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Global Metropolis and the City of Neighborhoods: Polish Immigrants and New York City's Two Cosmopolitanisms

1 Introduction

A growing body of social science literature analyzes various aspects of cosmopolitanism. Ian Woodward and Zlatko Skrbis, the authors of *Cosmopolitanism: The Uses of the Idea*, point out four dimensions of cosmopolitanism as it is implemented by people and approached by researchers. The cultural dimension of cosmopolitanism is seen as a “disposition of openness to the world around them” (2). Therefore, the populations and individuals studied include international migrants and members of the host societies, as well as individuals and groups that form ethno-racially diverse societies or associations. The second, political dimension of cosmopolitanism distinguished by Woodward and Skrbis includes support for international political organizations, including the United Nations. The third, and nowadays the most sensitive aspect of cosmopolitanism is marked not only by openness, but empathy and solidarity that goes beyond the boundaries of one's ethnic group, nation-state, religion, and culture. Finally, they identify a methodological cosmopolitanism that directs social researchers to study international and transnational flows of people, ideas, and commodities rather than those within nation-states.

In this chapter, I focus on two types of cultural cosmopolitanism that I observed among the Polish Greenpoint immigrant community leaders in New York City during my research in the first decade of the twenty-first century. The first is the cosmopolitanism characteristic for the Polish community leaders of the baby boomer generation and with a college education. It involves an aesthetic fascination with New York's ethno-racial diversity and the city's status as a global cultural metropolis. This is a cosmopolitanism understood as “the citizen-of-the-world philosophy” held by those “who have the resources necessary to travel, learn other languages, and absorb other cultures” (Vertovec and Cohen 4). I call it a “cosmopolitanism of metropolises” and argue that this type of cosmopolitanism is characteristic for New York's global elite members. They typically work as professionals in institutions of international significance, appeal, and outlook, but their professional and residential experience in the city takes place in relatively homogenous environment of white and native-born US citizens.

The second type of cosmopolitanism that I identified among the Polish immigrants in the city involved actively coping with and taking advantage of the fact

of working and living in conditions of ethno-racial diversity. I found this attitude popular among Polish community members who interacted with members of other ethnic groups, as laborers or business owners, on the city's labor market. I argue that this type of cosmopolitanism is typically experienced by immigrants and New Yorkers of low- to middle-class background, whose professional lives involve encounters with people of various ethno-racial origins, but who typically chose to live in their ethnic neighborhoods. I call it a "cosmopolitanism of neighborhoods," referring to the tradition of depicting New York as a city of ethnic neighborhoods with distinct identities.

I argue that these two types of openness towards people of other cultural, linguistic, religious, and lifestyle backgrounds have been characteristic of New York for over a century, and not just in the beginning of the twenty-first century and certainly not only among Polish immigrants. Both reflect the dual character of the city's past and present. Since the 1920s, the city has developed as a global metropolis, a place where institutions of global reputation are concentrated, including the headquarters of transnational corporations and banks, political institutions (the United Nations), world famous cultural institutions, including museums (MoMA, Metropolitan Museum of Art) and concert halls (Metropolitan Opera and Philharmonic, Carnegie Hall), and where well-travelled members belonging to the global economic and cultural elite have established their places of residence. Simultaneously, the city, famous for its ethno-racial diversity and religious and lifestyle tolerance, has long been a city of immigrants, with immigrant enclaves and ethnic neighborhoods, and with new immigrant and ethnic groups replacing the previously dominant ones. Today, immigrants make up about 35% of the city's population (of more than eight million), and together with their US-born children comprise more than half of its inhabitants. At the same time, the city's two million black population makes New York the largest black city in the US. The city is also the main center of Puerto Rican and Caribbean culture in the United States and host to the most populous Chinatown outside China (Foner 1–34).

I base my claims on the results of sociological research that I conducted in the Brooklyn neighborhood of Greenpoint—the city's Little Poland, in the first decade of the twenty-first century.¹⁰⁹ The methodology of my empirical research consisted of the thirteen-month long field research in 2005–2006 and 2010, which included individual interviews; 50 biographical and expert interviews with the community's leaders, and 23 biographic interviews with female cleaners. The biographical part comprised both the immigrants' professional histories and an oral history of the Greenpoint neighborhood. The expert interviews included questions about typical characteristics of the Polish immigrant community in New York and Greenpoint: its social and geographic origins; employment and lifestyle; the existing data from the period 1980–2014;

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releases by the New York press; official data, including data of the United States Census Bureau and the City Department of Population and City Planning; and Polish ethnic parishes in the neighborhood.¹¹⁰ Additionally, to supplement the evidence of the cosmopolitanism of metropolis, I include an analysis of the representation of the city's diversity in the novel *Kamienna drabina* [A Stone Ladder] (2008) by Czesław Karkowski, a Polish immigrant writer and a former editor-in-chief of *Nowy Dziennik*, the largest Polish language newspaper in New York. I also examine policies related to ethno-racial diversity as espoused by MoMA and Carnegie Hall, the two leading New York cultural institutions, both of which have attained global fame and an international reputation. My arguments also refer to the existing data and social science literature on the ethno-racial composition of the city's population, including immigrants, the native-born population, global elites, as well as the city's patterns of residence.

2 New York as a Dual City

According to the well-established academic tradition, New York is one of global cities and centers from which world capitalism is coordinated. Its labor market attracts, on one hand, the best educated and those capable of participating in the most profitable chains of global economic exchange, and on the other hand the impoverished, often of immigrant origin, who are ready to fulfill the former's ever increasing demands for personal services. This results in a polarized social structure, with a negligible middle class.

Sociologists critical of capitalism typically associate this set of phenomena with the late phase of postindustrial capitalism initiated at the turn of the 1970s and 1980s (N. Smith; Zukin). Saskia Sassen, the author of the term "global city," which became popularized in social science in the 1990s, and David Harvey, author of classic critical urban studies, both point out that the 1980s business-driven revitalization started a new chapter in the city's social polarization (Harvey 29–30; Sassen 12). New York became on the one hand the place of work and inhabitation for the global, typically white, elite. On the other hand, the 1980s marked the beginning of a great new influx of foreigners that made New York a city of immigrants once again. This wave included immigrants from the entire world and not just from Europe, as was the case during the previous wave at the beginning of the twentieth century. More often than in the industrial era, the new wave of immigrants play the role of service workers and perform simple personal services for the rich—in restaurants, beauty salons, and in providing housekeeping and personal care services (Kallick 64–89). As David Dyssegaard Kal-

¹¹⁰ The detailed results of this research are discussed in a book-length study: see Sosnowska, *Polski Greenpoint*.

lick's research demonstrates, the immigrants less often than in industrial times work in manufacturing, but now as then are often employed in transportation, packing, and assembling operations.

Yet, the duality—i.e. the spatial proximity of the global and US economic elites and the poor (predominantly European) immigrants and descendants of the African slaves from the United States South and the Caribbean—has characterized New York's economy, social structure, and culture in both contemporary times as well as in the industrial era. The old elites were, in the course of history, replaced by new ones, and new immigrants have been arriving from the areas newly affected by the migration frenzy. Researchers of the successive historical eras have observed this dual character of the city. Joshua Freeman gives a picturesque description of the city in the post-World War II period:

In a city where the largest, most advanced warships and passenger liners in the world regularly docked, fish still got delivered to the Fulton Fish Market in sail-powered boats. Horse-drawn wagons remained a common sight, delivering or selling coal, laundry, milk, vegetables, and fruit. In a city where sophisticated defense electronics got designed and built, St. Patrick's Cathedral and Bellevue Hospital still operated on DC current. One police precinct had gas lights. In a city where the preliminary work for atomic fission had been done, potbellied stoves were being sold for home heating, and ice blocks were delivered for home refrigeration. (7)

John Mollenkopf and Manuel Castells argued that New York of the 1980s should have also been seen as two socially and economically separate cities living in the same geographic space: "The one city, based upon producing and moving goods and upon industrial headquarters, has been in decline for decades. The other city, based upon producer services marketed worldwide, has been mostly on the rise over the same decades" (40). All these images seem more typical than paradoxical when considered in the light of the Fernand Braudel's *Civilization and Capitalism*, a study of great cities of the modern era. Braudel investigated the economy of the early modern period (the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries), and at the same time provided the analytical framework for the entire capitalist era and its global cities. In Braudel's three-level interpretive model, capitalism occupied the top, (the third in his schematic representation) level. "The base, consisting of 'material life'—many-sided, self-sufficient, and routine-bound; at the next level, 'economic life,' ... tending to merge with the competitive market economy; and lastly, at the third level, the activities of capitalism" (455). At the top of the structure was the elite level of capitalism: economic activity (commercial or productive) with "its unlimited flexibility, its capacity for change and *adaptation*," which was greater than on the other two levels (433).

This three-tier division of economic activity in Braudel's model corresponded to a three-way division of space. At its center was a dominant city that determined the direction and rhythm of trade and imposed its conditions on the rest of the "world-economy." Within the division of labor in the European "world-economy" from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, a small central city occupied the best and most

profitable position: “News, merchandise, capital, credit, people, instructions, correspondence all flow into and out of the city. Its powerful merchants lay down the law, sometimes becoming extraordinarily wealthy” (27). Therefore, in each epoch the most profitable transactions were located within the chain of a few world metropolises. Starting with the late Middle Ages, this chain’s crucial links have changed and the center of the capitalist world economy subsequently moved from Venice to Amsterdam, to London and finally—in the mid-twentieth century—to New York. All these central cities were cosmopolitan in a dual sense—they were very well connected with the world through trade routes and business contacts, and multi-ethnic, as their economic opportunities attracted migrants from remote parts of the world-economy. Although typically the central cities have been religiously and culturally tolerant, they have been marked by enormous economic contrasts.

3 Karkowski's *Stone Ladder* and Cosmopolitanism of Metropolises

The cosmopolitanism of metropolises, understood as the “citizen-of-the-world” worldview akin to Kantian paradigm, can be seen in the works of Czesław Karkowski. Born in Wrocław in the 1940s, Karkowski migrated through West Berlin to New York in the 1980s. He worked as a journalist, editor-in-chief of *Nowy Dziennik*, the largest Polish language daily on the United States Eastern Coast, and as a philosophy lecturer. Karkowski published: two books on the history of the arts—*Drugi w sztuce* [The second in the arts] and *Moje Metropolitan* [My Metropolitan Museum], a volume of commentaries to *Iliad*, as well as two books on Polish immigrants and on his own experience of being an immigrant in New York: *Kamienna drabina* (2008) and *Na emigracji* [On emigration] (2016). Although, as he declared, he initially avoided living among Polish immigrants, he settled down over a decade ago in Ridgewood, which since then has become a new Little Poland in New York; he writes in Polish for the Polish public, and has spent most of his professional career as a journalist in immigrant media.

Henryk, the main protagonist of *Kamienna drabina*, experiences embarrassment when confronted with the type of compatriots that he associates with Greenpoint—ignorant, xenophobic, of rural origins, and “uninterested [in how to get to Manhattan], and not taking advantage in the least of the opportunities that the city offers, of the horizons that it opens” (146).¹¹¹ Contrary to them, Henryk frequently visits cultural institutions and cares about the number of Poles that he can meet in New York’s “museums and galleries, opera and philharmonic, in concerts and in movie theaters.

111 All page references are to the Polish version; all translations by Anna Sosnowska.

Their presence there satisfie[s] him personally, as he thought these places elevated him and the entire group in the eyes of the native society” (39).

Unlike the Polish immigrants that he met in Greenpoint, Henryk is fascinated with the city’s ethno-racial diversity and enjoys observing people in public spaces with the greatest diversity—subway and streets. While travelling by train from Manhattan to the Bronx, where he lives, Henryk “was *looking at* a row of passengers on the seats that he faced. An extremely thin, young, black woman with a crazily colorful turban on her head, two Latinos in baseball caps celebrating the Yankees worn on the their black thick hair, and still next to them another young woman of undetermined race and origins, deep in reading” (14; emphasis added). When visiting Brooklyn by car, he drove along the Eastern Parkway and “headed over to the sides of this beautiful avenue” (38). The avenue cuts across the borough’s central part consisting of Crown Heights, Flatbush, and Bedford-Stuyvesant, neighborhoods famous for their adjacent but culturally distant communities: Lubavitcher Hasidic Jews, West Indian immigrants, and African Americans. Henryk, accompanied this time by his wife, a Polish immigrant like himself, again enjoys “*looking at* Blacks and Latinos who inhabited this neighborhood and at the orthodox Jews, always heading somewhere, never allowing themselves a walk, relaxation, or mere wandering. The proximity of these different temperaments, cultures, lifestyles was surprising. ... They were driving, *looking around*” (38; emphasis added). As Henryk perceives it, the city’s diversity seems to have an aesthetic rather than a relational, practical, or political character. People originating from various parts of the world, whose skin color and hair texture as well as clothing styles differ markedly from one another represent beautiful and silent pictures to Henryk—they are not candidates for potential relationships or even superficial exchanges, but objects to be observed in their colorful variety.

Like Karkowski himself, Henryk decides not to live in the Polish neighborhood, but he regularly visits Greenpoint, and all his close friends and romantic partners are Polish. He develops a close attachment to the streets, architecture, means of transportation, and especially the cultural institutions of New York, but his important conversations and psychological points of reference are immigrant and Polish. Non-Polish New Yorkers are, in *Kamienna drabina*, a part of an urban landscape consisting of artifacts to contemplate and gain inspiration from esthetically, rather than part of a human realm, where interaction and empathy need to be developed. Henryk knows that at the top of the stone ladder, i.e. New York’s social hierarchy which he tries to climb, this colorful crowd is absent, as are Greenpoint’s Polish immigrants.

New York’s global elite is predominantly white and male, like Henryk, but unlike him—native born. According to *Business Insider*’s estimation in 2015, the top managers of the leading financial institutions represented in Wall Street were overwhelmingly white. “More than 80% of executives at Goldman Sachs, Wells Fargo, JPMorgan, Bank of America, Citigroup, and Morgan Stanley are white” (Crow and Kiersz). The Upper East Side, the richest neighborhood in the city and the traditional place of residence of global elite members, is similarly white and native born. The interactive online Statis-

tical Atlas demonstrates that about 80% of the entire neighborhood's inhabitants are white, while whites make about 90% of the inhabitants in the most prestigious and expensive areas located next to Park Avenue and Central Park. Foreign-born inhabitants made up about 22% of the total in the entire East Side neighborhood and only slightly over 15% in the Park Avenue area ("Race and Ethnicity"). The other neighborhoods of the global elite, including Soho, West Village, and Greenwich Village—famous for their cosmopolitanism and artistic appeal—are populated by native-born whites to a similar degree, according to The Statistical Atlas ("National Origins").

The cultural and artistic institutions of global fame located in New York present themselves as cosmopolitan, sympathetic to immigrants and artists of all racial, ethnic, or religious origins. For my research into the cosmopolitan orientation of artistic institutions I selected MoMA, which is not burdened with the obligation to collect the classic works of Western artistic masters and is most open to novelties and young artists, and Carnegie Hall, founded by Andrew Carnegie, himself an immigrant. As expected, both institutions can be characterized by cosmopolitanism understood as an attitude of affirmation of diversity and internationalism.

In early 2017 MoMA expressed sympathy for and solidarity with the Muslim immigrants and tourists that Donald Trump's immigration policy intended to exclude from among its visitors (Farago). The museum's spectacular action, included the replacement of works by Pablo Picasso and Henri Matisse with ones by Syrian painters, an action which was widely commented on in the United States and Europe (Elephtheriou-Smith). It was one of several actions undertaken by MoMA to sympathize with immigrants and oppose their persecution by the current administration. In addition, in its education section artists in general and modern artists in particular are positioned as cultural hybrids—migrants with an experience of living in variety of cultures and "shifting and fusing their identities, cultural traditions, and artistic techniques" (MoMA Learning). The text commenting on the works of migrant artists celebrates international migration as a source of artistic creativity.

Carnegie Hall celebrated the 2017 July 4th national holiday with a tribute to nearly 50 naturalized citizens of various professions, and emphasized the immigrant origin of its founder, Andrew Carnegie. Its website on this occasion claimed that "America remains a nation of immigrants" and announced the slogan: "Great immigrants—great Americans." In the article covering the celebration, immigrants are presented as a source of the United States' and New York's strength and development (Ford). Yet, the currently ongoing 2017/2018 season in Carnegie Hall's website is advertised with pictures of white artists, white orchestra directors, and a white public only. In 2014, black composers and musicians complained to a reporter of the *New York Times* about their invisibility both in Carnegie Hall and in classical music concert halls in general (Robin). The Carnegie Hall's unquestioned dedication to cosmopolitanism may therefore be seen more as declaration of good will rather than an actual social practice.

4 Polish Greenpoint Immigrants and the Cosmopolitanism of Neighborhoods

At the turn of the twenty-first century, the immigrants from Poland occupied the position of a working-class aristocracy in the New York labor market. They owed this position mostly to men, whose employment profile was fundamentally different from that of other male immigrants in the city, both in 2000 and in 2011 (*Newest New Yorkers*). Much less frequently than any other group were they employed in trade, services, transport, and production—the main immigrant sectors, while decidedly more often than others they worked in construction. I explain this overrepresentation of Poles in the highly-paid sector of construction with the existence of well-developed ethnic social networks, as well as their succession to places occupied by other European working ethnic groups, especially the Irish and the Italians. In 2000 and 2011, the relatively high wages of men and the low rate of households relying on public assistance gave Polish families a relatively stable position among the city's immigrants. Their median household income was still lower than that of the Asian and post-Soviet immigrant groups, whose members were concentrated in professional and entrepreneurial jobs, or the most rooted immigrants from Europe, but higher than that of the non-Hispanic Caribbean immigrants with a similar level of education and higher level of English proficiency, and much higher than that of immigrants from Latin America. The employment structure of Polish female immigrants in 2000 and 2010 was similar to the general one of female immigrant New Yorkers. The Polish Greenpoint community leaders tended to uniformly indicate cleaning as the most common occupation among Polish women.

In order to illustrate the Polish immigrants' everyday, pragmatic, microcosmic cosmopolitanism, I thus present the representatives of the two dominant and gendered employment sectors: construction and cleaning. As a small business owner and operator and a female worker, Jarosław and Cecylia also represent the variety of the Polish immigrants' employment experience. These two immigrants also differed a lot in their represented extremes of legal status, length of stay in the US, living conditions, and their position in the local community. Cecylia was an undocumented immigrant with less than a decade of immigrant experience. At the time I interviewed her, she lived in a modest apartment that she shared with a couple of other women working as cleaners. Her husband and three children, including her youngest daughter in her late teens, lived in Poland. As an undocumented immigrant, she could not travel, so the only occasion she had to see her family members throughout the decade was when they managed to get a United States tourist visa and could afford to spend some time in Greenpoint. Jarosław arrived in the United States in the early 1990s and soon after legalized his stay as a relative of a United States permanent resident. His wife soon joined him in New York and the couple has two children. Jarosław's business was successful enough to make it possible for the family to move from Green-

point to a comfortable single family home in the suburbs. Jarosław is a recognized community leader, active in the ethnic organizations. He travels a lot and visits Poland regularly.

However, I selected them not only because of the differences between them. The two were similar to each other insofar as they were immigrants who in their work experience encountered linguistic and communication difficulties as well as problems with intercultural relationships, but managed to successfully (i.e. to their advantage) adapt to them. Both also stood out as self-aware respondents, conscious of the city's ethno-racial hierarchy and their own social status in the city's secondary economic sectors relegated to immigrants. However, in contrast to some of my other respondents, this knowledge was not a source of frustration for either Cecylia or Jarosław, but rather an inspiration for them to benefit from working in an environment characterized by an ethno-racial hierarchy.

In discussing his employment history Jarosław, now the owner of a restoration company and in his fifties, recalled that his first employers in the 1990s were of various white ethnic origins: "the first company was Greek, the other one was Italian, then the concrete company was also Italian. ... Later, it was XXX, a Polish-Italian company." In 2010, when I interviewed him, Jarosław was an employer of 80 workers. When recruiting laborers, he also looked for employees among non-Polish immigrants:

Jaroslaw: I have lots of employees from Peru, Ecuador, a couple of workers from Mexico. They are good at pointing [the final touch in brickwork], very good. Well, scaffolding, brickwork. ... They are very good workers, very good ones.

AS: Do you employ through recommendations [by those who already work for you]?

J: Sometimes it is just someone calling. We check this man—show what you can do, what a mason you are. A foreman checks [an applicant] and the latter stays if he's good.

AS: Are all your foremen Polish?

J: No, two of them are not—I have a Mexican foreman and an Ecuadorian foreman.

AS: They work with Spanish-speaking workers, don't they.

J: Yes, usually.

One of the discoveries during my research into Polish female immigrant cleaners, both those with and without working experience for Hasidic families in Williamsburg (a neighborhood adjacent to Greenpoint) was that they typically interpreted work there as characterized by more despotism than in New York's middle-class homes. It remains an open question to what extent the Hasidic ways bothered Polish cleaners because they created hardships in the workplace, and to what extent this perception resulted from pre-employment anti-Semitic attitudes (Sosnowska, "The Polish").

One of the most frequently mentioned practices—religiously and culturally obvious from the Hasidic point of view—that were perceived by Polish cleaners as despotic was the ban on the consumption of non-kosher food or water by a cleaner while working. Yet, even this initially hostile perception could evolve under the influence of a long-lasting interaction between a Polish immigrant and her Hasidic employers.

Cecylia, an undocumented immigrant since the late 1990s, learnt only after a couple of years of misunderstandings and disappointments that a necessary condition of working in Hasidic homes was relying on the food and drinks available, but rarely offered, by the employers:

Cecylia: I had such an employer once, you know, that I carried my own water in my purse. I used to work there for six, seven hours, it was always Wednesday, and I had to have some drinking water as she would never offer me a drink. And finally, I left her. She didn't even ask whether I was thirsty. Yeah, it happens. Strange things happen.

AS: So, you carried your own water, right?

C: Yes, and I drank secretly.

AS: Secretly?!

C: Secretly, so that she didn't see it, as it was non-kosher. They do not allow outside food at their homes, so that even a bread crumb doesn't drop there.

After several years of working for another Hasidic family, Cecylia had a chance to talk to her employer about this practice and learned that Hasidic employers—mothers of large families—often simply forget about their cleaners' needs. They hire help to ease their housework and not to add an additional task of caring about the hired laborers.

Cecylia—even though she was an undocumented immigrant who spoke no English and decided to work in Williamsburg, where the pay was lower, because she was afraid of subway trips to Manhattan—developed a sense of balance in her relationship with her Hasidic employer. Her employer at the time of the interview (May 2010) was a woman of Cecylia's age, a working mother of a large family with multiple children, and the wife of a rabbi in the local Hasidic community.

C: And I speak as much as I can, although I hardly speak ... but they somehow get to understand what I mean. Sometimes, I laugh, and she laughs, and she knows [what I mean]. When I'm angry, she knows that I'm angry. That I'm nervous ... that I dislike something, don't I? She's angry and I'm angry, that's it.

Cecylia and Jarosław are a part of the last wave of mass immigration that once again transformed the city at the turn of the twenty-first century into the most diverse foreigners' haven, even if no longer the most popular destination (Foner and Waldinger 347). In their comparative study of young adult New Yorkers of both immigrant and native parenthood, *Inheriting the City*, Philip Kasinitz, John Mollenkopf, Mary C. Waters, and Jennifer Holdaway point out that for children of immigrants, their first job in the city is typically the occasion for them to leave their neighborhoods for a longer time and for the first time to experience encounters with whites other than teachers and police officers, and also often with members of ethno-racial groups other than their own (173–204). It is the job market that both pulls the immigrants and their children away from the confinement of their ethnic neighborhoods and confronts them with the ethno-racial hierarchy of the city.

Jarosław's and Cecylia's stories therefore represent typical experiences of New York immigrants who work for or with members of ethno-racial groups other than their own. They succeed in crossing the linguistic and cultural difference and establishing an understanding of the tasks they are assigned or services they are expected to deliver. Working in a city with such an enormous ethno-racial diversity makes the experience of crossing the boundaries of one's own culture and engaging in understanding, exchanges, and cooperation with members of other cultures a part of the city immigrants' everyday occupational practice.

Jarosław and Cecylia are also typical immigrant New Yorkers in their attachment to their ethnic communities and neighborhoods. As Arun Peter Lobo and Joseph J. Salvo demonstrate, immigrants tend to cluster spatially. Although several immigrant enclaves, often situated in mixed neighborhoods rather than a single and isolated immigrant enclave, are characteristic for immigrant groups, they typically live their everyday after-hours lives in areas with a high concentration of their own ethnic businesses, ethnic organizations and churches, and informal ethnic networks of relatives and friends (*Newest New Yorkers* 2013 35–63). The relatively small group of about 60,000 Polish immigrants in New York in 2011 formed distinct enclaves in Greenpoint and in south Brooklyn, as well as enclaves in the neighborhoods adjacent to Greenpoint: Ridgewood, Maspeth, Glendale, and Middle Village in Queens (55–56).

Unlike Henryk of *Kamienna drabina*, Jarosław and Cecylia not only had co-ethnic friends or spouses, but also wanted to either live among them in Greenpoint or to remain connected to ethnic organizations and businesses located in the neighborhood, which make their experience an example of K. Anthony Appiah's rooted cosmopolitanism. Cecylia could not imagine living anywhere other than Greenpoint, where she could shop in Polish shops for the ingredients for her Polish-style meals. Jarosław, although he moved to a larger house in an adjacent neighborhood, regularly attended meetings of the local ethnic business club, sent his children to the Saturday Polish School there, sponsored and frequented ethnic cultural events, and took care to accept renovation jobs that benefitted the local community's public space, such as churches and bridges.

5 Conclusion

My research has shown that, firstly, cosmopolitanism as a worldview might and does function in New York, like in the historical central cities of the world-economy, without everyday experiences of work and life in an international environment. In New York of the early twenty-first century it has acquired the form of an aesthetic fascination with ethno-racial diversity that is a component of city's vibrancy and vitality. Its most typical form is enchantment with the picture of a diverse crowd. What is new, in comparison to the historically recognized cosmopolitanism of central cities,

is the elite's expressions of sympathy—and not just acceptance—for immigrants and religious and ethno-racial minority groups. What makes New York's elites similar to the past elites of Venice, Amsterdam, and London is a combination of international experience in business and artistic and cultural exclusiveness. This cosmopolitanism, understood as an aestheticized fascination with pictures of ethno-racial diversity and identification with the cultural institutions' declared cosmopolitanism, can be found in the Karkowski's Polish immigrant novel *Kamienna drabina*.

Secondly, the everyday cosmopolitanism of Polish immigrants in Greenpoint is carried out in their workplaces and in the neighborhood itself. This is the case for both working-class and business-owning immigrants. Although often contested by both, working for and with members of non-Polish ethno-racial groups is treated as a fact that has to be dealt with and taken advantage of. The cosmopolitan everyday experience might be—and in case of the two cited immigrants, happens to be—connected with a strong attachment to ethnic professional and civic organizations as well as to ethnic neighborhoods.

This type of microcosmic, locally rooted cosmopolitanism is characteristic for the inhabitants of neighborhoods of the outlying boroughs outside the metropolis of Manhattan. Their cosmopolitanism is pragmatic, unintended, and is similar to what an ethnographer of New York, William Helmreich, calls "daygration." This term "refers to the contact that takes place when the group that lives in an area interacts with people of other groups who are there only during the day" (298). Typically, for immigrants working outside of ethnic enclaves, inter-cultural experiences result from work in the ethno-racially mixed, although stratified, labor market and of life in neighborhoods where several ethnic groups, rather than just one, cluster and businesses are operated by outsiders. The effect of this type of cosmopolitanism is a relatively peaceful coexistence, but without deep integration at the intimate level of friendship or romantic engagement. Even if accompanied by strong ethno-racial stereotypes, it prevents violent conflict and introduces what Jennifer Lee labeled "civility in the city," as participants carefully manage their relationships in actual everyday life transactions.

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