

**New Immigrant Settlement Patterns in Syracuse, NY:
An Assessment of the Model of Heterolocalism**

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Introduction

The United States' Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 was a fundamental turning point for immigration to the United States (Skop & Li 2005). This policy lifted the national quota system which favored nations in Europe and instead gave preference to candidates with family in the United States and those with desirable professional skills, regardless of their nation of origin (Congress of the United States, 2006, 1). These preferences opened the door to highly skilled immigrants from new corners of the world, and with this new demographic came uncommon behaviors that contrasted the typical behaviors of immigrants to the United States as established by those of Western European origin. Most notably, whereas pre-1965 immigrants tended to cluster in urban enclaves by nation or region of origin, recent immigrants have diverged from this pattern. Instead, immigrants now demonstrate immediate dispersal throughout a geographic area upon entry, particularly heading for affluent suburbs over central-city enclaves.

Although many scholars have attempted to document and explain the phenomenon of initial spatial dispersal among recent immigrants, Wilbur Zelinsky's model of heterolocalism provides the most conceptually coherent explanation. A heterolocal community is an ethnic group that thrives in the absence of any residential clustering (Zelinsky and Lee 1998). According to Zelinsky, heterolocalism has replaced spatial assimilation as the typical model of immigrant settlement in the United States, a claim that is supported by the results of research conducted in certain large cities (Hardwick and Meacham 2005; Johnston et. al 2008; Skop 2001; Skop and Li 2005). However, in order to accept heterolocalism as a general model for spatial patterns of

immigrant settlement, additional research is necessary in smaller, atypical gateway cities in order to increase the universality of the model (Singer, Hardwick, and Brettell 2008; Gozdziaik and Martin 2005; Massey 2008).

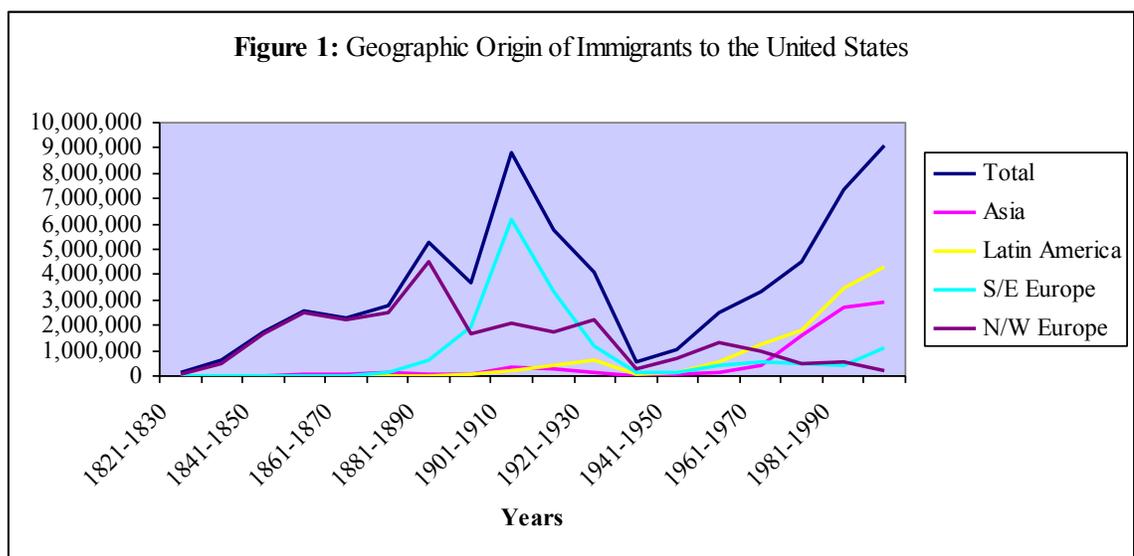
Using both current and historical census-based data, this study assesses whether Zelinsky's heterolocal model is apparent in the urban area of Syracuse, New York. Various analyses of the residential distribution of the foreign-born population are employed to capture each characteristic of the heterolocal model. The index of dissimilarity provides a summary measure of the degree of distribution of the foreign-born population throughout the city. Choropleth maps generated through geographic information systems (GIS) analysis provide visuals of immigrant distribution throughout the city. Heterolocalism is not only characterized by a lack of residential clustering, but also a lack of clustering around ethnic institutions. Therefore, GIS analysis is also used to compare the locations of immigrant residences from centers of social and economic activity to reveal the extent to which immigrants cluster around the ethnic institutions that are relevant to specific immigrant groups. The names and locations of these institutions were gathered from informal interviews with key informants. By synthesizing these results, I assess the extent to which the theory of heterolocalism applies to the foreign-born population of Syracuse, New York.

U.S. Immigration Policy and its Effects on the Demographic Characteristics of Immigrants

Immigration has played a key role in the making of the United States. While the United States has always been a nation of immigrants, according to Zolberg, it is “a nation of immigrants, to be sure, but not just any immigrants” (2006 p. 1). The U.S. population has always had some method of controlling the type of person who would be allowed to enter the country. The evolution of immigration policy serves to illuminate how the size, composition, characteristics, and behaviors of immigrants to the United States have changed over time (White and Glick 2009).

According to Zolberg (2006), even before official immigration policy was established, colonial Americans “actively recruited Europeans they considered suitable for settlement” and “deter[red] those judged undesirable” (2). When formal legislation was enacted in the 19th century, immigration was controlled by individual states rather than the federal government, due to the prevailing importance of states’ rights at the time (Zolberg 2006). The limits to immigration prior to 1875 were minimal. However, sentiments about this relatively open door policy changed after the Civil War, when a series of acts including the Civil Rights Act gave aliens certain rights previously reserved only for citizens. Restrictions on immigration increased beginning in 1875 when qualitative measures were put into place to exclude undesirable candidates for immigration. These “grounds for inadmissibility,” as they were called, prohibited people who were illiterate, likely to become public charges, or held immoral occupations. Most notably, the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 completely prohibited immigration from

China. These restrictive measures became even more extreme with the passing of the National Origins Quota Act of 1924, which placed quotas on each nation based on their current representation in the U.S. population. The 1924 act essentially halted immigration from all regions other than Europe (Bean et al. 1989). Figure 1 illustrates the extent to which European nations dominated as source countries of immigrants during this era.



Source: reproduced from table, Weeks 2008, 292

Under the restrictive policy of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the urban ethnic enclave prevailed as the most common residence for immigrant groups. European immigrants entering the United States at the turn of the 20th century had low skill levels, and often took low-paying jobs in industrial sectors (Olzak 1989, 596). According to Olzak, although immigrants tended to move up more quickly in the job market than black laborers, they still entered at the bottom, tending to be overrepresented in unskilled and semi-skilled positions (1989, 595). Immigrants were pulled to the enclave because they

could use social networks among co-ethnics to establish their new lives in the United States in the absence of formal professional skills (White and Glick 2009). According to Singer (2008), the appeal of the enclave was that it simultaneously provided both stability and flux to immigrants who were discriminated against by the native-born population during this restrictive era of immigration. The enclave was a place of cultural familiarity as well as a place where immigrants could assimilate gradually to the host culture. For economic as well as social reasons, European immigrants entering the United States under the National Quota Act of 1924 were attracted to the ethnic enclave for initial settlement.

The 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act, also known as the Hart-Celler Act, served as a crucial turning point in the history of U.S. immigration. The new policy lifted the national origin quotas established in 1924, deeming them ethnically biased, and instead adopted a policy based on humanitarian concerns as well as meritocratic (skill-based) criteria (White and Glick 2009). The preference-based policy, which is still in effect today, allowed all immediate family members of those already living in the United States to immigrate regardless of any quota. A seven-tier preference system, outlined in Table 1, was also created under the Hart-Celler Act which determined eligibility for more distant relatives as well as candidates who filled a certain employment demand or had a specific professional skill set.

The Hart-Celler Act transformed the face of immigration and the typical immigrant experience in the United States. Once the policy was enacted, the sheer size of immigration flows increased immensely. Figure 1 shows total immigration beginning to increase in tandem with this policy reform. Nearly 60 percent of immigrants who entered

the United States after 1965 did so under some family preference criterion. In addition, immigrants from Asian and Latin American countries began to replace European immigrants as the dominant source regions, also illustrated in Figure 1 (Bean, Vernez, and Keely 1989).

Table 1: U.S. Immigration Preference System since 1965 (270,000 annually)

Preference	Provision	Number of Visas
First	Unmarried adult sons and daughters of U.S. citizens	54,000
Second	Spouses and unmarried children of permanent resident aliens	70,200
Third	Members of the professions of exceptional ability and children	27,000
Fourth	Married sons and daughters of U.S. citizens and their spouses and children	27,000
Fifth	Brothers and sisters of U.S. citizens of at least 21 years of age and their children	64,800
Sixth	Workers in skilled or unskilled occupations in which laborers are in short supply in the United States, and their children	27,000
Nonpreference	Other qualified applicants	Any unused visas from above

Source: Waters and Ueda 2007

The increased professionalization of immigrant flows is one of the most notable changes in immigrant characteristics since 1965. This increased skill level is a result of policy reform which shifted the focus of eligibility for immigration from nation of origin to skill-based criteria. Professionals from countries in Asia have taken particular advantage of the Hart-Celler Act's economic preference system. According to Skop and Li (2005), because Asians had not immigrated to the United States in significant numbers prior to 1965, they could not qualify for family reunification under the new policy, so

those who entered were only able to do so under the economic preference quotas. By virtue of the jobs they were recruited for, they tended to have higher education levels, language skills, and better career experience than pre-1965 immigrants, resulting in a general increase in the overall skill level of immigrants (Lobo & Salvo 1998).

Wilawan Kanjanapan further proves the shift in immigrant characteristics to higher skill levels among Asian immigrants since 1965. Kanjanapan's 1995 study uses Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) data to show that immigrants from Asian countries constituted the largest component of professional immigrants between 1988 and 1990, and also dominated each individual profession recorded by the INS (engineering, math and computer science, natural science, medicine, and teaching). Kim (1987) supplements the literature on the phenomenon of increased skill level. He discusses a positive feedback loop of highly skilled Asian immigration to the United States. Once the initial cohort of Asian immigrants was established in the United States under economic preferences, members of the cohort could be joined by their family members under family reunification quotas. Close relatives tended to have similarly high education levels and English skills, creating a positive feedback loop of highly skilled immigrants from Asian nations.

Several scholars have related the increased skill level, language ability, and educational status of the post-1965 wave of immigrants to two resultant behavioral changes concerning immigrant choices about where to settle within the United States. The first change is their decision to settle in cities beyond the typical established gateways such as New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Detroit, and Philadelphia (Singer,

Hardwick, and Brettell 2008; Gozdziaik and Martin 2005; Massey 2008). While part of this trend is due to refugee resettlement, a major factor is the job markets that attract new immigrants to unprecedented cities for initial settlement. This is especially true in places with rising technical industries that attract highly skilled immigrants (Skop and Buentello 2008). Whereas unskilled pre-1965 immigrants tended to choose cities of residence based on social networks of co-ethnics, Skop and Buentello claim that new highly skilled immigrants contrasted this behavior by deciding where to settle based on job opportunities rather than social networks (2008, 262).

In addition to settlement in new gateway cities, immigrants have also shifted their settlement patterns by abandoning the ethnic enclave model in favor of immediate dispersal throughout a geographic area, particularly in more affluent suburban areas (Hardwick 2008; Li and Park 2006; Lo 2006; Alba et al. 1999; Skop and Li 2005). This spatial shift from clustering in ethnic enclaves to dispersal throughout an urban area is the focus of this study, and will be analyzed according to the theory of heterolocalism. The following section provides a theoretical discussion of the shift from spatial assimilation (including the enclave model) to heterolocalism as a result of immigration policy reform in 1965.

Immigrant Settlement: From Spatial Assimilation to Heterolocalism

Spatial Assimilation Theory

Spatial assimilation theory suggests a direct link between physical mobility of an immigrant group and their upward social mobility (Zelinsky 2001). This means that as immigrants become more culturally assimilated to American society, it becomes easier to move out of ethnic enclaves and into affluent suburbs. The theory of spatial assimilation stems from classical assimilation, or the notion that immigrants adapt to their new lives in the United States by adopting the cultural patterns, norms, and values of the host society (White and Glick 2009). Spatial assimilation simply describes classical assimilation by relating success in acculturation to residential movement. According to Zelinsky, the spatial assimilation model dominated the sociological studies of ethnic groups throughout the 19th and most of the 20th century, as it tended to be a model that held true for immigrant groups of this era, especially in large U.S. cities. Classical assimilation is how the general public tends to think of the typical immigrant experience in the United States. Singer (2008) describes the immigrant experience in reference to classical assimilation as follows:

That story typically begins on Ellis Island or the ports of California, with arriving immigrants heading immediately to ethnic enclaves in cities such as New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, or San Francisco—to the Little Italys, Chinatowns, or Lower East Sides. There they set up businesses, build churches or synagogues, and send their children to the public schools. The neighborhoods quickly become destination points for future waves of family and friends, as the newcomers relay their good fortune to friends and family in their home country. Eventually, following the American Dream, the first generation moves up and out to the suburbs, leaving room for the next wave (4).

Historically, the validity of classical assimilation and spatial assimilation relied heavily on the persistence of the ethnic enclave as an urban neighborhood where recently entered immigrants clustered together in ethnically homogenous groups. The literature on assimilation defines the ethnic enclave in several different ways. Some view the enclave as synonymous with a ghetto, where immigrants are pushed by severe prejudice and discrimination into isolated communities in poor areas of cities (Li 2006). More commonly, however, the ethnic enclave is described positively as a lucrative strategy for immigrants. Alba and Nee (2003) define the ethnic enclave as a purely economic phenomenon, where “ethnic bosses employ co-ethnic workers” and thus feed off of each other’s economic networks (164). Kaplan and Li (2006) describe the enclave as a sub-economy filled with foreign-born entrepreneurs who establish ethnic businesses and build a client base of co-ethnics. According to Kaplan and Li, the enclave is merely a physical space which contains this ethnic market. Waters and Ueda (2007) provide a particularly comprehensive description of the ethnic enclave:

A long-established line of thought holds that concentrated immigrant settlement areas arise and are maintained because they meet newcomers’ needs for affordable housing, family ties, a familiar culture, and help in finding work...Immigrants’ limited market resources and ethnically bound cultural and social capital...work in tandem to sustain ethnic neighborhoods. But these are typically viewed as transitional neighborhoods—they represent a practical and temporary phase in the incorporation of new groups into American society. Their residents search for areas with more amenities as soon as their economic situations improve...and they learn to navigate mainstream American life (91).

The ethnic enclave persisted prior to 1965 because it fit the needs of the pre-1965 immigrant stock in the United States, which was mainly comprised of non-English speaking, poor European immigrants with low educational statuses (Brownstone and Franck 2001). When coming to an entirely new country with virtually no resources, a

decent strategy for recent arrivals was to live near the people they were culturally familiar with and take advantage of the social networks and ethnic isolation provided through the enclave. The enclave thus became a place to avoid the frustrations of barriers to assimilation and acceptance by native-born Americans while taking advantage of cultural commonalities (Massey & Denton 1993). One interesting explanation offered by White and Glick (2009) is that 19th and early 20th century immigrants were entering a nation without a codified affirmative action policy and were therefore discriminated against in the general labor market. Their only hope for financial success was through the enclave economy, where they owned businesses or practiced trades among peers of the same ethnic group, making the enclave an ideal place to live and work.

In addition to conceptualizing the ethnic enclave as a space where immigrants could isolate themselves from the native population, these urban spaces also served as spaces of human capital development—that is, where immigrants learned English, secured jobs, and began to generate wealth—all of which began the cultural assimilation process. According to Alba and Logan (1991), this meant that the enclave served as a temporary residence for recent immigrants. While the physical space of the enclave remained, the residents would change rather rapidly as cultural assimilation proceeded, both intra-generationally and inter-generationally. Eventually, immigrants would reach a level of acculturation and economic security that allowed them to leave the enclave and migrate outwards to the more affluent white suburb, a place with greater amenities and opportunities for the following generation (Singer 2008). This physical move to a white, native-born neighborhood is considered an intermediate step in the process of complete assimilation to American culture (Zelinsky 2001).

Critiques of Classical and Spatial Assimilation

The theory of classical assimilation has recently been contested by many scholars who find it to be either too generalized or simply an incorrect explanation of the ways in which immigrants come to find their place in the host society. Brubaker (2001) associates classical assimilation with “the narrowest understanding of Anglo-conformity or the worst excesses of Americanization campaigns” (533). White and Glick (2009) critique the normative sense that classical assimilation has taken on, rejecting the implication that successful adaptation is synonymous with abandonment of ethnic cultural identity in favor of conformity to the native culture. While classical assimilation may have resonated with the early 20th century immigrant experience, the differential characteristics of immigrants since 1965, including higher skills levels, educational status, and knowledge of the English language, warrant a new theory.

Several scholars have undertaken to identify new, multidimensional ways of describing the immigrant experience of adaptation in the United States for the 21st century. White and Glick (2009) use the term “structural assimilation,” which unlike classical assimilation, measures the success of adaptation of recent immigrants by their residential intermingling, success in the job market, and educational attainment. Structural assimilation argues that immigrants can achieve success through socioeconomic progress rather than conformity to the host culture.

White and Glick’s empirical work illustrates that immigrants since 1965 exhibit segmented assimilation, that is, immigrants follow different pathways to adaptation based on nation of origin, among a variety of other factors. (2009). Using 2000 census data,

they measure the segregation of various foreign-born groups (classified by place of birth) to the native-born population, using the index of dissimilarity as a measure of spatial segregation. Their results support segmented assimilation on the basis of nation of origin. In Los Angeles, immigrants from Latin America, Asia, and Europe were far less segregated from the native population than African and Caribbean immigrants. In New York, immigrants from European, Asian, and South American nations were less segregated than those from African, Mexican, and Caribbean nations. These results point to the diversity of experiences suggested by segmented assimilation, rejecting the universality of classical assimilation.

The theory of pluralism, though not distinctly conceptualized, provides another interesting alternative to classical assimilation. According to Novak (1996) the pluralist model concedes to the persistence of ethnic identity among immigrants despite their tendency to assimilate structurally, that is, to achieve socioeconomic progress. Immigrants can achieve success in jobs, housing, and education without having to conform to Anglo-American cultural norms. Pluralism most accurately describes the most recent post-1965 immigrant cohorts, who enter the country with bilingual status and already have employment situated. Highly skilled immigrants enter the United States at a socioeconomic level that, among pre-1965 immigrants, would only be reached by the second or even third generation (Singer et al. 2008), so they are able to essentially skip the structural assimilation process and begin at the end point, which is residential intermingling with the native-born population.

The model of heterolocalism is part of this suite of new models that have been conceptualized in order to offer an alternative to the spatial assimilation model, which explains settlement patterns of immigrants through the outdated lens of classical assimilation. Heterolocalism expands on pluralism, adding a spatial component by suggesting that immigrants complete structural assimilation upon entry, and all the while are able to maintain an ethnic community in the absence of a physical enclave. If pluralism is considered a viable alternative to classical assimilation, then heterolocalism can be considered the alternative to spatial assimilation in terms of modeling settlement patterns. Heterolocalism undertakes to redefine immigrant settlement patterns through immediate dispersal throughout a geographic area, in light of the validity of new theories such as pluralism. The model of heterolocalism and its validity for the most recent immigrant cohorts to the United States are discussed in more detail in the following section.

Heterolocalism

The term “heterolocalism” was first coined by Wilbur Zelinsky and Barrett Lee in 1998. The term stems from the Greek “heteros”, meaning other; and the Latin “locus”, meaning place. The literal translation of “other place” implies that ethnic communities of recent immigrants can exist even in the absence of any urban residential clustering. According to Zelinsky and Lee, the three most important characteristics of heterolocalism are (1) immediate spatial dispersion of immigrants upon entry; (2) distance between residence, workplace, and shopping centers; and (3) ethnic community ties maintained

through information technology, ease of travel, centers of social and economic activity, and informal social networks (Zelinsky 1998). Examples of these social networks include churches, athletic leagues, cultural associations, and festivals, and their locations relative to the homes of the immigrants who use them are of little importance. Heterolocalism follows from the recent rhetoric in the previous section on new theories of immigrant adaptation such as pluralism. Heterolocalism particularly relates to pluralism because it focuses on socioeconomic gains through immediate residential dispersal while simultaneously emphasizing the importance of maintaining the cultural identities of immigrants.

The characteristics of the heterolocal model contrast with the spatial assimilation model. While the enclave model says immigrants will cluster together in a single neighborhood, heterolocalism maintains that immigrants will disperse throughout a city. Immigrants behaving heterolocally will live far away from their place of employment, whereas enclave immigrants live in the same neighborhood as their business. Lastly, the enclave model suggests that ethnic residences tend to grow around ethnic churches, clubs, groceries, and restaurants whereas according to heterolocalism they are located nowhere near the immigrants who patronize them because the ethnic patrons are widely dispersed.

Such a fundamental change in the behavior of immigrants is explained by a shift in the characteristics of the foreign-born population in the United States. The 1965 immigration policy reform provides such a reformulation, because the reform attracted immigrants from new corners of the world—particularly Asian countries—and gave preference for entry by skill-based criteria (see Table 1). Lobo and Salvo (1998) explain

this demographic change as it relates to policy reform, showing that the economic preference system has increased the general skill level of immigrants since 1965, particularly among immigrants from Asian nations. This observation has been echoed by several other studies (Li 2006; Massey 2008; Alba et. al. 1999; Clark 1998).

Zelinsky and Lee attribute the rise in heterolocal tendencies among recent immigrants to a variety of factors. They point out that the 1965 policy reform (discussed above) attracted an increasing demographic of highly skilled, upwardly mobile immigrants, who belong to the higher occupational niches in their home countries and are ready to flourish alongside affluent Americans as soon as they arrive. Affluent immigrants already know the English language, can immediately afford suburban housing, and they work alongside native professionals in American hospitals and universities. Zelinsky and Lee also argue that in an increasingly globalized world where U.S. popular culture is essentially universal, immigrants have already begun the cultural assimilation process before they even arrive (1998). While these characteristics are not universal for all immigrants, they contribute to a rising demographic poised for socioeconomic and cultural success upon arrival.

Certain dimensions of heterolocalism have been illustrated in recent works of urban geographers. Joseph Wood uses secondary research and personal accounts to illustrate the heterolocal tendencies of the Vietnamese population in Washington, D.C. (2006). He found that almost 90 percent of the growing Vietnamese population in Washington, D.C. live outside of the Capital Beltway (considered by Wood as the central city) and have dispersed throughout the surrounding suburban areas. However,

Vietnamese immigrants use a renovated strip mall called “Eden Center” as their cultural refuge. This center of social and economic activity provides the Vietnamese with a sense of territory that holds their community together in the absence of a residential neighborhood. The businesses as well as the clientele at Eden center are almost exclusively Vietnamese, and a weekly family trip to the center has become a custom for immigrants in these Northern Virginia suburbs. While the Vietnamese do not live in close proximity to each other or to Eden Center, they make the trip to this renovated strip mall to remain in contact with their original culture.

Skop and Li (2005) use a more quantitative, census-based study to analyze spatial dispersal of Asian immigrants in two cities. They create a series of maps indicating the concentration of the Asian Indian and Chinese populations in each city. They found that in both Austin, Texas and Phoenix, Arizona, neither the Asian Indian nor the Chinese population of immigrants had formed clear residential clusters in any neighborhood. Furthermore, this study found that more affluent neighborhoods in suburban areas had a higher proportion of each of the two immigrant groups than poorer neighborhoods. Most importantly, Skop and Li highlight the fact that recent immigrants have been able to break down racial and cultural barriers by settling in the “white citadels” of metropolitan areas which were previously nearly 100 percent white in racial composition (182).

The theory of heterolocalism is a fairly new theory. Zelinsky himself has not tested the model using census based data analysis or any other quantitative method. Few studies have taken on the task of measuring each of its parameters, and only a handful of geographers have even taken it into consideration when analyzing the residential patterns

of immigrants (See Li 2006; Skop and Li 2005; Skop forthcoming; Singer et al. 2008). Wei Li focuses her studies on the ethnoburb, which is a suburban ethnic cluster of residential areas and business districts within a large metropolitan area (Li 2006). This is a similar concept but does not target increased dispersal of immigrants. The ethnoburb theory still maintains a clustering of immigrants, whereas heterolocalism departs from this pattern completely.

Zelinsky himself posits that heterolocalism is only applicable to highly skilled, educated immigrants (2001). The highly skilled immigrant demographic only characterizes a subset of post-1965 immigrants. Many immigrants enter the United States as refugees or family members of established residents, two preference criteria which are not related to affluence (Lobo and Salvo 1998). According to White and Glick (2009), the 1965 reforms have indeed created a bimodal demographic in terms of skill level, where economic preferences bring in highly skilled immigrants while refugees and family members tend to have fewer professional skills. Heterolocalism only provides an explanation for the behaviors of the highly skilled modal demographic. However, if skill levels of immigrants continue to rise, which has been the recent trend, the model of heterolocalism may become more widely evident among successive groups of recent immigrants. Therefore, it is relevant to begin to document evidence for the model of heterolocalism for recent cohorts of immigrants in settlement communities with a wide range of characteristics, including new immigrant gateways and smaller cities.

Hypotheses

The limited yet compelling empirical evidence in support of the heterolocal model warrants further study in a diverse range of cities. The study presented here expands on the extant literature dealing with the theory of heterolocalism by examining each of its characteristics for the foreign-born population of Syracuse, New York. This study is unique in that it analyzes both major aspects of heterolocalism: residential clustering among immigrants and proximity of their residences to ethnic institutions. The combination of both analyses provides a more complete illustration of the spatial patterns of immigrants as they relate to heterolocalism.

The null hypothesis for this study posits that the foreign-born population of Syracuse's urbanized area since 1965 exhibits the characteristics of recent immigrants following the spatial assimilation pattern. One would interpret this hypothesis to expect that recent immigrants would be reliant on enclaves of co-ethnics for both residence and social interaction. The general null hypothesis is divided into two separate hypotheses for manageable empirical analysis, as specified in the following way:

(1) The recently entered foreign-born population in Syracuse will cluster together in specific neighborhoods and will exhibit a high level of segregation from the native born population. According to Massey and Denton (1993), a segregated neighborhood is one with a disproportionate population of an ethnic group as compared to the ethnic composition of the city overall. Massey and Denton (1993) consider a neighborhood composed of an ethnic group by 30 percent or more to have a moderate level of segregation (Massey and Denton 1993).

Therefore, any census tracts within the Syracuse area that show at least 60 percent immigrant composition show a degree of clustering that signifies the existence of an ethnic enclave, especially if contiguous census tracts of this high representation exist. This analysis relates to the first characteristic of heterolocalism as outlined by Zelinsky, in which recent immigrants exhibit residential dispersal.

(2) The Asian ethnic institutions in Syracuse, such as language schools, cultural associations, religious congregations, groceries, and restaurants, will be located within or in close proximity to the census tracts exhibiting a large percentage of Asian foreign-born populations. Analysis of this component of the null hypothesis will test both the second and third characteristics of heterolocalism, that immigrants rely on ethnic institutions but do not cluster their residences around them.

If the results of the empirical analyses presented below support the rejection of the null hypotheses, then evidence will have been provided for the prevalence of heterolocalism among the Asian foreign-born population in Syracuse. If the null hypotheses hold true, then the model of heterolocalism likely does not adequately describe the settlement patterns of recent immigrants in Syracuse. Support for either hypothesis, the null or the research, will be theoretically valuable by providing further empirical evidence lending to the body of literature on settlement patterns of new immigrants since 1965. In addition, this study will add to literature concerning emerging gateway cities in the United States, and point to future research questions to be answered.

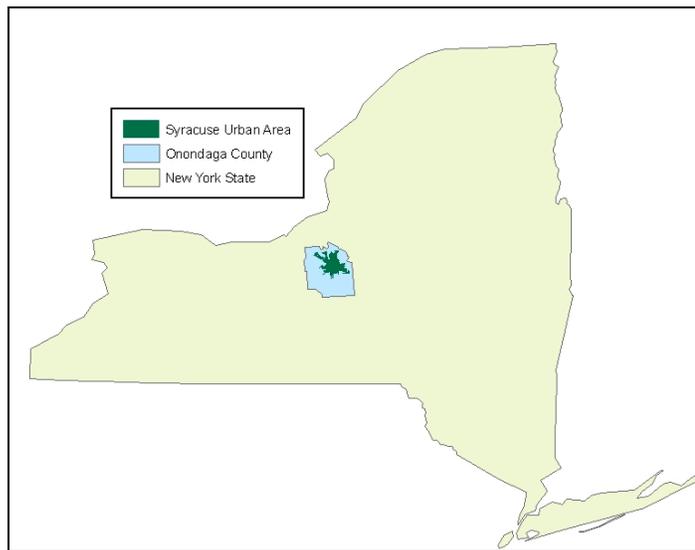
Data Sources and Methods

This study uses data from the U.S. Decennial Census of the Population for the years 1970, 1980, 1990, and 2000 for the Syracuse Urbanized Area. Data from each of the four census years are used to compute a dissimilarity index (discussed in detail below) for Syracuse and compare it across the four census years. For this long-term analysis of the dissimilarity index, the entire foreign-born population of Syracuse is calculated rather than a single ethnic group. The entire foreign-born population is used because in the earlier census years, the regional composition of the foreign-born population was much different than the composition for the most recent years. For example, the foreign-born population in the 1970 census is comprised of various European nations, with hardly any representation from Asian or Latin American nations. In contrast, the recent censuses (1980, 1990, and 2000) exhibit an increasing representation from non-European countries. Because of this discrepancy, dissimilarity indexes cannot be compared over time for the Asian population, for example, because Asian nations are not represented before 1980.

The 2000 Census Summary File 4 provides the data used to map the concentrations of the most recent foreign-born populations using Geographic Information Systems analysis (hereafter referred to as GIS). Summary File 4 is a one in six sample of the United States population who were administered the long-form of the census. It contains data on “income, ancestry, citizenship status, home values, commute time to work, occupation, education, veteran status, language ability, migration, place of birth,

and many others” (www.census.gov, April 26, 2010). The census tract is the smallest level of aggregation tabulated in this file.

Figure 2: Reference Map, Syracuse Urbanized Area



Source: ESRI Data

Table 48 within Summary File 4 provides information concerning the decade of entry of the foreign-born population as well as their broad geographic region of origin. For this more detailed spatial analysis of immigrant settlement patterns, the foreign-born population is broken down by region of origin. I focus on the Asian population for two reasons. First, Asian nations constitute the second most populous region of origin represented in the Syracuse foreign-born population (35 percent, see Figure 7). Second, the Asian foreign-born population has been in the academic spotlight because they

constitute a large percentage of recent skilled migration to the United States (Lobo and Salvo 1995; Clark 1998; Kanjanapan 1995). Because Zelinsky maintains that heterolocalism is unique to skilled immigrants since 1965, it follows that immigrants from Asian source countries should be the focus of this assessment of the heterolocal model.

For the comparison of immigrant neighborhood locations to the ethnic institutions they patronize, I again focus on the Asian region of origin within the general foreign-born population. This decision is intuitive, as it would make little sense to measure distance from residences of European immigrants, for example, to Asian institutions because European immigrants do not rely on Asian institutions to maintain a sense of ethnic community. Therefore, the Asian population is again used to test heterolocalism in terms of distance between residence and ethnic institution. A list of Asian ethnic institutions was generated through informal interviews with key informants and the addresses were verified through web-based research for their use in GIS analysis. This is not intended to be an exhaustive list, but it does capture the major religious, economic, and cultural centers frequented by the Asian population.

The area of research for all components of this study is the “urbanized area” of Syracuse (see Figure 2). An urbanized area is defined by the Census Bureau as “An area consisting of a central place(s) and adjacent territory with a general population density of at least 1,000 people per square mile of land area that together have a minimum residential population of at least 50,000 people” (www.census.gov, April 26, 2010). Space is aggregated at the census tract level, which the Census Bureau describes as follows:

A small, relatively permanent statistical subdivision of a county...Census tract boundaries normally follow visible features, but may follow governmental unit boundaries and other non-visible features in some instances; they always nest within counties. Designed to be relatively homogeneous units with respect to population characteristics, economic status, and living conditions at the time of establishment, census tracts average about 4,000 inhabitants. They may be split by any sub-county geographic entity (www.census.gov, April 26, 2010).

Because the census tract is the level of aggregation that best represents a neighborhood within a city, it is the ideal level at which to examine the degree of ethnic clustering within potential enclaves, and is the most common level of aggregation used for urban spatial analysis (see Smith and Logan 2006; Edgington, Goldberg, and Hutton 2006; Li 2006).

The Census Bureau does not classify the foreign-born population by permanent immigrants versus temporary aliens, which creates confusion in using census data to study the settlement patterns of immigrants alone. According to Bean, Vernez, and Keely (1989), immigration policy divides the foreign-born population into immigrants and aliens on temporary status. Immigrants are people who “settle, live, and work in a new homeland and usually, but not necessarily, become citizens in due course” (15). In contrast, temporary aliens include foreign students, tourists, or non-permanent employees (Bean et al. 1989). While the Census Bureau provides data on the entire foreign-born population, which includes both categories, the theory of heterolocalism is intended to focus only on permanent residents (Zelinsky 2001). However, according to Bean et al. (1989), there is considerable overlap between the two foreign-born categories due to technically permanent immigrants who return to their home country, as well as temporary visitors who stay beyond the terms of their visas. This overlap would make it difficult for the Census Bureau to distinguish between the two categories within their surveys, which

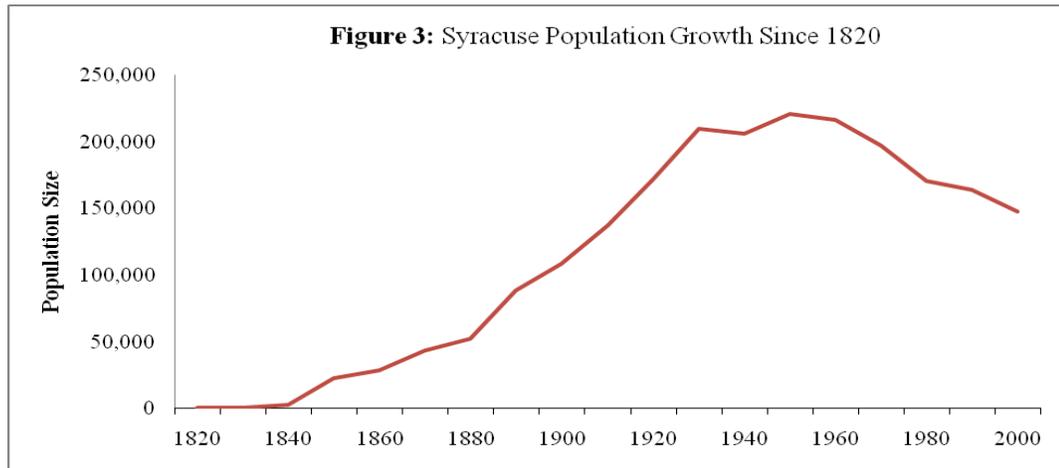
is likely the reason the census combines both categories into the group classified as the foreign-born population. This study uses census data, and thus discusses the settlement patterns of Syracuse's entire foreign-born population without distinguishing between permanent and temporary residents, even though the model of heterolocalism does make this distinction.

Urban and Population Geography of Syracuse

History

The Village of Syracuse was officially incorporated in 1825. Settlers were first attracted to the area because of the natural salt springs located at the southern shore of Onondaga Lake. This natural resource created a lucrative industry that contributed to the initial growth of the city. A small village, Salina, was established near the springs to create the origins of what is now a metropolitan area. When the Erie Canal expanded through the current location of downtown Syracuse, a second clustering of residences was established, and this area became the state's marketplace because of its central location and ease of access, also contributing to the overall growth of the city (Faigle 1935). Because of the success of Syracuse as a state market, the industries that developed within the city were very diverse, allowing for continued growth even after salt production became obsolete. The city grew steadily in size and population throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries, but population change has been in a state of decline since 1950 (see Figure 3).

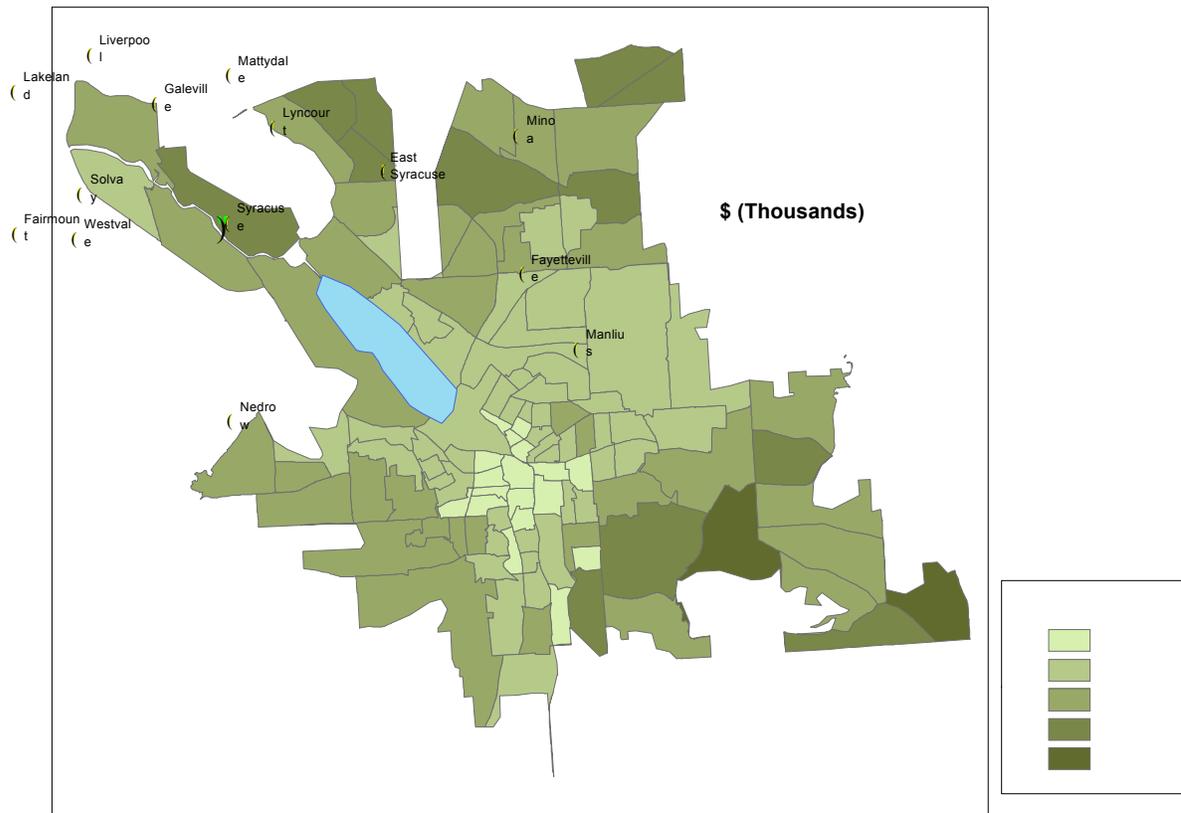
As of 2000, Syracuse was considered a medium-sized city with an overall population of approximately 147,000 and a foreign-born population of 11,200, which is slightly less than eight percent of the total population (www.census.gov, April 26, 2010). Figure 4 provides a choropleth map of the Syracuse urban area, with census tracts classified by median household income level. This map illustrates the locations of the more affluent outer suburban areas in relation to the less affluent center of the city, which serves as an important reference for later analysis of the locations of immigrant residential concentrations.



0-20
 20-40
 40-60
 60-80
 80-100

Village
 (Green
 Seneca
 Knolls

Figure 4: Median Household Income of Syracuse Urbanized Area



Medicine and higher education are two of the most prevalent of the highly-skilled job markets available in Syracuse. In higher education, Syracuse is home to Syracuse University, SUNY College of Environmental Science and Forestry, LeMoyne College, Onondaga Community College, and SUNY-Upstate Medical University. There are also five hospitals located in the city. Interestingly, medicine and higher education are also common fields for highly skilled professionals seeking employment in the United States; Kanjanapan lists medicine and higher education as two of the five major fields occupied by new highly skilled migrants (1995, 15). An analysis of the reasons why immigrants have chosen to settle in Syracuse is beyond the scope of this study. However, the availability of jobs in these two fields might offer insight into the appeal of Syracuse to

recent immigrants, especially in an era of immigration policy where highly-skilled candidates are given preference and their choice to settle in a certain city tends to be based on employment opportunities (Skop and Buentello 2008). The employment opportunities in medicine and higher education may have implications for the prevalence of highly skilled immigrants in Syracuse.

Immigrants in Syracuse, 1860: An Illustration of the Ethnic Enclave Model

Immigrants have had a noticeable presence in Syracuse as early as 1860, and even created their own neighborhoods within the city. Bruce Bigelow's PhD dissertation analyzes the level of ethnic residential segregation within the city in 1860 using its four major ethnic groups: Germans, Irish, Jews, and the Anglo-Saxon native-born population (1978)¹. Bigelow tested the degree to which ethnic groups clustered by social districts (enclaves) within Syracuse by mapping the residences of members of each ethnic group and relating the locations of these residences to ethnic social foci such as industries, groceries, churches, and voluntary clubs. His findings showed that the population was sorted by ethnic group more than any other parameter, and that about sixty percent of the

¹ Though today the Jewish population in the United States is considered a religious rather than ethnic group, the "Jews" discussed in Bigelow's dissertation were foreign-born persons from countries such as Germany and Poland, but were counted as their own ethnic group because their distinct religion as well as their use of Yiddish as a first language classifies them as separate from the Christian German population (Bigelow 1978).

city was occupied by an ethnic domain². He also found that ethnic groups tended to live within the same section of the city as the ethnic institutions each group frequented.

The most noticeably segregated ethnic group in Bigelow's study was the German Christian population. In 1860 the city was divided into eight wards (see Figure 6), and the German population occupied 90% of the second ward, otherwise known as "Germantown". The salt fields of Syracuse surrounded Ward 2 in a horseshoe shape, and forty percent of salt field employees were German immigrants (Bigelow 1978, 73). This suggests that the German immigrants purposely settled near their place of employment and attracted successive cohorts to live in Ward 2 and find employment in the salt fields. The German foreign-born population generally congregated in three churches in the city, each of which fell within Ward 2 and two of which were located across the street from each other. One hundred percent of German-owned groceries were located within Ward 2, and 90 percent of German children attended one elementary school.

Bigelow speculates that this level of segregation was due to the language barrier not experienced by the Irish immigrant population who also inhabited Syracuse. In addition, the generally low socioeconomic status of the German population may have contributed to their high level of segregation (60 percent of the German population fell within Bigelow's definition of blue collar status). This image of an ethnic neighborhood where members of an ethnic group both live, work, and socialize together in a specific geographic area is consistent with the spatial assimilation model (Massey and Denton

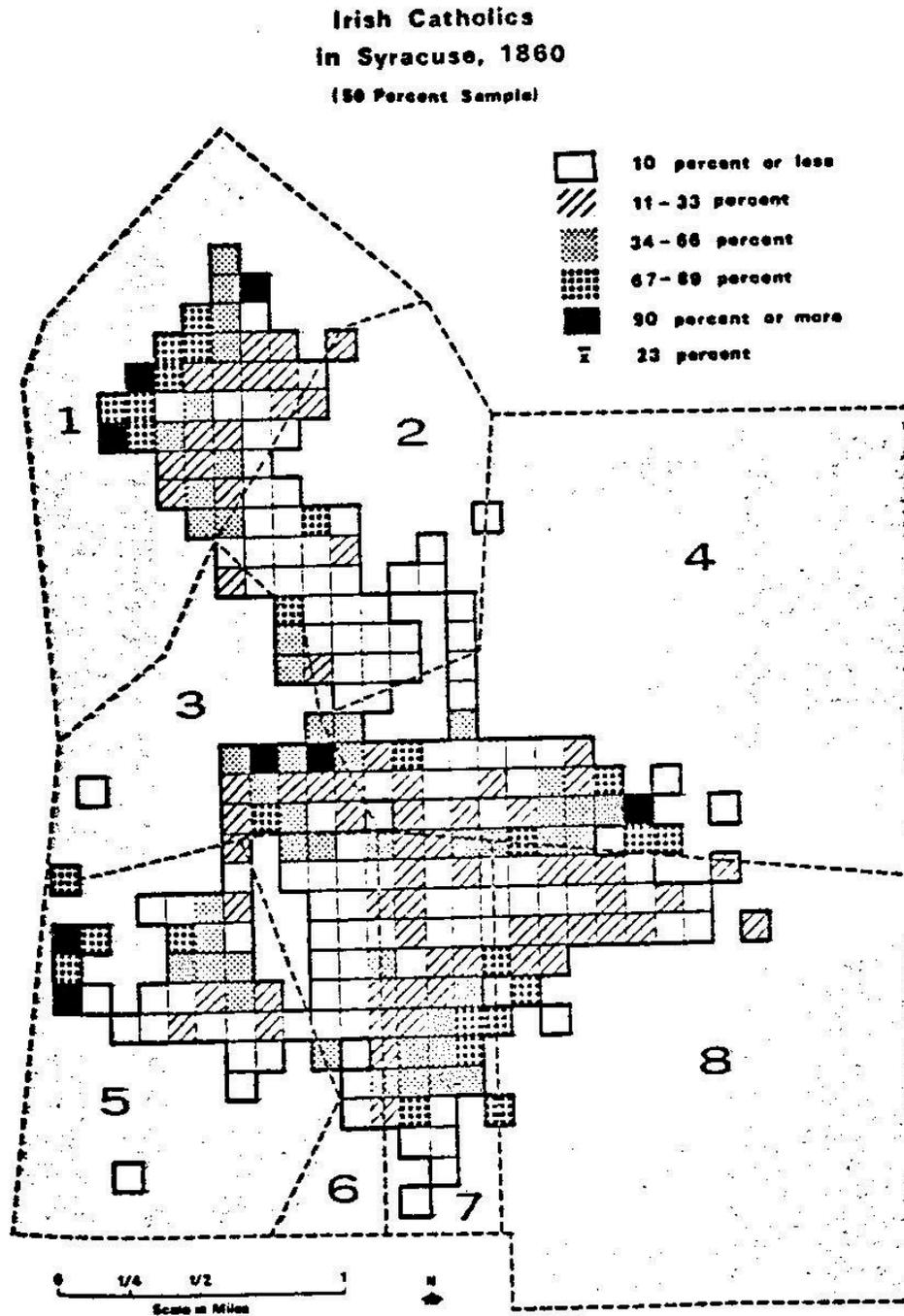
² An ethnic domain is defined by Bigelow as an area with a population composed of sixty percent of a single ethnic group.

1993). The German population of Syracuse in 1860, therefore, provides an excellent representation of the ethnic enclave. It also provides evidence that the ethnic enclave and the spatial assimilation model are most robust for immigrant groups with low socioeconomic statuses and poor English language skills. This illustration of the pre-1965 spatial assimilation model provides an excellent baseline to compare with post-1965 immigrant cohorts in order to assess whether spatial assimilation persists over heterolocalism.

The area known in 1860 as Ward 2 and now known as “the North Side”, has played an important role in maintaining the spatial assimilation model prior to 1965. Though this ward was commonly known as “Germantown” in 1860, according to Connors (2006), this area was first occupied by Irish Catholics. In 1860 the Irish population had dispersed to a moderate degree (see Figure 5) and the northern portion of Syracuse was taken over by the German population (Figure 6). By the turn of the 20th century most German immigrants had moved out of the North Side and were replaced by Italian newcomers who began migrating to Syracuse in the 1880s (Connors 2006). Successive occupation of a single neighborhood by different ethnic groups such as Syracuse’s North Side is consistent with the assimilation model. This provides further evidence that Syracuse is an accurate representation of the pre-1965 spatial assimilation model, creating a baseline for comparison to the post-1965 immigrants who have settled in Syracuse.

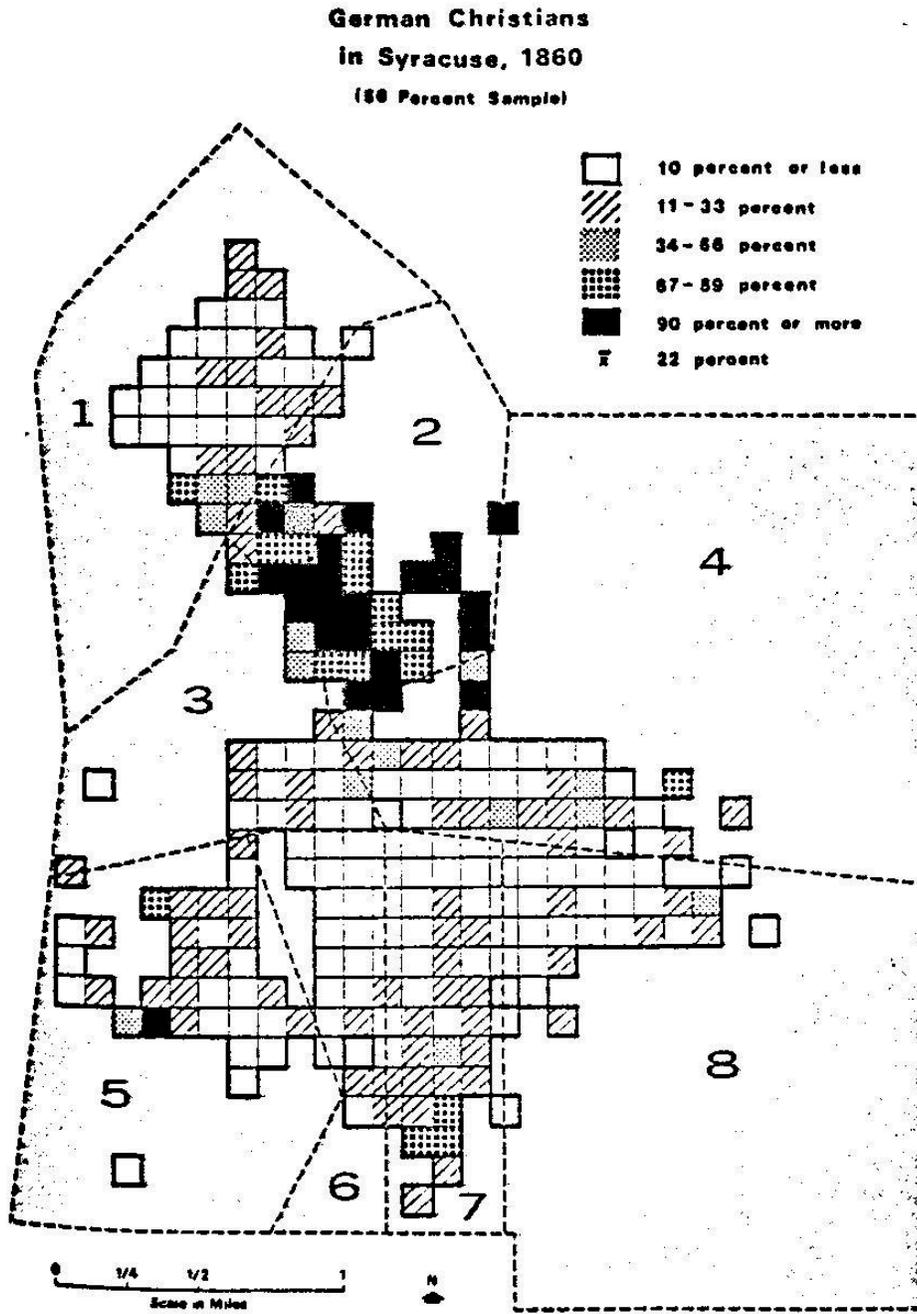
The regional composition of immigrants settling in Syracuse has changed considerably since 1860. According to the 2000 census, the foreign-born population of Syracuse constitutes about eight percent of the total population, the largest proportion of which originates from countries in Asia and Europe (see Figure 7). The prevalence of European immigrants in Syracuse is an interesting anomaly considering that nationally, immigration from Europe decreased significantly after 1965 and was replaced by Latin American and Asian immigration. The largest Asian populations, according to Figure 7, are the Chinese, Vietnamese, and Asian Indians, but no one source country dominates the foreign-born population. The following section will show the extent to which this new population of immigrants, particularly those originating from countries in Asia, exhibits the characteristics of heterolocalism.

Figure 5: Residential Dispersion of Irish Catholics in 1860 Syracuse



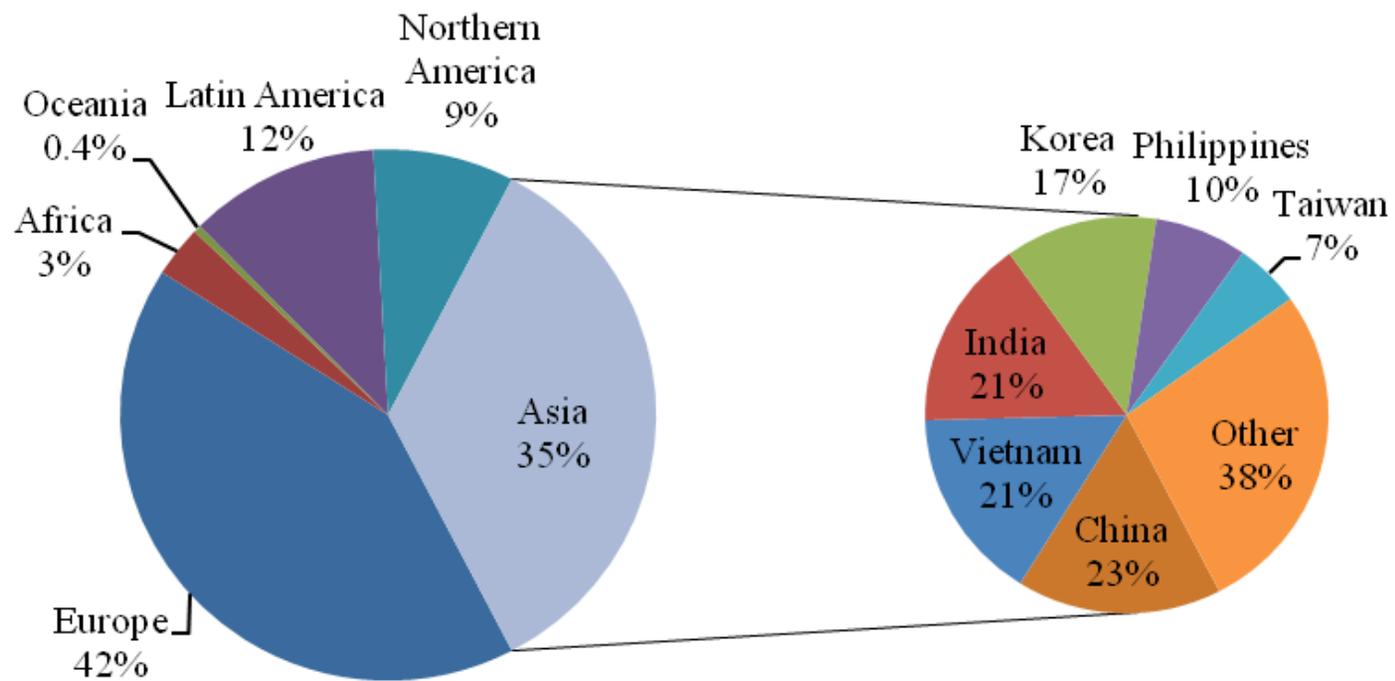
Source: reproduced from Bigelow 1978, 94

Figure 6: German Occupation of Prior Irish Neighborhood in 1860 Syracuse



Source: reproduced from Bigelow 1978, 94

Figure 7: Geographic Origins of Syracuse's Foreign-Born Population



Source: United States Census Bureau, 2000 Census

Residential Patterns of the Current Foreign-Born Population in Syracuse

Index of Dissimilarity

The index of dissimilarity is one of several indices of residential segregation commonly used by geographers and sociologists. This index measures the degree to which two groups in a population are evenly distributed among neighborhoods within a city by determining the percentage of one population that would have to move in order to achieve a residential pattern that is the same as the distribution of the second group. The index is calculated as

$$D = \frac{1}{2} \sum_{i=1}^r |(P_{ig} / P_g) - (P_{ih} / P_h)|$$

where i is one of r total subareas and g and h are the two subgroups of the population to be compared. For this index, the population in each subarea (P_{ig} , for example) is divided by that population size for the entire area (P_g) (Plane and Rogerson 1994). For the purpose of this study, i represents each one of the 118 (r) census tracts in the Syracuse urban area. P_g represents the foreign-born population in question and P_h the native born population.

As a fairly straightforward measure, the index of dissimilarity summarizes the prevalence of neighborhoods with a disproportionate share of the population of interest. For example, if the foreign-born population of Syracuse comprised 20 percent of Syracuse's total population, the dissimilarity index value would be the percent of foreign-born individuals that would have to move in order for all neighborhoods in the city to

exhibit a population composition of 20 percent foreign-born. According to Massey and Denton (1993), a value less than 30 percent is considered a low level of clustering, meaning that less than 30 percent of the population would have to relocate to achieve even distribution. Between 30 and 60 percent is moderate and any value over 60 percent is high (Massey & Denton 1993).

The index of dissimilarity has been favored as the best available segregation index since 1955 (Duncan and Duncan 1955), and has been commonly used by sociologists to measure racial segregation between black and white populations (see Massey & Denton 1993; Massey 2007; Bean and Frisbie 1978). The index of dissimilarity is easy to interpret as the percentage of one group that would have to move from places where they were overrepresented in order to achieve even distribution (White 1986). Also, because this index provides a single value to describe the segregation for an entire city, it provides a common ground for comparison. Dissimilarity index values can be used to compare the segregation levels between different cities, or to illustrate how segregation levels in one city have changed over time (Massey and Denton 1993). Furthermore, the results calculated by the dissimilarity index are correlated with the results provided by other indices of segregation (White and Glick 2009, 154).

The index of dissimilarity has also been widely criticized however, for a variety of reasons. The index simply provides a single metric as a measure of segregation levels for an entire city, and thus yields an incomplete illustration of ethnic segregation. The dissimilarity index is also incomplete because the equation only allows for comparison between two populations, as it was originally developed for measuring segregation of

black and white populations (White 1986). However, scholars such as Skop and Li (2005) have begun to apply the index to immigrant groups to measure their segregation from the native population. There is likely to be more than one source country represented in a given city, so the index yields an incomplete measure of ethnic segregation because it cannot account for several immigrant groups at once. Furthermore, according to White (1986), the dissimilarity index does not accurately represent this distribution of small populations. He says that the index can show a high level of segregation for a small foreign-born population, even if in reality they are evenly dispersed throughout a city. This worry is pertinent for the measurement of segregation of immigrants in Syracuse because the foreign-born population only comprises 8 percent of the total population. Representation is even smaller when this general foreign-born population is divided by region of origin. In order to achieve a complete analysis of the level of ethnic clustering, spatial analysis (which will follow below) must accompany the dissimilarity index. Nevertheless, this index effectively provides a general representation of the level of clustering in Syracuse, and allows for simple comparison between successive cohorts of immigrants. The consistency and simplicity of the index also allows for comparison of results to extant literature on segregation.

Dissimilarity Index Results

Overall, levels of segregation among the foreign-born population in Syracuse since 1970 remain relatively low. Table 2 shows the level of clustering of the foreign-born population compared to the native population in the last four census years. For each

year, the percent of the population that would have to move to achieve even distribution between the foreign-born and native-born population is below 30 percent, suggesting a low level of ethnic clustering for the total foreign-born population. The same calculation is provided for European and Asian immigrants from the 2000 Census; while the European population mimics the total foreign-born in their low level of segregation (Figure 8), The Asian population is moderately segregated, at least according to this measure of ethnic segregation.

Table 2: Dissimilarity (D) Index Comparing Foreign-Born and Native-Born		
Census Year	Foreign-Born vs. Native-Born	Asian vs. Native-Born
1970	24	n/a
1980	23	n/a
1990	24	n/a
2000	28	47

Table 3 reveals a bit more detail by comparing the distribution of the foreign-born population by year of entry as reported in the census. This calculation illustrates the model of heterolocalism more specifically because the model focuses on the settlement patterns of the *most recent* immigrants to an area. The second column in Table 2 compares the level of segregation of the most recent immigrants to the residential patterns of those who entered the United States before 1980. These results show that 44 percent of recent immigrants would have to move in order to achieve even distribution between the two arrival cohorts. The fact that there is a moderate level of spatial segregation between these two groups suggests that recent immigrants are not dispersing

as much as the heterolocal model maintains. To provide support for the model of heterolocalism, these figures would be below 30 percent, which would mean that recent and earlier foreign-born populations have similar residential patterns.

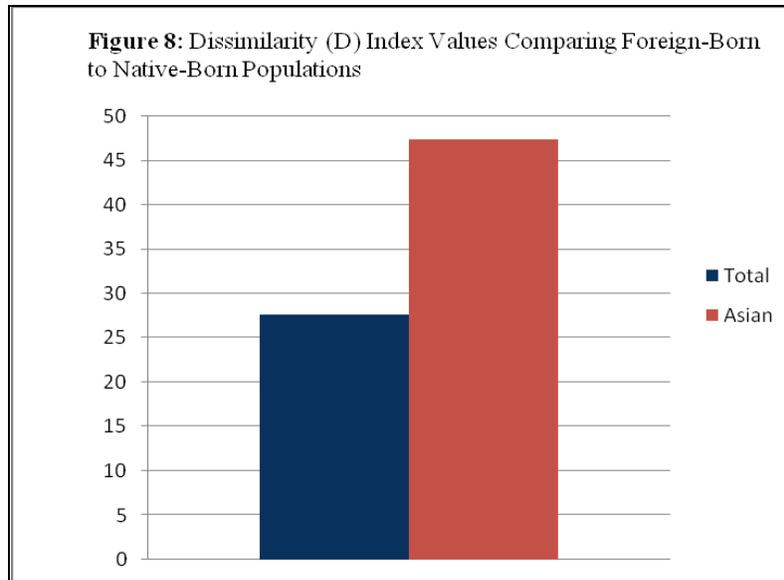
Table 3: Dissimilarity (D) Index Comparing Foreign-Born Population by Immigrant Cohort			
	1990s vs. Before 1980	1980s vs. Before 1980	1990s vs. 1980s
Total Foreign-Born	44	38	40
Asian Foreign-Born	58	51	44

It is noteworthy that the Asian population is especially segregated between recent and non-recent immigrants, with an index value of 58 percent. These values overall are higher than the model of heterolocalism suggests. The model of heterolocalism maintains that there should be little difference in the residential patterns of recent and non-recent immigrants because both should be relatively dispersed.

According to Table 3, both later cohorts (1990s and 1980s) of the Asian foreign-born population show a moderate to high level of segregation when compared to the cohort arriving before 1980 (columns 1 and 2). In contrast, when comparing the 1990s cohort to the 1980s cohort (column 3) the index value drops into the 40 percent range for Asian immigrants. This difference tends to support the heterolocal model. The segregation between the 1990s and 1980s cohort suggests that the two most recent

cohorts are less segregated from each other than either cohort is from the earliest cohort (those entering before 1980). The discrepancy between concentrations of early and recent immigrants is compelling because some members of the pre-1980 cohort fall within the population of immigrants who entered the United States prior to immigration reform in 1965. Post-1965 immigrants should be segregated from pre-1965 immigrants because, according to Zelinsky, pre-1965 immigrants would have clustered in the center of the city, whereas later immigrants would be part of the highly-skilled demographic that immediately dispersed throughout more affluent neighborhoods.

The Asian foreign-born population's high dissimilarity index values show that the more recent cohorts have different residential patterns than the earliest cohort, suggesting different settlement patterns for pre-1965 and post-1965 immigrants. This discrepancy, combined with the low level of native-born/foreign-born segregation presented in Table 2, suggests that perhaps the heterolocal model does have some validity among immigrants in Syracuse. However, there are many ways to interpret these results, largely because the dissimilarity index provides an incomplete and sometimes inaccurate portrayal of actual levels of dispersal (White 1986). Therefore, the following section will provide spatial analysis through GIS which visually illustrates residential patterns of immigrants in Syracuse.



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population, STF4

GIS Analysis of Residential Patterns

Figure 9 illustrates the distribution of the entire foreign-born population throughout the urban area of Syracuse, displayed as a percentage of the total population in each census tract. There is an undeniable grouping of census tracts with higher proportions of foreign-born residents in the center of the city. There are no census tracts, however, with a majority of foreign-born residents. The census tract with the highest foreign-born concentration has 27 percent foreign-born residents. If Syracuse were to strictly follow the ethnic enclave model, the map would show a strict divide between tracts with a high concentration of foreign-born residents and tracts that were almost exclusively composed of native-born residents. While there are several census tracts that fit the latter description (mostly native-born), there is a noticeable mosaic of census tracts with varying levels of foreign-born concentrations. The fact that the majority (54

Figure 9: Distribution of Total Foreign-Born Population, 2000

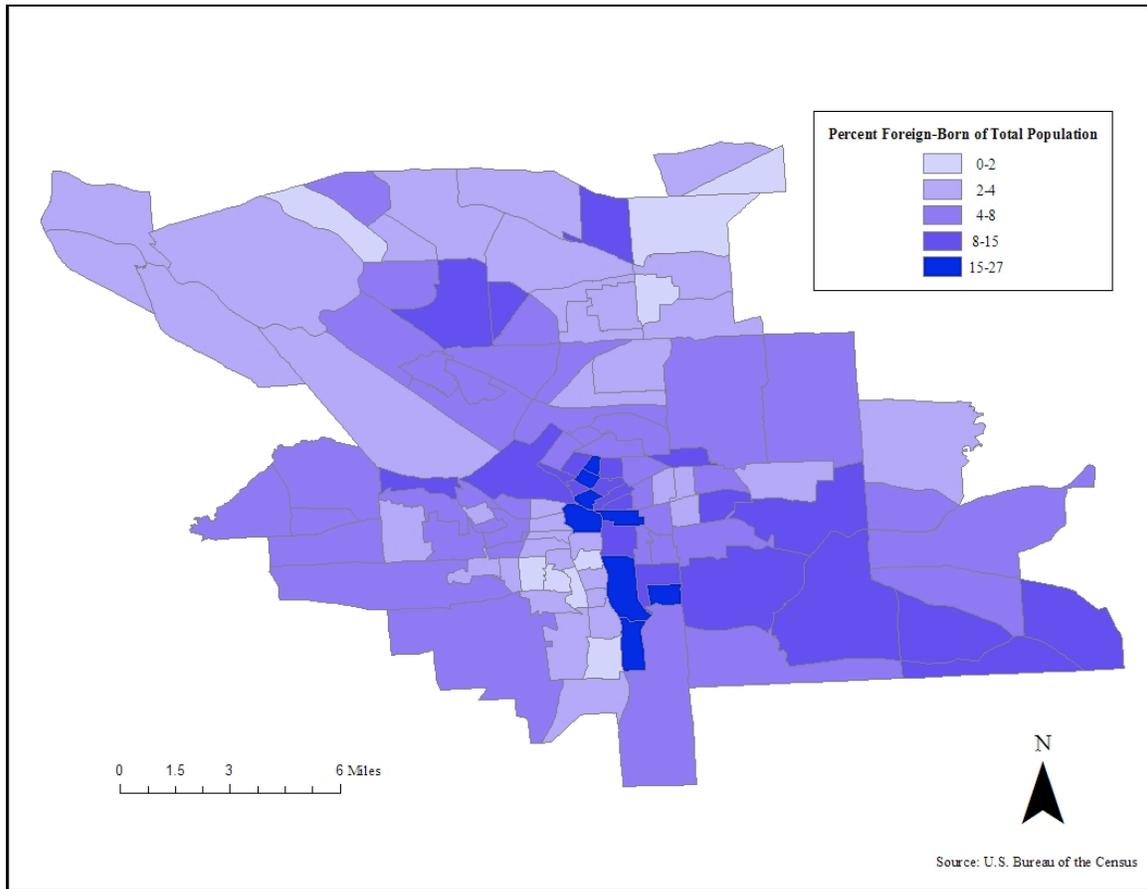


Table 4: Frequency of Census Tracts with Varied Levels of Foreign-Born Concentration, according to Figure 9

Concentration (Percent Foreign-Born)	Percent of Tracts with this Concentration
0-2 %	8
2-4 %	31
4-8 %	36
8-15 %	19
15-27 %	7

percent) of the census tracts fall in the middle of the two extreme classes (4-15 percent foreign-born) suggests a more even distribution of immigrants, which supports the heterolocal model (see Table 4).

Figure 10 focuses on the distribution of the Asian foreign-born population, measuring residential concentration as a percentage of the entire foreign-born population for each census tract. The census tract with the highest concentration contains 15 percent Asian foreign-born within its total foreign-born population, suggesting a generally low level of clustering at this geographic scale. The distribution of the Asian population follows a similar pattern to the foreign-born population as a whole: both Figures 9 and 10 show a slight concentration of the population in question in the center of the city, with sectors of moderately concentrated tracts radiating out from the center. However, the Asian population does not dominate any one tract, which is the most defining characteristic of an ethnic enclave. A lack of significant concentration of Asian immigrants in any census tracts implies a rejection of the ethnic enclave model. The mosaic of differing levels of concentration throughout the city again prevails, providing evidence of the heterolocal tendency of residential dispersal. Table 5 shows that the Asian population is absent from the majority of census tracts (62 percent of tracts contain less than 2 percent of Asian foreign-born concentration). The Asian population tends to illustrate a bimodal presence in Syracuse. There is a visible Asian presence in the center of the city, but also a noticeable concentration in more affluent suburban areas in the periphery. Zelinsky and Lee (1998) discuss this bimodal immigrant demographic, arguing that the 1965 immigration reform did not completely transform the immigrant population from simply poor to simply rich. Rather, the reform began a gradual trend of

Figure 10: Distribution of Asian Foreign-Born Population, 2000

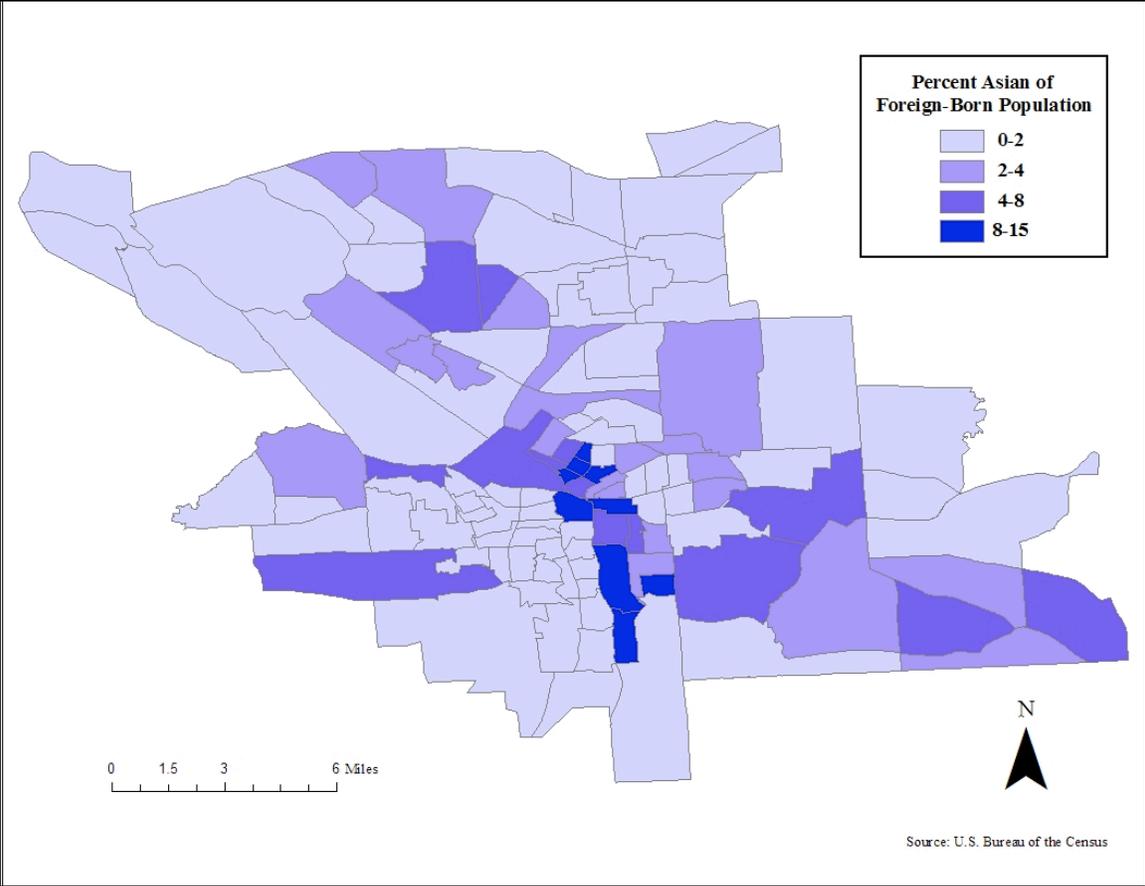


Table 5: Frequency of Census Tracts with Varied Asian Concentration, according to Figure 10

Concentration (Percent Asian of Total Foreign-Born)	Percent of Tracts with this Concentration
0-2%	62
2-4%	19
4-8%	12
8-15%	8

increasingly skilled immigrants entering the United States. It is possible that Figure 10 illustrates this bimodal skill level demographic, meaning that unskilled Asian immigrants are those clustering in the center of the city while more highly skilled Asian immigrants are those residing in suburban areas.

Figure 11 illustrates the distribution of the most recent cohort of Asian immigrants by displaying the percent of total Asian immigrants who entered the United States between 1990 and 2000 for each census tract. The recent Asian immigrants display perhaps the most apparent heterolocal pattern. Unlike Figures 9 and 10, there are no contiguous clusters of highly concentrated tracts in the center of the city. Table 5 shows that almost 40 percent of the tracts contain 0-30 percent recent Asian immigrants (Table 6). Only 9 percent of the tracts fall within the class of 90-100 percent recent Asian immigrants. A slight majority of tracts (53 percent) fall within one of the middle classes. Figure 11 therefore suggests a fairly even distribution of recent immigrants because the majority of census tracts contain a modest concentration of recent immigrants from Asian nations, while few contain a very high concentration.

The preceding series of maps (Figures 9-11) presents some slight characteristics that would tend to reveal residential clustering reminiscent of the ethnic enclave model. In each case, there is an undeniably higher concentration of immigrants in the center of the city, which might seem to signify a central ethnic enclave. However, the conclusion that immigrants in Syracuse have created enclaves is not necessarily warranted. The actual lack of ethnic enclave is revealed when these maps are compared to historical maps depicting previous eras of immigration in Syracuse, such as the maps provided in

Figure 11: Distribution of Recent Asian Foreign-Born Population, 2000

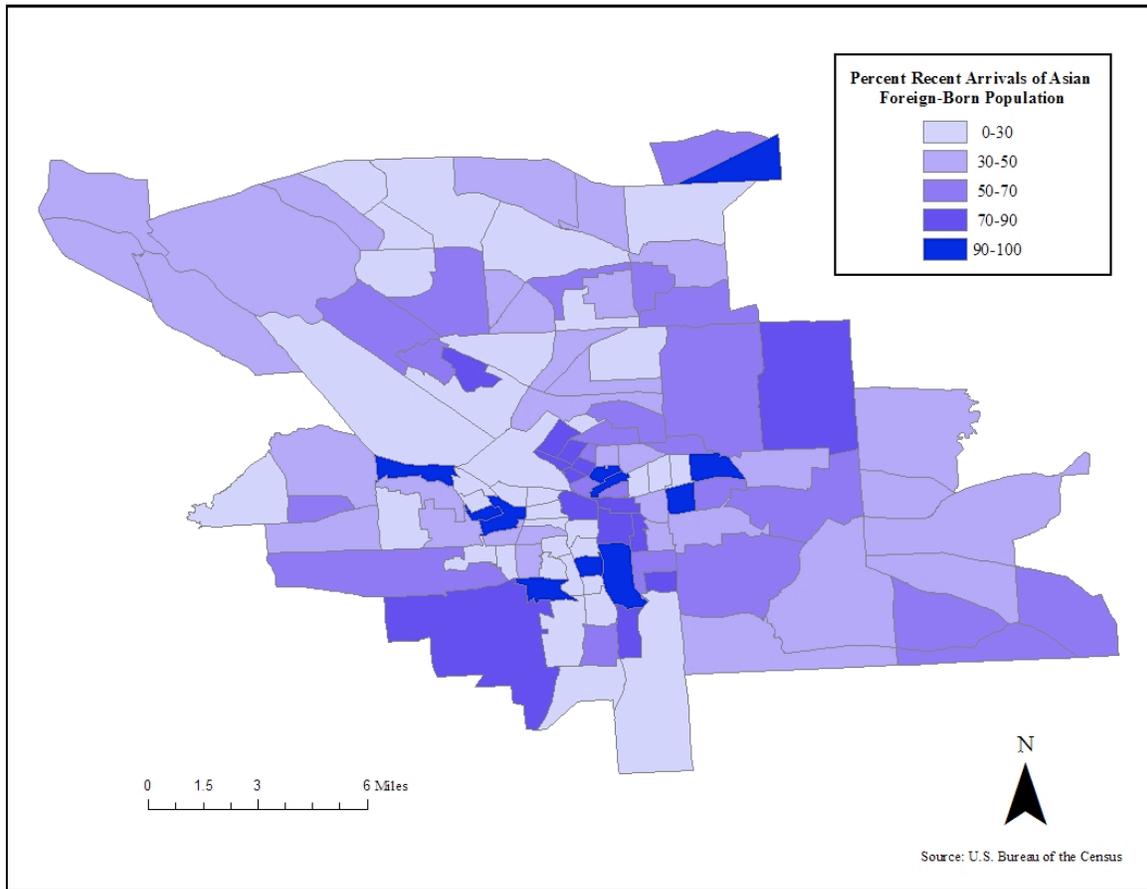
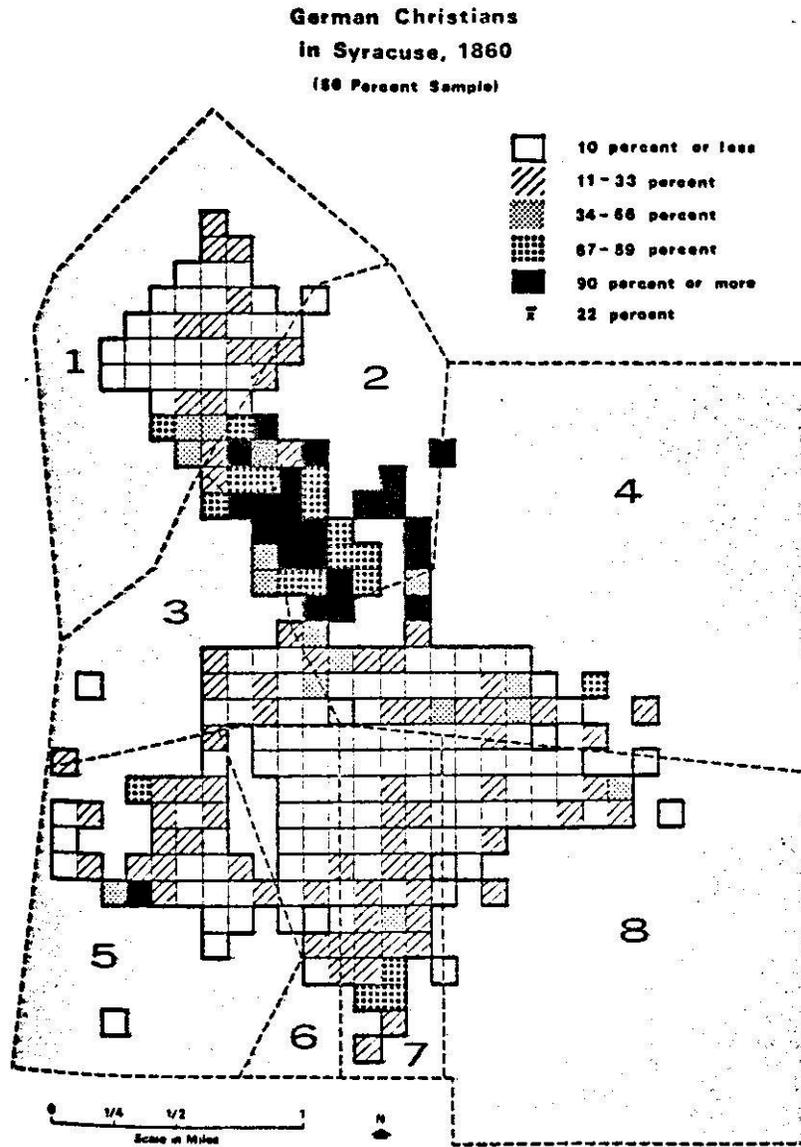


Table 6: Frequency of Census Tracts with Concentrations of Recent Asian Immigrants

Concentration (Percent Asians arriving 1990-2000)	Percent of Tracts with this Concentration
0-30%	38
30-50%	16
50-70%	25
70-90%	12
90-100%	9

Figure 12



Source: reproduced from Bigelow 1978, 96

Bruce Bigelow's dissertation on ethnic residential segregation in Syracuse in 1860 (1978). The Syracuse that Bigelow studied illustrates the quintessential ethnic enclave aspect of the spatial assimilation model. (The characteristics of Bigelow's results are discussed above in the section on Syracuse's urban and population geography). For example, Figure 12 is a reproduction of Bigelow's distribution of the German Christian population in Syracuse in 1860. Though the city was much smaller at the time (8 wards, or census tracts, as compared to today's 118), his spatial aggregation into wards is comparable to the census tract aggregation used in this study. In contrast to the distribution of the Asian population according to the 2000 census, the 1860 map shows an overwhelming concentration of German Christians in Ward 2, and a much smaller concentration of Germans in all other wards. While Figure 10—which shows the concentration of the Asian population—shows some census tracts as being more concentrated than others, there is no census tract or even group of census tracts that contain 90 percent of the Asian population. The level of clustering shown by Bigelow for German immigrants is noticeably absent from current distribution maps where the Asian immigrant concentration never exceeds 15 percent of any one census tract. The 1860 ethnic population distribution provided by Bigelow puts current distributions into perspective, proving that there is actually a relatively low level of clustering among recent immigrants in Syracuse. If the extreme clustering of 1860 can be called the ethnic enclave stage of the assimilation model, then the current immigrant distribution comes into focus as being more characteristic of the heterolocal model.

Comparison of Ethnic Institutions to Immigrant Residential Distribution

The second major characteristic of Zelinsky's model of heterolocalism focuses on the location of immigrant residences relative to ethnic institutions. He argues that even though highly skilled immigrants enjoy a sense of feeling assimilated to North American culture upon entry, immigrants still exhibit a desire to maintain a sense of cultural identity within the United States. Despite their tendency to disperse throughout a geographic area, Zelinsky argues that immigrants use ethnic institutions as places of convergence where the culture from their home country continues to thrive. However, in contrast to the ethnic enclave model, recent immigrants exhibiting heterolocal tendencies do not cluster or build their neighborhoods around these ethnic institutions. In fact, the locations of these institutions are of little importance to the immigrants who frequent them. Ease of travel due to increased affluence makes these institutions more accessible.

An ethnic institution is defined by Zelinsky as a specific site or an informal network that allows immigrants to feel a sense of cultural solidarity (2001, 140). An institution can be a formal gathering place, such as a religious center, a cultural or volunteer organization, a restaurant, or a grocery store. However, an institution can also include more informal events such as cultural festivals, athletic leagues, or personal social networks (Zelinsky 2001, 141). Essentially, any method that immigrants use to maintain social networks in the absence of physical clustering can be considered an ethnic institution (Zelinsky 2001, 138).

This section highlights the major Asian institutions in Syracuse and their function, and analyzes the extent to which Asian immigrants cluster around them. Spatial analysis

through GIS is used in addition to statistical analysis to compare the average distance between a census tract and an Asian institution to the Asian population's concentration within that census tract. The lack of correlation between these two variables suggests that there is little relation to locations of ethnic neighborhoods and the ethnic institutions their members are likely to frequent, providing further evidence that the model of heterolocalism applies to Syracuse.

A list of Asian cultural institutions was generated through several methods, including web-based research and informal interviews with key informants (see Appendix for a complete list). The list is by no means exhaustive or comprehensive. The institutions included are simply meant to provide examples of the types of institutions used by immigrants from Asian nations in Syracuse. The institutions are classified as economic, cultural and religious centers. Economic centers mainly include grocery stores like Viet NY Groceries Store and restaurants such as Erawan Thai Restaurant. Economic institutions were the most common type of institution. The religious centers include Buddhist and Hindu temples, Armenian churches, and one mosque. Lastly, cultural centers include the Syracuse University Hindu Student Council, The CNY Chinese School, and the India Community Religious and Cultural Center, among others. Census data does not disaggregate the foreign-born population by specific country of birth at the level of the census tract. Thus, making connections between specific nations of origin of ethnic groups and the institutions which are likely to be frequented or supported is difficult. Using a combined list of all Asian institutions serves as a broad indicator of residential clustering around relevant cultural institutions.

Figure 13 displays the regression comparing distance between census tract and ethnic institution to Asian concentration of the census tract. There is a slight negative correlation between the two variables, but the r^2 value is only .07, far too small for there to be any significant relationship between the two variables. With virtually no relationship between ethnic concentration and location of ethnic institution, the possibility that heterolocalism applies to the Asian foreign-born of Syracuse becomes apparent. There is no way of knowing through this particular study whether the Asian foreign-born population actually uses the institutions examined in this analysis. However these results do point to the conclusion that little residential clustering of the Asian foreign-born population exists around the relevant Asian ethnic institutions in Syracuse, which tends to support the model of heterolocalism.

Figure 13: Correlation between Asian Foreign-Born Concentration and Distance to Asian Institution

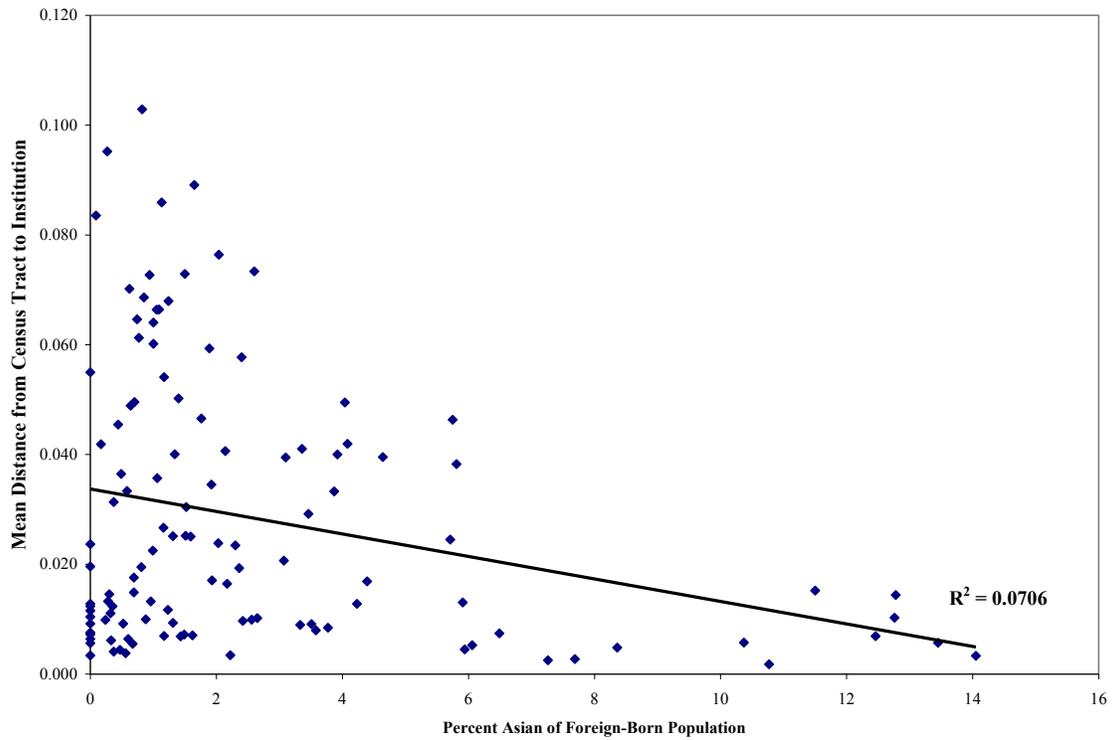


Figure 14 provides a closer look at the locations of Asian ethnic institutions in relation to highly concentrated Asian neighborhoods. While some institutions (particularly the economic cluster in the northern portion of the map) are located in or around neighborhoods with the highest concentrations of Asian immigrants, other institutions (such as those scattered throughout the southeastern portion of the map) are widely dispersed and located in neighborhoods with small Asian concentrations. Table 7 converts this visual representation into a numeric format by providing the number of ethnic institutions located in each concentration class. According to this table, only two institutions were located within a census tract with the highest Asian concentrations (8-15

percent Asian population). In contrast, ten institutions are located in the least Asian concentrated neighborhoods, and sixteen institutions fall somewhere in the middle. This evidence disproves the notion that Asian immigrants in Syracuse tend to cluster around centers of ethnic activity.

Using Bigelow's dissertation and focusing on the German population in 1860 as a comparison to Syracuse's current Asian population, there is again a stark contrast between the patterns of the two groups in terms of the locations of their institutions relative to their residences. Figure 15 displays three German Christian churches in Syracuse. This map also displays the residences of the congregations for each of the churches. The vast majority of each congregation is located within Ward 2, or Germantown. Figure 16 shows a similar pattern for German-owned groceries: eight groceries are located within the German-concentrated Ward 2, and two others fall just outside the boundary. When compared to the current Asian institutions in Syracuse, only two of which are located within a high-concentration census tract, the difference in degree of clustering between the two populations' respective ethnic institutions is undeniable. This contrast further supports the claim that Syracuse's current immigrant population follows the model of heterolocalism in their lack of clustering around ethnic institutions.

Figure 14: Locations of Asian Institutions Relative to Residential Concentrations of the Asian Foreign-born Population

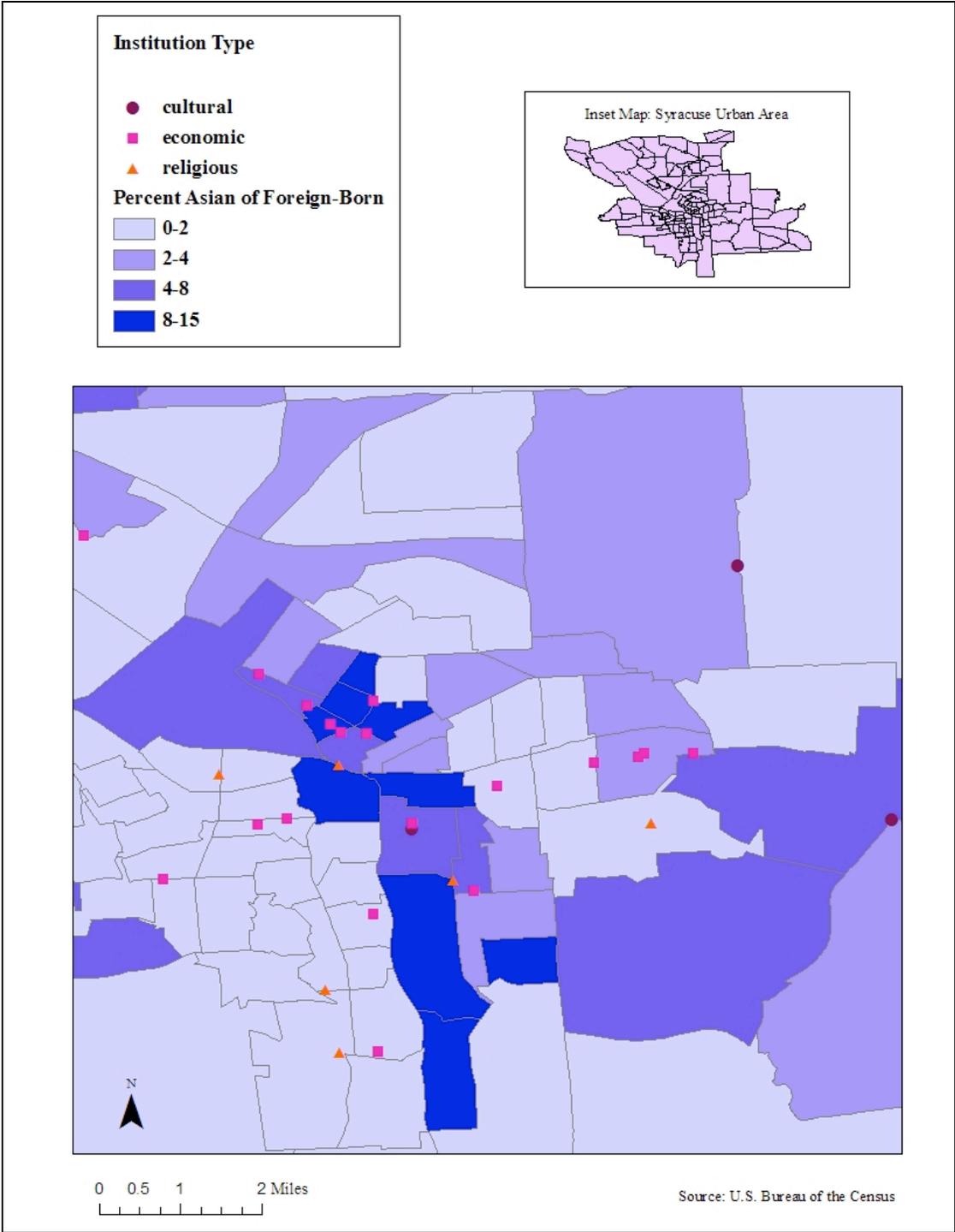
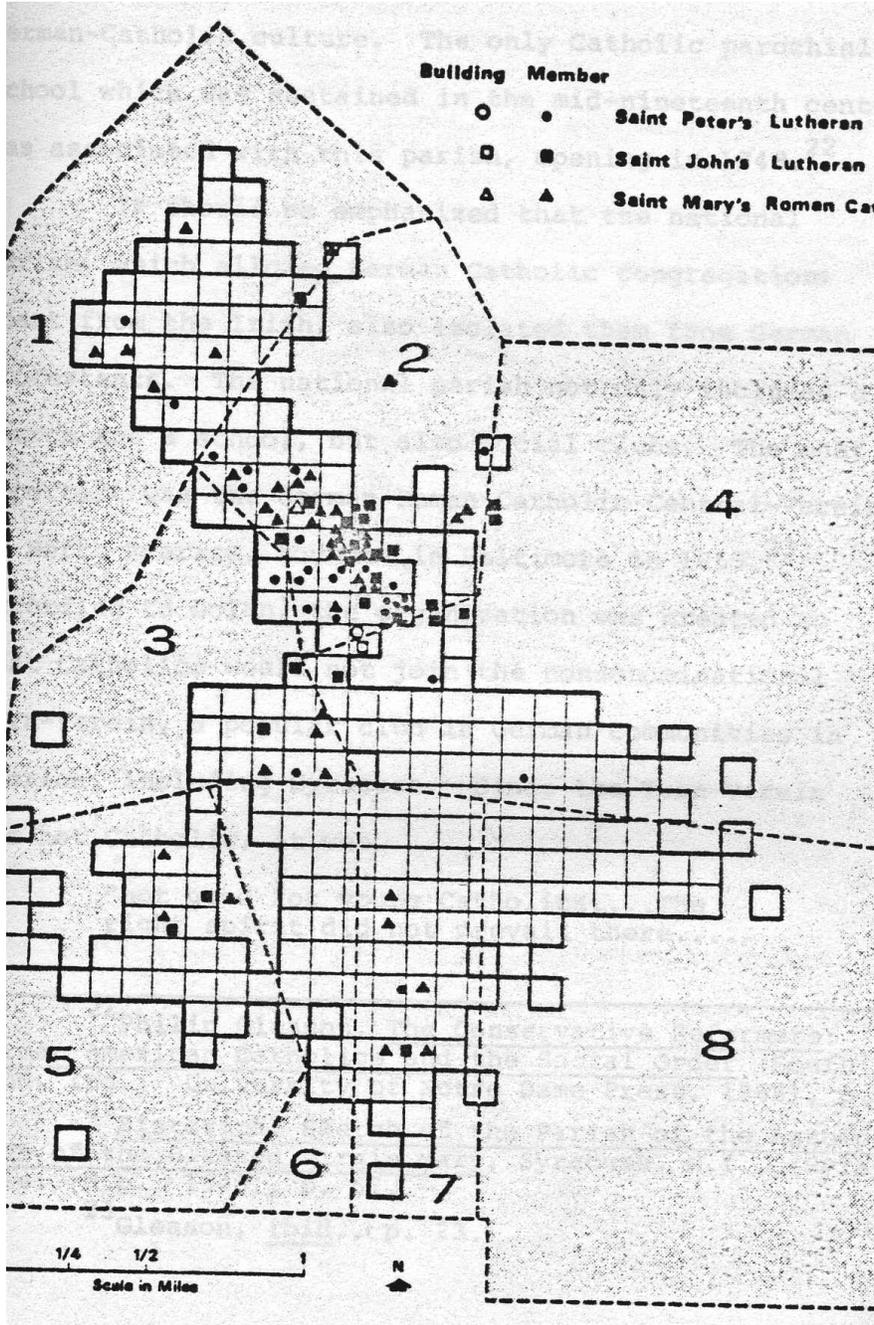


Table 7: Asian Institution Locations by Asian Concentration of Census Tracts, according to Figure 14

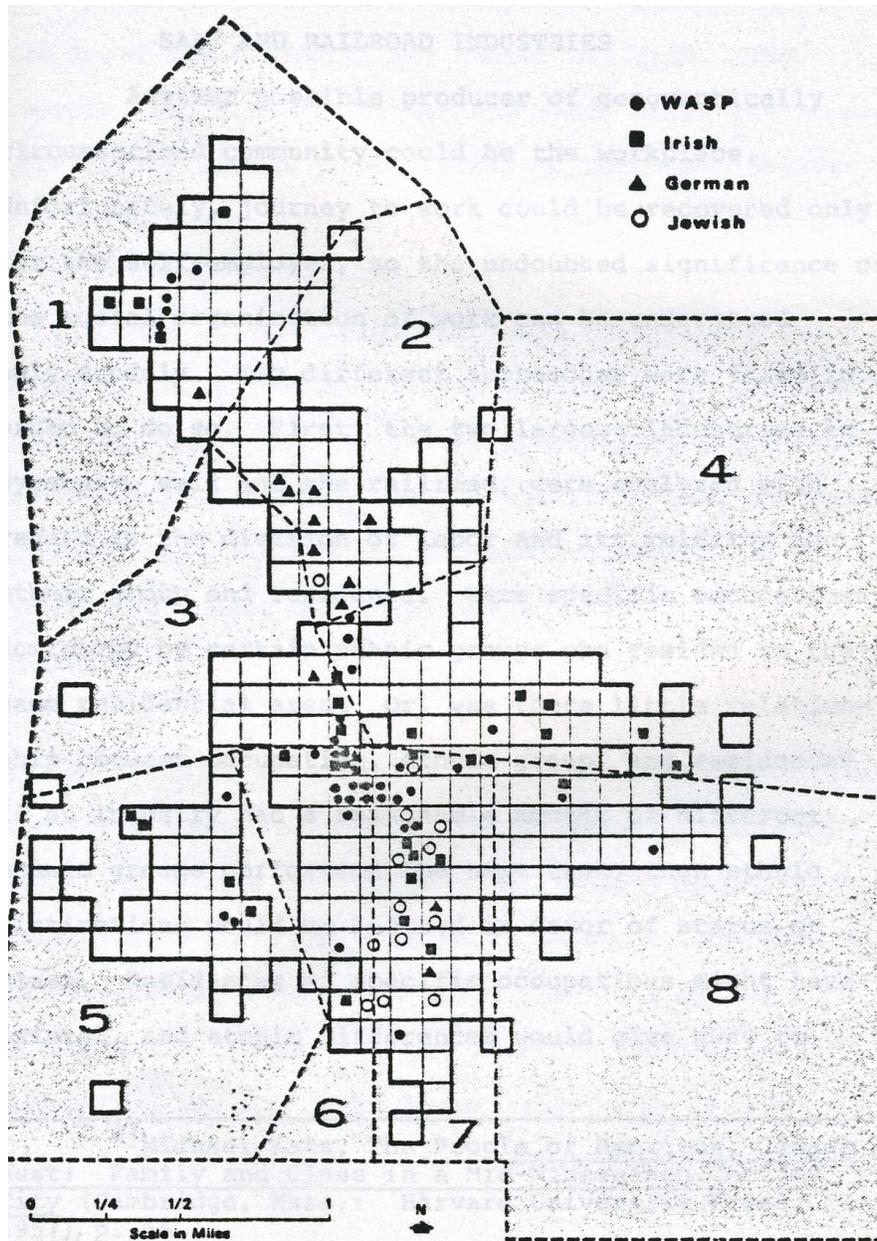
Concentration Class (% Asian of Total Foreign-Born)	Cultural	Economic	Religious	Total
0-2	0	5	5	10
2-4	2	4	0	6
4-8	2	6	2	10
8-15	0	2	0	2

Figure 15: German Christian Congregations in Syracuse, 1860



Source: reproduced from Bigelow 1978, 24

Figure 16: Groceries in Syracuse, 1860: Ethnic Group of Owners



Source: reproduced from Bigelow 1978, 308

Discussion and Conclusion

In general, the evidence provided in this study tends to reject the null hypothesis that immigrants in Syracuse since 1965 exhibit residential patterns that suggest the spatial assimilation model. The rejection of this null hypothesis provides support for the claim that heterolocalism is a valid model for the current foreign-born population of Syracuse. The dissimilarity index values, which are intended to provide a summarized measure of the degree of residential clustering among immigrants, show that the foreign-born population as a whole only exhibits a low level of segregation from the native-born population. In comparing the segregation levels of immigrants by year of entry, the most recent immigrants are moderately segregated from those who have been in the United States for at least thirty years, a confusing result that is difficult to interpret. It is possible that this apparent segregation is due to the fact that recent immigrants, those who would display heterolocalism by dispersing evenly throughout the city, are in fact segregated from the immigrants who have long been established and have assimilated spatially.

The explanation that immigrants are in fact segregated by cohort would suggest that immigrants in Syracuse do not exhibit heterolocal tendencies. However, the visual representations shown in the GIS section (Figures 9-11) disprove this interpretation. The maps show that the Asian foreign-born population is relatively dispersed throughout the urban area. Most likely, the dissimilarity index calculations yielded unstable and perhaps misleading results because the individual cohorts of Asian immigrants are extremely small. White discusses this source of measurement error as one of the major weaknesses of the dissimilarity index, noting that the index implies greater segregation for smaller

populations (1986). This explanation for high Asian dissimilarity values is further supported by the fact that, when the much larger total foreign-born population was analyzed, the index results suggested low segregation.

The spatial analysis of immigrant residential patterns suggests a bimodal pattern, whereby some immigrants tend to cluster in the center of the city while others exhibit dispersal throughout suburban areas. This pattern is addressed by Zelinsky and Lee (1998) who discuss the fact that 1965 immigration policy reform did not completely transform the wealth and skill levels of immigrants. Rather, the reform merely increased the number of immigrants with a high socioeconomic status. Therefore, unskilled immigrants would still be expected to follow the spatial assimilation pattern, because heterolocalism is only meant to apply to highly skilled immigrants. This highly skilled group is likely the group that has inhabited the more affluent suburbs of Syracuse, as seen in Figures 9-11. Despite this bimodal pattern, the residential patterns of immigrants in Syracuse are still quite dispersed relative to Bigelow's illustrations of residential patterns in 1860. The results displayed by Bigelow can be classified as the classical assimilation model, which contrasts the heterolocal pattern in the results of this study. This comparison brings the validity of heterolocalism in contemporary Syracuse into sharper focus.

For both the dissimilarity index and the spatial analysis sections, issues of scale should be considered. Both analyses use the census tract as the level of aggregation because it was the smallest level provided by the Census Bureau for the foreign-born data used in this analysis. However, the census tract is generally a rather large spatial area,

especially beyond the center of the city of Syracuse. If a smaller level of aggregation, such as the block group, were available, the resultant patterns may have been entirely different. Another level of aggregation that might be interesting to analyze would be the school district boundaries within Syracuse, as they tend to reflect a certain income demographic and can generally be classified as suburban versus urban districts. This again might yield a different residential pattern. It would also be pertinent to compare the results in Syracuse to patterns of immigrant settlement in other small cities, such as Utica, New York. Utica would be an interesting comparison to Syracuse because Utica is a refugee resettlement city and has received over 11,000 refugees since 1979 (Kraly 2008, 1). If it were possible to compare the average skill levels of the foreign-born populations in each city and analyze how this variable impacted settlement patterns, additional support for the validity of heterolocalism for highly skilled immigrants might be provided.

The analysis of Asian ethnic institutions relative to Asian-concentrated census tracts provides perhaps the most conclusive support for the model of heterolocalism. Statistical analysis shows that there is virtually no correlation between the locations of the Asian ethnic institutions and the concentrations of Asian immigrants within a census tract. This result is compelling even in isolation, but its validity is enhanced when compared to 1860, when locations of ethnic neighborhoods were closely tied to the locations of corresponding institutions (see Figure 14). The lack of correlation between location of institution and location of immigrant concentration points to the possibility of a “community without propinquity,” which is one of the characteristics of heterolocalism (Zelinsky 2001, 139). This characteristic suggests that the distance between immigrant

residences and the institutions they use to maintain a cultural identity is of little importance, because immigrants can make use of these institutions without living in the neighborhood where the institutions are located. Though this study does not determine whether or not immigrants are actually using the institutions analyzed, the lack of clustering around the institutions is a preliminary conclusion of the existence of community in the absence of propinquity. This preliminary conclusion could lead to future qualitative research that might reveal the extent to which immigrants rely on certain institutions. Further qualitative research through in-depth interviews or surveys would reveal the most significant ethnic institutions, at which point spatial analysis could be revisited.

While this study by no means provides a comprehensive determination of the validity of heterolocalism, the evidence provided through analysis of Syracuse's immigrant population implies that heterolocalism is a robust model that adequately explains the new highly skilled demographic of immigrants to the United States. Further studies on additional cities, as well as the use of more accurate data might provide greater insight into its validity. More in-depth research might also be helpful for addressing more specific characteristics of recent immigrants. For example, because the model of heterolocalism is intended to apply to the highly skilled demographic of immigrants, it would be worthwhile to collect data on income and education level of immigrants and compare segregation levels based on these variables. Household characteristics such as size and composition (male versus female household head) would be interesting to target and compare. Qualitative research, such as in-depth interviews with both early and recent immigrants, might reveal decision-making processes that have led immigrant

families to settle in certain places. These measures would help to reach a level of detail that is unattainable through quantitative census-based analysis. However, the results presented here provide meaningful initial support for the validity of the model of heterolocalism, and hence support the increasing diversity of the new immigrant experience in the United States.

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Appendix: Names and Locations of Asian Institutions

NAME	TYPE	ADDRESS	CITY	ZIP
CNYCS	cultural	4600 Enders Road	Manlius	13104
ICRCC Diwali Festival	cultural	6302 Carrier Pkwy	East Syracuse	13057
ICRCC Body Meeting	cultural	1 Arkie Albanese Ave.	Manlius	13104
India Independence Day Celebration	cultural	5400 Butternut Dr.	East Syracuse	13057
Raas Garba for Navratri	cultural	8201 East Seneca Tpk	Manlius	13104
SUNY-ESF Hindu Student Council	cultural	805 South Crouse Ave.	Syracuse	13244
Grocer American Oriental	economic	1215 Lodi St.	Syracuse	13203
Watusi Supermarket	economic	400 Seymour St.	Syracuse	13204
Nojaim Brothers Supermarket	economic	307 Gifford St.	Syracuse	13204
Sakran's Market	economic	1605 Bellevue Ave.	Syracuse	13204
Golden Gate Market	economic	4619 S. Salina St.	Syracuse	13205
Middle East Market	economic	1919 S. State St.	Syracuse	13205
Jubba International Grocery	economic	1601 N. Salina St.	Syracuse	13208
A Chau	economic	938 N. Salina St.	Syracuse	13208
Far East and Asian Groceries	economic	924 N. Townsend St.	Syracuse	13208
Viet NY Groceries Store	economic	420 Butternut St.	Syracuse	13208
Angkor Asian Foods	economic	1001 Butternut St.	Syracuse	13208
Samir's Imported Foods	economic	811 E. Genesee St.	Syracuse	13210
Pan Asian Super Market	economic	124 Headson Dr.	Syracuse	13214
Kashmir Groceries and Imports	economic	118 Seeley Rd.	Syracuse	13224
Asia Grocery	economic	2724 Erie Blvd. East	Syracuse	13224
Han's Oriental Grocery Inc.	economic	2731 Erie Blvd. East	Syracuse	13224
Oriental House	economic	1706 Erie Blvd. East	Syracuse	13224
Erawan	economic	2724 Erie Blvd. East	Syracuse	13224
Samrat Indian Restaurant	economic	701 South Crouse Ave.	Syracuse	13244
Sahota Palace Indian Restaurant	economic	668 Old Liverpool Rd.	Liverpool	13088
St. John's Armenian Apostolic Church	religious	372 W. Matson Ave.	Syracuse	13205
St. Paul's Armenian Apostolic Church	religious	319 N. Geddes St.	Syracuse	13204
Hindu Mandir of Central New York	religious	7211 State Fair Boulevard	Syracuse	13209

Islamic Society of Central New York Mosque Inc.	religious	925 Comstock Avenue	Syracuse	13210
Rangrig Yeshe Buddhist Temple	religious	313 East Willow St.	Syracuse	13203
Zen Center of Syracuse Hoen-ji	religious	266 West Seneca Turnpike	Syracuse	13207
BAPS Shri Swaminarayan Mandir	religious	1990 Meadowbrook Drive	Syracuse	13224