, a second RAND report acknowledged that “quality and efficiency of patient care are only marginally better” (94). Further, and arguably just as significant, are the unintended consequences. One striking example follows: “Before doctors had software to prompt them, they were less likely to add an extra charge for certain minor procedures. The procedures were subsumed into more general charges—for an office visit, say, or a yearly physical. With the prompts, the individual charges get added to the invoice automatically” (94).

One excellent point that Carr makes, while obvious, is too little appreciated. Quoting the historian David Noble who described a Pollyannaish view founded on “a simple faith in objective science,

economic rationality, and the market” (113). This view “portrays technological development as an autonomous and neutral technical process on the one hand, and a coldly rational and self-regulating process, on the other, neither of which accounts for people, power, institutions, competing values, or different dreams” (193-4). Carr acknowledges this in his brief discussion of Harry Braverman’s *Labor and Monopoly Capital: The Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century*. But Braverman based his thesis on the Boss/Worker essential antagonism, the capitalist’s need to get as much work as possible out of the worker.

Carr’s book lacks a similarly sharp focus on power imbalances that might have constructed a more sustained and coherent structure out of the building blocks of his various examples. Overall, though, his book is useful for showing the downside of automation in a number of fields and the similar challenges it poses to working people across many industries.

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