

unforeseen by the authors and major supporters of the act who thought that its family reunification emphasis would favor the entry of European immigrants who had close relatives here, and not significantly alter the racial and ethnic composition of the nation's population. As Muzaffar Chishti and his coauthors tell the story in commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the act, the prioritizing of immigrants with relatives already in the United States was a last-minute concession to influential conservative members of Congress allied with the House immigration subcommittee chair, who believed it would better preserve the country's predominantly European base.²⁰ They were wrong. In the years following the passage of the law, Europeans' interest in immigrating to the United States fell flat while it grew among people in non-European countries, many of them emerging from the end of colonial rule.

For millions of people facing limited economic opportunities in the Global South, the United States has held out the prospect of jobs, higher wages, and better living conditions. "Jamaica," one man told me when I was doing research in a rural community in the late 1960s, "is a beautiful country, but we can't see our way through."²¹ In the Jamaican case, harsh realities in this small, resource-poor economy, plagued by high levels of unemployment and underemployment, and a population with needs and aspirations for standards of living that cannot be fulfilled at home, have spurred many to leave for the United States. Jamaica is not alone; variations on these themes have played out in many other countries of origin as well. In addition, political conditions in many places around the world, including oppressive governments and brutal civil wars, have driven people out of their homelands. So has everyday violence and the ravages of climate change. Loosened emigration controls in some source countries, perhaps most notably China, which opened its doors to large-scale exit in the late 1970s, also had a role in rising immigration to the United States. Once begun, migration tends to have a snowball or multiplier effect; network connections lower the costs, reduce the risks and uncertainties, and raise the benefits of moving to the United States.²² By allocating most green cards on the basis of family connections, US immigration law reinforced and formalized the operation of migration family networks: as new immigrants from countries around the world

established themselves in the United States, they became a channel for additional immigration through sponsoring family members.

The 1965 act and subsequent legislation had a dramatic effect on the number of immigrants entering the United States as well as where they have come from.²³ After the passage of the act, admissions of lawful permanent residents soared, increasing from around 250,000 a year in the 1950s and 330,000 in the 1960s to 450,000 in the 1970s and 600,000 in the 1980s. For almost all the years between 2001 and 2019, the United States annually issued about 1 million green cards to new lawful permanent residents.²⁴ In 2019, the nation had, at least until that year, the largest foreign-born population since Census records have been kept; by then the immigrant share of the US total (13.7 percent) had nearly reached the record high of 1890 (14.8 percent) (see figure 1.1).²⁵

Refugees and asylees are a minority, though noteworthy, portion of permanent legal immigration: 13 percent of those obtaining green cards between 2013 and 2017. Individuals are granted refugee status or asylum, and given the right to live in the United States permanently, by demonstrating that they have experienced or have a well-founded fear of persecution. Legally, the difference between an asylee and refugee hinges on the person's physical location. Asylum is granted to people already in the United States, and refugee status to people vetted abroad and approved for resettlement. Large numbers of refugees were admitted in the 1970s and 1980s as a consequence of the Vietnam War, and over 100,000 a year in the early 1990s, many from the former Soviet Union; the numbers declined afterward, with most in the twenty-first century coming from Asia and Africa. Altogether, about 3 million refugees have been resettled in this country since 1980, with slightly more than 600,000 admitted between 2010 and 2020. The number granted asylum is smaller, averaging around 25,000 a year between 2007 and 2018.²⁶

The immigration system developed after 1965 also includes those with nonimmigrant visas. They are here legally, but only have temporary visas, which in 2016, were held by an estimated 2.3 million foreign nationals living in the United States.²⁷ A great many have come for limited periods as international students and exchange visitors (about 780,000 visas issued in 2018). Others are temporary workers, whose numbers

grew substantially between 1997 and 2018.²⁸ These include agricultural workers (nearly 200,000 visas issued in 2018, mostly to Mexicans) and high-skilled professionals in the H-1B program, which has allowed firms to petition for foreign workers with at least a bachelor's degree or the equivalent for "specialty" occupations for up to six years (although some have gone beyond the limit while waiting for a green card). Officially, the annual cap is 85,000, but additional visas have been approved in recent years; most H-1B workers are Indians, and most are in computer-related fields.²⁹

Not all immigrants of course are legal residents. A remarkably high number are undocumented, who either entered without inspection, typically across the southern border with Mexico, or arrived at an airport or other port of entry with a temporary visa, but then overstayed the required departure date ("overstayers"). Despite all the attention to unauthorized border crossers, the fact is that overstayers made up an estimated 44 percent of the overall undocumented population in 2016, and most of the undocumented who entered between 2010 and 2017.³⁰ In total, the number of undocumented immigrants living in the United States was estimated at about 11 million in 2018, somewhat lower than the peak of around 12 million in 2007, but up from an estimated 3.5 million in 1990.³¹ To put it another way, about one out of four immigrants in the United States is undocumented.

This situation is unprecedented.³² Large-scale undocumented immigration is a new phenomenon. In earlier eras, there were so few restrictions on European immigration that hardly any European immigrants were unauthorized. To be sure, specific exclusion laws barred the entry of the Chinese as early as 1882. But until the 1920s, there were no numerical limits on European immigration or immigrant visas that had to be secured from the United States prior to arriving. At the turn of the twentieth century, European immigrants came by boat, and most got through the ports of entry easily because they already had been screened, mainly for disease, by steamship companies before embarking.³³ Of the more than 12 million immigrants who landed at Ellis Island between 1892 and 1954, only 2 percent were excluded from entry. Today, if you do not have proper documentation from American authorities,

you cannot legally live and work in the United States. Getting this documentation is not easy. Those aspiring to become lawful permanent residents, for example, often lack the family or employment relationships that would make them eligible to apply.³⁴ Even if eligible, the annual numerical limits on green cards in most categories mean that in many countries where the desire to come to the United States is especially strong there is a long wait to get one—for Mexicans in some categories it was more than twenty years in 2019 and over a million were waiting.³⁵ As a result, many have arrived or remained without proper documents.

A growing share of the undocumented have been living in the United States for a long time. In 2017, a whopping two-thirds of undocumented immigrant adults had been in the United States more than ten years.³⁶ Paradoxically, this increase is partly due to beefed-up border enforcement. By making reentry more difficult, dangerous, and expensive, increased border enforcement ended up lengthening stays in the United States; in the case of Mexican workers, many who would have returned to Mexico periodically instead decided to settle in the United States and send for their families.³⁷ Although the number of undocumented Mexican immigrants has declined since 2007, Mexican immigrants still represent the largest proportion of undocumented, or about half in 2018. Mexico not only shares a nearly two-thousand-mile border with the United States but the 1965 act and later amendments created new restrictions on immigration from Mexico, which had not been included in earlier national origins quotas. Before 1965, Mexicans only faced qualitative restrictions, such as perceived illiteracy or lack of prearranged employment, not numerical limits. Indeed, legal Mexican immigration was considerable in the 1950s and early 1960s. Moreover, the Bracero program, which was established in 1942 and brought in several million Mexican agricultural workers on temporary work contracts, ended in 1964, closing off a major avenue for Mexicans to work legally, even if not permanently, in the United States.³⁸ Even though Mexicans dominate the undocumented population, other origin countries stand out too; three in Central America—El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras—and three in Asia—India, China, and the Philippines—together were estimated to be the source of a quarter of all the undocumented in 2018.³⁹

Contemporary immigrants also stand out for the great diversity of their socioeconomic as well as national backgrounds. Although Europeans who came at the turn of the twentieth century included a sizable number who had worked in skilled trades in the old country, the bulk were low-skilled workers with little or often no formal education; professionals and the highly educated were scarce. On average, eastern, southern, and central European immigrants at that time had a little more than four years of education compared to eight years for the native born.⁴⁰ Today, many immigrants are still poorly educated and low skilled; in 2019, 26 percent of immigrants twenty-five years and older in the United States lacked a high school diploma. However, 33 percent had a bachelor's degree or higher, almost the same as US-born adults. In recent years, the share of immigrants with these academic credentials has risen significantly among the newly arrived—up to 48 percent among the foreign born who entered the country between 2014 and 2019. It is no exaggeration to say that never in the history of US immigration has such a large proportion of new arrivals been so highly skilled and educated.⁴¹

Road Map

The story of how immigrants and their families have been transforming America is complex and sometimes surprising, so much so that a road map is helpful in describing the plan of the book. Chapter 2 begins with the subject of race. Perhaps no change produced by the post-1965 immigration is as dramatic, profound, and far-reaching as the transformation of the nation's racial composition as well as ideas about race and ethnicity. How and why have East Asian Americans gone from the “yellow peril” to “model minority”? What explains the normalization and widespread use of the Hispanic and Latino labels? How has immigration affected the meaning of Whiteness? Is it having an impact on perceptions of Blackness? I also peer into the future: Can the analysis of recent changes as well as those in the more distant past help identify forces that may create additional transformations in the racial order in the decades to come?

Chapter 3 turns the focus to cities, towns, and suburbs, where the huge growth in the immigrant population has given rise to astonishing levels of ethnic and racial diversity, to say nothing of a host of other, sometimes unexpected changes. Immigration has fueled population growth in urban America, given a new vitality to many cities and parts of rural America, and even helped account for decreases in urban crime. Recent arrivals have always been drawn to ethnic neighborhoods, but what new features have become prominent in these neighborhoods today? In another development, how has immigration contributed to the decline of all-White neighborhoods in metropolitan America? Contemporary immigration has also led to changes in the institutional landscape in communities around the country, bringing new religions, and providing the impetus for innovative programs and policies in many mainstream local institutions.

Chapter 4 moves on to the economy. The many millions of new immigrant workers have been a force for change and innovation, fueling growth in the American economy, and helping to shape the development of businesses and whole industries. Among the topics I explore are how immigrants have played a role in the success and dynamism of the remarkable new high-tech sector, reinvigorated many businesses and created entirely new ones, and helped many service industries expand, even stimulating a demand for workers in some fields.

Popular culture, a topic given short shrift in the scholarship on immigration, is at the center of chapter 5. Once again, immigrants are remaking what we think of as our uniquely American culture. If earlier Jewish and Italian immigrants brought us bagels and pizza, today's newcomers have made salsa and tacos standard fare as they have introduced a wide range of new tastes and cuisines. In virtually every area of popular culture—from music, dance, and film to theater, television, and literature—immigrants and their children have been introducing new themes or reviving old ones in original ways, and inventing new styles and cultural forms. At one and the same time, they have broadened mainstream American culture while also often creating new multiethnic mixes.

Chapter 6 attempts to unravel the multiple ways the post-1965 immigration has helped transform electoral politics in the early

twenty-first century. Not only has immigration emerged as a major focus of national political debates and campaigns; overt anti-immigrant rhetoric became a staple in the strategies of many Republican politicians, most notably Donald Trump, who gave it a legitimacy in political discourse at the highest levels. Immigration's impact has been felt as well in the reshaping of both the Democratic and Republican Parties' electoral coalitions—a shift with consequences in practically every corner of the political landscape. And a very different type of change stems from ethnic succession. Political figures with roots in the post-1965 immigration who have begun to win elected office are not simply new faces in old places but also have frequently introduced changes in the political sphere. Electoral politics of course is a fast-moving target, and among the many questions for the future is how the demographics stemming from immigration, including further shifts in the racial and ethnic composition of the electorate, will lead to additional changes in the political arena in the years ahead.

The concluding chapter has three main goals. One is to consider what we have learned about the impact of post-1965 immigration on this country. A second goal is to reflect on how—and why—the United States is distinctive in its recent experience with immigration-driven change as compared to western European countries. Finally, I raise questions about what may be in store in the future, with an eye, in particular, to the potential effects of the devastating coronavirus pandemic and recession. As millions of the US-born second generation grow up and enter adulthood, and as new arrivals settle in this country, they are destined to produce additional societal changes in the decades to come. In a time-honored fashion, we can expect immigrants as well as their children to continue to serve as a building block of the nation, molding and remolding it in new and sometimes unexpected ways.

INDEX

Page numbers in italics refer to illustrations.

- Abrajano, Marisa, 147–48
Abramowitz, Alan, 147
Across a Hundred Mountains (Grande), 114
Adichie, Chimamanda Ngozi, 114
Adobe Systems, 89
Adventures of Augie March, The (Bellow), 107
African Americans. *See* Black population in US; Blackness
African immigrants: anti-Muslim sentiment and, 67; film and television and, 112–13; literature and, 113–15; racial order and, 31–33, 35, 38–39; settlement patterns and, 59. *See also* Black population in US; Blackness
Afro-Caribbean population in US: discrimination and, 33–35; electoral politics and, 128; ethnic festivals and, 108; identity issues and, 31–33, 35; intermarriage and, 34; literature and, 113–14; music and, 116–17; racial order and, 31–33, 35; settlement patterns and, 57–58, 59
after-school institutions, 70
agricultural workers, 11, 79–80, 81
Alba, Richard, 4, 7–8, 39–40, 42, 64
Ali, Monica, 155–56
Alien Nation (Brimelow), 5
Ally McBeal (television series), 107
Amazon, 89
America for Americans (Lee), 131
American Party (Know Nothing movement), 132
Americanah (Adichie), 114
American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, 38–39
Amsterdam, 155
Ansari, Aziz, 107
anti-Asian sentiments, 22–23, 24–25, 166
anti-Black racism, 30–31, 33–34
anti-Catholicism, 132
Anti-Defamation League, 21
anti-immigrant politics, 95, 122–23, 130–36, 147–48, 156, 165
anti-Muslim sentiment, 66–68
anti-racism legislative initiatives, 157–58
anti-Semitism, 3, 18–21
Apple, 37–38, 88–89
Arizona, 29, 51, 144
Armony, Ariel, 90
Arpaio, Joe, 75
Asian Americans: COVID-19 pandemic and, 166; education and, 23–24, 63, 70; electoral politics and, 127, 128, 139–40, 144, 145–46; entrepreneurship and, 90, 91–92; ethnic festivals and, 108–9; film and television and, 107–8, 110–11, 112; food and, 105; intermarriage and, 24, 34, 40, 44; labor market and, 81, 85, 89; literature and, 113–14; music and, 107; nativist politics and, 22–23, 132, 134–35; racial order and, 16–17, 22–26, 37–38, 39–40; settlement patterns and, 47, 48, 52, 56, 58–59, 62–63. *See also* specific groups

- Asian supermarket chains, 90
asylees, 10
Atlanta, Georgia, 50–51, 52
- Bacall, Lauren (Betty Joan Perske), 110
bagels, 101–2
Baltimore, Maryland, 50, 60
Bancroft, Anne (Anna Maria Louisa Italiano), 110
Bangladeshis, 58
Beame, Abraham, 138
beauty salons, 91, 92. *See also* nail salons
Behold the Dreamers (Mbue), 114
Bellow, Saul, 107, 113
Berlin, Irving (Israel Beilin), 116
Beth Israel Hospital (New York), 73
Bezos, Jeff, 89
Bezos, Miguel “Mike,” 89
Biden, Joe, 127, 144, 148
Big Sick, The (2017 film), 111
bilingual education, 71–72, 142, 154
Bilingual Education Act (1968), 72
biracial individuals, 42–45
birthright citizenship (*jus soli*), 22, 156–57
Black immigrants. *See* African immigrants;
 Afro-Caribbean population in US
Black Lives Matter movement, 34
Black population in US: anti-racism legisla-
 tive initiatives and, 157–58; COVID-19
 pandemic and, 166; electoral politics and,
 138, 145–46; film and television and, 111;
 intermarriage and, 34, 40, 43–44; labor
 market and, 96–97; literature and, 115;
 party realignment and coalitions and,
 125–28; racial order and, 16–17, 21, 30–35;
 settlement patterns and, 51–52, 59. *See also*
 African immigrants; Afro-Caribbean
 population in US; Blackness
Blackness, 30–35, 44–45
border enforcement, 12, 74–75
Boston, Massachusetts, 51, 53, 67–68, 153
Bracero program, 12
Brentwood, New York, 61
Brick Lane (Ali), 155–56
Brief Wondrous Life of Oscar Wao, The (Díaz),
 107, 114
Brimelow, Peter, 5
Brin, Sergey, 3, 88
Brown Girl, Brownstones (Marshall), 115
Bruni, Frank, 165
Buffalo, New York, 86
Bureau of Labor Statistics, 98
burritos, 104
Bush, George H. W., 135
Bush, George W., 110, 133, 136, 145, 146–47
- Cage, Nicolas (Nicolas Coppola), 110
California: electoral politics in, 144; entre-
 preneurship in, 90; ethnic festivals in,
 108–9, 110; ethnic neighborhoods in, 60;
 housing market in, 86; labor market in,
 80; race and ethnicity in, 23, 29, 36–37;
 settlement patterns in, 57–58, 62–63
California Proposition 187 (1994), 144
caregiving jobs, 81–84, 162, 163
Carousel (musical), 116
Catholicism, 3, 18–19, 49, 65, 68–69, 132
Celler, Emanuel, 6
Charlie’s Angels (2000 film), 107
Charlotte, North Carolina, 58
Chen, Lily Lee, 63
Chicago, Illinois: educational institutions
 in, 71; hospitals in, 73; immigrant popula-
 tion in, 49, 51, 52, 55, 57, 62; Immigration
 and Customs Enforcement (ICE) in, 75;
 meatpacking industry in, 92; race and
 ethnicity in, 21, 49, 57
childcare workers, 82–83
Chinese Americans: education and, 23–24,
 70; electoral politics and, 186n69; ethnic
 festivals and, 108–9; ethnoburbs and, 63;
 film and television and, 107; food and, 63,
 99, 102–3; labor market and, 63; literature
 and, 107, 114; racial prejudice and, 22–25;
 religious institutions and, 63; settlement
 patterns and, 47, 58–59, 62–63
Chinese Exclusion Act (1882), 11, 22–23, 132
Chinese New Year, 108–9

- Chinese restaurants, 63, 90–91, 99, 153, 163–64
- Chipotle, 104
- Chishti, Muzaffar, 9
- chop suey, 99, 102
- chow mein, 102
- Christianity, 66
- Chung, Lee Isaac, 164–65
- Cinco de Mayo, 108–10, 119–20
- cinema, 100, 106–8, 110–11, 164–65
- citizenship, 22, 156–57
- Civil Rights Act (1964), 71–72
- civil rights movement, 125–26, 127, 135, 152, 157–58
- classical music, 106, 107
- Clerge, Orly, 32, 34
- Cleveland, Ohio, 62, 69, 71
- Clinton, Bill, 133, 136
- Clinton, Hillary, 127, 130, 146–47
- Colorado, 37, 93
- Columbus, Ohio, 69
- Columbus Day, 108, 109–10
- community institutions: overview of
immigration's impact on, 48–49, 61, 63;
educational institutions, 69–73, 76–77;
hospitals, 73–74, 76–77, 151, 163; local
governments, 74–77; religious institu-
tions, 49, 61, 63, 65–69, 76–77
- Congressional Asian Pacific American
Caucus, 140, 142
- Congressional Black Caucus, 140
- Congressional Hispanic Caucus, 140, 142
- construction industry, 79–80, 82, 86, 94, 96
- Cornell, Stephen, 42
- COVID-19 pandemic, 94–95, 98, 161–63, 166
- creolization, 182n2
- crime, 53–54
- Croker, Richard, 185n52
- Cruz, Ted, 140
- Cuban Americans: electoral politics and,
139, 140; entrepreneurship and, 89–90;
film and television and, 106–7; music
and, 116, 117; settlement patterns and, 57
- culture: “Americanization” and, 99–101,
104, 120; ethnic festivals and, 100, 108–10,
119–20; in Europe, 155–56; film and,
100, 106–8, 110–11, 164–65; food and,
99, 100–106, 119, 151; literature and,
106, 107, 113–15, 153; music and, 106,
107, 115–19, 120, 151, 153; “new faces in
old places” in, 106–8; new themes,
forms, styles, and sounds in, 109–18,
151; television and, 100, 106–8, 110–13;
theater and, 115–18
- Cupertino, California, 37–38
- Curtis, Tony (Bernard Schwartz), 110
- Dallas–Fort Worth–Arlington metropolitan
area, 48
- Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals
(DACA) program, 122, 133–34
- Democratic Party: ethnic succession and,
139–40; New Deal and, 124–25, 151; party
realignment and coalitions and, 3, 123,
124–31, 143–46, 151, 161–62, 165–66
- Detroit, Michigan, 71
- Deutsche Islam Konferenz, 159, 160–61
- Díaz, Junot, 107, 114
- Dinkins, David, 138
- dog whistle politics, 135
- Douglas, Kirk (Issur Danielovitch Demsky),
110
- Dukakis, Michael, 135
- “Easter Parade” (song), 116
- eBay, 88
- Eck, Diana, 67–68
- Eckstein, Susan, 89, 91
- economy: overview of impact of immigra-
tion on, 78–79, 97–98, 151; entrepreneur-
ship and, 86–87, 88–92, 153; future trends
in, 162–64; innovations and structural
transformations in, 78–79, 87–94, 97–98,
151–52; labor market and, 78, 79–86, 80,
89, 94, 95–97, 98; potential negative
effects of immigration on, 79, 94–97
- Edsall, Thomas, 136

- education and educational institutions:
 overview of immigration's impact
 on, 69–73, 76–77, 150–51; after-school
 institutions and, 70; Asian Americans
 and, 23–24, 63; bilingual programs and,
 71–72; newcomer schools and, 69–70
- El Salvador, 12, 61, 70
- eldercare, 82, 83–84
- electoral college system, 146–47
- electoral politics: overview of immigration's
 impact on, 122–24; anti-immigrant politics
 and, 122–23, 130–36, 147–48; ethnic suc-
 cession and, 123, 137–43; future trends in,
 123–24, 143–48, 165–66; party realignment
 and coalitions and, 123, 124–31, 143–46, 151,
 152, 161–62. *See also* politicians and elected
 officials
- Elizabeth, New Jersey, 57–58
- England, 150, 156
- English (language), 71–72, 73–74, 142, 154
- entrepreneurship, 86–87, 88–92, 98, 153
- Erie, Steven, 137
- Espiritu, Yen Le, 22
- Estefan, Gloria, 117
- ethnic festivals, 100, 108–10, 119–20
- ethnic neighborhoods, 48, 60–61, 152–53, 155
- ethnic succession, 123, 137–43
- ethnicity. *See* race and racial order
- ethnoburbs, 48, 61–63
- Europe: immigration in, 154–61. *See also*
 specific countries
- European Union (EU), 158
- Facebook, 88
- Fermi, Enrico, 2
- Ferrara, America, 111–12
- fertility rates, 162–63
- Filipino Americans, 25–26, 58–59, 107
- film, 100, 106–8, 110–11, 164–65
- Fiscal Policy Institute, 86–87
- Florida, 80, 83
- Foley, Neil, 29
- Fong, Hiram, 186n69
- food, 99, 100–106, 151. *See also* immigrant
 restaurants
- Food & Wine* (magazine), 105
- foreign born, definition of, 172n15
- Fort Lee, New Jersey, 62
- Fortune Cookie Chronicles, The* (Lee), 99
- Fox, Cybelle, 29
- France, 159–60
- French Council of the Muslim Faith
 (Conseil français du culte musulman),
 159, 160
- Fresh Off the Boat* (television series), 112
- Frey, William, 57
- Frida* (2002 film), 106–7
- Fuchs, Lawrence, 135
- Gabaccia, Donna, 100, 105, 119
- Gans, Herbert, 43, 62
- Garcetti, Eric, 139
- Garcia, Andy, 106–7
- General Tso's chicken, 102–3
- Georgia, 36–37
- German Americans, 71, 100
- Germany, 159–61
- gerrymandering, 147
- Gershwin, George (Jacob Gershowitz),
 116
- Gerstle, Gary, 68–69
- GI Bill (1944), 20
- Gilbert, Alan, 107
- Giuliani, Rudolph, 141
- globalization, 127, 129–30
- “God Bless America” (song), 116
- Goldfield, Hannah, 103
- Goodbye, Columbus* (Roth), 107
- Google, 88
- Gore, Al, 146–47
- Grande, Reyna, 114
- Grant, Madison, 19
- Great Depression, 124–25
- group-status threat, 37
- Guatemalans, 12, 61, 70
- Guglielmo, Thomas, 29

- H Mart, 90
hagwons (Korean American schools), 70
hair salons, 91, 95. *See also* nail salons
Haitian Americans, 32–33, 60, 116, 122. *See also*
 Afro-Caribbean population in US
Hajnal, Zoltan, 147–48
Haley, Nikki, 140
Hamilton (musical), 117, 118–19
Hamilton, Alexander, 2
Hamilton, Tod, 67
Hammerstein, Oscar, 116, 117–18
Handlin, Oscar, 167
Hart, Philip, 6
Hart-Celler Act (Immigration and
 Nationality Act, 1965), 6–13
Hartmann, Douglas, 42
Hayek, Salma, 106–7
health care professions, 85, 94, 98, 162, 163
Heller, Joseph, 113
Herc, DJ Kool (Clive Campbell), 116
high-skilled jobs and workers, 11, 13, 78,
 84–85, 88–90, 98, 162
high-tech industries, 88–90, 98, 151–52
Hilgers, Lauren, 90–91
Hindu population in US, 49, 61, 66–67
hip-hop music, 116–17, 118, 156
Hirschman, Charles, 87, 120
Hispanic population in US: COVID-19
 pandemic and, 166; educational institu-
 tions and, 69–70; electoral politics and,
 127, 128–30, 139–40, 142, 143–46, 165;
 ethnic festivals and, 108–9, 119–20;
 ethnic neighborhoods and, 61; film and
 television and, 106–8, 110–12, 113; food
 and, 103–6; intermarriage and, 29, 34,
 40, 44; labor market and, 58, 81, 93;
 literature and, 107, 113–14; music and,
 117–19; racial order and, 16–17, 26–30,
 39–40; religious institutions and, 61,
 66; settlement patterns and, 47, 52,
 55–58, 61. *See also* Mexican Americans
History of the American People, A (Wilson),
 134–35
Hochschild, Arlie, 129
hospitality industry, 82, 84, 95. *See also*
 immigrant restaurants
hospitals, 73–74, 76–77, 151, 163
housing market, 86
Houston, Texas, 49–50, 57, 59
Huang, Eddie, 112
Huntington, Samuel, 5

immigrant affairs offices, 74
immigrant restaurants: American foodways
 and, 99, 100–106; entrepreneurship and,
 90–91, 98, 153; future trends for, 163–64;
 settlement patterns and, 58, 63
immigration: overview of post-1965 impact
 of, 1–2, 3–5, 149–55; overview of pre-1965
 impact of, 2, 87–88, 97–98, 132; compared
 to immigration to Europe, 154–61; future
 trends in, 39–46, 123–24, 143–48, 161–67;
 impact of Immigration and Nationality
 Act (1965) on, 6–13, 7; pre-1965 legisla-
 tion and, 6, 11, 22–23, 132. *See also specific*
 topics and groups
Immigration Act of 1924 (Johnson-Reed
 Act), 6, 132
Immigration Act of 1990, 7, 172n23
Immigration and Customs Enforcement
 (ICE), 75
Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965
 (Hart-Celler Act), 6–13
Immigration Reform and Control Act of
 1986, 172n23
In the Heights (musical), 118
Indian Americans: education and, 23–24;
 electoral politics and, 140; film and
 television and, 107; intermarriage and,
 24; labor market and, 85, 89; racial order
 and, 23–24, 26
Indian Institutes of Technology, 89
Indianapolis, Indiana, 69
Inouye, Daniel, 186n69
intermarriage and mixed unions, 24, 29, 34,
 40, 42–45, 167

- interpreter services, 73–74
- Irish Americans: anti-immigrant politics and, 132; Catholicism and, 3; electoral politics and, 137, 151; ethnic festivals and, 108, 109–10; Know Nothing movement and, 132; literature and, 113; parochial schools and, 150–51; settlement patterns and, 47
- Italian Americans: anti-immigrant politics and, 132; Catholicism and, 3; electoral politics and, 137–38; ethnic festivals and, 108, 109–10; ethnic neighborhoods and, 60; film and television and, 110; food and, 100, 102; Whiteness and, 17, 18–22, 41, 102, 151
- Jacobson, Matthew Frye, 3, 18
- Jacoby, Tamar, 81
- Jamaican immigrants, 9, 32, 81–82, 116, 164.
See also Afro-Caribbean population in US
- Jandali, Abdulfattah, 88–89
- Japanese Americans: electoral politics and, 142–43, 186n69; internment of, 23; music and, 107; racial order and, 22, 23–24, 25–26
- Jardina, Ashley, 37, 129
- Jean, Wyclef, 116
- Jen, Gish, 107
- Jewish Consistoire Central, 160
- Jews in France, 160
- Jews in US: anti-immigrant politics and, 132; anti-Semitism and, 3, 18–21; education and, 71; electoral politics and, 137–38; ethnic neighborhoods and, 60; film and television and, 110; food and, 101–2; literature and, 107, 113; music and, 116, 117–18; religious institutions and, 49, 65; settlement patterns and, 47, 54–55, 60, 62; Whiteness and, 17, 18–22, 41, 102, 151
- Jiménez, Tomás, 63
- Jindal, Bobby, 140
- Jobs, Steve, 88–89
- Johnson, Lyndon B., 6, 125–26
- jus sanguinis, 157
- jus soli (birthright citizenship), 22, 156–57
- Justice for Janitors, 93
- Kahlo, Frida, 106–7
- Kamarck, Elaine, 144
- Kasinitz, Philip, 115
- Kennedy, John F., 2, 149
- Kennett Square, Pennsylvania, 109
- Khan, Sadiq, 156
- Kibria, Nazli, 28
- Kim, Rebecca, 70
- Kim, Young, 139
- Klein, Ezra, 134, 146
- Know Nothing movement (American Party), 132
- Ko, Lisa, 114
- Korean Americans: culture and, 164–65; educational institutions and, 23–24, 70; electoral politics and, 139–40; entrepreneurship and, 90, 91–92, 153; food and, 106; racial order and, 23–24, 25–26; settlement patterns and, 47, 52, 58–59, 62
- La Guardia, Fiorello, 2, 138
- labor organizations, 92–94
- Lahiri, Jhumpa, 107, 114
- Las Vegas, Nevada, 51, 53, 59
- Latino population in US. *See* Hispanic population in US
- Latinx term, 27
- Laurence, Jonathan, 159
- Leavers, The* (Ko), 114
- Lee, Erika, 18–19, 23, 131
- Lee, Jennifer, 24, 166
- Lender family, 101–2
- Lewiston, Maine, 31
- LGBTQ rights, 127, 152
- Liang, Zai, 163
- Lichter, Daniel, 55
- Lichter, Michael, 96–97
- literature, 106, 107, 113–15, 153
- Liu, Lucy, 107

- “Livin’ La Vida Loca” (song), 117
local governments, 74–77
London, 155, 156
López, David, 30
López, Ian Haney, 18
Los Angeles, California: crime in, 54;
electoral politics in, 139; ethnic festivals
in, 110; labor market in, 83, 87, 96–97;
labor organizations in, 93; population
in, 50, 57–58, 63; settlement patterns in,
49–50, 53, 57, 58–59, 62–63
low-skilled jobs and workers, 13, 78, 79–84,
80, 94–95, 162
- MacLeod, Mary Anne, 2
Mailer, Norman, 113
Making Hispanics (Mora), 27
Malamud, Bernard, 113
manufacturing sector, 78, 79–81, 87–88,
97–98
Marshall, Paule, 115
Martin, Dean (Dino Paul Crocetti), 110
Martin, Ricky (Enrique Martin Morales), 117
Masters of None (television series), 107
Matsunaga, Spark, 142–43
Mbue, Imbolo, 114
M. Butterfly (Hwang), 114
McCain, John, 127
meatpacking industry, 55–56, 78–79, 92–93,
94–95, 163
merengue, 116
Mexican Americans: electoral politics
and, 128–30; ethnic festivals and, 108–10,
119–20; film and television and, 106–7,
113; food and, 102, 103–5; labor market
and, 82; literature and, 114; music and,
117; racial order and, 26, 28–30; settle-
ment patterns and, 55, 57; temporary
visas and, 11; Trump’s anti-immigrant
politics and, 133–34; undocumented
immigrants and, 11–12, 30
Mexican-American War, 133
Mexican restaurants, 90
Miami, Florida: Black population in, 31–32,
59; electoral politics in, 139; ethnic neigh-
borhoods in, 60; immigrant population
in, 49–50; labor market in, 87, 89–90;
settlement patterns in, 57
Miami Vice (television series), 106–7
Miami–Fort Lauderdale–West Palm Beach
metropolitan area, 31, 59
Micron Technology, 89
Microsoft, 89
Middle Eastern and Arab Americans, 38, 58
Midwest, 48, 51, 55–56
Migration Policy Institute, 7, 95
Milkman, Ruth, 93
Minaj, Nicki (Onika Tanya Miraj), 116–17
Minari (2021 film), 164–65
Minneapolis, Minnesota, 31, 50, 54, 59
Miranda, Lin-Manuel, 117, 118–19
miscegenation laws, 29, 34
Miss Saigon (musical), 107
Mogford, Elizabeth, 87
Monterey Park, California, 63
Mora, Cristina, 27
multiracial individuals, 42–45, 167. *See also*
intermarriage and mixed unions
municipal identification cards, 74
murder rates, 53–54
Murphy, Stephanie, 139
music, 106, 107, 115–19, 120, 151, 153
musical theater, 115–16, 117–18
Musk, Elon, 89
Muslims in Europe, 159–61
Muslims in US: electoral politics and, 139;
film and television and, 112–13; as politi-
cians and elected officials, 68, 139; racial
order and, 38–39; religious institutions
and, 49, 61, 66–68, 76–77; travel ban on
Muslim majority countries and, 66–67,
122, 133. *See also* anti-Muslim sentiment
- nail salons, 91–92, 95, 98, 153
name changing, 110
Namesake, The (Lahiri), 107

- Nanjiani, Kumail, 111
Nashville, Tennessee, 58
Nathan, Joan, 101
Nation of Immigrants, A (Kennedy), 149
National Academy of Sciences, 4, 79, 84, 95–96, 153–54
National Domestic Workers Association, 94
National Taxi Workers Alliance, 94
nativism, 131–36
naturalized citizens, 18, 22–23, 128–29, 137
Nazi genocide, 21
Nee, Victor, 4, 7–8, 42
Neumann, John von, 2
Nevada, 29, 90, 144. *See also* Las Vegas, Nevada
New Deal, 124–25, 151
New Haven, Connecticut, 74
New Jersey, 83, 90. *See also* Fort Lee, New Jersey
New York City: crime in, 54; educational institutions in, 69, 71, 73; electoral politics in, 137–38, 141–42; entrepreneurship in, 90, 153; ethnic festivals in, 108; ethnic neighborhoods in, 60; food in, 101–2, 103; hospitals in, 73; labor market in, 80–81, 83, 84–85; municipal identification cards in, 74; race and ethnicity in, 21, 31–33, 34; settlement patterns in, 47, 49, 51, 52, 53, 54–55, 56–57, 58, 155
New York Philharmonic, 107
New York Times (newspaper), 114, 118, 165
New Yorker (magazine), 103, 112
New York–New Jersey metropolitan area, 34, 59, 91–92
newcomer schools, 69–70
Nguyen, Thanh-Nghi, 91
Nguyen, Viet Thanh, 114
niche stretching, 91
Nigerians, 35
No Child Left Behind Act (2001), 72
nonimmigrant visas, 10–11
Noticiero Univision (news program), 113
nursing homes, 163
Oakland, California, 69–70
Obama, Barack: Cinco de Mayo and, 110; DACA program and, 122, 133–34; electoral politics and, 127, 130; family of, 2; on immigration, 133, 136; racist “birther” myth and, 136
Ocean’s Eleven (2001 film), 106–7
Odem, Mary, 52
Okamoto, Dina, 26
Oklahoma (musical), 116, 117–18
Olmos, Edward James, 106–7
Omar, Ilhan, 68, 139
Omidyar, Pierre, 3, 88
O’Neill, Eugene, 113
Operation Wetback, 133
organized labor, 93, 127
Orlando, Florida, 48, 53
Painter, Nell Irvin, 37
Pakistani Americans, 43–44, 58, 111
Panda Express, 91, 103
Passing of the Great Race, The (Grant), 19
Paterson, New Jersey, 57–58
Peri, Giovanni, 89, 96
Pew Research Center, 44–45, 67, 126, 130, 144–45
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Italian neighborhoods in, 60; settlement patterns in, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54
Phoenix, Arizona, 51
Pichai, Sundar, 88
Pilcher, Jeffrey, 104
pizza, 100
Plunkett, George Washington, 137
police, 74–76
Polish immigrants, 71
politicians and elected officials, 63, 68, 130, 137–43, 153, 156
polyethnic neighborhoods, 48
Porgy and Bess (folk opera), 116
Portes, Alejandro, 3–4, 90, 171n4
Portman, Natalie (Natalie Hershlag), 110
Puerto Ricans, 26, 56–57, 182n58

- race and racial order: conceptualizations and evolution of, 3, 16–22; Asian Americans and, 16–17, 22–26; Black population and, 16–17, 30–35; compared to Europe, 157–58; electoral politics and, 123–24, 125–31, 134–36, 144–45, 147–48; in Europe, 155; film and television and, 110–11; food and, 102; future trends in, 39–46, 166–67; Hispanics and, 16–17, 26–30; literature and, 115; settlement patterns and, 56–59, 64–65, 76. *See also* Blackness; Whiteness
- Race Relations Act of 1965 (United Kingdom), 158
- Raleigh, North Carolina, 58, 59
- Ramos, Jorge, 113
- Ramy* (television series), 112–13
- rap music, 116–17, 118
- Reagan, Ronald, 135, 144
- real estate industry, 86
- Refugee Act of 1980, 172n23
- refugees, 10
- reggae music, 116
- religions and religious institutions: overview of immigration's impact on, 49, 61, 63, 65–69, 76–77, 151, 152; church-state relations and, 160–61; electoral politics and, 127; in Europe, 155, 159–61. *See also* Catholicism
- Remaking the American Mainstream* (Alba and Nee), 4
- Republican Party: anti-immigrant politics and, 122–24, 133–36, 147–48, 165; ethnic succession and, 140; party realignment and coalitions and, 123, 125–31, 143–46, 152, 162; structure of political system and, 146–47; undocumented immigrants and, 75–76; voter suppression and, 147
- Richman, Julia, 71
- Rihanna (Robyn Rihanna Fenty), 116–17
- Rockford, Illinois, 53
- Rodgers, Richard, 116, 117–18
- Romney, Mitt, 127
- Roosevelt, Franklin Delano, 124, 134–35
- Ross, Edward A., 19
- Roth, Philip, 107, 113
- Roth, Wendy, 28
- Rubio, Marco, 140
- rural areas, 55–56, 85, 92–93, 127
- Saint Patrick's Day, 108, 109–10
- Salonga, Lea, 107
- salsa (food), 104
- salsa (music), 116
- Salvadorans, 12, 61, 70
- Sampson, Robert, 53
- San Francisco, California: educational institutions in, 70; entrepreneurship in, 90; ethnoburbs in, 63; housing market in, 86; immigrant population in, 53, 58–59
- San Jose, California, 87
- Sandoval-Strausz, A. K., 131–32
- Santana, Carlos, 117
- Sargent, Greg, 145
- Saverin, Eduardo, 88
- Schuyler, Nebraska, 56
- second generation: Blackness and, 33, 35; culture and, 106–7, 113–14, 115–16; education and, 20, 24; electoral politics and, 128–29, 139–40, 153; entrepreneurship and, 90; in Europe, 155–57; food and, 101; housing market and, 86; innovations and structural transformations in US economy and, 87–88; integration of, 153–54; intermarriage and, 34; labor market and, 85–86; racial order and, 41–42; settlement patterns and, 56–57, 62
- September 11, 2001 attacks, 66
- service industries, 78, 95. *See also specific industries*
- settlement patterns: overview of immigration's impact on, 47–49; in cities and metropolitan areas, 49–55, 50, 56–64; crime and, 53–54; ethnic neighborhoods and, 48, 60–61, 152–53; new and changing institutions and, 48–49, 61, 63, 65–77,

- settlement patterns (*continued*)
152–53; racial and ethnic diversification
and, 56–59, 64–65, 76; in rural areas,
55–56; in suburban areas, 51–52, 54,
61–63, 76, 152–53
- Sheen, Charlie (Carlos Irwin Estévez), 110
- Shutika, Debra Lattanzi, 109
- Sides, John, 125, 129
- Silicon Valley, 63, 88–89, 108
- Singer, Audrey, 50
- Singer, Isaac Bashevis, 113
- Smalls, Biggie (Christopher Wallace), 116
- Smith, Zadie, 155–56
- Somali immigrants, 31, 68, 139
- Stand and Deliver* (1998 film), 106–7
- Stanton-Salazar, Ricardo, 30
- Steel, Michelle, 139
- Strickland, Marilyn, 139
- Suarez, Francis X., 139
- Suarez, Xavier Louis, 139
- Suárez-Orozco, Carola, 72
- Suárez-Orozco, Marcelo, 72
- Sun Belt, 48, 50–51, 54
- Supreme Court, 22–23, 34, 156–57, 158
- Szilard, Leo, 2
- Taco Bell, 104
- tacos, 104
- Tammany Hall, 137
- Tampa, Florida, 50
- technological change, 127, 129–30
- technology, 87–88
- Telemundo, 113
- television, 100, 106–8, 110–13
- Teller, Edward, 2
- terrorism, 66
- Tesla, 89
- Tet (Vietnamese New Year) festival, 108–9
- Texas: electoral politics in, 144, 147; ethnic
neighborhoods in, 60; immigrant popu-
lation in, 50; labor market in, 80; race
and ethnicity in, 29, 36–37; settlement
patterns in, 57–58
- Tex-Mex cuisine, 103–4
- Time* (magazine), 113
- Tlaib, Rashida, 68, 139
- Todorova, Irina, 72
- tortilla chips, 104
- travel ban, 66–67, 122, 133
- Tri-Caucus, 140
- Trump, Donald: anti-Asian sentiments
and, 24–25; anti-immigrant politics and,
95, 122–23, 130–31, 133–36; anti-Muslim
sentiment and, 66–67; electoral college
system and, 146–47; electoral politics
and, 127, 129; family of, 2
- Trump, Fred, 2
- Tweed, William Marcy “Boss,” 2
- Typical American* (Jen), 107
- Ugly Betty* (television series), 111–12
- undocumented immigrants: California
Proposition 187 (1994) and, 144; dis-
crimination and, 30; electoral politics
and, 128–30; labor market and, 81, 94;
municipal identification cards and,
74; national origin and number of,
11–12; policing of, 74–76; Trump’s
anti-immigrant politics and, 122–23,
131, 133–34
- union movement, 93–94
- Univision, 113
- US Bureau of Labor Statistics, 162
- US Customs and Border Protection, 142
- US-Mexico border, 74–75, 122, 133, 142
- Vaisse, Justin, 159
- Vickerman, Milton, 35
- Vietnamese Americans, 24, 52, 58–59, 90,
91, 139
- Villaraigosa, Antonio, 139
- voter suppression, 147
- Voting Rights Act of 1965, 158
- Waldinger, Roger, 96–97
- Washington (state), 80, 90

- Washington, DC: Black population in, 59;
immigrant business in, 87; immigrant
population in, 50; immigrants in suburban
areas in, 52, 61
Washington Post (newspaper), 134
Waters, Mary, 34–35
Wessendorf, Susanne, 65
West Indian American Day parade, 108
Westport, Connecticut, 85
Whiteness: conceptualizations and
changes in contemporary US, 36–39;
Jews and Italians and, 17, 18–22, 41, 102,
151. *See also* intermarriage and mixed
unions
White population in US: electoral politics
and, 123, 124–32; intermarriage and, 24,
29, 34, 40, 42–45; racial order and, 16–17;
settlement patterns and, 47–48, 51–52,
63–65
White Teeth (Smith), 155–56
Who Are We? (Huntington), 5
Williams, Thomas Chatterton, 43
Wilson, Pete, 144
Wilson, Woodrow, 134–35
Winders, Jamie, 58
women's movement, 127, 152
worker centers, 93–94
World War II, 21, 23, 29
Worthington, Minnesota, 55–56
Wu, Ellen, 25
Wyoming, 146, 147
xenophobia, 24–25, 131–36, 165
Yadav, Monika, 166
Yahoo, 88
Yang, Jerry (Yang Chih-Yuan), 88
Youngstown, Ohio, 85
Youssef, Ramy, 112–13
Zhou, Min, 24, 70
Zolberg, Aristide, 172n23