

Redefining Migration in Global Sydney

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The global Sydney thesis and the migration thesis, two important dimensions of the impacts of contemporary globalisation, have been developing in parallel. In this article, we argue that the two theses are intrinsically linked. Sydney's rise as a global city is closely associated with its growing migration. The central question is how we should approach migration in the new context of global Sydney, and how we should articulate their relationships. To address this question, we construct an integrative framework linking global Sydney and migration, and build a set of indexes to measure global competitiveness, global migration, and global mobility across the Greater Sydney region. The findings reveal that global competitiveness – the defining capacity of global Sydney – has very weak association with global migration that measures the stock of foreign born population, but has very strong association with global mobility that measures the people movement in recent years. These findings call for a redefinition of migration to incorporate people movement to better capture the interplay between global Sydney and migration.

Keywords: migration, global Sydney, global competitiveness, global mobility

Introduction

Sydney is Australia's leading global city. It is an important urban node in the global city hierarchy, linking Australia with the world (Beaverstock, Taylor, & Smith, 1999; Friedmann, 1986, 1995; Taylor, 2004, 2011). Sydney is also a leading gateway city for migration, adding to Australia's global network (Benton-Short, Price, & Friedman, 2005; Hugo, 2008). The global city thesis and the migration thesis for Sydney have been developing in parallel. The global city thesis has been economic-centric, focusing on Sydney's growing capacity of global services, in particular, of advanced producer services (Daly & Pritchard, 2000; Fagan, 2000; Hu, 2012a, 2013; O'Neill & McGuirk, 2002, 2003, 2005; Searle, 1996; Stein, 2002). These global services are defining Sydney's global city status according to the global city discourse (Sassen, 1991, 1995; Taylor, 2004, 2011). On the other hand, the migration thesis has focused on the spatial settlement of the ethnic groups across the Sydney region or its

socio-economic structures (Baum, 1997; I. Burnley, 1998; Ian Burnley, 1999; Forrest, Poulsen, & Johnston, 2003, 2006; Healy & Birrell, 2003; Ley & Murphy, 2001; Poulsen, Johnston, & Forrest, 2004). The scholarship has not sufficiently addressed the association between the two theses.

In this article, we argue that the global city thesis and the migration thesis are intrinsically linked. Both are important impacts of contemporary globalisation on Sydney, and reflect Sydney and Australia's increasing integration with the world. The question is how the two elements concerning Sydney's role in contemporary globalisation are interrelated. In order to articulate the nexus between global Sydney and migration, we construct an integrative framework linking global Sydney and migration. We then make a comprehensive examination of the spatial patterns of the global services, the foreign born population settlement, and the people movement in global Sydney. This is made through building three sets of indexes: global competitiveness index (GCI), global migration index (GMI), and global mobility index (GloMo) for the local communities across the Greater Sydney region, using the Australian 2011 census. The findings provide new insights into the interrelationship between global Sydney and migration, and call for a redefinition of migration, moving from the conventional perception of foreign born population to incorporate increasing people movement in contemporary globalisation.

This article is organised as follows. Following this introduction, next section provides a literature review on the theses of global Sydney and migration, to point out the gap in the scholarship and the need of this study to link global Sydney and migration. The section on methods explains how this study is carried out, including the definition, calculation and data for the three indexes (GCI, GMI, and GloMo). The results offer the spatial patterns and statistical relationships of the local communities across the Greater Sydney region viewed through the lenses of the three indexes. The last section concludes with a discussion on the articulation of the nexus between global Sydney and migration, and calls for the need to redefine migration in global Sydney.

Global Sydney and Migration

Global Sydney

Global Sydney constitutes part of the broader global city discourse, which has responded to the increasing interaction between contemporary globalisation and cities. The global city discourse has focused on the strategic roles of command and control played by many major urban nodes in the integrated world economy, and in particular on their capacity of providing advanced producer services (Friedmann, 1986, 1995; Sassen, 1991, 1994; Taylor, 2004, 2011). The global city discourse has included Sydney as a member city in the global city hierarchy, and has ascertained Sydney's competitive position in the global context and its evolution (Beaverstock et al., 1999; Friedmann, 1986, 1995; Godfrey & Zhou, 1999; Taylor, 2004, 2011; Taylor, Ni, & Derudder, 2011). Meanwhile, multiple angles have been employed to analyse Sydney's economic transformation along with Australia's integration with the world economy to justify its rise as a global city. The economic transformation includes Sydney's macroeconomic transformation, as well as the transformation of certain industry sectors that are most impacted by contemporary globalisation.

As Australia's leading global city, Sydney is dominating Australian urban landscape. The dominance includes its agglomeration of advanced producer services (Spiller, 2003); its agglomeration of

corporate headquarters, particularly in real estate, and insurance and investment services compared to other Australian capital cities (Tonts & Taylor, 2010); and being the headquarters of multinationals, producer services, and financial services in national, Asia Pacific, and international contexts (Stein, 2002). The process of Sydney's rise as a global city has involved multi-dimensional economic restructuring and industrial changes. These include the industrial shift from manufacturing to a post-industrial information economy (Fagan, 2000); the changed employment structure, global command and control functions, finance sector, and international economic connections (Searle, 1996); and the emergence of a knowledge-based economy (Stein, 2002).

The financial sector and the advanced producer services, the defining functions of global cities, have been a major focus of scholarly interest in global Sydney. Daly and Pritchard (2000) provide a historical narrative of Sydney's growth to be Australia's financial and corporate capital, and its relation to the international financial system and the local political and geographical factors, such as the political aspiration for a global city and connections with Asia. O'Neill and McGuirk (2002, 2003, 2005) study the financialisation of economic activities and its spatial manifestations in the Sydney region, and its impacts on office work in central Sydney through the practices of association, interaction, and shared work space. Coupled with the significant financialisation of Sydney's economy is the creative and cultural sector, which makes another major component of Sydney's transformation towards a more knowledge intensive economy. Internally, the creative economy demonstrates a concentration of the creative population living and working in and around central Sydney (Gibson, 2006; Hu, 2012a, 2012b, 2013); externally, the cultural industries constitute part of Sydney's connectivity with the world city network (Mould, 2007). These transformations are regarded as the economic manifestations of Sydney's rise as a global city.

Migration

Much literature has addressed the spatial settlement of migrants in terms of ethnic concentration, segregation, and assimilation. The efforts to unpack the spatial settlement patterns of ethnic groups have been linked to the cultural diversity of Sydney. Ley and Murphy (2001) contend that the evolving locations of immigrants challenge the continued relevance of traditional models in explaining contemporary settlement patterns in gateway cities. In Sydney, there are two contrasting observations on the evolving spatial patterns of ethnic concentration. One observation is that Sydney is bifurcating with growing migration – one increasingly dominated by low to medium-income non-English-speaking migrant communities in the west and southwest, and the other comprised of established inner affluent areas and predominantly English-speaking “aspirational” areas on the metropolitan periphery (Healy & Birrell, 2003). Skill seems to be an important determining factor of the spatial bifurcation between migrants. Skilled migrants and unskilled migrants have different capacities to choose where to live upon arrival in Sydney. Migrants in the former group, who have recently arrived in Sydney, have a greater degree of spatial dispersal than earlier generations and the latter group; migrants in the latter group are much more constrained with regards to where they can afford to live, and have the desire and need to reside among co-ethnics who will support them in adjusting to life in Australia (Hugo, 2008). The constraints of the unskilled migrants help explain why low and moderate-income overseas arrivals continue to settle disproportionately in the western and south-western suburbs in Sydney, which are known as communities with high ethnicity and low socio-economic status (Healy & Birrell, 2003).

The opposite observation is that the ethnic concentration in Sydney does not translate into high levels of ethnic segregation, but into a spatial assimilation that reflects an intermixing of different ethnic groups with each other and with the host society, a view of Australian multiculturalism as “assimilation in slow motion” (Forrest et al., 2006; Poulsen et al., 2004). Empirical studies of Sydney’s western communities indicate some positive aspects of the ethnic concentration, which are seen in the roles of multicultural alliances in spatial convergence, a notion of “togetherness of difference” or “politics of difference” (Dunn, 1998; Gow, 2005). For Burnley (I. Burnley, 1998; 1999), the term segregation is inappropriate for almost all ethnic groups, and the term ghetto, or even enclave, is inappropriate for the ethnic concentrations in Sydney. Although a few suburbs with high ethnic concentrations are experiencing economic difficulties, and have higher proportions of persons with limited English, lower incomes, and no jobs, ethnic concentrations are not the cause of disadvantages (I. Burnley, 1998; Ian Burnley, 1999). On the other hand, as Sydney’s foreign born population has grown, the overall pattern of settlement reflects a greater ethnic mix in both high- and low-socioeconomic areas (Hugo, 2008). The relatively low levels of segregation and high levels of spatial assimilating differentiate Sydney from other global cities; the impacts of globalisation and international migration are different everywhere (Forrest et al., 2003).

Linking Global Sydney and Migration: An Integrative Analytical Framework

The global Sydney thesis and the migration thesis have been developing in parallel. The global Sydney thesis has been economic-centric, focusing on Sydney’s economic transformation, in particular, on its growing global capacity of advanced producer services that are the defining attributes of a global city. The migration thesis has concerned the spatial patterns of the migrant population across the global Sydney region, with a focus on whether the evolving patterns indicate a trend of bifurcating or intermixing. Both the global Sydney thesis and the migration thesis reflect the impacts of contemporary globalisation on Sydney; they are intrinsically interrelated. Sydney’s rise as a global city has been accompanied by its growing migration. However, their interrelationships are not sufficiently addressed in the scholarship.

In this study, we construct a new analytical framework to link the global Sydney thesis and the migration thesis (see Figure 1). The new framework is underpinned by Sessen’s (1991) thesis on global city as the prime sites for advanced producer services and key nodes in economic globalisation, and on Castells’ (1996) proposition for global space of flows in a networked society. It aims to articulate the interrelationship between global Sydney and migration through the nexus between Sydney’s space of global services and Sydney’s space of flows of people. The articulation between space of global services and space of flows of people in Sydney as a global city enables the advancement of scholarship on global city and migration respectively. For the scholarship on global city, although the global city – migration framework is built upon the same underpinning theses of global city and global space of flows as the world city network model (Taylor, 2004), they are different in subject and methodology. The world city network concerns an interlocking network of world cities through the “working flows” of the global service firms (electronic and embodied flows of information and knowledge, and face-to-face meetings involving business travel), which are enabled by the advances in information and communication technologies (Taylor, 2004). The global city – migration framework, however, focuses on the interrelationship between global services and migration within individual global cities, which are the strategic nodes of the global network. The

physical flows of migration to and from cities differentiate themselves from the working flows of service firms housed in different cities. For the scholarship of migration, the global city – migration framework moves beyond the traditional approach of migrant settlement to the space of flows of people, to address the growing migration. It also moves from a traditional nation-based approach to a city-based approach to analysing contemporary migration. Incorporating the space of flows of people into the global city – migration framework helps capture the new dynamics of people movement in cities as both a contributory and a resultant factor of contemporary globalisation.

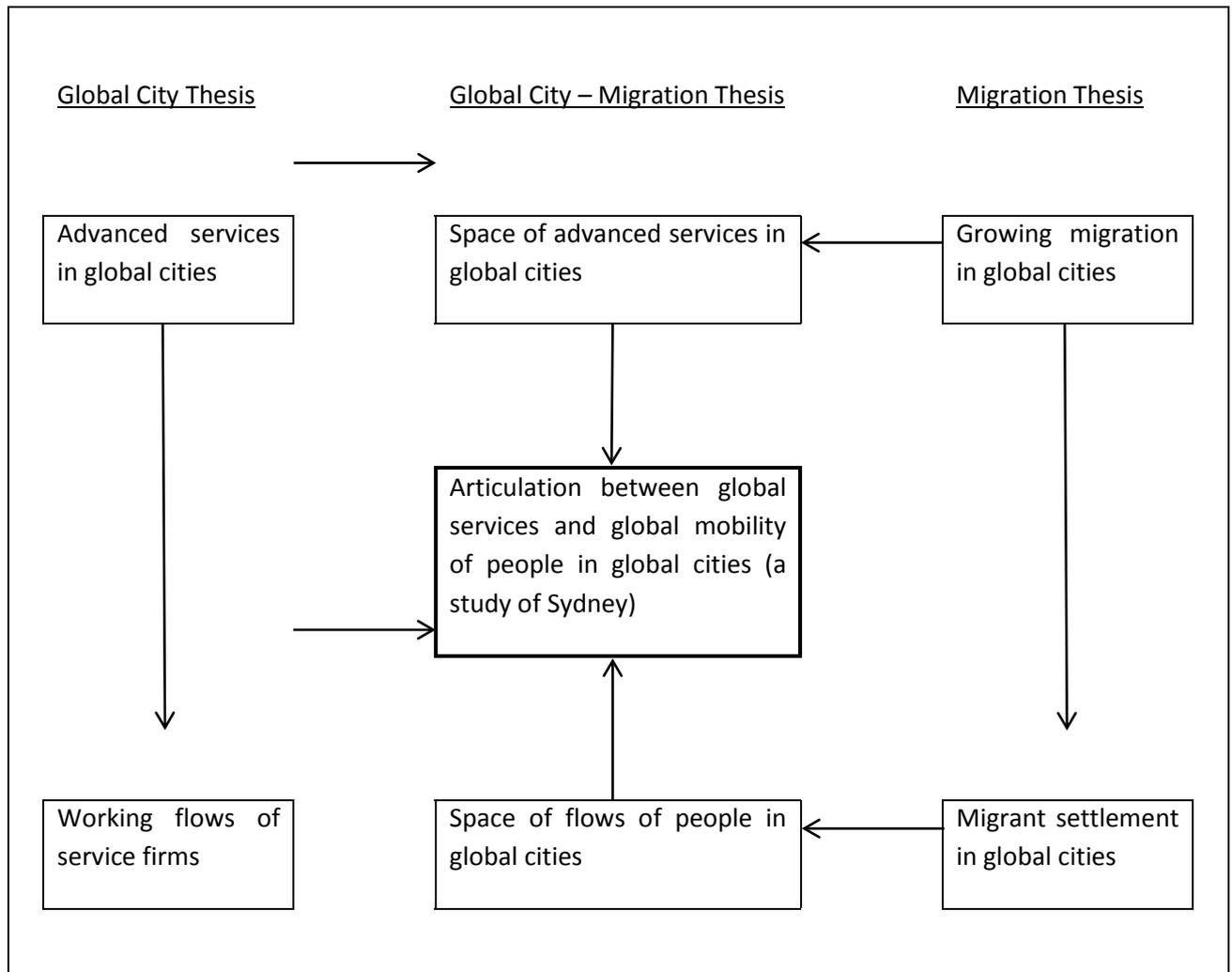


Figure 1: Integrative Global City – Migration Analytical Framework.

Applying the global city – migration analytical framework to Sydney, this study aims to test two hypotheses concerning the interrelationship between global Sydney and migration:

- Global Sydney's capacity of global services is not necessarily linked to global migration defined by foreign born population in its role as a gateway city for immigrants;
- Global Sydney's capacity of global services is linked to global mobility of people in its role as an urban node in the global network.

Methods

Geographically, global Sydney refers to the Greater Sydney region. Global Sydney's boundary is defined by the Sydney Statistical Division in the Australian Statistical Geography Classification (ASGC). It contains 64 ASGC's Statistical Local Areas (SLAs), which are treated as local communities of global Sydney in this study. Global Sydney has a land area of 12,428 km², and had a resident population of 4,428,976 and a working population of 1,835,363 in the Australian Census 2011.

Three sets of indexes are constructed for the 64 SLAs in global Sydney: global competitiveness index (GCI), global migration index (GMI), and global mobility index (GloMo):

- GCI measure's a community's capacity of global services in terms of knowledge-intensive industry, highly-skilled occupation, higher levels of qualification and median income.
- GMI measures a community's stocks and diversity of migrant populations who were born overseas.
- GloMo measures a community's new people movement from overseas and elsewhere in Australia.

The indicators and weightings of the set of indexes are included in Table 1. The data is collected from the Australian Census 2011. The data for GMI and GloMo are based on Place of Usual Residence, and the data for GCI are based on Place of Work. The variables used in the set of indexes are defined as follows:

- The knowledge-intensive industries include the following industry divisions in the Australian and New Zealand Standard Industrial Classification (ANZSIC) 2006: Information Media and Telecommunications; Financial and Insurance Services; Rental, Hiring and Real Estate Services; and Professional, Scientific and Technical Services.
- The highly-skilled occupations include the following occupation groups in the Australian and New Zealand Standard Classification of Occupations (ANZSCO) 2006: Managers, and Professionals.
- The higher levels of education include the following levels of qualifications the Australian Standard Classification of Education (ASCED) 2001: Postgraduate Degree, Graduate Diploma and Graduate Certificate, and Bachelor's Degree.
- The foreign born population is determined by the country of birth.
- The English-speaking countries include Australia, the UK and Ireland, New Zealand, the USA and Canada.
- The recent people movement is based on the Five Years Usual Residence Indicator in the Australian Census 2011, which indicates people who moved their residences in the period 2006-2011.

Table 1: Indicators and Weightings of GCI, GMI, and GloMo.

Indexes	Indicators	Weightings
GCI	Percentage of employed persons in the knowledge-intensive industries	20%
	Total number of employed persons in the knowledge-intensive industries	10%
	Percentage of employed persons in the highly-skilled occupations	20%
	Total number of employed persons in the highly-skilled occupations	10%
	Percentage of employed persons with higher levels of education	20%
	Median weekly individual income	20%
GMI	Percentage of foreign-born population	40%
	Total number of foreign-born population	30%
	Percentage of foreign-born population not from English-speaking countries	15%
	No one ethnic group is more than 25% of the foreign-born population	No, 15%; Yes, -15%
GloMo	Percentage of international migrants	40%
	Total number of international migrants	30%
	Percentage of non-Australian-citizen migrants in total migrant population	20%
	Percentage of migrants from outside Greater Sydney region in total internal migrant population	10%

Z-scores for the indicators are calculated to standardise the values. The final value for each index is the sum of the indicators' z-scores weighted. Higher values reflect higher performances in the composite index. The 64 SLAs are mapped, using legends of quartiles of the index values. Spatial patterns are described and statistical relationships are measured for the indexes, to articulate the interrelationship between global Sydney and migration.

Results

Spatial Relationship

Figure 2 presents the spatial coverage of GCI, GMI, and GloMo across global Sydney in 2011. The values of the indexes for each SLA are provided in Appendix 1. The three indexes demonstrate diverging and converging spatial patterns.

Communities with the high GCIs form a “global arc”, which runs through central Sydney, linking northwest and southeast communities at both ends. The “global arc” was included in Sydney’s metropolitan strategy *City of Cities* (2005), referring to the economic corridor of jobs and major infrastructure stretching from Macquarie Park to Port Botany through Chatswood, St Leonards, North Sydney, Sydney CBD, and Sydney Airport. Compared to the “global arc” included in Sydney’s metropolitan strategy in 2005, the “global arc” based on the GCI 2011 extends at both ends, to include Parramatta in the southwest, and Randwick in the southeast. Communities with the highest GCIs remain in Sydney CBD and North Sydney, with declining GCIs for communities along both directions of the “global arc”.

Communities with the highest GMIs remain in the west and southwest areas, which have been traditionally known for high ethnic concentration in Sydney. The GMI 2011 indicates a trend that communities with high GMIs are expanding northward and eastward. For example, Ryde and Kuring-gai in the north, and Randwick in the east, also indicate considerably high GMIs. More

communities in the north and in the east areas of Sydney fall into the second quartile of GMI 2011. Sydney's growing migration is reflected in increasing GMIs in communities which traditionally had high or low ethnic concentrations.

The GloMo coverage seems to combine the spatial patterns of GCI and GMI. Communities with the highest GloMos form two arcs, facing each other. The east arc almost coincides with the "global arc" of communities with high GCIs in the east area; the west arc almost coincides with communities with high GMIs in the west area. The communities around the two arcs mostly fall into the second quartile of GloMo 2011. The top communities of GloMo are the two CBDs in global Sydney: inner Sydney and inner Parramatta. Two eastern communities Manly and Waverley also indicate considerably high GloMos.

Statistical Relationship

To test the roles of migration and people movement in explaining global services, two regression models were run to measure relationship between GCI with GMI, and between GCI and GloMo respectively. The regression results are shown in Table 2. Their respective relationships are illustrated in Figure 3. The results show that GCI is poorly influenced by GMI ($R^2 = 0.029$), but is strongly linked to GloMo ($R^2 = 0.575$). GMI is not a significant predictor of GCI (Beta = 0.171, $p=0.176$), while GloMo is a significant predictor of GCI (Beta = 0.758, $p<0.0001$).

Table 2: Regression Results (N=64).

Dependent variable:	R ²	Adjusted R ²	Beta coefficients	Significance
GCI 2011				
Independent variable: GMI 2011	0.029	0.014	0.171	0.176
Independent variable: GloMo 2011	0.575	0.568	0.758	0.0001

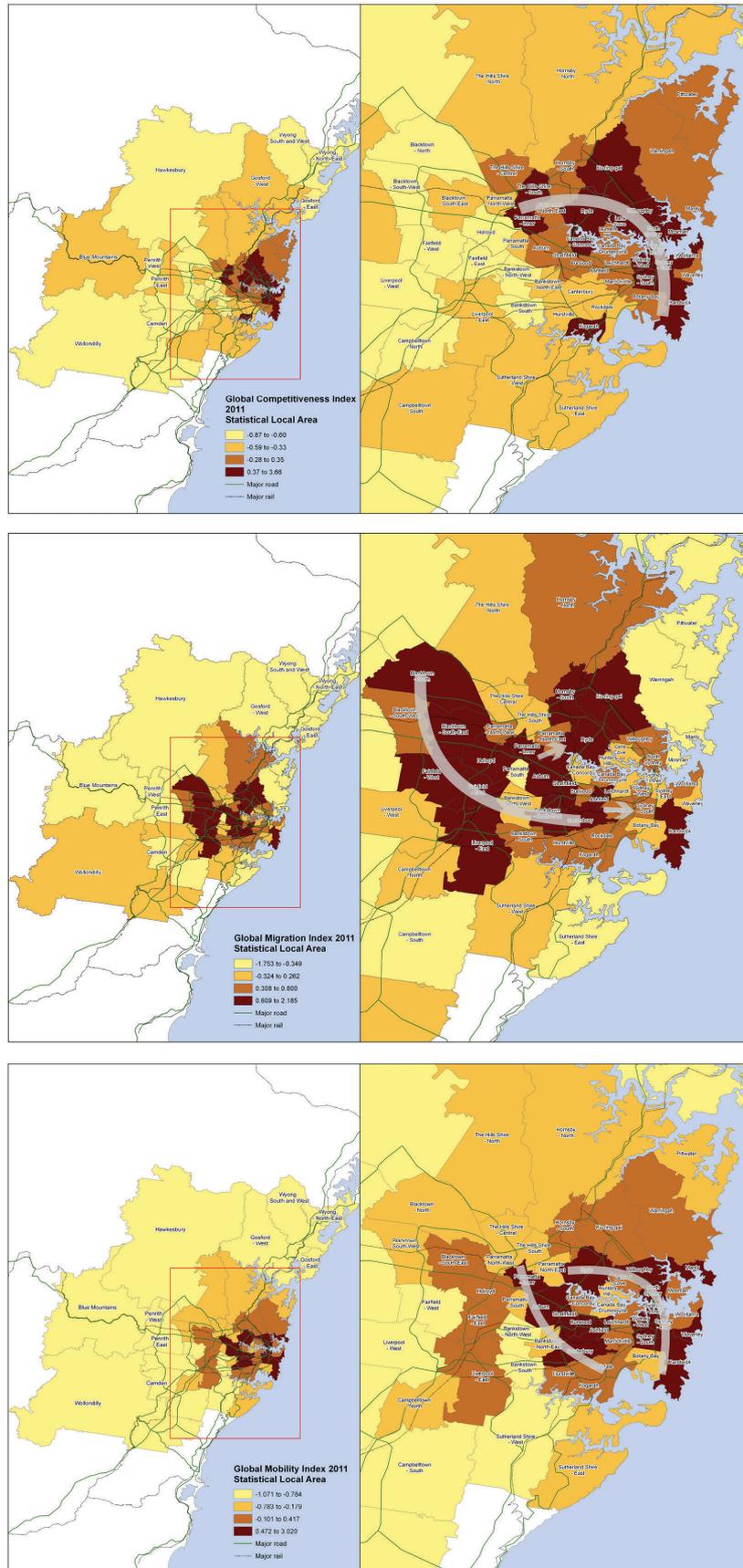


Figure 2: GCI, GMI and GloMo for SLAs in Global Sydney 2011.

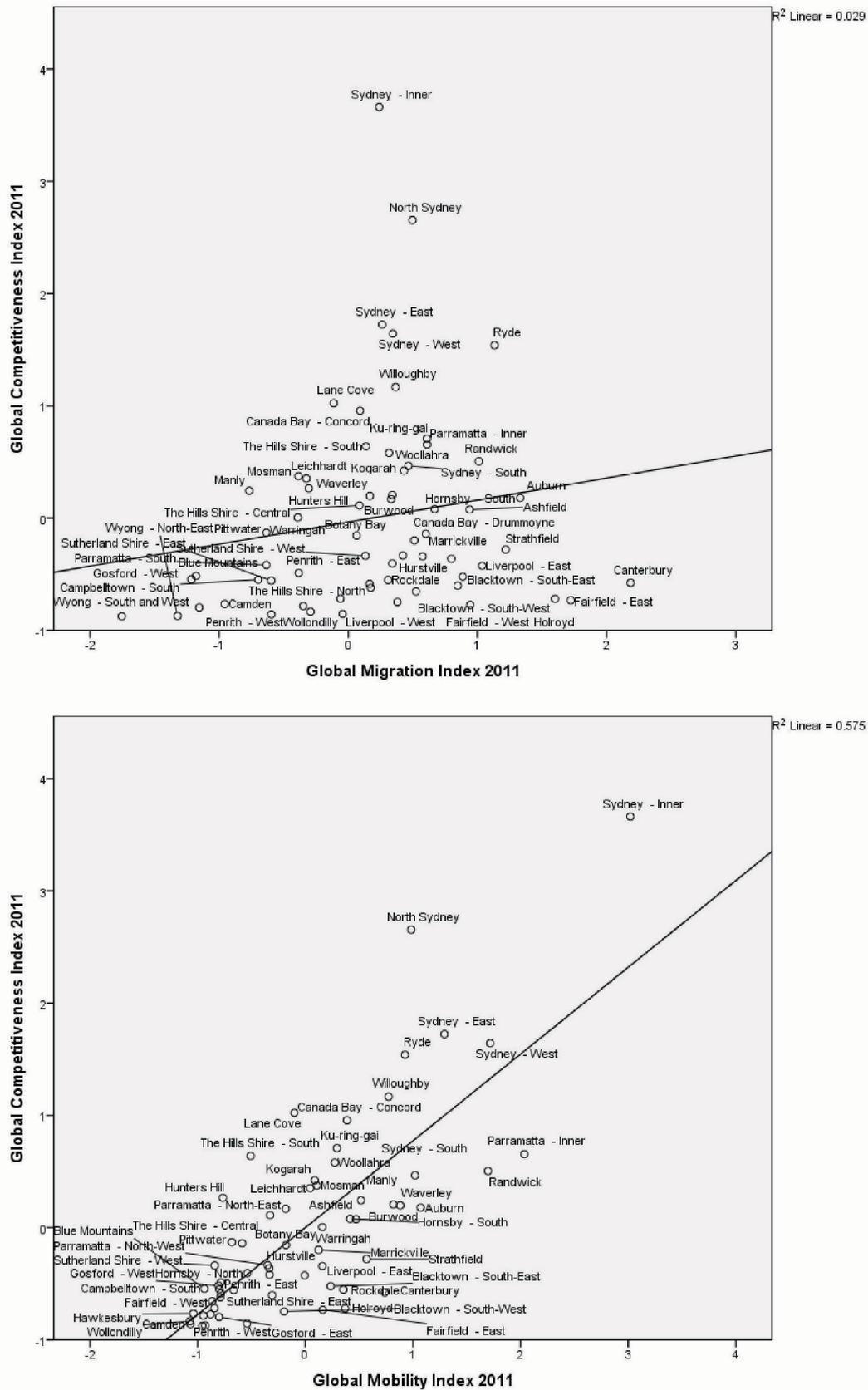


Figure 3: Relationship between GCI and GMI, and between GCI and GloMo for SLAs in Global Sydney 2011 (N=64).

Discussion and Conclusion

The findings reveal both spatial and statistical relationships between GMI, and GCI and GloMo respectively. They ascertain the two hypotheses concerning global Sydney and migration proposed earlier. As a global city, Sydney's capacity of global services is more related to its global mobility of people movement than its global migration of foreign born population. Sydney's rise as a global city has been accompanied by multiple and profound changes in its migration patterns. One prominent change is the growing scale and diversity of foreign born population (Ian Burnley, 2000; Hugo, 2008), in particular the immigration flows from different parts of Asia (I. Burnley, 1998), and the increasing diversity of immigrant settlements in Sydney (Ian Burnley, 2000). However, classifying global migration by foreign born population is insufficient in capturing its associations with global Sydney. The global mobility of people movement better addresses the complexities of contemporary migration in global cities. Both differentiation and embedment exist between the attributes of global mobility and global migration used in this study. The analysis for global mobility includes people movement from Australia (internal migration) and from overseas (international migration). The internal migration and international migration are determined by direction of movement, not by country of birth. Both internal migration and international migration include people born in Australia and overseas. In 2006-2011, returning Australians (Australia-born people) accounted for 10 per cent of international migration, after China and India only as the third largest group by country of birth. For the knowledge intensive industries that are most related to Sydney's global city status, returning Australian accounted for an even higher share of 18 per cent in the international migration. Excluding them in the conventional analysis of migration by country of birth will miss a significant cohort of people movement. This study raises the question of redefining migration according to the global mobility of people movement, which has a higher relevance to Sydney's role as a global city.

The integrative global city – migration analytical framework provides a meaningful and valid framework to address the interrelationship between global city and migration, utilising Sydney as a case study. Global Sydney and migration are intrinsically linked, which is not sufficiently captured and explained in the scholarship. A similar critique has been made to the global city discourse that a focus on business and technological dimensions of global cities is accompanied by the lack of focus on the relationship between immigration and global cities (Benton-Short et al., 2005; Samers, 2002). In effect, migration constituted an important component in the earliest global city hypothesis. In Friedmann's (1986) world city hypothesis, world cities are points of destination for large number of both domestic and/or international migrants as well. Sassen's (1991) global city – migration thesis argues that global cities are the main destinations for immigrants with divided social polarisations between skilled migrants and unskilled migrants. The subsequent global city discourse has paid more attention to the economic dimension of globalisation and cities, focusing on the world city network through the working flows of global service firms (Taylor, 2004). The proposed global city – migration analytical framework is not a return back to the earliest thesis of global cities as destinations of immigration and polarisation (Baum, 1997; Sassen, 1991). It integrates the economic dimension of a city's capacity of global services with migration in the form of the flow of people, and articulates their interrelationships.

The study of global Sydney and migration attests that global city is a meaning spatial scale for analysing migration in contemporary globalisation. Australian international migration has undergone

significant transformations in the last few decades of globalisation in terms of nature, composition, and effects (Collins, 2006; Hugo, 2006, 2008). Hugo (2006) argues that the transformations constitute a paradigmatic shift in Australian international migration; one dimension of the shift is the increasing role played by the Australian cities most linked into the global economic system, especially Sydney. The importance of city-based analysis of the contemporary globalisation has been acknowledged in the global city discourse. The nation state-based macroeconomic changes of post-industrial economy, international division of labour, and competition for capital, technology, and talents are impacting cities as the gateways for the new wave of globalisation. One direct result is that a single world economic system is overtaking the traditional economic roles and powers of nation states, and cities or city-regions are emerging as dominant spatial scales as central nodes in the world economy (Friedmann, 1986; Friedmann & Wolff, 1982; Sassen, 1991, 1994; Scott, 2001). Global city regions are now “active agents in shaping globalisation itself” as “motors” or new “spatial nodes” of the global economy (Scott, 2001, p. 11). However, our understanding of the dynamics of immigration in shaping world cities and its effects remains limited, and a barrier to this search for understanding is a failure to recognise that the world city is an important and appropriate unit for analysing the effects of both immigration and internal migration (Hugo, 2008). Linking global city and migration recognises that global Sydney, Australia’s leading gateway city, is an important spatial scale for migration analysis, in addition to the conventional nation-based approach to immigration.

The scholarship has not addressed the interrelationship between global Sydney and migration, which have been developing as two parallel theses. This study is an effort to link the two important theses concerning the impacts of contemporary globalisation on Sydney. It constructs an integrative global city – migration analytical framework to address and articulate the interrelationship between global Sydney and migration. Using the Australian 2011 census data, this study provides new insights into the spatial patterns of Sydney’s global competitiveness, global migration, and global mobility. Applying the integrative analytical framework, it sheds light on the nexus through which the interrelationship between global Sydney and migration is articulated: as a global city, Sydney’s capacity of global services is more related to its global mobility of people movement than its global migration of foreign born population. It calls for a need to redefine migration in global Sydney, moving from the conventional definition by country of birth to incorporate the people movement to address the increasing complexities of migration in global cities.

Appendix 1 GCI, GMI and GloMo for SLAs in Global Sydney 2011

SLAs	GCI	GMI	GloMO
Ashfield	0.075	0.939	0.472
Auburn	0.179	1.33	1.072
Bankstown - North-East	-0.362	0.798	-0.335
Bankstown - North-West	-0.621	0.174	-0.788

Bankstown - South	-0.653	0.524	-0.863
Blacktown - North	-0.602	0.846	-0.307
Blacktown - South-East	-0.522	0.886	0.236
Blacktown - South-West	-0.747	0.38	-0.196
Blue Mountains	-0.544	-1.214	-0.937
Botany Bay	-0.155	0.065	-0.179
Burwood	0.207	0.341	0.819
Camden	-0.858	-0.595	-1.066
Campbelltown - North	-0.854	-0.044	-0.54
Campbelltown - South	-0.549	-0.697	-0.798
Canada Bay - Concord	0.956	0.091	0.388
Canada Bay - Drummoyne	-0.139	0.6	-0.586
Canterbury	-0.577	2.185	0.739
Fairfield - East	-0.732	1.722	0.163
Fairfield - West	-0.772	0.944	-0.879
Gosford - East	-0.796	-1.154	-0.8
Gosford - West	-0.516	-1.179	-0.805
Hawkesbury	-0.765	-0.956	-1.039
Holroyd	-0.719	1.6	0.37
Hornsby - North	-0.404	0.341	-0.537
Hornsby - South	0.079	0.668	0.417
Hunters Hill	0.265	-0.306	-0.765
Hurstville	-0.342	0.575	0.16
Kogarah	0.422	0.432	0.089

Ku-ring-gai	0.709	0.609	0.295
Lane Cove	1.024	-0.113	-0.101
Leichhardt	0.352	-0.324	0.046
Liverpool - East	-0.425	1.036	-0.005
Liverpool - West	-0.717	-0.061	-0.843
Manly	0.244	-0.767	0.518
Marrickville	-0.198	0.511	0.124
Mosman	0.374	-0.386	0.108
North Sydney	2.655	0.497	0.985
Parramatta - Inner	0.655	0.61	2.035
Parramatta - North-East	0.169	0.332	-0.181
Parramatta - North-West	-0.334	0.423	-0.349
Parramatta - South	-0.418	-0.634	-0.332
Penrith - East	-0.489	-0.384	-0.784
Penrith - West	-0.783	-0.349	-0.947
Pittwater	-0.13	-0.634	-0.681
Randwick	0.505	1.011	1.698
Rockdale	-0.552	0.308	0.354
Ryde	1.54	1.132	0.927
Strathfield	-0.279	1.218	0.571
Sutherland Shire - East	-0.557	-0.596	-0.664
Sutherland Shire - West	-0.337	0.133	-0.84
Sydney - East	1.725	0.262	1.293
Sydney - Inner	3.664	0.239	3.02

Sydney - South	0.466	0.465	1.02
Sydney - West	1.643	0.345	1.718
The Hills Shire - Central	0.112	0.086	-0.327
The Hills Shire - North	-0.586	0.165	-0.783
The Hills Shire - South	0.639	0.137	-0.507
Warringah	0.005	-0.391	0.159
Waverley	0.198	0.167	0.882
Willoughby	1.168	0.366	0.774
Wollondilly	-0.833	-0.292	-1.071
Woollahra	0.58	0.316	0.274
Wyong - North-East	-0.871	-1.321	-0.93
Wyong - South and West	-0.875	-1.753	-0.956

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