GUATEMALAN ETHNIC ISLET IN A KOREAN ETHNOBURB

Halyna Lemekh

St. Francis College

hlemekh@sfc.edu

Paper Presented at the 2021 ASN World Convention, 5-8 May 2021

Do No Cite Without the Permission of the Author

INTRODUCTION

Palisades Park, located in the New York metropolitan area, is one of the most prominent Koreatowns in the US. As the sobriquet suggests, Palisades Park's popularity stems from its unusual cultural atmosphere established by Korean immigrants, the majority-minority group in the area. Thus, according to the Census, in 2019, Asians made up 59 percent of the Koreatown's population, Hispanics represented 20 percent, while non-Hispanic Whites, most of whom are old-timers, accounted for a mere 18 percent of Palisades Park's inhabitants.

This demographic mélange of the Palisades Park at present ensued from the gradual but steady population shifts. Following the renowned invasion-succession pattern, Koreans started arriving at the place in the 1990s, while White old-settlers, having made a profit from selling their real estate to the Koreans, fled the town in considerable numbers. The Census data of the 1980s shows that in 1980, 89 percent of Palisades Park's residents were White, and only 5.7 percent (3.7 percent of whom were Japanese) were Asian. Hispanics made up a minuscule 4.5 percent of the population. In the 1990s, the number of White residents shrank to 68 percent, while the number of Asians rose to 20 percent (with Koreans making up 11 percent of the dwellers). At the same time, the number of Hispanics was gradually swelling to 11 percent. A decade later, in 2000, Asians made up 41 percent of the population (with Koreans accounting for 36 percent), and the number of Whites dipped even further to 39 percent. Hispanics were on the rise, constituting 16.5 percent of the total population. This trend continued in 2010, with more Koreans moving to the town and becoming the population's numerical majority (52 percent). That year, Asians accounted for a whopping 58 percent of the total population, with Whites remaining at a mere 22 percent. The number of Hispanics was still on the rise, reaching an unprecedented 18 percent of the total population (Min, 2012).

Although the numbers do reflect the dynamics of the population turnover in Koreatown, they do not illuminate the bigger picture of profound transformations taking place in this once tranquil white neighborhood during its meteoric rise to a Korean ethnoburb. As stated by Wei Li (2009:29), ethnoburbs replicate some characteristics of an ethnic enclave and some features of a suburb without a specific minority identity. They provide an alternative type of ethnic settlement

and coexist along with traditional ethnic ghettos and inner-city enclaves. However, in contrast to ethnic ghettos and inner-city enclaves, Asian ethnoburbs reflect the new immigrant entrepreneurial class's relative affluence. A unique social milieu conducive to upward social mobility is fostered by the social embeddedness of ethnic economic activities (Zhou 2009). The immigrant entrepreneurial class's economic dynamism exerts a positive influence on economic growth, frequently leading to revitalization and gentrification of run-down neighborhoods (De Haas et al., 2020). Once Korean immigrants have established the ethnoburb in Palisades Park, the town's landscape continues to undergo rapid changes reminiscent of gentrification. Such immigrants' gentrification, which I call *immigrification*, refers to the revitalization of a suburban neighborhood by an affluent ethno-racial immigrant group with a sizable entrepreneurial class, triggering the old-timers' displacement - the white exodus - in the process. Over a decade or two, the town did not only undergo a "facelift" but a radical makeover. The old-timers' single-family and two-family houses were mercilessly demolished and replaced with humongous duplexes and triplexes mushrooming in the region. This research has revealed that the large duplexes, sphinxes of modern architecture in Palisades Park, manifest their occupants' prosperity and profit-making strategic investments, providing many Asian owners with rent-collection prospects. While the town's priggish façade is impeccable, invisible to the naked eye is the abject poverty of some of its inhabitants, especially Guatemalan immigrants, whose labor is in high demand in the neighborhood undergoing gentrification.

At present, more than 20 percent of the Koreatown's population consists of Hispanics, most of whom are newly arrived Guatemalan immigrants. In search of jobs, they gravitate to Palisades Park; its employment opportunities abound. Without question, the ubiquitous labor-intensive construction of duplexes, new restaurants, and small businesses generates job prospects for those willing to work for less than the minimum wage. As noted by De Haas et al. (2020:287), one study found that, on average, a self-employed migrant owning small or medium enterprises provides between 1.4. and 2.1. additional jobs. Hence, it comes as no surprise that Palisades Park, a Korean ethnoburb gentrified by immigrants, hosts a Guatemalan ethnic islet, its size on the rise.

Like other ethnoburbs, Palisades Park is a multiracial, multiethnic, multicultural, and multilingual community, "in which one ethnic minority group has a significant concentration but does not necessarily comprise the majority" (Li, 2009: 29). Among many residents populating Palisades Park are Irish, Germans, Italians, Croats, and other White ethnics who have resided in the town for a considerable period and are considered old-timers. One can also find White ethnics among newly arrived immigrants, including Romanians, Poles, Soviet Jews, Ukrainians, and others. Hispanics, both old-timers and newly arrived immigrants, comprise Puerto Ricans, Dominicans, Columbians, and Salvadorians, to name a few. Asians also cover the whole spectrum of ethnicities, including Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos, and Vietnamese. This research mostly focuses on the relationships between the two racial groups, whose frequent encounters and interactions weave a fabric of the community structure and define the character of the place. Is the invasion-succession process smooth and painless, or is it replete with strain and resentment? Do the residents of the town welcome newly arrived Guatemalan immigrants? What are the relationships between Hispanics and their hosts in the Koreatown? These are the

questions this presentation seeks to address by disentangling and analyzing the complicated relationships between the Korean and Guatemalan immigrants who belong to different Maya tribes.

PALISADES PARK:

A Case Study of Cultural Diversity

Palisades Park has been converted to a Korean ethnoburb with a Guatemalan islet just recently. Various ethnic groups have populated it since the late 19th century. Although the vast majority of residents were Caucasian, they belonged to different ethnic groups, who peacefully shared the space, modified the social landscape, intermingled, intermarried, successfully blended their cultures, and gradually integrated into the American mainstream.

Before Europeans set foot in Palisades Park, it was home to the Ashkineshacky Indians, a subgroup of the Unami, or the Lenni-Lenape Indians' turtle clans. The town hosted the castle of Oratam, the chief of the tribe, who greeted Hedrick Hudson and his crew of the "Half Moon" in 1609. Before long, the Indians were pushed farther to the west by the Dutch and English, expanding their settlements. Gradually, the population of Palisades Park burgeoned from 644 in 1899 to almost 15,000 in 1977. The first Dutch and English settlers were joined by other ethnic groups arriving in the country in sizable numbers. Thus, at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, Croats, Germans, Irish, Greeks, Jewish, and other immigrants joined the sizable Italian and Polish communities (Duffy, 1977).

Granted that the unprecedented suburban expansion in the twentieth century was tightly linked to the emergence of the middle class and its eagerness to escape urban delipidating conditions (Bressi, 2006), we can assert that the residents of Palisades Park were mostly well-paid, hard-working White ethnics, who held high aspirations for their children. They inhabited the place where their American Dream of owning a house in a suburb could be fulfilled and where they and their children could encounter upward social mobility. Designed as "white on purpose," the suburbs guaranteed the Irish, Italians, Croatians, and others once placed outside of "White" and "American" categories, a more privileged identity of an American through a homeownership. In other words, the suburbs "whitened" these ethnic groups, rendering them the authentically and genuinely White identity (Rodriguez, 2017).

LITERATURE REVIEW

Intergroup Relations in a Changing Suburb

The establishment of new alliances, relationships, and divisions, as well as immigrants' perceptions of race and ethnicity, ensued from the new racial and ethnic mélange in the New York City metropolitan area. The evidence has documented that the relationships between immigrants and the native-born are amicable in workplaces, schools, and neighborhoods. The second generation raised in the culturally diverse social settings becomes even more comfortable

with those from different national backgrounds and associate other people's ethnicity with being American (Foner, 2013). However, competition between various immigrant groups in the labor market may trigger racial conflicts, which intensify during periods of economic hardship (Li, 2009; Gomberg-Munoz, 2011). According to Dyssegaard Kallick (2013), race and ethnicity may be crucial in predicting immigrants' position in New York City's labor market. Many newly arrived immigrants in the receiving country tend to cluster together, establishing their "sticky" ethnic enclaves and engaging in an ethnic enclave economy (Portes and Rumbaut, 2014; Foner, 2000; Foner, 2013; Alba and Foner, 2015; Zhou, 2009). The most salient ethnic enclaves in the New York metropolitan area are Chinatown with two new neighborhoods established in Queens and Brooklyn (Zhou, 2009); Koreatowns in New York City and Bergen County, New Jersey (Min, 2013); Little Liberia in Staten Island (Ludwig, 2016), and Dominican Washington Heights (Hernandez and Torres-Saillant, 2017) among others. Korean immigrants are well known for their business activities in other minority neighborhoods, which led to Korean-Black conflicts during 1980-1995 (Kim, 2003; Min, 1996; Min, 1998; Lee, 1997; Park, 1997).

Given that this article explores the relationships between Asian and Hispanic immigrants, most of whom are Koreans and Guatemalans, we should note that Korean and Guatemalan immigrants come from drastically different sending countries - peasant areas of Guatemala with the population, mostly engaged in traditional farming, and the post-industrial, digital information society of South Korea. Most immigrants from Guatemala are Maya agricultural tribes who live in villages and farm homesteads. They are the most oppressed segment of the Guatemalan population, many of whom are still recovering from the country's genocidal civil war (1960-1996), during which about 200,000 people were brutally murdered and abused by the US-supported army and government (Gielen and Kim, 2019). Victims of violence and discrimination in their sending country, Guatemalan immigrants are the most underprivileged and vulnerable population in the receiving country due to their often-unresolved legal status, inadequate educational attainments, and lower earning power (Simon and Reyes, 2017; Stoll, 2013; Jonas and Rodriguez; 2014; Chomsky, 2014).

Highly educated and entrepreneurial Korean immigrants, on the other hand, reinvented the corner grocery, pioneered businesses, such as nail salons, and took over dry cleaning businesses in the New York-New Jersey metropolitan area (Foner 2013; Park 1997; Min 2013; Portes and Rumbaut 2014; Alba and Foner 2015). While in the past, Koreans mostly relied on their families and community, at present, they employ Guatemalan immigrants who come to the town in considerable numbers.

This article further explores and illuminates the intricate relationships between the two ethno-racial groups residing in Koreatown and their integration pathways.

DATA AND METHODS

This study draws upon the ethnographic field research conducted in 2019 – 2020, during which I have collected 71 interviews. My eight-year residency in the town and the status of an insider in the community, whatever ephemeral it appears to be,[1] provided me with the profound knowledge of the dynamics of inter/intragroup relations and, in some cases, rendered respondents' consent to

talk about many delicate topics pertaining to race and ethnicity discussed during the interviews. I have meandered through the familiar streets of the town, observing the sweeping changes in the community. The seemingly robust structure of Koreatown is, in fact, a rapid turnover of many businesses and restaurants. I have witnessed the rise and fall of a Vietnamese restaurant, Thai restaurant, and other eateries and businesses in the neighborhood. While some businesses are thriving and lure numerous customers, the others change owners and bilingual signs with an astonishing speed. Most of the enterprises in constant rotation have been owned by Asians catering to their own community. Sometimes, the business's façade gets a lavish makeover to look more appealing to the picky customers than its unsuccessful predecessor. Such incessant changes are part of gentrification in the neighborhood and often become the cornerstone of arguments and discontent in the community. The neighborhood becomes more upscale and higher-priced, while its population becomes more racially and ethnically diverse, reinforcing the Korean ethnoburb's reputation of a diverse polyethnic neighborhood.

To lay bare the relationships between the two main ethno-racial groups residing in Koreatown, I went to the library, restaurants, small businesses, stores, churches and interviewed people there. Since my field research was interrupted by Covid-19, seven interviews were collected over the phone due to the required social distancing. The study participants included 34 women and 37 men, their ages ranging from 18 to 80. All interviews with White old-settlers and Koreans were taken in English. The interviews with Hispanics were also collected in English except for Guatemalan newly arrived immigrants. Because very few of them could express themselves in English fluently, the interviews were conducted with the help of a certified interpreter and their community leader.

I divided the collected interviews into three chunks based on the racial categories of the respondents: Asian (mostly Koreans), Hispanics (mostly Guatemalans), and Whites (mostly old-timers). All respondents indicated their ethnicity. Even in those cases where respondents were the third or fourth generation of immigrants (several old-timers) and identified themselves as "true" Americans, they immediately indicated sending countries of their ancestors. Hence, my data draw upon 19 extensive interviews with Asians, 17 extensive interviews with Whites, and 15 extensive interviews, and 20 short interviews with Hispanics (mostly Guatemalans).

To analyze the data, I retrieved the excerpts from the interviews pertaining to the research question. Further, I divided the data into four segments, according to the racial categories of the respondents: the relationships between Hispanics and Asians based on the responses of Hispanic participants of the study and the relationships between Asians and Hispanics based on the responses of the Asian participants. The interviews of the White respondents are used to shed more light on the transformation of Koreatown. Given that my open-ended questions were dedicated to exploring the relations between these ethno-racial groups, I endeavored to treat the data without any presumptions or preconceived notions. Having spent hours in the field, I was prepared to listen to the data and discover what the interviews tell me. Hence, I applied the "bottom-up" grounded theory method (Urquhart, 2013; Glaser and Strauss, 2017) to analyze the data. To that end, first I did line-by-line open coding, which produced multiple categories and "in vivo" codes, followed by selective coding during which the whole range of descriptive open

codes were morphed into the core codes. After the second stage of coding, I juxtaposed the data, comparing the responses of two communities. Hence, when analyzing the data on the relationship between the Hispanic and Asian immigrants, I contrasted the responses of both Hispanic and Asian immigrants. The theoretical memos taken during the first and the second stages of coding were applied later to analyze the problem.

The most common core codes that appeared in all segments and permeated the research data were 'separateness' and 'cultural diversity.' The common theme of all interviews pointed out that the population of Koreatown consists of separate racial groups comprising people of various ethnicities and cultures.

FINDINGS

1. Asian-Hispanic Relationships: Immigrant Symbiosis

According to Asian respondents, the relationships between Asians and Hispanics in the Koreatown are mostly work-related. Numerous businesses and restaurants employ Guatemalan immigrants, who are willing to toil for a modest compensation:

"*Korean restaurants have tendency to hire Hispanics to help with the kitchen work, especially they believe that those particular demographics are cheaper in terms of the labor cost. There are so many Korean restaurants. They are likely to find work*" – a Chinese female resident in her 30s.

"*It is mostly a work relationship. Mostly, the Koreans are the employers of Central Americans. The Hispanics are the employees… It is sort of exploitative in a sense that Koreans know how much they can get away with and try to cut corners with their labor*" – a Korean female resident in her 30s.

Both parties feel some resentment towards each other. Guatemalans often complained about overt exploitation by Koreans, backbreaking work, and poor working conditions:

"*Personally, we tend to suffer more abuses from Koreans. For example, if we work a lot, sometimes they mistreat us, sometimes we don't eat. I work at a nail salon, and we sometimes don't get to eat. There are people I know that do not get paid sometimes. We suffer a lot*" – a Guatemalan female resident in her 40s.

"*Restaurants don't even allow us to eat food from the restaurants, especially Korean restaurants. Sometimes they give little food but tell us to keep working. No breaks. I worked in Fort Lee two years ago at a restaurant. They gave me a whole hour for a break. Here - no. It is harder to work in the restaurants for me than at the construction*" – a Guatemalan male resident in his 30s.

Those Asians who complained about Guatemalan employees mentioned their incompetency in unskilled occupations and demand for an increase in wages:

"*As employees, they will always ask for more money... The problem is they don't know how to do their jobs. There are times where they don't know how to wash or cut vegetables. How am I supposed to pay them?"* – a Chinese female owner in her 40s.

The occasional bickering and grievances do not overshadow the fact that both communities are stitched together by the invisible seams facilitating the means for achieving the goals:

"*The relationship between them and us is that they always hire us and allow us to learn the job. Where I worked, they always paid me*" – a Guatemalan female resident in her 30s.

"*I don't think there is much tension between the Hispanic and Korean communities. They help each other out with businesses/bodegas, even in Manhattan. Koreans are the employers, and they usually employ Hispanics. I think Hispanics respect Koreans because they are generals to them in a way*" – a Columbian female resident in her 50s.

These are two distinct communities, often divided by the language barrier, who share the same space and benefit from the collaboration. Guatemalans are both the valuable labor force indispensable for the town's gentrification/immigrification and consumers of the town's business enterprises. They are both employees who provide cheap labor and tenants who pay exorbitant rents in the gentrified town. In turn, residence in the gentrified ethnoburb renders Guatemalan newly arrived immigrants advantage of better-performing schools and other amenities favorable for upward social mobility of their children, and, hence, the fulfillment of the conditions of the "immigrant bargain" (Smith 2006; Foner 2013; Alba and Foner 2015). Hence, in contrast to other immigrants, who move to the town from New York City in search of a safe environment, the Guatemalan new arrivals and their children enjoy a safe environment in the town offering jobs, security, and comfort:

"*I come from a low-income family and lived in the projects, and we wanted to move out of there because it was very dangerous. I like living in Palisades Park, it is very quiet, and I definitely feel much safer[here] than in the Bronx, where there would be shootouts every other week*" – a Dominican female resident in her 20s.

"*Guatemalans do feel comfortable here and don't feel like outsiders too much. In the end, they trust people here*" - a Guatemalan male resident in his 20s.

Hence, notwithstanding the dismal, overcrowded living conditions there are advantages in residing in an immigrant ethnoburb. Many Guatemalan respondents mentioned the Asian residents' immigrant status as a common denominator shared by both communities. Like Mexican immigrants who toil in Greek and other ethnic restaurants, Guatemalan immigrants develop a sense of what R. C. Smith (2006) calls "fictive coethnicity" with their employers – a shared immigrant status that unites employers and employees, setting them apart from those born in the United States. In my respondents' view, the shared immigrant status draws both communities nearer. It mitigates a subordinate status of Guatemalans and makes the established Korean immigrants understanding and sympathetic to the Guatemalans' plight:

"*I feel that Koreans are in the same situation that we are … They are immigrants, and so are we. They are friendly to us and give Guatemalans jobs*" –Guatemalan female resident in her 30s.

Some Guatemalan immigrants' illegal status was mentioned by both groups, underscoring the vulnerability of those who stay in the country in legal limbo and are often targets for abuse

and discrimination. While referring to the irregular status of Hispanics, some Asian respondents expressed wholehearted empathy, recounting the period when they were exploited because of their own unresolved status:

"*When I first came here, some Korean guy told me that if I didn't work for him, he would ask the immigration police to make me go back home*" – a Korean female resident in her 40s.

Although Asians and Hispanics have established two distinct communities, and their interactions are usually limited to the employer/employee or landlord/tenant relationships, both groups appreciate the benefits derived from their alliance. The relationship between Asians and Hispanics could be defined as *immigrant symbiosis*, granted that immigrant groups that share a minority status assist each other in adaptation and acculturation in the receiving country. Each group takes advantage of the available labor or other resources provided by another group, and both groups collaborate peacefully in pursuit of their goals.

2. Intra-Racial Diversity: The Role of Ethnicity and Identity

While studying the dynamics of intergroup relationships along racial lines, I came across remarkable dynamics of intragroup relationships within racial categories. Lumped into the racial categories in this country, many immigrants refer to their ethnicity or religion as a distinctive marker of their identity to emphasize their "otherness" within the same racial category. When introducing themselves, none of the respondents used the racial category, emphasizing the importance of ethnicity, while others made efforts to enlighten me on demonyms and cultural diversity within the racial categories. Thus, according to one of my Chinese female respondents in her 40s:

"*In general, we [Asians] can differentiate between Koreans, Chinese, Japanese just by how they look or what they wear. I know foreigners think all Asians look the same, but as Asians, we can tell the difference. For example, the Chinese and Taiwanese are different when they speak. Hong Kong is very different too*."

When asked about whether she encountered prejudice and discrimination, the same respondent answered:

"*When I was in Korea, some Koreans did tell me to go back to my country. Now, it is better, but when we were young, they treated us badly. The only country that does not have a Chinatown is Korea. Because we were foreigners in Korea, we weren't able to buy a property. That is how the system worked in the 1970s. That is why a lot of Chinese moved out of Korea at that time and went to LA or San Francisco*."

"*In terms of Chinese and Koreans – there has actually been a large influx of Chinese people moving to this neighborhood. When I go to the Fort Lee's Park, I would hear an equal amount of the Chinese and Korean speaking. Yes, there is a very large Chinese influx. I wouldn't be surprised if there was a tension between the Chinese and Koreans. For this time being, no tension. Flushing, which is considered a Chinatown now, used to be a Korean neighborhood,*

and due to the influx of the Chinese, there is a bit of tension in that aspect because it gets overtaken by the Chinese. And I wouldn't be surprised if that kind of tension started to arise in this neighborhood, because the number of the Chinese is rising in this area"- a Chinese female resident in her 30s.

Similar to the Asian respondents, some Hispanics used ethnicity as a social marker of their identity:

"*Culturally, we are closer to Mexicans. But we all speak Spanish, except for Brazil. The Indian tribes from Mexico and the Mayas are completely different. The Maya people cannot go to the same school with Mexican tribespeople because of tension. The Mayas are Guatemalan. The Incas are from Peru, and Columbia is the Chibcha. In Columbia, there are very few Indians. In other countries, there are many Indians*" – a Columbian female resident in her 50s.

On numerous occasions, my Hispanic and Guatemalan respondents pointed out that Guatemalans were Maya tribes who spoke Mayan languages, and their Spanish was very poor. The Spanish-English interpreter also noted that some of my respondents had difficulty expressing themselves in Spanish.

For the most part, a strong personal bond established through friendship and intermarriage changes people's opinion about the whole ethno-racial group, making them more open-minded and accepting of other cultures. The primary group relationships based on intimacy and mutual understanding successfully unite various ethno-racial groups:

"*I know a few words [in Korean]. My kids speak three languages. I have been married for 36 years [to a Korean man] and feel very comfortable with the Korean community. I get used to my husband speaking Korean to his friends. They try and make me feel comfortable by speaking some English*" – a Columbian female resident in her 50s.

"*I love the Spanish people. I have a son-in-law from Ecuador. He is the best man in the world. I am always open-minded and always welcome others… I am very open to everyone from every part of the world. People are people, and everyone is equal*" – a Korean female resident in her 60s.

Hence, even though the two groups are separated spatially, socially, economically, and culturally, the primary group relationships bring them together and establish intimate personal bonds not only between individuals but also the communities.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This article attempts to lift the lid of a "melting pot" to show the complicated patterns of intergroup relationships between two main ethno-racial groups residing in the polyethnic, multiracial Koreatown. Regardless of how slowly or fast "the pot" is melting, it usually does so along racial lines made of the robust material forged throughout centuries of overt racialization and racism, deeply ingrained in the social structures and people's stories.

Ironically, both Koreans and Guatemalans cast anchors in Palisades Park in search of opportunities. Koreans see opportunities in taking over the small quiet town and turning it into their cultural ethnoburb. They have created the favorable community structure, catering to their own people and triggering the old settlers' 'white exodus,' a phenomenon reminiscent of the 'white flight' in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s when whites left a city en masse and were succeeded primarily by native-born minority groups (Lobo and Salvo 2013). In search of employment opportunities and through chain migration, Guatemalans land in Palisades Park and establish their own islet in the Korean enclave. Although both immigrants pursue the same goal of achieving the American Dream, they have quite different means of achieving the goal. The Korean immigrants, many of whom come to the United States with considerable starting capital, high educational attainments, and aspirations, usually seek to improve their life chances and provide their children with better lifestyles, settling in indefinitely.

On the other hand, Guatemalans come to this country penniless; many of them are in debt, and for some period, they toil to reimburse the loan they obtained to come to the United States. Their main objective is to work hard to defray the debt and send remittances to their significant others to escape the stigma of a "transnational underclass" (Smith 2006; Oliveira 2018). While Koreans invest in businesses and real estate in Palisades Park, many Guatemalans are "birds of passage" who cherish the dream of purchasing or building a house in Guatemala. Therefore, the relationships between Koreans and Guatemalans are mostly those of employers and employees. Regardless of the awareness of exploitation and intergroup strains in everyday work-related interactions, both groups realize that they need each other in many respects.

Albeit the communities share the physical space and social landscape, they live in their own social worlds separated by distinct cultures, language barriers, and economic class. Even the patterns of settlement illustrate residential segregation. While Korean immigrants rent or buy houses and duplexes, Guatemalans rent apartments in residential buildings, most of which are owned by Asians. Many Hispanics, especially Guatemalan employees, are aware of blatant exploitation, but they also realize that they have slim chances to find more lucrative employment. Both Hispanic and Asian respondents express overt appreciation of intergroup collaboration, insisting that they 'help each other,' and they 'need each other.' Therefore, the relationships between Guatemalans and Koreans can be described as an *immigrant symbiosis*. Both groups realize that they take advantage of each other and are aware of explicit discrimination and exploitation. However, they need each other for the attainment of their own "American dream." The relationships are indeed manipulative and, at the same time, beneficial for both groups. While Koreans take advantage of Guatemalans' cheap labor and increasing buying power, Guatemalans avail of the Koreatown's excellent amenities. In contrast to the residents who moved to Palisades Park from the Bronx to escape the social disorganization of the inner-city neighborhoods, the Guatemalan immigrants and their children enjoy a safe environment of the ethnoburb, high-quality education, and free lunches in the public school. Those who have stayed in the country long enough to secure employment in New York City send their children to the preschool where they study with Korean and Chinese high achievers. In doing so, they are setting the stage for the successful fulfillment of the 'immigrant bargain' expectations (Smith

2006; Alba and Foner 2015) and integration into mainstream America via the ethnic pathway according to the segmented assimilation theory (Zhou 2009; Portes and Rumbaut 2014).

Many White ethnic residents have fled the neighborhood. Those who have resisted the "white exodus" long for and reminisce wistfully of "good old days" and grudgingly adjust to the changes, enjoying the benefits of the town's immigrification initiated by Korean immigrants. In the meantime, new immigrants settle in the town. Thus, according to a librarian, newly arrived Muslim immigrants appear in Koreatown. Some of them come to the library to inquire about ESL classes while their children request Arabic books. The populations are continually shifting, and it is highly likely that in the not-so-distant future, Koreatown will turn into a Chinatown, while other newly arrived immigrants will create their islets similar to the one established by the Guatemalan immigrants.

NOTES

[1] According to most respondents, regardless of the attempts to unite the residents and create a single community, Palisades Parks still consists of three separate communities.

REFERENCES

Alba R and Foner N (2015) *Strangers No More: Immigration and the Challenges of Integration in North America and Western Europe.* Princeton University Press.

Allport GW (1979) *The Nature of Prejudice*. Basic Books.

Alvarado M, Sobko K and Cattafi K (2018) Anti-Korean Facebook Posts Expose Simmering Racial Tensions in Palisades Park. *NorthJersey*, 20 July. Available at: https://www.northjersey.com/story/news/bergen/palisades-park/2018/07/20/facebook-posts-expose-racial-tensions-palisades-park/800376002/ (accessed 16 July 2020).

Beck G M (2009) *Palisades Park: Images of America*. Arcadia Publishing.

Bressi T W (2006) Planning the American Dream. In: Padilla N E (ed) *Perspectives on Urban Society: From Preindustrial to Postindustrial*. Pearson, pp. 340-353.

Cattafi K (2018) Palisades Park Council Rejects Racist Sentiments after Anti-Korean Social Media Post. *NorthJersey*, 25 July. Available at: https://www.northjersey.com/story/news/bergen/palisades-park/2018/07/25/palisades-park-rejects-racism-response-anti-korean-sentiments/833342002/ (accessed 16 July 2020).

Chomsky A (2014) *Undocumented: How Immigration Became Illegal*. Beacon Press.

De Haas H, Castles S and Miller M J (2020) *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World.* The Guilford Press.

Duffy T (1977) *Looking Back at Palisades Park 1668-1976*. Garden State.

Dyssegaard Kallick D (2013) Immigration and Economic Growth in New York City. In Foner N (ed) *One Out of Three: Immigrant New York in the Twenty-First Century*. Columbia University Press, pp. 64-90.

Foner N (2013) Introduction: Immigrants in New York City in the New Millennium. In Foner N (ed) *One Out of Three: Immigrant New York in the Twenty-First Century*. Columbia University Press, pp. 1-35.

Foner N (2000) *From Ellis Island to JFK: New York's Two Great Waves of Immigration.* Yale University Press.

Gielen U P and Kim S (2019) *Global Changes in Children's Lives*. Cambridge University Press.

Glaser B G and Strauss A L (2017) *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research.* Routledge.

Gomberg-Munoz R (2011) *Labor and Legality: An Ethnography of a Mexican Immigrant Network.* Oxford University Press.

Ham J (2015) Koreanizing of Palisades Park Opposed. *The Korea Times*, 8 September. Available at:

http://voicesofny.org/2015/09/koreanizing-of-palisades-park-opposed/#:~:text=A%20plan%20by%20the%20borough,big%20obstacle%20to%20the%20plan (accessed 15 July 2020).

Hanley R (1996) Debating the Language of Signs; New Jersey Towns Tell Asian-Owned Stores: Advertise in English, Too. *The New York Times*, 9 April. Available at: https://www.nytimes.com/1996/04/09/nyregion/debating-language-signs-new-jersey-towns-tell-asian-owned-stores-advertise.html (accessed 17 July 2020)

Jonas S and Rodriguez N (2014) *Guatemala-U.S. Migration: Transforming Regions*. University of Texas Press.

Kim C J (2003) *Bitter Fruit*. Yale University Press.

Lee J (2002) *Civility in the City: Blacks, Jews, and Koreans in Urban America*. Harvard University Press.

Lemekh H (2010) *Ukrainian Immigrants in New York: Collision of Two Worlds.* LFB Scholarly Publishing LLC.

Li W (2009) *Ethnoburb: The New Ethnic Community in Urban America*. University of Hawai'i Press.

Lobo A and Salvo J. (2013) A Portrait of New York's Immigrant Melange. In Foner N (ed) *One Out of Three: Immigrant New York in the Twenty-First Century*. Columbia University Press, pp. 35-63.

Ludwig B (2016) "Wiping the Refugee Dust from My Feet: Advantages and Burdens of Refugee Status and the Refugee Label." *International Migration* 54(1): 5-18.

Min P G (2013) *Koreans in North America: Their Twenty-First Century Experiences.* Lexington Books.

Min P G (2012) *Population Growth and Racial Composition in Korean Enclaves in the New York-New Jersey Area, 1980-2010.* Research Center for the Korean Community. Queens College of CUNY Research Report 5, August. Available at: http://koreanamericandatabank.org/images/PDF/korean%20enclaves.pdf (accessed 15 July 2020)

Min P G (1998) *Changes and Conflicts: Korean Immigrant Families in New York*. Allyn and Bacon.

Min P G (1996) *Caught in the Middle*. University of California Press.

Oliveira G (2018) *Motherhood Across Borders: Immigrants and Their Children in Mexico and New York.* New York University Press.

Park K (1997) *The Korean American Dream: Immigrants and Small Business in New York City*. Cornell University Press.

Portes A and Rumbaut R G (2014) *Immigrant America: A Portrait.* University of California Press.

Rodriguez M R (2017) In Lady Liberty's Shadow: The Politics of Race and Immigration in New Jersey. Rutgers University Press.

Simon W and Reyes R (2017) Central Americans in New York. In: Baver S, Falcon A and Haslip-Vera G (eds) *Latinos in New York: Communities in Transition*. University of Notre Dame Press, pp. 220-257

Smith R C (2006) *Mexican New York: Transnational Lives of New Immigrants*. University of California Press.

Stoll D (2013) *El Norte or Bust! How Migration Fever and Microcredit Produced a Financial Crash in a Latin American Town*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Urquhart C (2013) *Grounded Theory for Qualitative Research: A Practical Guide*. Sage.

US Census Bureau Quick Facts (2019) Palisades Park borough, New Jersey. Available at:

https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/palisadesparkboroughnewjersey/PST045219 (accessed 10 July 2020).

Zhou M (2013) Chinese: Diverse Origins and Destinies. In Foner N (ed) *One Out of Three: Immigrant New York in the Twenty-First Century*. Columbia University Press, pp. 120-148.

Zhou M (2009) *Contemporary Chinese America: Immigration, Ethnicity, and Community Transformation.* Temple University Press.