A Study into Characteristics of Asian Immigrants in the United States of America:

The Background and Interaction of Bangladeshi Immigrants in New York City

SUZUKI Yayoi, SATO Kazuhiko, and DUFFILL Paul William

Abstract

This study sheds light on the characteristics of the recent increased immigration into the United States of America by focusing on Bangladeshi nationals in New York City, their background and interaction with immigrants from other South Asian countries.

The main factors behind Bangladeshi immigration to the United States are the low demand for labor in Bangladesh, substantial daily labor as non-regular demand for various fields in peripheral areas in New York as a global city, strong local and international networks among the people of Bangladeshi origin, and the U.S. immigration policy.

Typically, first-generation Bangladeshi immigrants who have obtained Bachelor's or Master's degrees prior to immigrating, including those who in their country of origin belong to the middle class, become incorporated into the working class in the United States after immigrating to New York City - they provide for their families and try to create a better future for them by working long hours.

Simultaneously, at their immigration destinations, Bangladeshis have been creating communities, networks, and developing mutual understanding based on family ties, common religion, traditional customs, and their mother tongue. The authors' initial surveys between 2010 and 2016 mainly focused on the first generation, at which time the mutual support between those who had migrated from Bangladesh and those who had remained in the country seemed clearly visible.

However, during field research in 2017 and 2018, the authors found that Bangladeshis and Pakistanis, as well as second-generation Bangladeshi and Indian immigrants, were working together in Jackson Heights in New York City, forming a single community. In addition, second-generation Bangladeshi and Pakistani often meet and engage with each other at American universities based on their shared religion.

This inter-ethnic and cross-regional interaction, which they do not experience in their

countries of origin, is an indication of the cultural diversity and mutual support that exists among South Asian immigrants in New York City.

Ⅰ. Introduction

An enormous amount of foreign aid, often in large-scale economic development, has been provided to Bangladesh since its independence in 1971. However, based on previous studies and Suzuki and Sato's long-term field research since 1997 (Suzuki 2016), it is clear that poor people mainly continue to face numerous severe social issues. Economic and regional disparities in Bangladesh have been widening, with a limited number of people monopolizing wealth. At a national level too, economic deprivation is a critical issue, with, as of 2016, more than 24.3% of the Bangladeshi population living in absolute poverty (BBS 2021).

What has become apparent through Suzuki and Sato's almost 25 years of research in Bangladesh, the United Arab Emirates (UAE), and the United States of America (USA) is that Bangladeshis have maintained solid community ties, buttressed by mutual support and large families. Overwhelmingly, Bangladeshi communities maintain close community relations, prefer not to live separately or alone, and therefore do not necessarily wish to work overseas. This then begs the question: what are the factors behind Bangladeshi immigration, mainly to Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries or their continued movement between different host countries? What prompts so many Bangladeshis to migrate to mainly GCC countries to leave their native country and their family members behind?

Most children in Bangladesh grow up with a high degree of affection within large families (although some cases are different, for example, child labor, mainly child domestic servants),[1] and children typically try to follow traditional customs and cultural norms dutifully. Therefore, it is almost expected that Bangladeshis will try to find work in order to fulfill filial duties and support the future of their children and siblings. Thus working overseas became essential for many Bangladeshis as they were seeking to help cover the living costs of their families.[2]

Many Bangladeshi workers face particularly strong drivers that force them to work overseas, such as limited domestic labor demand, daily wages kept low, and high rates of unemployment. One indicator of the limitations within the domestic labor market is that the national average monthly income for paid employees was 12,897 Bangladeshi takas (BDT)[3] in 2016: 12,072 BDT for women and 13,127 BDT for men. There is also a marked rural and urban divide: with monthly earnings in rural communities averaging 11,527 BDT(10,988 BDT for women and 11,635 BDT for men) while urban workers average 15,066 BDT (13,021 BDT for females and 15,945 BDT for males).[4] While comparisons between domestic average incomes and incomes earned by Bangladeshi immigrants in the United States should be used with caution because of the differences between the national contexts (such as differences in local price indexes and minimum costs of living), it is noteworthy that the Bureau of Bangladesh Statistics (BBS) estimated that the domestic unemployed population was more than 25 million in 2015 (BBS 2017,

Table 1: Persons Obtaining Legal Permanent Resident Status by Region of Birth (Fiscal Years 2003 to 2022)

	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Total	703,542	957,883	1,122,257	1,266,129	1,052,415	1,107,126	1,130,818	1,042,625	1,062,040	1,031,631	990,553
Africa	48,639	66,417	85,094	117,421	94,710	105,915	127,046	101,355	100,374	107,241	98,304
Asia	250,448	342,930	411,722	440,335	397,834	399,027	413,312	422,063	451,593	429,599	400,548
Europe	93,960	124,884	164,989	146,292	106,566	103,782	105,476	88,801	83,850	81,671	86,556
North America	249,919	342,383	345,476	413,992	339,294	393,196	375,180	336,553	333,902	327,771	315,660
Oceania	4,351	5,985	6,546	7,384	6,101	5,263	5,578	5,345	4,980	4,742	5,277
South America	55,024	72,057	103,127	137,971	106,516	98,549	102,860	87,178	86,096	79,401	80,945
Unknown	1,201	3,227	5,303	2,734	1,394	1,394	1,366	1,330	1,245	1,206	3,263

	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	Total (2003-2022)
Total	1,016,518	1,051,031	1,183,505	1,127,167	1,096,611	1,031,765	707,362	740,002	1,018,349	20,439,329
Africa	98,413	101,415	113,426	118,824	115,736	111,194	76,649	66,211	89,571	1,943,955
Asia	430,508	419,297	462,299	424,743	397,187	364,761	272,597	295,306	414,951	7,841,060
Europe	83,266	85,803	93,567	84,335	80,024	87,597	68,994	61,521	75,606	1,907,540
North America	324,354	366,126	427,293	413,650	418,991	370,860	222,272	240,435	332,672	6,889,979
Oceania	5,112	5,404	5,588	5,071	4,653	5,359	3,998	4,147	5,132	106,016
South America	73,715	72,309	79,608	79,076	78,869	90,850	62,219	71,371	99,025	1,716,766
Unknown	1,150	677	1,724	1,468	1,151	1,144	633	1,011	1,392	34,013

Note: This table was compiled by the author.
Source: Table 3. Persons obtaining legal permanent resident status by region and country of birth: fiscal years 2003 to 2012, and Table 3. Persons obtaining lawful permanent resident status by region and country of birth: fiscal years 2013 to 2022 in Office of Homeland Security Statistics, U.S. Department of Homeland Security, *Yearbook of Immigration Statistics 2012*, p.18 and ibid., *2022*, p.12.

p.69). Furthermore, even in rural areas, price indexes have risen disproportionately compared to wages following the penetration of the monetary economy since the Green Revolution (Suzuki 2016). The number of Bangladeshis seeking jobs abroad has rapidly increased for these reasons.

As noted above, GCC countries have been the top destination for Bangladeshi migrant laborers.[5] However, even there, their wages are kept low, and as unskilled laborers, mainly cleaning or construction labor, they are forced to work disproportionately long hours. Moreover, the Kafala sponsorship system has restricted their fundamental human rights and the quality of their working conditions, especially in the UAE (Ali 2010, Human Rights Watch 2006: 2014). What is more, unlike other common host countries, such as the United States, UAE immigration policy does not offer a realistic pathway to citizenship or even permanent residency for foreign workers.[6] Many Bangladeshis desired to immigrate to the United States through information obtained from laborers who had previously migrated to GCC countries and were facing such circumstances.

This study aims to address the lack of attention in the existing scholarship by analyzing the characteristics and factors behind this immigration in the United States. Data sources used in this research will include official statistical data, comparative analysis of immigration policies, and analysis of data collected from semi-structured interviews of Bangladeshi immigrant workers[7] in the United States, principally in New York City (NYC).

II. The recent trend of increasing migration to the United States of America

According to the latest official statistical data - from the Yearbook of Immigration (2022) - in the fiscal year 2022, persons from almost 200 countries were eligible to apply to become Lawful Permanent Residents (LPRs) of the United States. The Office of Homeland Security explains that "Lawful Permanent Residents (LPRs), also known as 'green card' holders, are noncitizens who are lawfully authorized to live permanently within the United States. LPRs may accept an offer of employment without special restrictions, own property, receive financial assistance at public colleges and universities, and join the Armed Forces. They also may apply to become U.S. citizens if they meet certain eligibility requirements."[8]

From 2005 to 2019, more than one million persons obtained this status every fiscal year (except for 2013, when 990,553 persons obtained this status). In 2020 and 2021, the total number temporarily decreased due to the impact of COVID-19; despite the severe difficulties resulting from COVID-19 and other factors, 1,018,349 persons obtained LPRs again in 2022 (see Table 1).

The proportion of LPR recipients from Asia accounts for approximately 40.0% of LPRs annually, and the total number over the past 20 years is over 7.8 million (see Table 1). However, people of Asian origin in New York City feel uncomfortable about being lumped together, prima

facie or ab initio, in a single breath as the assumedly homogeneous category of "Asians." Nor is this characterization necessarily accurate in terms of objective facts such as demographic statistics. Indeed, it is a typical answer of the first generation that "I am nothing more than what I am from Bangladesh, and I currently live and work for my family members' future in New York City."

Table 2 identifies countries in Asia with more than 10,000 persons annually who obtained the LPR status from 2013 to 2022 (except for the above-mentioned anomalies of 2020 and 2021). It is clear that people of Indian and Chinese origin form the majority here, with 127,012 coming from India and 67,950 from China in 2022, followed by the Philippines (35,998), Vietnam (24,425), Korea (16,172), Nepal (11,777), and Bangladesh (10,858).

The Immigration and Nationality Act (INA) provides various bases for obtaining the LPR status.[9] Again, LPR recipients from Asia stand out as unique. For example, people who obtained the LPR status based on their connection to relatives who are naturalized United States citizens account for 42.1% of the total number of LPRs granted in 2022, but only 28.1% of them are from Asia. Moreover, while employment-based preferences comprised 26.5% of the total number of LPRs, the percentage of LPR recipients from Asia within this category was more than 44.8% (see Table 3). These percentages, however, vary widely among various Asian countries of origin. The high percentage of employment visas in Asia is mainly attributed to the exceptionally high percentages among LPR recipients from India and China. However, LPRs from Bangladesh stand out even among Asian countries. In contrast to India, China, and the average among people from Asia, people from Bangladesh gain a high percentage of kinship visas and only 18.8% of employment visas (see Table 4).

Furthermore, the Diversity Visa, available from 1995 to 2012 in Bangladesh, was hugely

Table 2: Persons Obtaining Legal Permanent Resident Status by Country of Birth (Fiscal Years 2013 to 2022)

	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022
Total (eight countries)	283,365	300,313	287,675	313,885	282,242	267,275	260,152	187,169	222,876	306,202
Bangladesh	12,099	14,645	13,570	18,723	14,693	15,717	15,176	9,272	6,405	10,858
China, People's Republic	71,798	76,089	74,558	81,772	71,565	65,214	62,248	41,483	49,847	67,950
India	68,458	77,908	64,116	64,687	60,394	59,821	54,495	46,363	93,450	127,012
Korea, South	23,166	20,423	17,138	21,801	19,194	17,676	18,479	16,244	12,351	16,172
Nepal	13,046	12,357	12,926	12,851	11,610	11,953	10,201	7,847	7,309	12,010
Pakistan	13,251	18,612	18,057	19,313	17,408	15,802	13,921	10,474	9,691	11,777
Philippines	54,446	49,996	56,478	53,287	49,147	47,258	45,920	25,491	27,511	35,998
Vietnam	27,101	30,283	30,832	41,451	38,231	33,834	39,712	29,995	16,312	24,425

Note: This table was compiled by the author.
Source: Table 3. Persons obtaining legal permanent resident status by region and country of birth: fiscal years 2013 to 2012 in Office of Homeland Security Statistics, U.S. Department of Homeland Security, *Yearbook of Immigration Statistics 2022*, pp.12-15.

Table 3: Persons Obtaining Lawful Permanent Resident Status by Broad Class of Admission and Region of Birth (Fiscal Year 2022)

	Total		Immediate relatives of U.S. citizens		Family-sponsored preferences		Employment-based preferences		Diversity		Refugees and asylees		Other	
	Population	Percentage	Population	Percentage	Population	Percentage	Population	Percentage	Population	Percentage	Population	Percentage	Population	Percentage
Total	1,018,349		428,268	42.1	166,041	16.3	270,284	26.5	43,233	4.2	83,082	8.2	27,441	2.7
Africa	89,571		37,576	41.9	10,431	11.6	11,694	13.1	12,904	14.4	16,806	18.8	160	0.2
Asia	414,951		116,745	28.1	57,375	13.8	185,952	44.8	17,739	4.3	24,156	5.8	12,984	3.1
Europe	75,606		30,626	40.5	7,925	10.5	22,997	30.4	8,896	11.8	4,997	6.6	165	0.2
North America	332,672		190,848	57.4	73,498	22.1	27,384	8.2	872	0.3	26,889	8.1	13,181	4.0
Oceania	5,132		2,148	41.9	496	9.7	1,460	28.4	997	19.4	14	0.3	17	0.3
South America	99,025		49,705	50.2	15,834	16.0	20,731	20.9	1,661	1.7	10,175	10.3	919	0.9
Unknown	1,392		620	44.5	482	34.6	66	4.7	164	11.8	45	3.2	15	1.1

Note 1: This table was compiled by the author.
Note 2: That might be a round-off error due to limited decimal places in the calculation.
Source: Table 10. Persons obtaining lawful permanent resident status by broad class of admission and region and country of birth: fiscal year 2022 in Office of Homeland Security Statistics, U.S. Department of Homeland Security, ibid., p.28.

Table 4: Persons Obtaining Lawful Permanent Resident Status by Broad Class of Admission and Country of Birth (Fiscal Year 2022)

	Total	Immediate relatives of U.S. citizens		Family-sponsored preferences		Employment-based preferences		Diversity		Refugees and asylees		Other	
	Population	Population	Percentage	Population	Percentage	Population	Percentage	Population	Percentage	Population	Percentage	Population	Percentage
Bangladesh	10,831	5,668	52.3	2,373	21.9	2,038	18.8	D	D	752	6.9	D	D
China, People's Republic	67,950	16,698	24.6	11,738	17.3	30,514	44.9	33	0.04	8,861	13.0	106	0.2
India	127,012	20,396	16.1	8,055	6.3	96,335	75.8	56	0.04	1,829	1.4	341	0.3
Korea, South	16,172	4,622	28.6	1,169	7.2	10,338	63.9	15	0.09	10	0.06	18	0.1
Nepal	12,010	2,866	23.9	2,510	20.9	2,463	20.5	2,894	24.1	1,262	10.5	15	0.1
Pakistan	11,777	5,122	43.5	2,688	22.8	2,880	24.5	6	0.1	1,027	8.7	54	0.5
Philippines	35,998	15,034	41.8	3,573	9.9	17,127	47.6	12	0.03	35	0.09	217	0.6
Vietnam	24,425	11,446	46.8	9,749	39.9	2,995	12.2	4	0.01	89	0.7	142	0.5

Note 1: This table was compiled by the author.
Note 2: That might be a round-off error due to limited decimal places in the calculation.
Source: Table 10. Persons obtaining lawful permanent resident status by broad class of admission and region and country of birth: fiscal year 2022 in Office of Homeland Security Statistics, U.S. Department of Homeland Security, ibid., pp.28-30.

popular, and many Bangladeshis applied for it. Many rural Bangladeshi residents had no personal computers at that time went to bazaars to computer stations to try to obtain the green card within this framework.[10] In fact, the total number of Bangladeshis applying online for the LPR status through the electronic Diversity Visa Program in 2012, the only relatively recent year for which data is available, was 8,562,251.[11] Despite such a large number of applicants, only 295 people were able to obtain the LPR status through that program.[12]

In addition, the proportion of refugees and asylees stood at 18.8% for Africa, 10.3% for South America (Table 3), 8.7% for Pakistan, and 6.9% for Bangladesh (Table 4).

To better understand the significance of these drivers of LPR status, we must also consider the following: Why do people try to obtain the status of LPR in the United States? Based on our limited field research with interviews mainly with Bangladeshi LPR holders in New York City who were not trained lawyers nor formal legal experts, Bangladeshi LPR holders understand this information very well. No Bangladeshi immigrants we interviewed expressed a desire to join the U.S. military. Most aim to transition from LPRs to citizenship. The conditions (for example, the commission of no crime) for acquiring citizenship and the interview content are widely shared among Bangladeshis, and this form of community solidarity through information sharing is highly recommended for immigrants from developing countries.

The goal among Bangladeshi immigrants is very rarely to stay long-term in GCC countries based partly on the common knowledge that, despite many Bangladeshis immigrating to get steady income jobs in GCC countries, there is no pathway to citizenship even if they stay and work hard there for a large number of years.[13]

Economic conditions in Bangladesh were described in Chapter 1 as one of the push factors of immigration, but another element behind their immigration to the United States are pull factors, of which U.S. immigration policies are a significant component – and a component that is largely the result of choices made during decision-making by the U.S. government and U.S. Congress. And it became clear through the interview data collected during the field survey that both these "push" and "pull" factors are highly related to the fact that Bangladeshi would be immigrants highly value the transition from LPR status to citizenship, which is generally allowed by U.S. policy. Indeed, most Bangladeshi nationals who have access to citizenship after obtaining LPRs do transition to citizenship. Another major factor in the commonality of this transition is that dual citizenship between Bangladesh and the United States is formally permitted by both governments. Even though first-generation immigrants have obtained permanent residence or citizenship in the United States, this does not negate the fact that overwhelmingly, they still identify with Bangladesh, are proud of their homeland's mother tongue, and recognize that they belong as Bangladeshis.

Ⅲ．Immigrants in New York City

People who have obtained LPR status are concentrated in large states such as California (183,921), Florida (113,653), New York (111,309), and Texas (109,720), and these four states and cities account for approximately half of the total in 2021. This is followed by New Jersey (54,958) and Washington, D.C. (31,835). California is where many people from China (22,421) and India (26,216) immigrate (Table 5). The majority of people from Bangladesh tend to move to New York State each year.[14] Among the eight countries listed in Table 5, the largest number of immigrants to New York State are from China (14,165), India (5,188), and Bangladesh (4,989). This is followed by Pakistan (2,006) and the Philippines (2,011).

As we have already mentioned, Sassen (2001) points out that New York City is a global city and discusses its characteristics and functioning within the global community. According to her, in NYC immigration plays specific key roles. For example, "the immigrant community can be seen as representing a small-scale investment of direct labor (through neighborhood upgrating) and of capital (through neighborhood commerce) in a city's economy" (ibid., p.321). In addition, "There is clearly a structural process at work here as well. Global cities are a key site for the incorporation of large numbers of immigrants in activities that service the strategic sectors. The mode of incorporation is one that renders these workers invisible, therewith breaking the nexus between being workers in leading industries and the opportunity to become – as had been historically the case in industrialized economies – a "labor aristocracy" or its contemporary equivalent" (ibid., p.322).

Before the spread of COVID-19, immigrant workers could be seen throughout the city: as well as information technology engineers and maintenance service laborers, they often served as sales staff at franchise stores, personnel in tourist souvenir shops and discount stores, mobile vendors, waitresses and waiters at restaurants, house maids, baby sitters, factory labors, as well as construction workers, cooks, and cleaning workers (Suzuki et al., 2017).

It is also known that immigrants have accounted for many precarious day labor jobs in the city (Pinedo-Turnovsky, 2019). Furthermore, the demand for domestic and childcare workers, who contribute to reproduction in the labor force, has also been increasing rapidly, which is why scholarly debates range from analyses of the labor conditions of immigrant workers to the regulation of the character of global capitalism (Sassen in Ehrenreich and Hochschild eds., 2003).

New York City has been the focus of much attention in immigration studies. In addition, some previous studies on immigration (for example, Ali and Hartmann (2015), Kasinitz et al., eds. 2004) have effectively elucidated the issues of second-generation immigrants, and we have learned a lot from them. Yet, while the body of research on second-generation immigrants has accumulated over time, the characteristics and experience of second-generation Bangladeshi

Table 5: Persons Obtaining Lawful Permanent Resident Status by State or Territory of Residence and Region and Country of Birth (Fiscal Year 2021)

	Total	California		Florida		New Jerjey		New York	
	Population	Population	Proportion of Total	Population	Proportion of Total	Population	Proportion of Total	Population	Proportion of Total
Total	1,018,349	183,921	35.9	113,653	11.2	54,958	5.4	111,309	10.9
Bangladesh	10,858	554	5.1	451	4.2	536	4.9	4,989	45.9
China, People's Republic	67,950	22,421	33.0	1,345	2.0	2,421	3.6	14,165	21.5
India	127,012	26,216	20.6	4,424	3.5	12,944	10.2	5,188	4.1
Korea, South	16,172	5,498	34.0	226	1.4	1,083	6.7	1,422	8.8
Nepal	12,010	1,158	9.6	209	1.7	220	1.8	1,632	13.6
Pakistan	11,777	1,200	10.2	387	3.3	825	7.0	2,006	17.0
Philippines	35,998	8,411	23.4	3,923	10.9	1,058	2.9	2,011	5.6
Vietnam	24,425	7,277	29.8	1,234	5.1	282	1.2	438	1.8
Sub-total (eight countries)	306,202	72,735	23.8	12,199	4.0	19,369	6.3	31,851	10.4

	Texas		Washington, D.C.		Sub total (Five States and Washington, D.C.)	
	Population	Proportion of Total	Population	Proportion of Total	Population	Proportion of Total
Total	109,720	10.8	31,835	3.1	605,473	59.5
Bangladesh	597	5.5	103	0.9	72,965	67.2
China, People's Republic	3,509	5.2	4,643	6.8	48,576	71.5
India	15,481	12.2	6,266	4.9	70,575	55.6
Korea, South	1,108	6.9	748	4.6	10,147	62.7
Nepal	2,020	16.8	355	3.0	5,641	47.0
Pakistan	2,004	17.0	223	1.9	6,701	56.9
Philippines	1,992	5.5	944	2.6	18,390	51.1
Vietnam	4,021	16.5	1,247	5.1	14,559	59.6
Sub-total (eight countries)	30,732	10.0	14,529	4.7	181,474	59.3

Note 1: This table was compiled by the author.
Note 2: That might be a round-off error due to limited decimal places in the calculation.
Source: Persons obtaining lawful permanent resident status by state or territory of residence and region and country of birth: fiscal year 2021 in Office of Homeland Security Statistics, U.S. Department of Homeland Security. ibid., p.28.

immigrants - despite their significance within both the global Bangladeshi experience and the global immigration experience - has been chronically under-studied. This is one area that the current research seeks to address.

Bangladeshi first-generation immigrants are employed in a wide range of sales, service, and some management positions in NYC. They work as team members or managers at famous franchise stores around Manhattan and Queens, mobile vendors on Main Street and Central Park, taxi drivers, discount shops or CVS pharmacy cashiers, gofers, and guides with signboards advertising pubs, waitresses or waiters in curry restaurants, or owners and managers in Bengali restaurants in Jackson Heights.

As noted in Suzuki et al. 2017, their educational background was above the high school level since among them there were university graduates and master's degree holders. Prior jobs they held in Bangladesh include government officer, government official, engineer, principal, teacher, airport staff member, and others. The educational background of the second-generation children who migrated from Bangladesh following the first-generation is also high. Based on this background, it may be deduced that these interviewees belonged to Bangladesh's quasi-middle class or upper-middle class (ibid.). Their primary initial purpose of immigration is typically to find a job and send remittances to their families back home. After settling, they strive to bring their family to the country to give them a better life and opportunities for higher-quality education (ibid.).[15]

For immigrants of Bangladeshi origins, religion, food, language, traditional customs, family, kinship, and community have played an important role. Bangladeshi immigrants in NYC are no exception, and they strive to maintain these values and pass them on to their children. Although first-generation immigrants typically acquire (or enhance) their English language skills for the purpose of daily living or work, they often use Bengali at home.

Although many children who are second-generation Bangladeshi immigrants have learned to speak Bengali, they typically report that reading and writing are very tough. Based on our research, some second-generation students answered they find it difficult to devote time and energy to reading and writing Bengali. In this respect, there are often differences in the value that the first and second generations place on the use and development of their Bangladeshi language skills.

Here, drawing on our long-term research, we will focus on cases in NYC where there is interaction that goes beyond the country or region of origin and where there is a clear difference in values between the difference between first- and second-generation and between men and women.

Jackson Heights

When an Indian grocery store opened in Jackson Heights around 2014, the manager said all the employees working at the store were from India.

However, during the author's field research in September 2018, it came to light that in fact, a second-generation Indian and a Bangladeshi were working together at the store, which was run by people from India and was selling daily necessities and accessories used in India, in line with Indian tradition. A young Indian woman (Ms. A) said, "I had to immigrate here at my brother's discretion after he immigrated here; I had no choice at all. I live with my brother's family in a rental apartment that is restricted in space, and I had to find a job due to the high cost of living. Our father owned a commodious house in India. So, when I came here, initially, I wanted to return to India. Also, I graduated from college in India but had never worked there. I am good at mathematics, so I am in charge of the cash register at this store. There are people from Bangladesh in the store, and I work with him."

The person from Bangladesh also said the following. "I also immigrated to NYC following my brother's family because of my brother's decision. I had no choice at all, and I also had to find a job. When I first moved to NYC, I struggled working long hours. It would help if you had cash to make a living, which means working long hours. When I first started, I worked as a pizza delivery worker, which was very demanding. I was looking for another job, and finally, I found a daily job here to organize items and serve customers. In particular, even though we are from a different country than Mr. A, I can sympathize with her because our circumstances are similar: there are things like we had no choice at all to move here following an elder brother, the hardships of living in NYC, and the sense of safety of talking about such as issues. And we are together. We do not have to worry about the difference in our mother tongue; our common language is English here, and I do not care about the country and region of origin inside the store."

In addition, two women, university graduates from Bangladesh, were working in a tailor store run by Pakistanis, serving customers and organizing the clothing. They both immigrated to New York City, following their husbands, respectively, gave birth there, and then looked for employment to support living costs and pay for her children's educational expenses. They consulted their husbands before starting to work. They said, that they all got along well. For example, Mrs. D said "This is New York City, so working together is essential. The owner and manager (Pakistanis) are very kind, and we can understand our sacred based on the same religion."

Manhattan

"When I first met you (2010), I said there was no need to be much worried about living here. I have a job. I brought my family to NYC, and they grew up well, graduated from college, and had access to a job or marriage. So that is fine. I am trying to become optimistic as much as possible. It is undoubtedly so. After staying in NYC many times and then living here for a year (2017), I'm sure you understand how difficult it is to live here and how difficult life is for immigrant workers.

I worked as a government official in Bangladesh. I immediately jumped at the information about diversity visas. I dreamed of moving to America and living a better life. However, the reality was harsh. I could only find jobs like this (salesperson at a souvenir shop, sorting souvenirs and taking inventory, etc.). Anyone can do this kind of work. In my mind, I think of it as a trash job. So, I'm wondering if this was good or bad for me. Also, I left my parents in Bangladesh. It is not easy to temporarily return to Bangladesh due to expensive air tickets. I can't say that I don't regret it, but my wife and daughters think life in America is better. That is 'freedom.' For example, going out in NYC is more accessible and straightforward than in Bangladesh. Therefore, I would like to say my long years in NYC are not bad."

University

Finally, I would like to touch on the history of Pakistan and Bangladesh and a case study that overcame the tradition of marriages arranged by family, relatives, or brokers in Bangladesh and Pakistan, respectively. Arranged marriage exists mainly in rural Bangladesh: many girls and women, especially from low-income families, have no choice, even regarding marriage. What is more, even in urban areas, traditionally rich parents tried to manage their children's marriages, claiming that family members' happiness is all that matters. Compared with this traditional value, the second generation's freedom to choose is much larger.

In the summer of 2018, a second-generation Bangladeshi master's student studying at a famous university said, "I will marry a man from Pakistan. At first, both of my parents were very much against our marriage. Those days my parents understand our marriage because he is an educated, kind, and very good guy. As you know, I also know the bloody history of Bangladesh and Pakistan. If I lived in Bangladesh, I would never marry a Pakistani because not only family relatives but also the community would never allow it. First, we don't even have a chance to meet each other. Here in New York, we can recognize we share the same religion and have much in common. Also, now, the common language is English. I am lucky I was lucky to follow my father in leaving my homeland. Because we can meet and marry a good person, beyond past military conflicts and conflicts over the official language. Where you are initially

from does not matter in the USA."

Ⅳ. Conclusion

This study analyzed the characteristics of the increase in Lawful Permanent Resident status holders in the United States, mainly among the people of Bangladeshi origin, the background of their immigration, and their interaction with other South Asian immigrants in New York City. This research also juxtaposed the experiences and conditions of first-generation Bangladeshi immigrants with second-generation Bangladeshi immigrants.

New York City has been recognized as one of the global cities in the midst of the process of globalization (Sassen), and is attracting the attention of immigration researchers as an immigrant labor hub that generates demand for non-regular workers and daily laborers in various peripheral fields. Furthermore, although valuable studies on first and second-generation immigrants have been undertaken, as discussed earlier in this paper, they have not provided enough clarity when it comes to the immigrants of Bangladeshi origin.

Also, while previous research has demonstrated that in New York City, communities have been formed among people of different backgrounds, an analysis of primary data collected through our surveys conducted in the fiscal year 2017 and the summer of 2018 shows that in some cases, exchanges have begun that transcend ethnicity and religious affiliation and are qualitatively of different nature from those identified in previous research.

A common thread that stood out in the data we collected was that many respondents reported that living and working conditions in New York City for immigrants were harsh and that the experience of working together in a new multi-national environment deepened mutual understanding among them.

Regarding the characteristics of second-generation Bangladeshi immigrants, we plan to conduct further field research based on the critical questions highlighted by Ali and Hartmann (2015), which have not yet been addressed: "Are the second generation even really immigrants? Or are they just part of a 'minority' group within the broader society in which they live? This is somewhat of a semantic question, as they can be both. (ibid., p.115)" The discovery of the importance of these questions and their answers are connected to Ali's latest publication (Ali and Chain, 2023), and we plan to engage further and continue our field research with him on these critical issues in New York City.

Footnotes

⑴ In Bangladesh due to strong labor demand even small children, coming from poor families, tended to work long

hours as servant in their employers' houses. This practice made it impossible for them to access primary education and constituted a violation of basic children's rights. See Suzuki (2023b).

⑵ Based on our field surveys undertaken twelve times between 1997 and 2012 in Bangladesh, in the UAE in 2010, 2012, and 2014, and the United States since 2010.

⑶ 1 Bangladesh taka (BGT) is equivalent to approximately 1.3 Japanese yen as of December 26, 2023. (https://www.xe.com/ja/currencyconverter/convert/?Amount=1&From=BDT&To=JPY) 〈retrieved: December 26, 2023〉.

⑷ Bureau of Bangladesh Statistics (BBS 2017). Also, see the Financial Express (https://today.thefinancialexpress.com.bd/last-page/minimum-wage-for-workers-gazetted-1703094038?fbclid=IwAR07AK0fa8TcGQAAyTtTwh-Otlz BVcoN3a2MBVxLhvYDYN5Nj6jPrA1Hkd0) 〈retrieved: December 26, 2023〉.

⑸ Ministry of Expatriates' Welfare and Overseas Employment (2012).

⑹ Based on our field surveys undertaken in the USA since 2010 and in the UAE in 2010, 2012, and 2014.

⑺ In this paper, the terms first-generation Lawful Permanent Residents (LPRs) or citizens refer to those who immigrate to the United States to find jobs and earn income. Their backgrounds generally differ from those of Bangladeshis who come to the United States to study.

⑻ U.S. Department of Home Security (https://www.dhs.gov/ohss/topics/immigration/lawful-permanent-residents) 〈retrieved: January 8, 2024〉.

⑼ Baugh (November 2023) p.2.

⑽ Based on our research in Bangladesh and the UAE. See footnote (2).

⑾ Refer to the data in the following document in 2017; Immigrant Number Use for Visa Issuances and Adjustments of Status in the Diversity Immigrant, Category, Fiscal Years (FY) 2005-2014 (Table VII) (https://travel.state.gov/content/dam/visas/Statistics/AnnualReports/FY2014AnnualReport/FY14AnnualReportTableVII.pdf) 〈accessed: April 29, 2017〉. The material was not available online at the time of the writing of this paper in January 2024.

⑿ Immigrant Number Use for Visa Issuances and Adjustments of Status in the Diversity Immigrant Category, Fiscal Years 2003-2012 (Table VII) (https://travel.state.gov/content/dam/visas/Statistics/AnnualReports/FY2012AnnualReport/FY12AnnualReport-TableVII.pdf) in Travel. State, Gov, U.S. Department of State-Bureau of Consular Affairs (https://travel.state.gov/content/travel/en/legal/visa-law0/visa-statistics/annual-reports/report-of-the-visa-office-2012.html) 〈retrieved: December 20, 2023〉.

⒀ Interviews with Bangladeshis in New York City. In addition, some Bangladeshis and other foreign nationals who live in Japan stated that securing citizenship would be complicated in case of Japan, too. "Even if people desire and have a chance to acquire Japanese nationality, they have to face using Kanji characters for their name, which is mandatory, and we have to give up doing so. Because, as you know, we are very proud of the Bengali language as our mother tongue" (Interviews with Bangladeshis and some other non-Japanese in Japan). In addition, see Vora (2013).

⒁ See more details in Suzuki et al (2017).

⒂ In contrast, workers from other immigrant communities commonly access professional jobs in the United States

since among them there are many of those who initially came to study at US universities.

References

Ali, Syed (2010) *DUBAI Gilded Cage*, Yale University Press: New Haven and London.

Ali, Syed, and Hartmann Douglas (2015) *Migration, Incorporation, and Change in an Interconnected World*, Routledge: New York and London.

Ali, Syed, and Chin, Margret M. (2023) *The Peer Effect: How Your Peers Shape Who You Are and Who You Will Become*, New York University Press: New York.

Ali, Syed (Monday, November 12, 2007, 00.56 GMT) *'You must come with us' in Guardian* (https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2007/nov/12/familyandrelationships.firstperson) ⟨retrieved: January 7, 2024⟩.

Bald, Vivek (2013) *Bengali Harlem and the Lost Histories of South Asian America*, Harvard University Press: Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London, England.

Baugh, Ryan (November 2023) *U.S. Lawful Permanent Residents: 2022 in Annual Flow Report, Office of Homeland Security* (https://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/2023-11/2023_0818_plcy_lawful_permanent_residents_fy2022_0.pdf) ⟨retrieved: December 28, 2023⟩.

Chenault, Lawrence R. (1938) *The Puerto Rican Migrant in New York City*, Columbia University Press: New York.

Eck, Diana L. (2001) *A New Religious America: How a "Christian Country" Has Become the World's Most Religiously Diverse Nation*, HarperSanFrancisco, A Division of Haper Collins Publications: New York.

Foner, Nancy ed. (2013) *One Out of Three: Immigrant New York in the Twenty-First Century*, Columbia University Press: New York.

Guest, Kenneth J. (2008) *God in Chinatown: Religion and Survival in New York's Evolving Immigrant Community*, New York University Press: New York and London.

Hassan, Munir (2008) *Complementarity between International Migration and Trade: A Case Study of Bangladesh* in Andaleeb, Syed Saad (ed.) *The Bangladesh Economy: Diagnoses and Prescriptions*, University Press Limited: Dhaka, Chapter 3, pp. 51-71.

Hoffnung-Garskof, Jesse E. (2021) *Racial Migrations: New York City and the Revolutionary Politics of the Spanish Caribbean*, 1850-1902, Princeton University Press: Princeton and Oxford.

Hum, Tarry, Hayduk, Ron, Jr. Francois Pierre-Louis, and Krasner, Michael Alan eds. (2021) *Immigrant Crossroads: Globalization, Incorporation, and Placemaking in Queens, New York*, Temple University Press: Philadelphia · Rome · Tokyo.

Human Rights Watch (2006) *Building Towers, Cheating Workers Exploitation of Migrant Construction Workers in the United Arab Emirates* (https://www.hrw.org/report/2006/11/11/building-towers-cheating-workers/exploitation-migrant-construction-workers-united) ⟨retrieved January 7, 2024⟩.

Human Rights Watch (October 2014) *I Already Bought You: Abuse and Exploitation of Female Migrant Domestic*

Workers in the United Arab Emirates.

Kasinitz, Philip, Mollenkopf, John H., and Waters, Mary C. eds. (2004) *Becoming New Yorkers, Ethnographies of the New Second Generation*, RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION: New York.

Pinedo-Turnovsky, Carolyn (2019) *Daily Labors, Marketing Identity and Bodies on a New York City Street Corner*, Temple University Press: Philadelphia, Pennsylvania・Rome・Tokyo.

Sassen, Saskia (2003) *Global Cities and Survival Circuits* in Ehrenreich, Barbara and Hochschild, Arlie Russell eds. *Global Woman: Nannies, Maids and Sex Workers in the New Economy*, Granta Books: London, pp.254-274.

Sassen, Saskia (2001) *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo*, Second Edition, Princeton University Press: Princeton and Oxford.

Sen, Amartya (2007) *The Global Economy* in Shaikh Nermeen, *The Present As History: Critical Perspectives on Global Power*, Columbia University Press: New York, Part one, pp.1-16.

Suzuki, Yayoi (2023a) *The Spread of Disparities and Inequality due to the Coronavirus Disease 2019: The Conditions Faced by Essential Immigrant Workers in New York City*, Bulletin of the College of Community and Human Services, Rikkyo University, No.25, pp.87-108.

Suzuki, Yayoi (2023b)「バングラデシュにおける社会開発と SDGs ── 現地 NGO の子どものメイドへの識字・教育活動 (In Japanese)」『RIKKYO ESD Journal』Research Center for Education for Sustainable Development, No.7, pp.23-30 ［in Japanese］.

Suzuki, Yayoi (2020) *A Study on the Background of Bangladeshi Migrant Labourers to the United Arab Emirates*, Journal of the Institute of Community and Human Services, Rikkyo University, No.8, pp.53-78.

Suzuki, Yayoi, Sato, Kazuhiko, and Zane, Ritchie (2017) *A study of the living conditions of Bangladeshi migrants in New York City*, Journal of the Institute of Community and Human Services, Rikkyo University, Vol. 5, pp.69-89.

Suzuki, Yayoi (2016)『バングラデシュ農村にみる外国援助と社会開発』日本評論社、pp.1-355 ［in Japanese］.

Vora, Neha (2013) *Impossible Citizens, Dubai's Indian Diaspora*, Duke University Press: Durham and London.

Statistics

Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (2021) *Statistical Yearbook of Bangladesh 2020*: Bangladesh.

Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (March 2017) *Quarterly Labour Force Survey Bangladesh 2015-16*.

Homeland Security, *Yearbook of Immigration Statistics 2022* (https://www.dhs.gov/ohss/topics/immigration/yearbook/2022)〈retrieved January 7, 2024〉.

Homeland Security, *Yearbook of Immigration Statistics 2014* (https://www.dhs.gov/yearbook-immigration-statistics-2014-lawful-permanent-residents)〈retrieved January 7, 2024〉.

Homeland Security, *Yearbook of Immigration Statistics 2012* (https://www.dhs.gov/publication/yearbook-immigration-statistics-2012-naturalizations)〈retrieved January 7, 2024〉.

Ministry of Expatriates' Welfare and Overseas Employment (2012) প্রবাসী:বাংলাদেশ (*Expatriate: Bangladesh* in

English).

Websites

Financial Express (December 21, 2023) *Minimum wage for workers gazetted,* VOL 31 NO 60 REGD NO DA 1589 (https://today.thefinancialexpress.com.bd/last-page/minimum-wage-for-workers-gazetted-1703094038?fbclid=IwAR0 7AK0fa8TcGQAAyTtTwh-OtlzBVcoN3a2MBVxLhvYDYN5Nj6jPrA1Hkd0) 〈retrieved: December 26, 2023〉.

Immigrant Number Use for Visa Issuances and Adjustments of Status in the Diversity Immigrant Category, Fiscal Years 2003-2012 (Table VII) (https://travel.state.gov/content/dam/visas/Statistics/AnnualReports/ FY2012AnnualReport/FY12AnnualReport-TableVII.pdf) in Travel. State, Gov, U.S. Department of State-Bureau of Consular Affairs (https://travel.state.gov/content/travel/en/legal/visa-law0/visa-statistics/annual-reports/report-of-the-visa-office-2012.html) 〈retrieved: December 20, 2023〉.

Immigrant Number Use for Visa Issuances and Adjustments of Status in the Diversity Immigrant Category, Fiscal Years 2003-2012 (Table VII) (https://travel.state.gov/content/dam/visas/Statistics/AnnualReports/ FY2012AnnualReport/FY12AnnualReport-TableVII.pdf) in Travel. State, Gov, U.S. Department of State-Bureau of Consular Affairs (https://travel.state.gov/content/travel/en/legal/visa-law0/visa-statistics/annual-reports/report-of-the-visa-office-2012.html) 〈accessed: April 29, 2017〉.

NYC Mayor's Office of Immigrant Affairs, *A Demographic Snapshot: NYC'S Asian and Pacific Islander (API) Immigration Population* (https://www.nyc.gov/assets/immigrants/downloads/pdf/Fact-Sheet-NYCs-API-Immigrant-Population.pdf) 〈retrieved: December 28, 2023〉.

U.S. Department of Home Security, Office of Homeland Security (https://www.dhs.gov/ohss/topics/immigration/ lawful-permanent-residents) 〈retrieved: January 8, 2024〉.

XE (https://www.xe.com/ja/currencyconverter/convert/?Amount=1&From=BDT&To=JPY) 〈retrieved: December 26, 2023〉.