

Measuring the Changing Face of Global Sydney

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Abstract

The global Sydney thesis has been argued largely from an economic-centric perspective, focusing on Sydney's integration with the world economy, and the effect of economic globalisation. This article employs a different perspective to approach global Sydney, and pays attention to its growing migration as a global city. Using inter-censal data in 2001 and 2011, a global migration index is built to measure the dynamics of global migration across the Sydney region. It provides a comprehensive understanding of migration in global Sydney in the beginning of the 21st century. The findings ascertain the spatial settlement pattern of growing migration in Sydney – a bifurcating structure of ethnic concentration with increasing ethnic intermixing, and provide directions for further research to investigate the associated social transformations.

Keywords: migration, global Sydney, global migration index

Introduction

The global Sydney thesis has been argued in both international scholarship and local scholarship. The international scholarship concerns the formation of a global city hierarchy that includes Sydney together with its counterpart global cities, and reveals Sydney's competitive position in the global context and its historical evolution (Beaverstock, Taylor, & Smith, 1999; Friedmann, 1986, 1995; Godfrey & Zhou, 1999; Hu, Blakely, & Zhou, 2013; Taylor, 2004, 2011; Taylor, Ni, & Derudder, 2011). The local scholarship attests Sydney's emergence as a global city from an endogenous perspective, and points out its strengthening global capacities (Connell, 2000; Daly & Pritchard, 2000; Fagan, 2000; Hu, 2012a, 2012b, 2013; O'Neill & McGuirk, 2002, 2003, 2005; Searle, 1996; Stein, 2002). Both streams of scholarship take an economic-centric approach to global Sydney and focus on its capacity of advanced producer services, in line with the global city discourse.

One critique to the global city discourse is that it is economic-centric and has not tackled migration to the extent it should (Benton-Short, Price, & Friedman, 2005; Samers, 2002). The emerging literature on migration and global cities has been elitist, with an interest in the skilled professional and managerial migrants working for the advanced producer services in a few top global cities like London, New York, Singapore and Hong Kong (Beaverstock, 1994, 1996, 2005; Beaverstock & Boardwell, 2000; Beaverstock & Smith, 1996; Findlay, Li, Jowett, & Skeldon, 1996; Findlay & Li, 1998; Li, Findlay, & Jones, 1998). It is still essentially economic-centric. Using economic measures as criteria of global cities is one dimensional, and fails to capture the multiple aspects of the relationship between globalisation and cities. Sassen (1999) argues that we need to conceptualise globalisation in broader senses than just the internationalisation of capital and finance, and that migration should be seen as an equally central component of globalisation as trade and finance. Freeman (2006) contends that people flows are fundamental to creating a global economy and that the interplay among immigration, capital, and trade is essential to understanding the way globalisation affects economies. Flows of people should not be separated from economic globalisation, and there are multiple facets of flows of people than the elite migrants of the global economy. In the global city discourse, there should be an alternative research agenda to redress the lack of a focus on the relationship between global cities and migration (Samers, 2002).

Sydney is Australia's leading global city. There are more aspects of global Sydney than economic globalisation; Sydney is Australia's gateway city of growing global migration. This article employs a different perspective to approach global Sydney, and pays attention to its growing migration as a global city. Using inter-censal data in 2001 and 2011, a global migration index is built to measure the dynamics of global migration across the Sydney region. It aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of global migration, in particular the patterns of its spatial settlement, in the beginning of the 21st century. Following this introduction, the next section is a literature overview on migration in global Sydney. Drawing upon the scholarship on the spatial settlement of migration, the next two sections offer methods and results on the global migration index (GMI) for all the local communities across the Sydney region in 2001 and 2011. The article concludes with a discussion on the scholarly debates whether the spatial settlement of global migration in Sydney is bifurcating or intermixing.

Migration in Global Sydney

The literature on migration in global Sydney falls into three broad themes. The first theme is about the increased scale and complexity of migration in the process of Sydney's emergence as a global city. The second theme focuses on the spatial settlement of migrants. The third theme concerns the social polarisation and inequality related to migration.

Increased Scale and Complexity

Australian international migration has undergone significant transformations in the last few decades of globalisation in terms of nature, composition, and effects (Collins, 2006; Hugo, 2006b, 2008). Hugo (2006b) argues that the transformations constitute a paradigmatic shift in Australian international migration, including the increasing role played by the Australian cities most linked into the global economic system, especially Sydney. The global city thesis also concerns the complex roles played by international immigrants (Benton-Short et al., 2005; Friedmann, 1986; Samers, 2002; Sassen, 2001). It is relevant to Sydney because of its emergent global city status and its attraction of a disproportionate amount of the overseas immigration to Australia (Burnley, 1998). Internationally, Sydney was ranked as an Alpha city in an Urban Immigrant Index, following New York, Toronto, Dubai, Los Angeles, and London (Benton-Short et al., 2005).

There have been multiple changes about migration patterns in global Sydney. One prominent change is demographic and cultural, referring to the growing scale and diversity of foreign born population in Sydney (Burnley, 2000; Hugo, 2008), and in particular, immigration flows from different parts of Asia (Burnley, 1998). Hugo (2008) identifies three important new characteristics of migration in global Sydney: the increasingly significant non-permanent migration, or circulation of transnationals; Sydney as a gateway for emigrants leaving the country; and the important relationships between international and internal migration. Increases in temporary migration in Sydney have been related to changes in Australian immigration policy. The most striking shift in Australian international migration is the move away from a favour of permanent settlement toward a complex array of visa categories with a range of lengths of stay, and toward a focus on skill in selection of migrants (Hugo, 2006b). The policy effect, coupled with Sydney's increasing integration with the world economy, is that Sydney has a crucial gateway function not only for permanent settlers, but also for large numbers of temporary migrants who circulate between Sydney and other world cities, including many transnationals who move from one world city to another owing to job transfers or who change jobs within global labour markets (Hugo, 2008).

Not only is Sydney a gateway of permanent and temporary migration into Australia, but also a significant gateway through which Australians leave the country. In the 1990s, there was an upsurge in the permanent and long-term emigration of people born in Australia, and over two-thirds of them were managers, administrators, professionals, and para-professionals (Hugo, Rudd, & Harris, 2003). Around 1 million Australians currently live outside their homeland on a permanent or long-term basis, constituting a meaningful and distinctive Australian diaspora overseas (Hugo, 2006a). Sydney has been functioning as a 'launching point' for many young Australians to move to overseas destinations, predominantly to higher-order global cities, or as an 'escalator region' whereby it attracts young skilled immigrants from elsewhere in Australia who subsequently move to higher-order global cities (Hugo, 2008). The second type of out-migration from Sydney is especially characteristic of second- or lower-order global cities, which act as conduits to the most dominant global cities, especially New York and London; there may also be some type of 'hierarchical cascade effect' whereby global cities like Sydney attract substantial numbers of immigrants from cities in less developed countries, but in turn also experience a loss of natives to higher-order global cities (Hugo, 2008). The combined effects are the increased scale and complexity of migration in global Sydney.

Spatial Settlement

The literature has addressed the spatial settlement of migrants in terms of ethnic concentration, segregation, and assimilation. Sydney's rise as a global city has been accompanied by a process of increasing diversity of immigrant settlements (Burnley, 2000). However, the evolving locations of immigrants challenge the continued relevance of traditional models in explaining contemporary settlement patterns (Ley & Murphy, 2001). There are two contrasting viewpoints on the spatial settlement of growing migration in Sydney. One viewpoint 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). The other viewpoint 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, Poulsen, & Johnston, 2006; Poulsen, Johnston, & Forrest, 2004).

Although the first viewpoint might be more applicable to most global cities, the second viewpoint has received more echoing in Sydney. 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). Burnley (Burnley, 1998, 1999) contends that 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. He argues that the ethnic concentrations are not the cause of disadvantages, 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 (Burnley, 1998, 1999). Empirical studies of Sydney's western communities indicate some positive aspects of the ethnic concentration and the roles of multicultural alliances in spatial convergence, a notion of 'togetherness of difference' or 'politics of difference' (Dunn, 1998; Gow, 2005). 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, Poulsen, & Johnston, 2003).

Social Polarisation and Spatial Inequality

The global city – social polarisation thesis has been tested for Sydney: the labour force characteristics of the overseas-born residents in Sydney suggest a link between migration and social polarisation (Baum, 1997). It refers to the polarisation between overseas-born residents and Australia-born residents. An opposite form of polarisation shows that the new arrivals of migration are better qualified and skilled than the local or long-standing migrants in the changed labour market out of global economic restructuring, and out of Australia's changed immigration strategy to attract highly educated and highly skilled migrants (Hugo, 2008). Polarisation also exists within migration in Sydney. There is an increasing bifurcation between skilled migration and unskilled migration – the former group plays a key role in the higher-end jobs in the financial, managerial, technological, and producer service activities that characterise global cities; the latter group is significant in the increasingly unregulated lower-income service jobs that also characterise these cities (Hugo, 2008).

There is a spatial dimension of migration-related polarisation: the spatial inequality of migrant settlement. In addition to the socio-economic bifurcation, a spatial bifurcation exists between migrants and local residents, and within migrants, in Sydney. The first type of spatial bifurcation occurs between the low to moderate-income non-English-speaking migrant communities, and the affluent and predominantly English-speaking communities (Healy & Birrell, 2003). The second type of spatial bifurcation occurs between the skilled migrants and the unskilled migrants. The skilled and unskilled migrants have different capacities to choose where to live upon arrival in Sydney. Skilled migrants, who have recently arrived in Sydney, have a greater degree of spatial dispersal than earlier generations and unskilled migrants; unskilled migrants 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 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). However, despite the ethnic concentrations of low socio-economic groups in these communities, whether they constitute social segregations remain arguable in Sydney (Burnley, 1998, 1999; Forrest et al., 2003; Poulsen et al., 2004).

This study is built upon, and aims to contribute to, the scholarly debates concerning migration in global Sydney. It integrates the issues in the first and second themes of the literature to address the spatial settlement of the growing migration in Sydney, and in particular, to ascertain whether the migrant settlement is indicating a pattern of 'bifurcating' or 'intermixing'. This is done through a systematic examination of the spatial settlement of migration in 2001-2011. In addition to providing a comprehensive understanding of migration in global Sydney in the beginning of the 21st century, it aims to suggest directions of further research to link the spatial settlement with social transformations, which are the concerns of the third theme in the literature.

Methods

Geographically, global Sydney refers to the Greater Sydney region, whose boundary is defined by the Sydney Statistical Division in the Australian Statistical Geography Classification (ASGC). It has a land area of 12,428 km², and had a resident population of 4,428,976 in the Australian Census 2011. There were 43 local government areas (LGAs) in global Sydney as of 2011. Their boundaries mostly

remained the same in 2001-2011. For the LGAs whose boundaries were changed in 2001-2011, their boundaries in 2011 prevailed for consistence of data.

In order to measure the changes of migrant settlement in global Sydney, the GMI was calculated for all the LGAs both 2001 and 2011. Rather than a simple percentage of foreign-born population, the GMI is a weighted index to account for multiple indicators of a community's migrant populations. The indicators and weighting of GMI are adapted from the methodology used by Benton-Short, Price and Friedman (2005) to measure an Urban Immigrant Index for global cities. The indicators and their weightings in the GMI are listed as follows:

- 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%).

The four indicators measure multiple dimensions of a community's migrant population. The first two indicators measure the stocks of migrants in terms of percentage and absolute number of foreign-born population. The third and fourth indicators measure the diversity of foreign born population in terms of whether people with English-speaking background are dominant, or people from one particular ethnic background is dominant. Except for the third indicator, the three remaining indicators and their weightings are the same as used by Benton-Short, Price and Friedman (2005). Benton-Short, Price and Friedman (2005) use the indicator of 'the percentage of foreign-born in a given city not from a neighbouring country' as a surrogate measure for distance travelled. It is justifiable since their study measures 90 global cities around the world. For this study of global Sydney only, I use the indicator of 'percentage of foreign-born population not from English-speaking countries' instead. The purpose is to better measure the diversity in migrant population, given the fact of Australia as an English-speaking country and its historical immigration mostly from English-speaking countries.

Z-scores for the indicators are calculated for standardisation of data. The final value for each LGA's GMI is the sum of the z-scores weighted. The LGAs are ranked with their GMI values, with higher GMIs meaning more globalised LGAs are, and lower GMIs meaning less globalised LGAs, in terms of spatial settlement of global migration. Mapping the 43 LGAs' GMIs in 2001 and 2011 respectively, and their changes in 2001-2011, reveals the spatial patterns of migrant settlement in global Sydney, and their historical changes. Although the method of calculating the GMI in this study is adapted from the Urban Immigrant Index developed by Benton-Short, Price and Friedman (2005), they are applied to different spatial scales of global cities: the Urban Immigrant Index is applied to many global cities at the metropolitan area level across the world, while the GMI is applied to many local communities within the metropolitan area of a global city – Sydney.

Results

Overall Growth

Sydney's population growth has largely relied on immigrants. In 2001-2011, the growth rate of Sydney's foreign born population doubled that of its total population (see Table 1). As a result, the share of its foreign born population increased by 3 percentage points in 2001-2011.

Table 1 Total Population and Foreign Born Population in Global Sydney 2001-2011

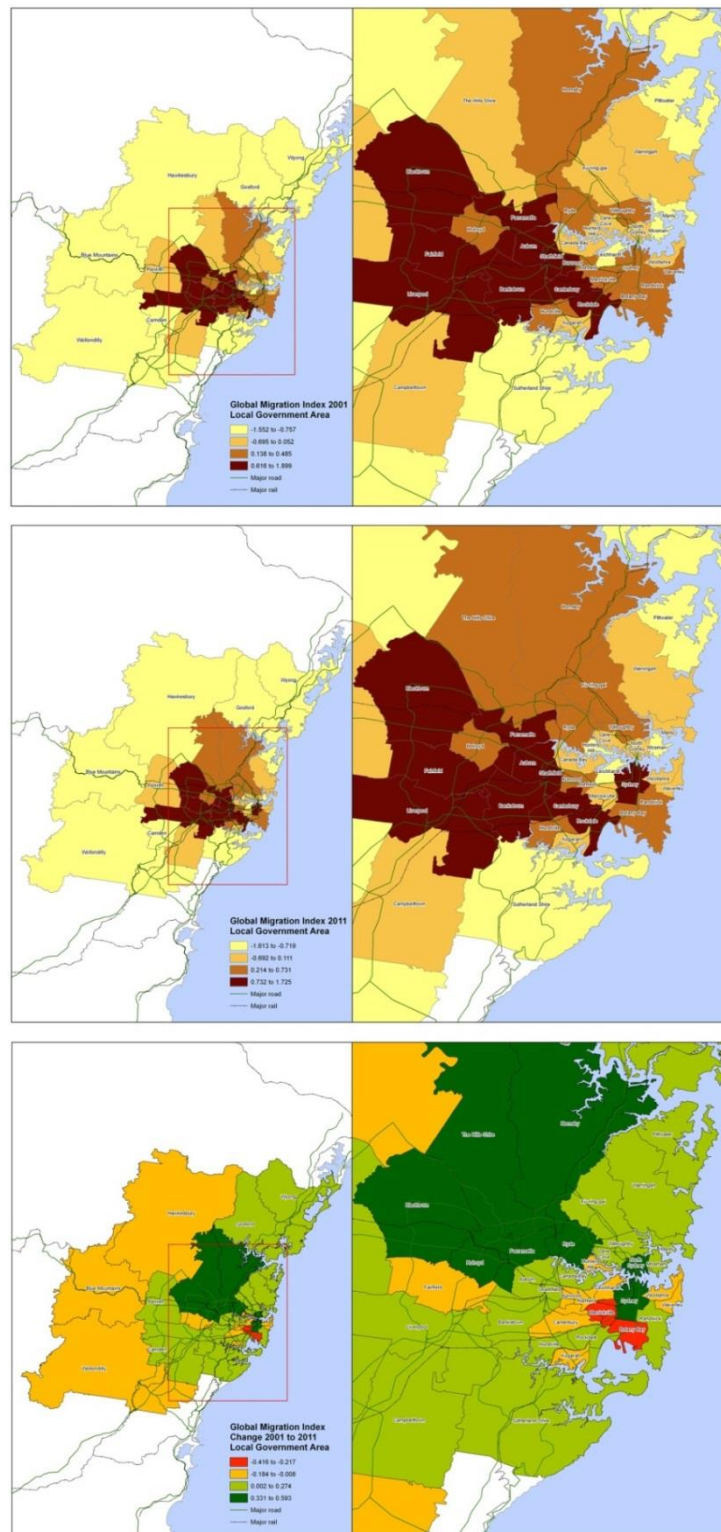
	Total Population	Total Foreign Born Population	Share of Foreign Born Population
2001	3,997,321	1,233,538	30.9%
2011	4,428,976	1,499,840	33.9%
2001-2011 Change	10.8%	21.6%	3%

Spatial and Temporal Patterns

Figures 1 presents the spatial patterns of GMI by LGAs in global Sydney in 2001 and 2011 respectively, and time-series changes. Their specific values are provided in Appendix 1. Spatially, LGAs in Sydney's southwest had the highest GMIs, and LGAs with the lowest GMIs were on Sydney's urban fringe. Fairfield had the highest GMI in both 2001 and 2011. Other LGAs with very high GMIs included Blacktown, Auburn, Canterbury, and Parramatta. Wollondilly had the lowest GMI in both 2001

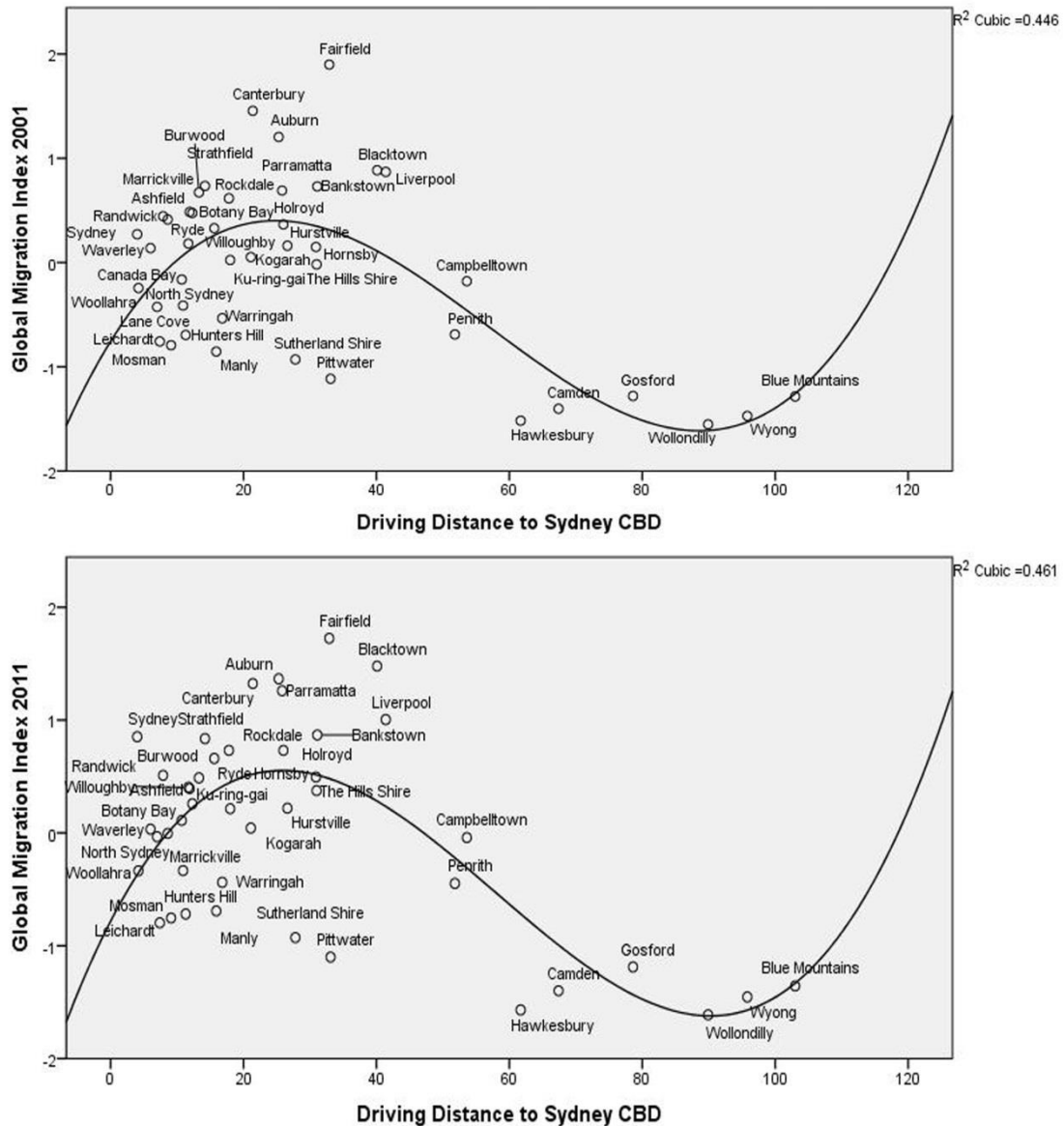
and 2011. Other LGAs with very low GMIs included Hawkesbury, Wyong, Camden, and the Blue Mountains. LGAs in central Sydney, and Sydney's west and north, increased their GMIs in 2001-2011. LGAs on the urban fringe of Sydney's west and south, and bordering central Sydney, decreased their GMIs in 2001-2011. The traditional LGAs with high GMIs in Sydney's southwest area strengthened their multiculturalism in 2001-2011, as indicated in their growing GMIs. LGAs with the highest GMI growth in 2001-2011 were in central Sydney and Sydney's northwest area, including City of Sydney, North Sydney, Ryde, Hornsby, the Hills Shire, Blacktown, Holroyd, and Parramatta. Marrickville and Botany Bay, which border City of Sydney to the west and south, recorded the largest declines in GMI in 2001-2011.

Figure 1 GMI and GMI Change in Global Sydney, 2001 and 2011



Distance to the Sydney CBD provides another lens to view the spatial pattern of migrant settlement in global Sydney (see Figure 2). Communities with high GMIs tend to concentrate in the second-ring areas, within a driving distance of 20-40 km from the Sydney CBD. Farther than that, GMI scores generally decrease as driving distances from the Sydney CBD increase. There is a slight rise of GMIs when the driving distance reaches around 100 km. The spatial patterns of migrant settlement in relation to Sydney CBD did not change much in 2001-2011.

Figure 2 GMS vs. Driving Distance to Sydney CBD by LGAs, 2001 and 2011



Ethnic Concentration

Figure 3 illustrates the percentages of foreign born population from non-English speaking (NES) countries in 2001-2011. Here, English-speaking countries refer to New Zealand, the UK, Ireland, the USA, and Canada. People from NES countries tended to concentration in west and southwest communities both 2001 and 2011. Overall, there was a significant increase of NES population across global Sydney. Of the 43 LGAs, only three LGAs decreased their percentages of foreign born population from NES countries: Marrickville, Botany Bay, and Waverley. Parramatta and Hurstville had the largest increases in percentages of foreign born population from NES countries, jumping by more than eight per cent.

In 2011, Auburn had the highest proportion of residents born in NES countries, with 53.5 per cent. This included sizable populations (more than 1,000 people) from China, India, South Korea, Lebanon,

Sri Lanka, Turkey, and The Philippines. Other councils in Sydney's west and south west, including Fairfield and Strathfield, also ranked highly in this category. Outlying areas, including Wyong, Wollondilly, and Hawkesbury, had the lowest concentrations of people from NES countries (all below 6 per cent of their total populations).

Figure 3 Percentage of Foreign Born Population from Non-English Speaking Countries, 2001-2011

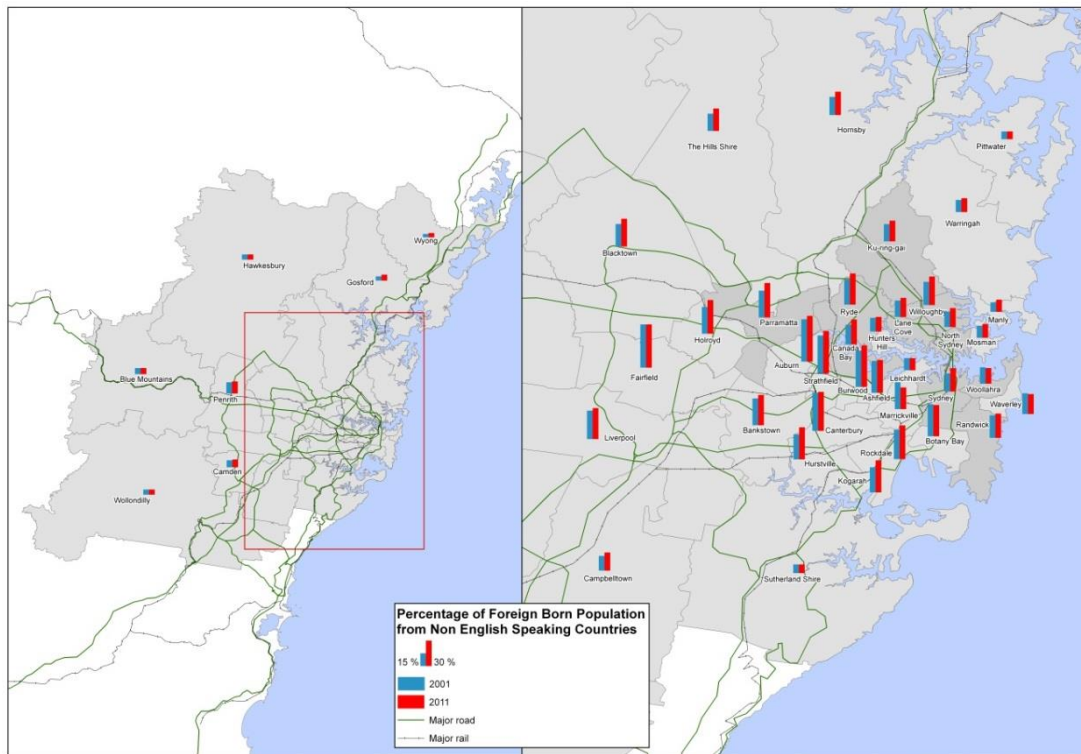
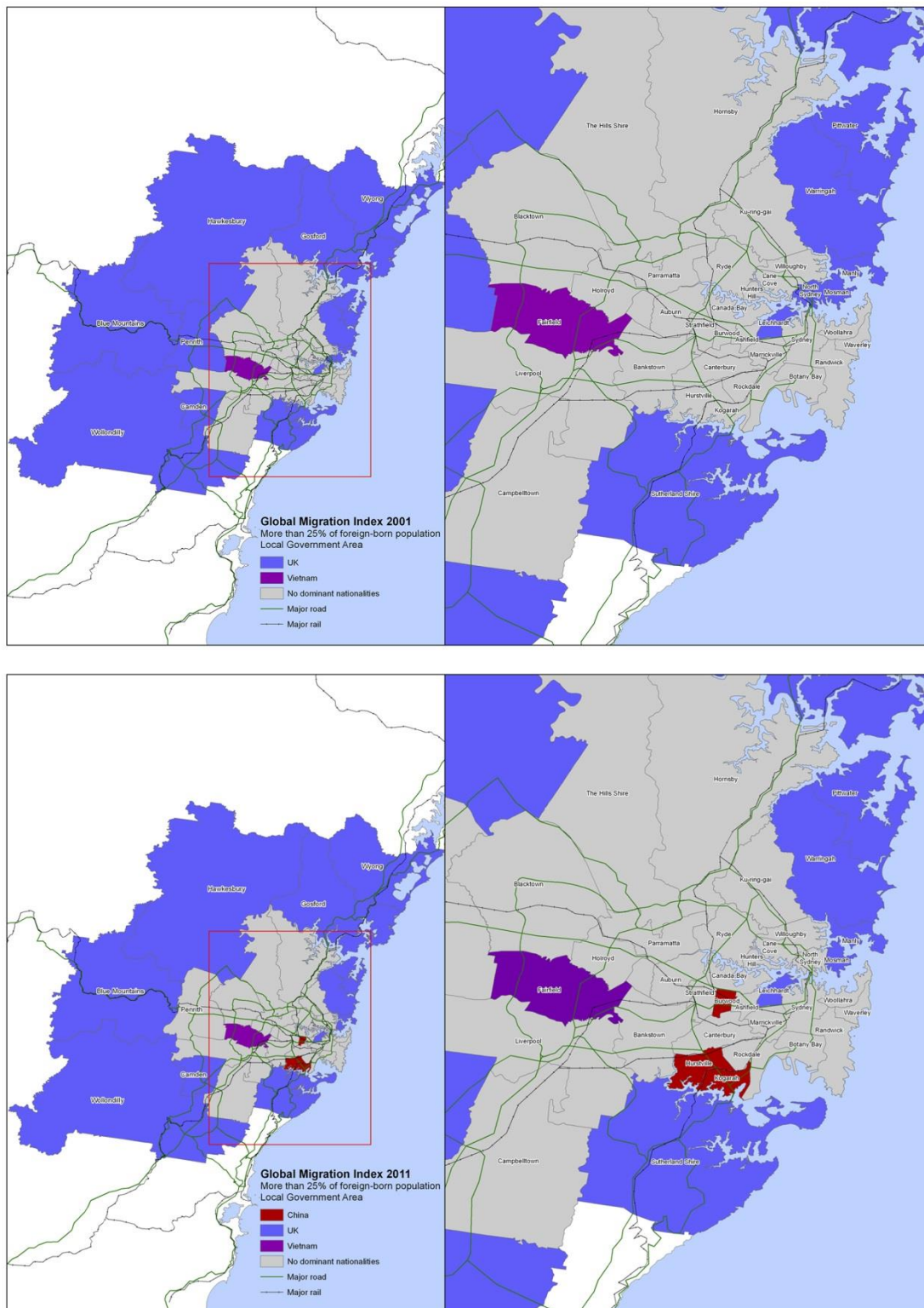


Figure 4 shows the concentration of migrants from one nation, who account for more than 25 per cent of the foreign-born population in one LGA, in 2001 and 2011 respectively. In both 2001 and 2011, people from the UK comprised the dominant ethnic group in the most LGAs. These LGAs were mostly on the urban fringe, and in the affluent north shore communities. The Blue Mountains had the highest proportion, with 44 per cent of its foreign-born population from the UK. Fairfield had a significant and stable proportion of residents born in Vietnam, making up 26 per cent of the foreign-born population in 2001, and almost 28 per cent in 2011. With the highest GMI in both 2001 and 2011, Fairfield also has Sydney's largest numbers of residents born in Cambodia, Thailand, and Iraq. The biggest change occurred to people born in China. In 2001, no LGA indicated a concentration of Chinese residents. In 2011, three LGAs had more than 25 per cent of their foreign-born populations born in China – Burwood, Hurstville, and Kogarah.

Figure 4 Dominant Ethnic Groups in Global Sydney, 2001 and 2011



Bifurcating or Intermixing?

Global Sydney was becoming more multicultural with growing migrants in 2001-2011. Most communities increased multicultural make-up, in terms of percentage of foreign born population, of total number of foreign born population, and of GMI. Of the 43 LGAs, only two LGAs decreased the percentage of foreign born population, and only three LGAs fell in the total number of foreign born population. Of the 43 LGAs, 29 LGAs increased their GMIs.

The southwest and west communities were traditionally known for high degree of multiculturalism. This high multiculturalism was strengthened with increased ethnic concentration in 2001-2011. In the same period, communities in north Sydney and central Sydney also indicated significant increase in multiculturalism. There seemed to be a northward and eastward movement of multiculturalism across global Sydney. This phenomenon is reflected not only by the increased GMIs of the communities in north Sydney and central Sydney areas, but also by their increased percentages of foreign born population from NES countries in 2001-2011. In terms of ethnic concentration, the structure of migrants from UK in the communities concentrated on the fringe and migrants from NES countries (e.g., Vietnam) concentrated in west remained in 2001-2011. The biggest change was the rise of communities with a high degree of concentration of Chinese migrants.

How do these patterns address the scholarly debates whether Sydney is bifurcating or intermixing with increasing migration (Forrest et al., 2006; Healy & Birrell, 2003; Poulsen et al., 2004)? A bifurcating structure of high multiculturalism in west and southwest areas, and predominantly English-speaking communities in inner areas and on the fringe still remained in global Sydney, as evidenced in 2001-2011. However, the bifurcating structure was increasingly intermixed with different ethnic groups. The intermixing process comprised increasing diversity and stock of foreign born populations in most communities across global Sydney, increasing percentages of foreign born population from NES countries in the predominantly English-speaking communities, especially in the affluent inner areas and north areas. With growing migration, the migrant settlement indicated a bifurcating structure of high multiculturalism and low multiculturalism, concurrent with a process of increasing intermixing of ethnic groups across global Sydney.

Conclusion

This study employs a different angle from the economic-centric global Sydney thesis, which has focused on Sydney's integration with the world economy, and in particular, on its growing capacity of providing the advanced producer services. This study addresses the growing migration in global Sydney and argues that migration constitutes an important dimension of the impacts of contemporary globalisation on Sydney. Using inter-censal data in 2001-2011, it provides a systematic and comprehensive understanding of global migration across the greater Sydney region in the beginning of the 21st century. Their findings contribute to the scholarship on increased scale and complexity of migration and its spatial settlement in global Sydney. They offer new insights into the spatial pattern of migrant settlement, and help resolve the scholarly debates whether it is bifurcating or intermixing. This study ascertains a bifurcating structure of ethnic concentration with increasing ethnic intermixing in global Sydney.

This study also provides directions for further research. It has examined the ethnic compositions and time-series changes of global migration, and analysed the pattern of spatial settlement across global Sydney. An important issue of interest is the social transformation associated with the changing spatial settlement of migrant groups. It requires further research to unpack the interrelationships between the spatial settlement of migration, and social polarisation and spatial inequality. A comprehensive study is necessary to better understand the patterns of not only the spatial settlement, but also the social implications of growing migration in global Sydney in the beginning of the 21st century.

Appendix 1 GMIs by LGAs in Global Sydney, 2001-2011

LGAs	GMI 2001	GMI 2011	Change 2001-11
Fairfield	1.899	1.725	-0.173
Blacktown	0.885	1.478	0.593
Auburn	1.204	1.366	0.162
Canterbury	1.455	1.324	-0.132
Parramatta	0.690	1.260	0.570
Liverpool	0.869	1.005	0.136
Bankstown	0.730	0.868	0.138
Sydney	0.271	0.852	0.582
Strathfield	0.735	0.836	0.101
Rockdale	0.616	0.732	0.116
Holroyd	0.365	0.731	0.367
Ryde	0.329	0.660	0.331
Randwick	0.444	0.510	0.066
Hornsby	0.149	0.495	0.347
Burwood	0.672	0.488	-0.184
Willoughby	0.182	0.404	0.222
Ashfield	0.485	0.393	-0.092
The Hills Shire	-0.018	0.375	0.393
Botany Bay	0.475	0.258	-0.217
Hurstville	0.161	0.219	0.059
Ku-ring-gai	0.024	0.214	0.191
Canada Bay	-0.163	0.111	0.274
Kogarah	0.052	0.043	-0.008
Waverley	0.138	0.033	-0.105
Marrickville	0.412	-0.004	-0.416
North Sydney	-0.426	-0.034	0.392
Campbelltown	-0.180	-0.042	0.138
Lane Cove	-0.413	-0.334	0.079
Woollahra	-0.245	-0.335	-0.090
Warringah	-0.535	-0.438	0.098
Penrith	-0.690	-0.448	0.242
Manly	-0.854	-0.692	0.162
Hunters Hill	-0.695	-0.719	-0.024
Mosman	-0.793	-0.754	0.039
Leichhardt	-0.757	-0.797	-0.040
Sutherland Shire	-0.930	-0.928	0.002
Pittwater	-1.115	-1.100	0.015
Gosford	-1.280	-1.188	0.091
Blue Mountains	-1.285	-1.356	-0.071
Camden	-1.403	-1.399	0.004
Wyong	-1.471	-1.454	0.017
Hawkesbury	-1.517	-1.569	-0.052
Wollondilly	-1.552	-1.613	-0.062

(LGAs are sequenced according to their GMIs in 2011).

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