



The Center for Migration Studies (CMS)
in cooperation with
The Levin Institute, SUNY

**CONFERENCE ON U.S. IMMIGRATION REFORM,
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO NEW YORK CITY**
3 March 2011

**‘Starting with Spoons’: Refugee Migration and Settlement
in Upstate New York**

Reflections on U.S. Immigration Reform

By Ellen Percy Kraly

**Director, The Upstate Institute
Department of Geography
Colgate University**

Introduction

The impact of international migration on the population and social geography of New York State is profound; the geography of impacts is also profound – and provocative. Table 1 provides descriptive demographic data concerning total and foreign born populations for the selected metropolitan areas and cities in New York State for this first century’s first decade. The size and proportion of the foreign born population, and the proportion of immigrants arriving since 2000 serve to define the New York metropolitan area as an ongoing magnet for international migrants, and New York City, as truly a city of immigrants. Metropolitan areas and cities in upstate New York exist at a dramatically different demographic scale than the New York metropolitan area and the City but the demographic effects of international migration are no less profound on these urban communities. Accordingly, the reform of U.S. immigration policy and programs embodies significant consequences for places throughout the state, large and much smaller.

Census based estimates of population changes for cities and metropolitan areas in upstate New York reveal a continuation of population loss which emerged in the latter decades of the last century. Schenectady *may* be the possible exception to this pattern. A distinctive dynamic of population among upstate cities, however, is the large positive growth of the foreign born populations, and also the high proportions of the foreign born population arriving since 2000 in these cities. Two sources of international migration generate these metrics: immigration of foreign students and skilled professionals drawn by the relatively high density of institutions of higher education in the upstate region, and refugee resettlement. To the degree that proposals for national immigration reform address student and professional migration and migrants, and humanitarian migration, cities and metropolitan areas in upstate New York exist as important stake holders in the debates concerning the future of U.S. immigration.

Since 1979 more than 13,000 persons from 31 countries have been resettled in Utica, New York through the programs of the Mohawk Valley Resource Center for Refugees (MVRCR). Undergraduate students enrolled in several of my geography courses at Colgate University have participated in community based research and service learning projects in partnership with the MVRCR. During an introductory class visit by members of the Center’s staff, Ms. Vesna Sin, who had been resettled in Utica from Bosnia in the early 1990s, was asked by one of the students about the process and experience of assimilation among refugees. She responded without hesitation: “It [assimilation] is starting with spoons, looking for spoons and forks, and a needle and thread...”

Ms. Sin’s description provokes critical reflection about sociological and social geographic theory on the ground – not ‘grounded theory’ – but theory in the form of the models of immigrant settlement, integration and incorporation inherent in U.S. immigration and refugee policy, and in this case study, in the programs of the Mohawk Valley Resource Center for Refugees, and embody the overarching thesis of these reflections: debate about immigration reform should be *informed* by public scholarship concerning the global processes generating international migration to and from the United States, and processes of settlement, adjustment and incorporation of immigrants and refugees in the United States. The process of engaging

extant knowledge in the context of policy reform requires conversations between and among migration policy makers, practitioners, and scholars, the sort of conversation taking place at this Conference on Immigration Reform.

This reflective essay is organized into four brief sections (i) the social and population geography of Utica; (ii) refugee migration and resettlement programs of the Mohawk Valley Resource Center for Refugees; (iii) the impact of refugees and resettlement on the Utica community; (iv) models of immigrant settlement and incorporation inherent in refugee programs and programs of multicultural capacity building; and (v) challenges and opportunities for continued refugee resettlements and programs in Utica.

(i) The social and population geography of Utica

The City of Utica emerged in the 18th century on the banks of the Mohawk River in upstate New York following the military engagement in the region during the French and Indian War and followed by the American Revolution. The economic development of the city in the 19th century was boosted by its location on the Erie Canal and the expanding New York State canal system. Utica became the preeminent textile city in the region during the 19th century with weaving and spinning mills dominating the economic and city architecture drawing large numbers of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe (Noble 1999; Pula 2002). The names of villages within the metropolitan area – New York Mills, Washington Mills, Clark Mills - hold the legacy of the city’s industrial past.

Population change similarly reflects the legacy of the flow and current ebb of economic growth in the region. Table 1 shows 2000 census data and the most recent American Community Survey (ACS) estimates for the Utica-Rome MSA and the central cities. As so many of the other metropolitan areas in upstate New York, the Utica-Rome metropolitan area has experienced significant population loss during more recent decades (see Kraly and VanValkenburg 2003; Pendahl and Christopherson 2004). Divergencies in patterns of growth by nativity emerged in the 1990s. In the two censal periods between 1970 and 1990 (data not shown), the city and metropolitan area witnessed the decline of both the native born and the foreign born populations, and thus overall loss of the city’s population. Between 1990-2000 a different picture emerges, with the decline of the native born population and an overall population loss in the metropolitan area of about 12 percent. In sharp contrast, the foreign born population in Utica nearly doubled, increasing by 94 percent during the decade.

(ii) Refugee migration and resettlement programs of the Mohawk Valley Resource Center for Refugees

Growth in the foreign born population largely reflects the programs of refugee resettlement implemented by the Mohawk Valley Resource Center for Refugees, a voluntary agency affiliate of Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Services. During the 1990s, large federal resettlement programs resulted in nearly 4,000 refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina and well over 1,500 ethnic Russians from regions of the former Soviet Union coming to reside in the City of Utica. The work of the Mohawk Valley Resource Center for Refugees reflects the principles of public-private partnership in refugee resettlement in the United States that have characterized

federal refugee programs since the aftermath of the second world war and became institutionalized during the cold war (Zolberg 1990; Loescher and Scanlan 1986; see also Teitelbaum and Weiner 1995).

Under the provisions of the Refugee Act of 1980, which exist as amendments to the Immigration and Nationality Act, Sec. 101(a)(42), a refugee is:

... any person who is outside any country of such person's nationality or, in the case of a person having no nationality, is outside any country in which such person last habitually resided, and who is unable or unwilling to return to, and is unable or unwilling to avail himself or herself of the protection of, that country because of persecution or a well-founded fear of persecution on account of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion,

This definition is consistent with 1967 United Nations Protocol for Refugees which define refugees as persons seeking refuge from persecution or fear of persecution because of religion or membership in a political or social group. In making claims for protection and permanent resettlement under the UN Protocol, however, refugees have had to have crossed an international border.

Persons coming to Utica under the sponsorship of the Mohawk Valley Resource Center for Refugees have been admitted to the United States by the U.S. Department of State and Department of Homeland Security under the Immigration and Nationality Act as refugees on the basis of individual claims of persecution. Hence, the groups of persons resettled in Utica reflect both federal refugees programs as well as the negotiated contract by the voluntary agency serving as sponsor, in this case Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Services, to provide the assistance to admitted refugees and their families during the process of settlement. These programs have resulted in population groups that have been initially resettled in Utica which are diverse according to many dimensions well beyond national origins: culture, religion and ethnicity, human capital, family composition, health status, levels of trauma, years in refugee camps in countries of first, second and sometimes third asylum, etc.

During the 1990s the largest number and proportion of total refugee resettling in Utica were persons, Bosnians and ethnic Croatians, fleeing the violence in the former Yugoslavia. This refugee program was concluded at the federal level in 2003, although persons from the region continue immigration to Utica as close relatives of previously resettled refugees. About 300 Somali Bantu were resettled through the refugee center, although it is estimated that the community has grown to approximately 600 through secondary migration to the city. The largest group of current arrivals is composed of ethnic Karen who have fled the targeted violence in Myanmar (Burma) to refugee camps in Thailand. Approximately 2,000 persons have been resettled in Utica, and the Burmese continue to constitute the largest number and proportion of current arrivals. Three new programs of resettlement include Sudanese escaping the violence of Darfur through the process of asylum in Chad, Iraqis, and ethnic Nepalese who have been forced out of Bhutan.

The high and arguably increasing degrees of diversity of refugees coming to Utica places demands on the programs of the refugee center to provide appropriately effective support for both refugee households and also the community during the process of initial resettlement and then ongoing residence in the city and region. The programs of the Center begin with meeting the needs of the refugees at the point of arrival – housing, health, connections to social services, and then cultural orientation, English language acquisition and employability (see www.mvrccr.org). The refugee center also works with municipal offices and social service agencies to provide translation services to address the needs of refugees and their family members. Counseling for immigration status issues and naturalization is also supported by the staff. During most years, four U.S. citizenship ceremonies are held in the federal court in Utica; the vast majority of persons applying to become new citizens in Utica are former clients of the Mohawk Valley Resource Center for Refugees.

(iii) The impact of refugees and resettlement on the Utica community

Utica has served as a case study for a several aspects of the impact of refugee resettlement, on the refugees themselves, and on the economic costs and benefits of migration and settlement to the city. Couglan and Owens Manley (2005) have reported on their research on the resettlement experience of Bosnians refugees during the 1990s using Utica as the empirical point of departure in comparison to other locations of settlement in the United States. Singer and Wilson (2006) included Utica among three other metropolitan areas to illustrate a variety of community contexts and models for refugee resettlement in the United States.

Kraly and VanValkenburg (2003) sought to capture the demographic impact of refugee migration and settlement on population geography of Utica. Measuring and communicating the emergence of growth in the immigrant population within the context of overall decline at the city-wide scale, however, was less straightforward. In the spirit of public scholarship, we sought to provide an effective and cogent measure of the demographic impact of refugee resettlement in Utica that would serve policy analysis and discussions concerning the city. Settling finally on a decomposition approach, we estimated that in the absence of international migration during that decade, population decline in Utica would have been closer to 20 percent rather than the decline of 12 percent that was registered (see Kraly and VanValkenburg 2003, 134).

We continue to explore the impacts of refugee migration, resettlement, and residence on the urban community. Kraly (2008) has considered the ways in which the social adjustment of refugees have contributed to social, economic and geographic change at the metropolitan and neighborhood scales in Utica's urban community. At the other end of the analytic scale from demographic and geographic impact, we have also sought to understand the perspectives of community leaders and key informants regarding both the role(s) – both positive and negative – of refugee resettlement in the present and the future of the city as a way to tap public discourse and perceptions of impact.

Respondents occupied in a wide range of civic roles expressed common themes regarding the demographic impact of refugee migration, also the economic impact and the economic characteristics of the migrants. To illustrate:

The other is the economic impact, both of federal money coming in, but also of bright, ambitious, hard-working people that are willing to work jobs that otherwise are not great jobs. So, you know, that has become important for a number of smaller businesses and I think larger businesses that have enjoyed the good labor quality. (community development scholar)

There was also recurring comments about the role of this work force in retaining some employers in the region as well as the ‘multiplier effects of settlement, and patterns of consumption and investment. For example:

The refugee population really brought able-bodied people, young enough to take any job, ... Now it is noticeable that people are taking a lot more complicated duties and jobs. At the same time we have a college population, finishing college and taking jobs, on their part, by their education, taking better jobs. I think from that side we can make positive things for Utica – more growth, more money, and a higher standard in the city. The kind of important thing I think is if their standard grows- more money so they can start to purchase other things. (community researcher)

The purchasing and renovation of homes is an important theme. Neighborhood revitalization and the emerging sense of neighborhood and community is identified as significant outcome of refugees coming to Utica:

The refugee resettlement has been a notable anchor of hope in changing that direction, whether it's east Utica or here in Corn Hill, or wherever. The Bosnian community, because of its size, is just an example of just a wonderful rebirth of the old neighborhoods. Now, with some side businesses starting up, and corner businesses and things, restaurants—that is a total reversal of the trend in the last thirty years, forty years in this area. So that's a great sign of hope. (religious leader)

The stimulus for institutional change to accommodate the refugees connects to the critical issue of community capacity and capacity building which are important dimensions of models of immigrant settlement and incorporation are considered below:

Anytime a district is growing, it presents problems, but certainly some challenges and some opportunities. As your enrollment increases, there's an additional funding that comes with enrollment. There's additional growth and space that you need, but ...it's a challenge in some ways, but it's also a sign of prosperity, that's you're growing. ...It's forced us to change the way we deliver instruction into every classroom, because every single teacher is forced to deal with students that English wasn't their native language...And I see that as an advantage, because I think as teachers look at kids individually and how they learn, it not only helps kids that are refugees, but it helps that may not learn the same way as everybody else. (city educational administrator)

(iv) Models of immigrant settlement and incorporation inherent in programs of refugee resettlement and multicultural capacity building

One statement by an informant lingers:

I think you have to accept this as a humanitarian effort that can have real positive effects on the community; not as an endeavor to repopulate and redevelop your community. I think once you divorce it from the humanitarian, aspect of it, you're sure to run into some problems because there's no guarantee who the next wave of refugees is going to be. (economist)

This interpretation serves as a reminder that the international migration flow to Utica reflects a very distinct 'condition' of arrival in the form of refugee migration. Admitted refugees bring a mixture of educational and occupational characteristics, cultures and ethnicities, but share dimensions of persecution and flight. Depending on the scale of the resettlement program, and the timing of arrival, refugees coming to Utica may find themselves without a community of co-ethnics, in a city they may, or may not have chosen as a new home.

Each of these characteristics has implications for processes of integration and assimilation. The organizing framework of Portes and Zhou (1993, followed by many publications) is a very useful model of what can be conceptualized as the 'proximate determinants' of immigrant incorporation and the immigrant experience within urban communities and across generations. These broad sets of factors include (a) the conditions of arrival; (b) the characteristics of immigrants; (c) the context of reception; and the (d) characteristics of host communities. The factors are variables the values of which have consequences for the trajectory of experience of immigrant groups. Conditions of arrival can be conceptualized to include immigrant versus refugee status, authorized versus unauthorized status, etc. Characteristics of immigrants (b) might be represented by human capital (age, education, skill and occupation, language, health, economic resources, etc) among other attributes. The context of reception (c) can include economic and demographic characteristics of the receiving community such as employment levels and jobs creation, industrial organization, housing market, etc. Characteristics of the host community (d) may be understood as size, composition and social organization of the community(ies) of co-ethnics, including dimensions of social capital and ethnic enclave economies.

By the very nature of refugee sponsorship and resettlement, the Mohawk Valley Resource Center for Refugees (*'Many Cultures, One Community'*) attends to first two sets of factors: conditions of arrival and characteristics of migrants. The refugee center provides furnished housing to refugees and refugee families immediately upon arrival and arranges for support from the relevant social services agencies and access to health screening with the first week of residence. Cultural orientation programs and, in partnership with Utica City Schools, English language training is provided in a central location at the refugee center. Employment placement and occupational counseling is also provided by the MVRCR staff .

Moreover, the Center seeks to promote community capacity building among the refugee groups which have formed in Utica in order to amplify the human capital and cultural assets of the groups. For example, a new program to promote mutual assistance among refugee groups has been implemented. A project to promote microenterprise through traditional weaving among the growing Burmese community has been organized to generate revenue for contributing

participants both in Utica and in refugee camps in Thailand. Drawing from the expertise and experience of elders, the looms have been assembled and the business plan is taking shape. Both materially and metaphorically, Utica's newest residents are recalling the city's heritage of weaving.

The second set of factors is implicit in the new initiative of the Mohawk Valley Resource Center for Refugees, 'Compass.' The services of Compass ('*Navigating Culture, Language and Business*') focus on building the capacity of institutions, organizations and employers in the Utica community to *receive* refugees, and ultimately all culturally distinctive groups. Through 'understanding a diverse community' and 'building a diverse workforce, Compass, as a division of MVRRCR, seeks to promote 'prosperity through community.' Through Compass, the Center has developed strategies, in the form of programs and services, to promote positive and effective reception of refugee populations, with the goal to promote both understanding cultural difference and diversity presented by refugee groups, as well as tapping the assets and advantages offered by such diversity. The program has a focus on service providers, and also employers in both the private and public sectors to promote incorporation and enhance productivity within the workforce and the economy.

In public spaces and through meaningful events, the Mohawk Valley Resource Center for Refugee also celebrates both the cultural heritage of refugee communities within the Utica community and partnerships between the refugee center and city institutions and organizations. The refugee centers hosts the "International Mile" of Utica's Boilermaker, the largest 15k race in the United States in which flags from countries around the world are displayed along the second mile of the route and ethnic bands perform ("*Many Cultures, One Mile*"). In the past two years, the Office of the Mayor, the Chamber of Commerce and MVRRCR have collaborated to celebrate "World Refugee Day" in Hanna Park in downtown Utica. The annual "Passport to the World" serves as both a fundraiser for the refugee center as well as recognition of the contributions of refugee groups to the cultural vibrancy of the region (Figure 10).

Through programs such as Compass and these other initiatives the refugee center seeks to join the mission of resettlement with a vision of reception which is embraced by the broader community through practices and programs which reflect multicultural capacity. Inherent in the ongoing and emerging programs of the refugee center, hence, is a model of immigrant incorporation – which is one of multiculturalism. Zhou (1999) describes the multicultural perspective as "an alternative way of viewing the American host society, treating members of ethnic minority groups as a part of the American population rather than as foreigners or outsiders and presenting ethnic or immigrant cultures as integral segments of American society" (Zhou 1999, 200). The process of international migration and immigrant settlement 'reshapes and reinvents' ethnic culture within the context of receiving communities, which presumably are changed as well (Zhou 1999, 201). The model seems to find a fit with both the realities and aspirations of many members of Utican society, economy and polity.

(v) Refugee migration and resettlement in upstate New York and U.S Immigration Reform

This case study of refugee resettlement in Utica, New York suggests four regional dimensions of, or possibly proposals for, national immigration reform. First, the humanitarian goals of U.S. immigration policy require recognition of the social, and sociological dynamics of the process of settlement, adjustment of integration of international migrants with differing characteristics, for example, refugees as well as other immigrants. Social science can indeed serve public policy and programs concerning immigration and refugee migration and settlement. Strategies related to reception and incorporation are also essential to the very continuation of refugee migration to the region in response to humanitarian need, and thus to refugee resettlement that is sustainable. Host community of co-ethnics may not exist or be very small. Recent refugees from Bhutan, Iraq and the Darfur region of Sudan can not rely on large networks of previous migrants from their respective homelands for social, economic or emotional and spiritual support in their settlement experience in Utica. Ideally, in the case of new refugee groups, the resident community and civil societies would function as the community of reception.

Second, the response of the United States to international humanitarian crises producing refugee migration requires resources; resettlement of refugees in U.S. cities requires resources; resettlement programs that effectively address the changing range and depth of need of new arriving groups require resources sufficient to meet need and to promote incorporation. Initiatives such as Compass may have the potential to generate some income by which shortfalls in federal and (New York) state funding for refugee migration and resettlement by be augmented. Third, the ability – the capacity – to receive and respond to the cultural, economic and demographic assets of international migration within urban and intraurban communities may emerge as a competitive advantage for New York cities.

The degree to which this vision of multiculturalism is embraced by the broader community will be influenced by many factors both internal and external to the region Economic trends and prospects, as in all eras of U.S. immigration history, will form a significant backcloth to the reception of immigrants and refugees. Leadership – in public offices, in key civic institutions, and within refugee communities -- will also be critical. In Utica, a program director reflects how contemporary migration may serve as a source of distinction for the city:

[Refugee resettlement] has had the effect of making Utica as a community more aware, in some ways, of its immigrant background, and heritage, and enabled it to be more open and welcoming...I know just from talking to other colleagues around the country that there's a lot of anti-immigrant sentiment—very strong anti-immigrant sentiment. There's undertones of it here. But they don't feel it like they do in some other areas. Which is nice. It's nice for the refugees that are coming, but it's also a credit to Utica and a willingness to accept and welcome strangers. (Social program director)

Similarly, a leader of a foundation raises a provocative question for the future:

...so what are we going to do with what we have? And what we have is an extremely multi-cultural community. And so, that's a richness that to me sets [Utica] aside from someplace else. I think that the future of Utica is having a unique opportunity to have a more worldly understanding, than most communities of our size...(Foundation leader)

Fourth, evidence from upstate suggests that immigration, and specifically refugee migration may serve to promote social and perhaps economic capacity in urban communities challenged by internal out-migration and economic retrenchment. The facilitation of international migration, immigration and refugee migration through U.S. immigration reform may complement regional development goals in smaller cities within New York State. As at all times in U.S. history, the geographic footprint of U.S. immigration is fundamentally local. If New York City might be signified as the city of immigrants in the 21st century, then might the cities of New York State share in that signature? Population geography suggests so.

References

- Coughlan, Reed, and Judith Owens-Manley. 2005. "Surviving War, starting over: Bosnians Resettle in Upstate New York." In *Refugees Resettlement in the West: Economic, Social and Cultural Aspects*. V.Colic-Peisker and P. Waxman, Eds. New York: Nova Science Publishers, Inc.
- Kraly, Ellen Percy. 2008 "'An Anchor of Hope': Perspectives on the Social Adjustment of Refugees and Prospects for Urban Development in Utica, New York" in *Immigrants Outside Megalopolis: Ethnic Transformation in the Heartland*. Richard C. Jones, Ed. Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books.
- Kraly, Ellen Percy and Kristin VanValkenburg. 2003. "Refugee Resettlement in Utica, New York: Opportunities and Issues for Community Development" Pp. 125-146 in *Multicultural Geographies*. John Frazier, Ed. Binghamton: Binghamton University Press.
- Loescher, Gil and John A. Scanlan. 1986. *Calculated Kindness: Refugees and American's Half-Open Door: 1945-Present*. New York: The Free Press
- Noble, Allen George. 1999. *An Ethnic Geography of Early Utica, New York: Time Space, and Community*. Lewiston, New York: E. Mellen Press.
- Pendahl, Rolf and Susan Christopherson. 2004. "Sprawl without Growth: The Upstate Paradox. The Brookings Institution. Metropolitan Policy Program.
- Portes, Alejandro and Min Zhou. 1993. "The New Second Generation: Segmented Assimilation and Its Variants." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*. 530: 74-96.
- Pula, Edwin, Ed. 1994. *Ethnic Utica*. Utica: Ethnic Heritage Studies Center.
- Singer, Audrey and Jill H. Wilson. 2006. "From 'There' to 'Here': Refugee Resettlement in Metropolitan America." The Brookings Institution. Living Cities Census Series. Metropolitan Policy Program.
- Teitelbaum, Michael and Myron Weiner, Eds. 1995. *Threatened Peoples, Threatened Borders: World Migration and U.S. Policy*. New York: The American Assembly.
- Zhou, Min. 1999. "Segmented assimilation: Issues, Controversies, and Recent Research on the New Second Generation." Pp. in 196-211 in *The Handbook of International Migration: The American Experience*. Charles Hirschman, Philip Kasinitz and Josh DeWinnd, Eds. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Zolberg, Aristede. 1990. "The Roots of U.S. Refugee Policy." Pp. 99-122 in *Immigration and U.S. Foreign Policy*. Robert Tucker, Charles B. Keely and Linda Wrigley, Eds. Boulder: Westview.

Table 1. Selected Indicators of Population, Population Change, by Nativity and Naturalization, for New York State MSAs and Cities

	Total Population		Foreign Born Population		% Foreign Born		% Foreign Born entered after 2000		% Foreign Born naturalized 2005-09
	2000	2005-09 % change	2000	2005-09 % change	2000	2005-09	2005-09	2005-09	
New York-NJ-PA MSA	21,199,865	18,912,644	5,182,255	5,210,976	24.4	27.6	23.9	51.3	
New York City	8,008,278	8,302,659	2,871,032	2,981,544	35.9	35.9	23.5	51.2	
Albany-Schenectady-Troy MSA	877,583	852,162	41,259	53,840	4.7	6.3	28.7	54.9	
Albany	95,658	94,083	8,222	9,487	8.6	10.1	38.3	49.2	
Schenectady	61,908	62,327	4,043	7,500	6.5	12.0	29.0	57.5	
Troy	49,170	47,748	2,872	3,790	5.8	7.9	45.0	39.4	
Utica-Rome MSA	299,896	293,468	13,644	15,730	4.5	5.4	18.2	51.4	
Utica	60,679	58,220	7,231	7,791	11.9	13.4	28.2	42.3	
Rome	34,922	33,633	1,344	1,511	3.8	4.5	14.8	53.5	
Syracuse MSA	732,117	645,302	31,301	31,578	4.3	4.9	30.8	53.9	
Syracuse	147,326	139,386	11,214	12,472	7.6	8.9	43.9	38.9	
Binghamton MSA	252,230	245,576	11,408	12,384	4.5	5.0	26.6	54.5	
Binghamton	47,380	44,805	4,006	3,886	8.5	8.7	33.0	47.7	
Rochester MSA	1,098,201	1,033,026	62,794	65,808	5.7	6.4	23.9	58.1	
Rochester	219,766	208,001	16,077	16,066	7.3	7.7	29.2	50.7	
Buffalo-Niagara Falls MSA	1,170,111	1,128,813	51,381	59,557	4.4	5.3	28.2	56.5	
Buffalo	292,648	273,335	12,856	16,670	4.4	6.1	60.9	48.5	
Niagara Falls	55,677	51,712	2,802	2,412	5.0	4.7	16.6	70.4	

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census. Profiles of Selected Social Characteristics: 2000 (Census of Population 2000 SF3-Sample Data)
U.S. Bureau of the Census. Selected Social Characteristics in the United States: 2005-2009 (American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates)