

Introduction

In a world city renowned for its distinctive neighborhoods, Sunset Park exemplifies the transformative trends that are shaping New York City's future. Situated in southwest Brooklyn, Sunset Park is a densely concentrated working-poor and racially diverse immigrant neighborhood that shares borders with affluent and largely white neighbors to the north and south. Sunset Park's namesake is a heavily used twenty-four acre park that offers panoramic views of the Upper New York Bay and the Lower Manhattan skyline. For more than a century, Sunset Park's two-and-half-mile waterfront was a "centerpiece of industrial and maritime activity" that supplied thousands of blue-collar jobs to immigrant New Yorkers (New York City Economic Development Corporation 2009, 3). Similar to many local neighborhoods, Sunset Park is at a crossroads, as transnational capital, market-driven pressures, and city planning and economic development policies are positioned to remake and gentrify its landscape. The future of Sunset Park depends on Asian and Latino immigrant collaboration in advancing common interests in community building and civic engagement.

On a hot and humid August day in 2009, a small crowd of Chinese and Latino residents gathered on the steps of Sunset Park's United Methodist Church to protest a neighborhood rezoning proposed by the New York City Department of City Planning, which they claimed would displace them from their homes (Figure I.1). Echoing protests that have taken place in other largely nonwhite New York City neighborhoods, community residents held signs in multiple languages and chanted, "Sunset Park is not



Figure I.1 Chinese Staff and Workers' Association and SPAN Rally on the New York City Department of City Planning's proposed Sunset Park rezoning, August 2009. (Photo taken by Tarry Hum.)

for sale.” Community organizers, church leaders, and residents voiced their fears that poor people are being forced out and affirmed Asian and Latino unity in the fight to protect Sunset Park. A resident of Manhattan’s Lower East Side, speaking in Spanish, called for immigrant solidarity and city-wide neighborhood actions against gentrification. On behalf of this grassroots alliance, staff attorneys of two legal service organizations—the Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund and the South Brooklyn

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Legal Services—elaborated on a lawsuit filed against the city demanding a full environmental impact study of the proposed Sunset Park rezoning (Jessica Lee 2009; Edroso 2009).

Less than a month earlier, Mayor Michael Bloomberg, elected officials, and economic development leaders had gathered on Sunset Park's waterfront just a few blocks away from the site of the protest to unveil a plan to remake Sunset Park as a "sustainable urban industrial district."¹ With spectacular views of New York Harbor and Lower Manhattan as a backdrop, Bloomberg announced a comprehensive plan and committed millions of dollars in public funds to reactivate and redevelop Sunset Park's industrial waterfront. As part of the lauded Vision 2020 waterfront planning initiative, which lays out a comprehensive approach for remediating the city's extensive inventory of dormant and decaying industrial waterfront facilities, Sunset Park remains integral to policy strategies for diversifying the city's economy to include postindustrial production sectors and an active port economy. Alluding to the opposition of immigrant community stakeholders, Bloomberg stated in his waterfront address that the city's proposed rezoning would protect Sunset Park's neighborhood character and provide opportunities for affordable housing development.

These two public events illuminate the challenges and prospects that working-class immigrant neighborhoods face in a quintessential gateway city. Given the frequent criticism of Mayor Bloomberg's real estate-driven and corporatist approach to community economic development, the Sunset Park rally is notable not for its protest of a progrowth agenda and state-subsidized gentrification but rather for the unified political action by working-poor Chinese and Latino immigrants to protect their shared neighborhood. Although such actions may be episodic, the mobilization of working-class immigrant Asians and Latinos is momentous because their collaboration serves to "destabilize the structure and relationships in the official public space and release possibilities for new interactions, functions and meanings" (Hou 2010, 15). While demographic trends portend the emergence of Sunset Park as an epicenter in shaping the urban Asian American experience, its neighborhood spaces and its future as a home to working-class Asian immigrants are intertwined with the experiences and prospects of its Latino majority. Historically Puerto Rican, Sunset Park is now Pan-Latino, with the largest national group being among the neighborhood's newest arrivals: Mexican immigrants.

Sunset Park was once an industrial working waterfront employing thousands of local residents. Its future as a "sustainable urban industrial district" depends on retrofitting the waterfront's massive industrial infrastructure to

support small artisanal manufacturers that produce value-added goods for New York City's elite consumer markets. Recent news that the world-famous chocolatier Jacques Torres is relocating his DUMBO factory to Sunset Park's Brooklyn Army Terminal was celebrated on an HGTV website, which noted that the new addition "bodes well for the neighborhood's long-term desirability" (Hochberg 2013). Remaking Sunset Park's industrial waterfront as a hub for designer production exists in a parallel universe with its designation as an overburdened site of environmental pollution and toxic facilities. Moreover, Superstorm Sandy exposed the grim and devastating realities of global climate change and a new normal in severe weather patterns.² This parallel universe underscores the fact that urban policy and planning initiatives for sustainability and resilience must foreground racial equity and justice in Sunset Park's revalorized local landscape of postindustrial economic development and post-Hurricane Sandy rebuilding.

Asian New Yorkers have continued their dramatic growth; according to the 2010 U.S. census, they numbered more than one million, making New York City the densest Asian metropolis in the continental United States. While the Asian population in historic immigrant enclaves such as Manhattan's Chinatown has declined, signaling neighborhood gentrification, the growth rate for Sunset Park's Asian population exceeded the citywide average, positioning Sunset Park to eclipse Manhattan's Chinatown as the city's core center for working-class Chinese immigrants (Table I.1). Analysis of demographic trends also showed that Sunset Park anchored the rapid spread of Chinese immigrants to surrounding South Brooklyn neighborhoods such as Bensonhurst and Dyker Heights. Accordingly, Asian American advocates successfully convinced the New York State Legislative Task Force on Redistricting to create a new Asian-majority State Assembly District by uniting Sunset Park and Bensonhurst as a "community of interest" (Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund 2012; Durkin 2012).

Long referred to as a satellite Chinatown, Sunset Park has been a majority-Latino neighborhood since the late 1970s. However, dramatic Asian growth over the past three decades has resulted in near parity in population shares. By 2010, Latinos represented 44 percent and Asians 38 percent of the neighborhood population, which has led some to refer to Sunset Park as a Chino-Latino neighborhood.³ Once majority Puerto Rican, Sunset Park has a Latino population that includes Dominicans and, increasingly, Mexicans. The rate of Puerto Rican decline was 7 percent from 1980 to 1990, 28 percent from 1990 to 2000, and a dramatic 39 percent from 2000 to 2010.⁴ Even with continued Mexican migration steadily replacing the Puerto Rican population, Sunset Park's total Latino population dipped slightly in 2010. One of

TABLE I.1 ASIAN POPULATION CHANGE IN NEW YORK CITY'S CHINATOWNS, 1990–2010

	1990		2000		2010		Asian Population Change	
	Total Pop.	Asian	% Asian	Total Pop.	Asian	% Asian	1990–2000	2000–2010
New York City	7,322,564	508,408	7%	8,008,278	787,047	10%	8,175,133	1,038,388
Brooklyn	2,300,664	106,022	5%	2,465,326	184,291	7%	2,504,700	260,129
Sunset Park	84,147	12,971	15%	102,644	26,175	26%	109,973	41,013
% Population	4%	12%	—	4%	14%	—	4%	16%
Manhattan	1,487,536	106,306	7%	1,537,195	143,291	9%	1,585,873	177,624
Chinatown	113,949	52,505	46%	115,637	59,167	51%	108,921	51,900
% Population	8%	49%	—	8%	41%	—	7%	29%
Queens	1,951,598	229,830	12%	2,229,379	389,303	17%	2,230,722	508,334
Flushing	121,316	40,631	33%	139,747	67,659	48%	133,185	84,308
% Population	6%	18%	—	6%	17%	—	6%	17%

Source: U.S. census data for 1990, 2000, and 2010 retrieved from Queens College Social Explorer.

New York City's densest immigrant neighborhoods, Sunset Park's future is decidedly Chinese and Mexican. While the dominant urban and community studies approach to Chinese neighborhood formations employs enclave or ethnoburb theorizations (Li 2009; Lin 2011; Zhou, Chin, and Kim 2013), Sunset Park tells a different story as an immigrant global neighborhood by emphasizing the local and concrete forms of globalization in its dynamic migrant demography; a neighborhood economy once anchored in industrial manufacturing and now centered largely on immigrant markets, including transnational real estate investments; and increasingly complex race and class contestations about neighborhood identity and development trajectories.

Although multiethnic immigrant neighborhoods are not a new phenomenon, contemporary immigrant neighborhoods are global in unprecedented ways. First, in contrast to the economic expansion and industrialization at the turn of the century that provided scores of entry-level jobs for non-English-speaking immigrants, a postindustrial and service-based economy marked by extraordinarily high levels of income and wealth inequality now exists. Second, the racial and ethnic diversity and class bifurcation of post-1965 immigrants from Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean is unparalleled. Moreover, the treatment of undocumented immigrants, especially in a post-9/11 environment, reflects more restrictive citizenship criteria and heightened marginalization of some immigrant groups. Third, neoliberal policies promote a probusiness governance approach that celebrates immigrant entrepreneurship while criminalizing informal sectors and practices that are integral to advanced urban economies. Sunset Park is an ideal site for investigating the role of these economic and political conditions in shaping community formation and intergroup relations in racialized neighborhood spaces.

Racializing Space and Spatializing Race

The literature on global cities provides rich insights and analysis of new economic arrangements that reproduce uneven development and complex patterns of social and economic polarization (Sassen 1991; Abu-Lughod 1999; Brenner and Keil 2006). However, this extensive literature has neglected an investigation of racialized immigrants and the transformation of local neighborhood spaces—in other words, the positioning of immigrant neighborhoods within a reconfigured urban “landscape of power” (Zukin 1991). As a dense multiracial immigrant neighborhood, Brooklyn's Sunset Park gives us insight into the processes of Asian and Latino urbanization and the contested racial politics of spatialization in hyperdiverse neighborhoods. A 2008

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special issue of *Amerasia*, a premier Asian American studies journal, posed the question of how Asian Americans create places, and in their introductory essay, UCLA sociologist Kyeyoung Park and *Amerasia* editor Russell Leong argued for alternatives to the widely accepted nomenclature of enclave. To signal how Asian neighborhoods represent the “frontiers” of globalization and transnationalization, they proposed ethnic nexus or global ethnic hubs (Park and Leong 2008).

Community and regional studies are critical in grounding macroprocesses in everyday lived experiences and illuminating the ways that “the lived experience of race has a spatial dimension, and the lived experience of space has a racial dimension” (Lipsitz 2007, 12). The interdisciplinary field of Asian American community studies has engaged in uncovering the intersection of racial ideologies (and racialization processes) and spatially based labor and housing markets, public spaces, and neighbor relations. Asian American scholars have revised and enriched ethnic enclave approaches by emphasizing the urban political economy, the construction and mobilization of race and class identities and alliances, and local politics and multiple forms of civic engagement. Notable examples include Los Angeles (Kurashige 2008a, 2008b), San Diego (Vo 2004), Orange County (Vo 2008; Aguilar–San Juan 2009), and Monterey Park (Saito 1998) in California; Dorchester (Aguilar–San Juan 2009) and Chinatown (Lowe and Brugge 2007; Leong 1997) in Boston; and Manhattan’s Chinatown (Kwong 1987; Lin 1998) in New York City.

These studies examine how place remains central to Asian American community building and identity formation. The research concretizes transnational practices, including capital and labor flows in shaping new institutions, labor market conditions, and forms of local placemaking. Moreover, these studies underscore how immigrants, including undocumented immigrants, are key place-based stakeholders and strategic actors in local planning and policy debates and initiatives. Asian American community studies examine how social relations are spatialized by documenting how “race, class, and gender relations and conflicts are acted through spatial and social means” (Gotham 2002, 86).

Asians have resided and continue to reside in racially mixed neighborhoods, but these neighborhoods are understudied and need to be at the foreground of the ongoing theorization of Asian American community formations. Discrimination and racialization that position Asian Americans as the Other have resulted in segregated spatial patterns, and while isolated enclaves have received much focus as a primary residential and economic form, Asians have a long history in multiracial neighborhoods that were prominent particularly in major West Coast cities such as Los Angeles and

San Francisco. Lai (2012, 153) argues that few “Anglophone” geographers (from the United States and the United Kingdom) have looked at the spatialization of race as a “multivector, relational one involving multiple racialized groups.” In addition to Lai’s research on urban renewal in San Francisco’s Fillmore District, Asian American community studies that focus on multiracial neighborhoods include historic Los Angeles (Kurashige 2004, 2008a, 2008b) and contemporary suburbs in the San Gabriel Valley (Cheng 2013). By moving beyond an enclave perspective of Asian American community formations, these researchers reject the spatial assimilationist trajectory that has dominated the study of race, ethnicity, and spatial formations and heed Kurashige’s (2004, 57) argument that the transformation to a majority-minority society “must be taken as a challenge to do more than simply add new story lines to a preexisting narrative.”

A well-documented historic example of multiracial neighborhoods in which Asians were a significant population share is Boyle Heights in East Los Angeles (Sanchez 2004). In 2002, the Japanese American National Museum organized an exhibition titled *Boyle Heights: The Power of Place* and a series of public talks with University of Southern California history professor George Sanchez that documented daily life and interactions in a diverse neighborhood space for much of the twentieth century.⁵ Sanchez’s exhibition text explained that Boyle Heights as a focus for study is significant because “the dynamics and hierarchies of racial power and differentiation were played out in neighborhood politics and personal relationships” (Sanchez 2001). Moving beyond a black-white binary of race relations and residential patterns, these community studies document Asians as key community stakeholders and actors in creating and engaging in a critical space for cross-racial interactions and understandings that shape urbanization processes and the urban experience.

These seminal place-based community studies that reveal the complex and dynamic multiracial landscape of Asian neighborhoods are largely centered on West Coast neighborhoods that reflect distinct histories and spatial patterns of Asian immigration to the United States. Important studies, however, have sought to correct the putative chronology and linearity of Chinese migration from west to east due to rising anti-Chinese violence and the subsequent formation of bachelor-society Chinatowns by documenting the presence and engagement of Chinese immigrants in New York City’s early port economy and China trade in the 1700s (Tchen 1999). Moreover, the momentous demographic force of sustained post-1965 international migration and transformative spatial change underscores the relative dearth of contemporary Asian community studies in the quintessential immigrant

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gateway of New York City. International immigration not only saved New York City from urban decline during the 1970s, but the diverse racial and ethnic composition of contemporary migrants distinguishes this period from historic immigration waves (Lobo and Salvo 2013). While most immigrants to Los Angeles are Mexican, there is no one dominant group in New York City (Foner and Waldinger 2013). New York City's numerous hyperdiverse immigrant neighborhoods include Sunset Park.

The study of contemporary Asian community formations in New York City requires an approach that engages the city's multiracial composition and examines the differential spatial racializations of shared neighborhood places. *New York and Los Angeles: The Uncertain Future* (Oxford University Press, 2013) includes a chapter prepared by sociologists Min Zhou, Margaret M. Chin, and Rebecca Y. Kim on the transformation of Chinese American communities in both cities. Although they acknowledged that immigrant settlement and spatial assimilation models may be dated, the authors continued to employ an enclave and ethnoburb construction even though their research observations about Chinese communities, including Sunset Park, suggested that these concepts are inadequate. While they do describe Sunset Park as a "global" neighborhood because it is transnational and multiethnic (Zhou, Chin, and Kim 2013, 380), this observation was not developed, which resulted in a community narrative consistent with the dominant racialization of urban Chinese immigrant communities as isolated and insular enclaves. Historically, this type of study reinforced the sense that Chinese are "unfit for citizenship in an industrialized democracy" (Lui 2003, 174), and as such it is incumbent upon urbanists and sociologists to advance the theorizing of Asian immigrant community formations. Ultimately, Zhou, Chin, and Kim (2013) conceded this need by concluding their chapter with the following sentence: "As immigration continues into the twenty-first century with its long-lasting impacts on American cities, *a reconceptualization of neighborhood change and residential mobility is much needed*" (381, my emphasis).

An enclave narrative homogenizes the racial composition and depoliticizes class tensions and conflicts. Moreover, it does not adequately capture community life or complex social and political contestations that shape daily lived experiences in these neighborhoods. My work seeks to contribute to a community studies that engages in a deeper and richer understanding of Asian spaces as multiracial and contested spaces in order to uncover potential relationships and leadership models that advance a more just future for Sunset Park's multiple publics. In my study, I seek to better understand the challenges as well as the potential for multiracial alliances and coalition building, because Sunset Park and many Asian urban neighborhoods are

shaped by these relationships. As Kurashige (2004, 57) observed, “the new quest for integration depends less on the spatial distribution of whites and blacks and more on the relationships among ethnic and racial communities.” As a strategic site of transnational migration and economic globalization, Sunset Park provides contemporary insights into the daily lived experiences of a globalizing urban landscape and its implications for racial and ethnic relations, community building, immigrant incorporation, and civic engagement. As a multiracial, multiethnic neighborhood, it is a potent site to investigate the uneven inclusion of Asian and Latino immigrants in postindustrial cities and, more important, to locate areas of common concern and conditions for social mobilization and activism.

Methodology

In my study of Sunset Park, I employed a qualitative case study methodology based on the principles and practices of action research and participant observation. Simply defined, action research is a “bottom-up approach to inquiry which is aimed at producing more equitable policy outcomes” (Silverman, Taylor, and Crawford 2008, 73). Its core principles include reflexive inquiry, local knowledge, collaboration, case orientation, and social action goals (Greenwood, Whyte, and Harkavy 1993). As a paradigm of praxis, action research utilizes social science methodologies to understand lived socioeconomic and political conditions in order to solve real problems (O’Brien 1998). My action research in Sunset Park formally commenced in 1996 when I returned to New York City as a newly minted Ph.D. in urban planning.

Over the years, I have attended and participated in countless community board meetings, public hearings, and forums, including at the New York City Council. I have formally interviewed senior staff at city agencies, such as the New York City Economic Development Corporation, the Department of City Planning, the Department of Small Business Services, the Mayor’s Office of Manufacturing and Industrial Businesses, and the Mayor’s Office of Immigrant Affairs. I have conducted hundreds of in-depth interviews with Sunset Park stakeholders, including residents; Community Board 7 members and the district manager; elected officials such as Congresswoman Nydia Velázquez, New York state assemblyman Felix Ortiz, and City Council member Sara Gonzalez; and executive directors and senior staff of non-profit organizations, including the Brooklyn Chinese American Planning Council, the Brooklyn Chinese-American Association, Asian Americans for Equality, Neighbors Helping Neighbors, La Unión, the United Puerto Rican

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Organization of Sunset Park (UPROSE), the Chinese Staff and Workers' Association, the Sunset Park 5th Avenue Business Improvement District, the Garment Industry Development Corporation, the Southwest Brooklyn Industrial Development Corporation, the New York Environmental Justice Alliance, the Fifth Avenue Committee, the Center for Family Life, and the Hispanic Young People's Alternatives.⁶

My interviews of key neighborhood stakeholders included religious leaders, such as Reverend Samuel Wong of the Chinese Promise Baptist Church, Reverend Juan Carlos Ruiz and council president Lelia Johnson of St. Jacobi Evangelical Lutheran Church, and Reverend Samuel Cruz of Trinity Lutheran Church; Lutheran Medical Center senior representatives; and numerous neighborhood activists, including organizers with Sunset United, the Sunset Park Alliance of Neighbors, Occupy Sunset Park, Rice and Dreams, and the Raza Youth Collective. I have also interviewed May Chen, former international vice president of UNITE HERE and manager of Local 23-25, which in the 1980s was the largest International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union affiliate representing New York City's Chinese immigrant garment workers; Education Director Lana Cheung; Saul Nieves with SEIU 32BJ; local business owners, including garment subcontractors and realtor agencies; executive senior staff of ethnic banks, including Amerasia Bank, First American International Bank, Cathay Bank, and United Commercial Bank; and Kathryn Wylde, president and CEO of Partnership for New York City.

To supplement my fieldwork and qualitative interviews, I used secondary data from the decennial U.S. Census and the American Community Survey as well as data from the New York State Department of Labor's Quarterly Census of Employment and Wages (formerly ES 202) to conduct an empirical analysis of Sunset Park's changing demography and neighborhood economy. I used multiple municipal data sources to document land use, property ownership, and development projects. These databases include the New York City Department of Finance's Automated City Register Information System, the Department of City Planning's PLUTO (Primary Land Use Tax Lot Output) data, and the Department of Buildings' Buildings Information System. My research on land use and development also employed the New York Department of State Division of Corporations' State Records and UCC database on Corporations and Businesses. Finally, I analyzed the 2000–2011 Home Mortgage Disclosure Act (HMDA) data to document home mortgage lending patterns. I used the online databases of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation and the Federal Financial Institutions Examination Council to obtain bank data, loan portfolios, and Community Reinvestment Act ratings and reports.

On a final note, my family moved to Sunset Park in 1974 near the height of New York City's fiscal crisis. My parents were employed in typical immigrant niches. My mother was a sewing machine operator in Manhattan Chinatown's sweatshop garment industry, and my father worked in an industrial laundry in Greenpoint, Brooklyn, and on weekends worked as a cook in a Chinese restaurant. We were the first Chinese family on our block at a time when Sunset Park (above 5th Avenue) was still a largely white ethnic neighborhood. Over the decades, we witnessed the near complete exodus of Italian, Irish, and Norwegian neighbors as 8th Avenue emerged as Brooklyn's Chinatown in the early 1990s. We shopped on 5th Avenue, at the time the commercial center of Sunset Park's Puerto Rican community, and observed the growing presence of Mexican flags decorating local storefronts and homes. My father still resides in the modest two-family row house he purchased four decades ago. My deep personal relationship with Sunset Park provides me with a special lens and an investment in community issues and development. As a Sunset Park stakeholder, I prepared this book with the hope that my research will deepen and enrich our understanding of immigrant urbanization, advance immigrant Latino-Asian civic engagement and common interests, and aid progressive planners in our work for racial justice and equity in urban economic development and city building practices.

Overview of the Book

This book is organized into six chapters and a conclusion. Based on a review of contemporary theorizations of immigrant neighborhoods, Chapter 1 argues that immigrant communities represent new and distinct formations because they are embedded in the mass migration of racialized minorities in a postindustrial economic context. Some researchers propose new neighborhood formations such as ethnoburbs and ethnic communities, but these typologies do not situate Asians in urban multiethnic, multiracial neighborhoods (Maly 2005; Cheng 2013; Lai 2012; Kurashige 2008a, 2008b). While the "new" urban sociology has generated tremendous insight into the consequences of economic restructuring and social polarization in global and world cities, the significance of immigration, race, and ethnicity in reproducing new and old forms of urban inequality need further investigation (Samers 2002). Chapter 1 proposes a new framework of immigrant global neighborhoods that positions immigrant Latino-Asian neighborhoods within a reconfigured urban "landscape of power" (Zukin 1991).

Chapter 2 tells the evolution of Sunset Park as an ethnically diverse white working-class industrial waterfront neighborhood to its federal poverty-area

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designation in the late 1960s, when Sunset Park's Puerto Rican population was growing, to its recent revival as one of New York City's most diverse and vibrant immigrant neighborhoods. Integral to the "ethnic succession" of Sunset Park are urban development policies and projects, such as the Gowanus Expressway and its lingering effects on neighborhood deterioration and environmental conditions. Sunset Park's history also includes Federal Housing Authority abuses that heightened the neighborhood's racial transition. Institutions such as the Lutheran Medical Center figured prominently in the stabilization of Sunset Park because of their priority access to federal anti-poverty funds. As home to a high-security federal prison, the Metropolitan Detention Center, Sunset Park is also the site of globalized political protests, including demonstrations against the U.S. Navy's bombing of the Puerto Rican island of Vieques and the 9/11 immigrant detentions. This political economic history provides a context for subsequent chapters on opportunities and challenges for Latino and Asian civic engagement and current debates about Sunset Park's informal economy, neighborhood development and rezoning, and designation as a sustainable industrial urban district.

Much of the emphasis on immigrant economies in both the scholarly and policy arenas highlight their "exceptionalism" in generating entrepreneurship, ethnic solidarity, and economic opportunities and propose to replicate small business development as a strategy for asset building in other disadvantaged communities. Although Asian and Latino immigrant-owned businesses play a central role in the reversal of neighborhood economic decline, many of these new enterprises have thrived on a foundation of poverty-level wages, casual employment relations, and nonunion shops. Sunset Park's immigrant ethnic niches include a downgraded garment-manufacturing sector and an informal economy that is most visibly marked by street vendors. In contrast to earlier periods of industrialization and city building, new immigrant groups are creating marginal niches in a postindustrial urban economy. Chapter 3 documents the declining garment industry and recent legislative efforts to regulate street vendors and examines the related consequences for immigrant economic incorporation and access to public space.

Chapter 4 investigates the paradox of Sunset Park's large working-poor population amid the relatively high volumes of capital represented by numerous banks located in the neighborhood. U.S. banking deregulation and the growing influx of Chinese capital, especially since the early 1990s, have resulted in the establishment of numerous ethnic banks in Sunset Park. The substantial research on immigrant financial capital and access has focused on consumer services and predatory lending. However, the increasing presence

of ethnic banks defined as U.S.-based banks established by ethnic minorities has largely been overlooked. Sunset Park is considered an underserved community, but it is also the site of a fairly extensive banking infrastructure, including several mainstream banks. Chapter 4 examines the role of ethnic banks in facilitating homeownership and community development in Sunset Park. An analysis of 2000–2011 HMDA data finds that despite the concentrated presence of ethnic banks in immigrant neighborhoods, they make few home purchase loans or substantive community reinvestments. Rather, they figure prominently as part of an immigrant-based urban growth machine that is transforming Sunset Park through commercial real estate development. Economic development policies such as New York state's banking development districts should incorporate a more complex and dynamic view of the economic landscape of immigrant neighborhoods in order to promote fair access to capital and equitable community investment.

The Bloomberg administration has initiated an unprecedented number of rezonings that cumulatively represent a dramatic reconfiguration of land use in New York City. Community boards—the most decentralized body of urban governance—serve as a conduit for public review and oversight of the development process. Chapter 5 examines the race and class politics in framing the community's concerns about overdevelopment and gentrification and community reactions to the Department of City Planning's proposed rezoning of Sunset Park. This chapter finds that community boards often legitimate and advance a neoliberal agenda in part by marginalizing poor people and people of color. In failing to provide a public forum that meaningfully engages stakeholders, including immigrants in neighborhood planning and development, Sunset Park's rezoning debate underscore the importance of a migrant civil society in building multiracial alliances to define neighborhood space and identity and exercise claims for economic justice and equity in urban development.

Chapter 6 examines the prospects for Sunset Park's waterfront in a postindustrial urban economy. As a mixed-use neighborhood with historically weak political representation and organization, Sunset Park has been scarred by highway construction, and its waterfront has served as a dumping ground for a meatpacking plant, waste transfer stations, power plants, a federal prison, and sex shops. Waterfront reclamation and redevelopment are central to remaking New York City's global city status, and several new developments in Sunset Park, including plans for a waterfront park on the contaminated Bush Terminal piers, are part of this development vision. While Sunset Park's maritime and manufacturing roots are currently protected by city initiatives and zoning designations that recognize the existence

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of an industrial cluster at the core of the local economy, Chapter 6 examines how the prospects for Sunset Park's waterfront redevelopment in a postindustrial urban economy will be decided in part on the success of environmental justice and sustainable development discourses and actions to shift from noxious threats to countering a neoliberal development agenda that advocates waterfront residence, tourism, and creative industries. Superstorm Sandy has forced the issue of climate change and the devastating impacts of severe weather patterns. While Mayor Bloomberg's leadership on environmental sustainability is much lauded, this chapter examines how his approach to rebuilding and promoting a resilient New York is consistent with a market-driven development agenda.

The book concludes with examples of Sunset Park initiatives that advance social and economic justice. Specifically, the concluding chapter investigates the challenges of and the potentiality for transformative neighborhood change in three central areas: immigrant entrepreneurialism, creating space for Latino-Asian immigrant activism, and just sustainability planning.