

Global Sydney and Migration: An alternative research and policy agenda

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Abstract

In this article, I argue that the global Sydney discourse is missing the important element of migration. Centred on the theme of global Sydney and migration, I combine a synthesis of existing research, with an analysis of new migration and a content analysis of recent plan documents. A triangulation of the findings points out the deficiency of both knowledge and policy in addressing global Sydney and migration. I conclude with some critical reflections to propose an alternative research and policy agenda to capture and respond to the interplay between global Sydney and migration.

Keywords: global Sydney; migration; globalisation; planning

Introduction

Sydney is Australia's leading global city. The global Sydney thesis has been argued and testified by international and local writers (see (Baum, 1997; Beaverstock, Taylor, & Smith, 1999; Connell, 2000; Daly & Pritchard, 2000; Fagan, 2000; Friedmann, 1986, 1995; Godfrey & Zhou, 1999; Hu, 2012a; McNeill, Dowling, & Fagan, 2005; Searle, 1996, 1998a; Searle & Valence, 2005; Taylor, 2004; Taylor et al., 2011)). A global Sydney has been an aspiration in government plans at all levels, such as *Our Cities, Our Future* by the Commonwealth government (2011), *Metropolitan Plan for Sydney 2036* by the New South Wales (NSW) state government (2010), and *Sustainable Sydney 2030* by the City of Sydney council (2008). It has also been an aspiration for the business sector, such as *Sydney: Australia's Global City* by the Sydney Business Chamber (2010), and *Global Sydney: Challenges and Opportunities for a Competitive Global City* by the Committee for Sydney (2010). It has been an even stronger aspiration in the public and media: in 2012, *Sydney Morning Herald* and *Daily Telegraph* – the two most popular newspapers in the Sydney region – respectively published 53 and 148 articles containing the key words 'global Sydney', 'global city' or 'Sydney + global city'.

In this article, I approach the global Sydney thesis from a different angle that relates to new migration amidst the context of contemporary globalisation. I argue that the global Sydney discourse does not

address the important issue of migration to the extent it should, and that there is a need for an alternative research and policy agenda for global Sydney and migration. I start with a literature review on the global Sydney thesis to reveal its economic-centric essence. Then I elaborate on the methods that triangulate a synthesis of the existing research on migration in global Sydney and planning global Sydney, with an analysis of the new migration to global Sydney and a content analysis of the recent plans for global Sydney. This is followed by the results of the literature synthesis and the empirical evidences. Based upon the identified deficiency of both knowledge and policy in addressing global Sydney and migration, I conclude by making some critical reflections to propose an alternative research and policy agenda.

Global Sydney Thesis

The global Sydney thesis has been argued in two broad streams of scholarship. One stream is the international scholarship that includes Sydney as one case city in the formation of a global city hierarchy. The other stream is the local scholarship that tries to attest Sydney's emergence as a global city.

The scholarly efforts to build a global city hierarchy started concurrently with the conceptual construct of world/global city in the 1980s. Friedmann's (1986) 'world city hypothesis' was an early influential effort to suggest cities in a global hierarchy. It was based on 30 cities' 'presumed nature of their integration with the world economy' (Friedmann, 1986, p. 72), along the ordering of primary and secondary cities in core countries, as well as primary and secondary cities in semi-peripheral countries. Sydney was in the order of secondary cities in core countries in Friedmann's world city hierarchy in the early 1980s. Friedmann (1995) later applied a refined model to illustrate the world city hierarchy, arguing that 'regional cities – the commanding nodes of the global system – can be arranged into a hierarchy of spatial articulations, roughly in accord with the economic power they command' (p. 23). Thirty world cities were ranked in four classes of descending importance: global financial articulations, multinational articulations, important national articulations, and subnational/regional articulations. Sydney was ranked in the third class of 'important national articulations' in Friedmann's world city hierarchy in the early 1990s.

Beaverstock et al. (1999) made a content analysis of the world city research by 15 leading authors before 1999 to identify the world cities cited in their works. Sydney was cited by 11 authors, roughly reflecting the scholarly attention that Sydney had attracted in the 1980s and 1990s, which was less than the top global cities (London, New York, Paris, and Tokyo), but more than the majority of the remaining cities. Godfrey and Zhou (1999) proposed an alternative way to determine the importance of world cities that includes the locations of high-level subsidiaries of the largest corporations, which 'not only reflect the spatial strategies of the transnational corporations (TNCs), but also take account of their most important interaction networks' (p. 279). Sydney was ranked the 15th by locations of

headquarters and first-level subsidiaries among the world's 100 largest corporations based on data in 1996-1997.

The Globalisation and World Cities (GaWC) research program has made active and influential efforts in ranking world cities in a hierarchy. The GaWC inventory of world cities 1999 was the first comprehensive examination of a total of 122 cities across the world (Beaverstock et al., 1999). The selection criteria were these cities' 'global capacity' of providing advanced producer services in terms of accountancy, advertising, banking/finance, and law. They were based on Sassen's (1991) thesis that these advanced producer services are the distinctive features of contemporary global cities. The top 55 world cities were classified at three levels – 10 Alpha world cities, 10 Beta world cities, and 35 Gamma world cities – with values ranging from 1 to 12, proportional to their weighing of 'world-cityness'. Sydney had a score of 9, in the top level of Beta world cities. From the starting point of the inventory 1999, the GaWC research program later developed inter-city connectivity measures to rank world cities in 2000, 2004, and 2008 (GaWC, 2009). These efforts were underpinned by the thesis of the world city network that includes the net level of the global economy, the node level of cities, and an additional sub-nodal level of service firms; it is firms that are the network makers not the cities themselves in the global economy (Taylor, 2004). Cities are thus assessed through the locational strategies of global service firms. In 2000 and 2004, Sydney was ranked as an Alpha city; in 2008, Sydney was ranked as an Alpha+ city, occupying the 7th position of the 526 cities assessed.

Unlike the international scholarship that measures Sydney's position in the global city hierarchy, the local scholarship focuses on Sydney's economic transformation as an evidence of its global city status. The angles include Sydney's macroeconomic transformation, as well as the transformation of a few sectors that are the most impacted by the contemporary globalisation. Sydney is dominating the Australian urban landscape in terms of the agglomeration of advanced producer services (Spiller, 2003), and in terms of corporate headquarters, particularly of corporate agglomeration in real estate, and insurance and investment services (Tonts & Taylor, 2010). Sydney's emergence as a global city is related to its economic restructuring and industrial changes, which are reflected by its employment structure, global command and control functions, finance sector, and international economic connections (Searle, 1996); by its industrial shift from manufacturing to a post-industrial information economy (Fagan, 2000); and by the emergence of a knowledge-based economy, and being the headquarters of multinationals, producer services, and financial services in national, Asia Pacific, and international contexts (Stein, 2002).

The financial sector and the advanced producer services, the defining functions of global cities, have attracted the most interest in the scholarship concerning 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. The creative and cultural economy is a significant component of Sydney's economic transformation. Internally, the creative economy demonstrates a concentration of the creative population living in and around central Sydney (Gibson, 2006); externally, the cultural industries constitute part of Sydney's connectivity with the global city network (Mould, 2007).

Much scholarship focuses on the spatial concentration of the knowledge-based economy in central Sydney to testify the thesis that the global activities tend to be located in the central business districts (CBDs) of global cities (Sassen, 1995, 2001). Hu (2012a) provides a systematic analysis of the concentration of the knowledge-based economy in central Sydney in relation to metropolitan Sydney, and points out the strengthening trend of the concentration. Other studies reveal the formation of certain industry clusters in central Sydney. They include a traditional central city focus of producer services that have been reinforced by globalisation (Searle, 1998a), and an emerging inner city multimedia cluster (graphic design, advertising and related media) (Searle & Valence, 2005). There is also an industry cluster of information technology and telecommunications in northern Sydney, whose expansion, however, has been motivated primarily by the increasingly centrality of advanced producer services within the high-order business sector (Searle & Pritchard, 2005).

Both the international scholarship and the local scholarship provide conceptual and evidential support for the global Sydney thesis. The international scholarship situates Sydney in the global city hierarchy to reveal Sydney's positioning among its counterpart global cities; the local scholarship focuses on the endogenous revelation of Sydney's global capacity. Despite the different perspectives, both streams of scholarship take an economic-centric approach to addressing the global Sydney thesis. Utilising the advanced producer services as criteria, the international scholarship reveals Sydney's steady rise in the global city hierarchy, while the local scholarship testifies Sydney's strengthening global capacity. As evident in the global city discourse, using economic measures as criteria of global Sydney is one dimensional, and fails to capture the multiple aspects of the relationships between globalisation and cities. The global Sydney thesis does not incorporate the important element of migration. 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. Flow of people should not be separated from economic globalisation. 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. There is a need to link the constructs of global Sydney and migration, and to suggest an alternative research and policy agenda.

Methods

I combine a literature survey and an empirical study to identify new agenda for research and policy to address global Sydney and migration. The literature survey synthesises existing research and writings

concerning ‘migration in global Sydney’ and ‘planning global Sydney’ to summarise thematic patterns. The empirical study investigates the new phenomenon of migration in global Sydney by an inter-censual comparison between 2006 and 2011. The comparison is made for both metropolitan Sydney and central Sydney, through the indicators of foreign born population, and citizenships and countries of birth in both internal and international migrations. Metropolitan Sydney is delimited by the Sydney Statistical Division used by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), and central Sydney refers to the City of Sydney local government area (LGA). Central Sydney has the highest concentration of global services, and is the most symptomatic of global Sydney. The empirical study also includes a content analysis of the current plans for global Sydney, respectively at federal, state, and local government levels. The plan documents are: *Our Cities, Our Future* (Commonwealth government), *Metropolitan Plan for Sydney 2036* (NSW state government), and *Sustainable Sydney 2030* (City of Sydney Council). The content analysis presents the visions and major issues of the plans, and reveals the mismatched importance of the thematic attributes of ‘global’ and ‘migration’ in the plan documents.

A triangulation of the thematic patterns of the literature synthesis, and the evidences from new migration and current plans points out the insufficiency of existing research and policy in addressing global Sydney and migration. Based upon the identified research and policy insufficiency, I propose a new agenda for research to better understand, and for policy to better respond to, the interplay between global Sydney and migration. Figure 1 illustrates the relationship between the various components of this research.



Figure 1 Research Design

Migration in Global Sydney

The literature on migration in global Sydney has highlighted the increasing scale and complexity, and the changing characteristics of migration in the process of Sydney’s emergence as a global city. 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; one major dimension is the increasing role played in Australian international migration by the Australian cities most linked into the global economic system, especially Sydney. One pivotal thesis of global cities is the complex roles played by international immigrants (Benton-Short, Price, & Friedman, 2005; Friedmann, 1986; Samers, 2002; Sassen, 2001). This thesis has a strong relevance 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). Of major Australian cities, Sydney has the largest population with the highest percentage of foreign born population. The latest census data indicates a growing trend of the foreign born population: in metropolitan Sydney, the foreign born living population (based on Place of Usual Residence) increased from 31 per cent in 2001 to 34 per cent in 2011, while the foreign born working population (based on Place of Work) increased from 36 per cent in 2001 to 40 per cent in 2011. This trend is more noticeable in central Sydney, where the foreign born living population (based on Place of Usual Residence) increased from 31 per cent in 2001 to 38 per cent in 2011, while the foreign born working population (based on Place of Work) increased from 40 per cent in 2001 to 45 per cent in 2011. In addition to the increasing scale and diversity of the foreign born population, 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.

These new characteristics indicate the increasing intensity and complexity of migration, and reflect the changing patterns of migration in global Sydney. 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 the dictum of post-War migration policy, which eschewed temporary-worker migration in favour of permanent settlement, toward a complex array of visa categories that embrace a range of lengths of stay in, and commitment to, Australia; another element has been an increasing 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. Globalisation has increased the scale and diversity of migration out of Australia too. 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 world 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). In an age of accelerating globalisation, people movement between cities are, however, more complex than the hierarchical structure of moving from lower-order cities to higher-order cities. Sydney does not necessarily attract people from lower-order global cities only; it also attracts people from high-order global cities for new opportunities and lifestyle. On the other hand, Sydney loses people to new opportunities in emerging global cities such as Shanghai. In 2010, 5,420 Australians lived in Shanghai, accounting for 3.8 per cent of Shanghai's foreign population (Shanghai Statistics Bureau, 2011). These phenomena add to the complexity of migration into and out of global Sydney.

Planning Global Sydney

The literature on planning global Sydney has paid much attention to the transformation towards a neoliberal approach to shaping a global Sydney in the competitive globalisation, and to enhancing Sydney's global competitiveness. Using urban planning as a tool for improving a city's competitiveness is a global practice. Thornley (1999) observes that urban plans in many major cities throughout the world have become increasingly oriented towards promoting the city's competitive advantage, under the logic that economic globalisation is leading to increased competition for investment between cities. Consequently, urban plans prepared in cities including Sydney in the 1990s were geared towards enhancing their 'world city' status, and oriented to attracting inward investment, through particular institutional arrangement and strong private sector influence (Thornley, 1999). McGuirk and O'Neill (2002) contends that competitive globalisation presents a new urban context for the challenges of planning urban development in Sydney, and the success of planning a prosperous Sydney relies on richly informed and fine-grained understanding of the complex spatial outcomes of Sydney's ever-deeper global integration.

The neoliberalist ideology has been reflected in planning for both metropolitan Sydney and central Sydney. Under the influence of neoliberalism, Sydney's metropolitan planning has been subordinate to economic development since the late 1970s (Searle & Cardew, 2000). In the 1990s, economic competitiveness was one central discourse of Sydney's metropolitan strategies, in addition to ecologically sustainable development and competitive cities (Searle, 2004). McGuirk (2005) observes a similar transformation of Sydney's strategic metropolitan planning being exposed to neoliberalist techniques, aspirations, and ideologies. However, McGuirk (2005) objects any simple characterisation of Sydney's planning having been transformed from a social-democratic to a neoliberal form, arguing

that neoliberalism should be viewed not as a unified coherent project but as a series of complex and overlapping strategies that produce hybrid forms of planning. In the early 21st century, Sydney's metropolitan planning continued the primacy of economic competitiveness in its vision, and its formation has been influenced by the private sector's pro-development aspirations (Bunker & Searle, 2007; Searle, 2006). For central Sydney's planning, Hu (2012b) provides a systematic narrative of its strategic transformation to shape a global Sydney in the 1980s and 1990s, including the prominence of economic competitiveness, the neutralisation of social concerns, and the emphasis on urban design, under a neoliberalist agenda in concurrence with metropolitan planning.

Neoliberalist planning has been operationalised in multiple ways in Sydney. They include land use and infrastructure planning to attract and accommodate global economic activities (Searle, 1998b), and to compete for global entertainment activities such as the 2000 Olympics and a new Casino in a bid to market Sydney for global capital and tourism (Searle & Bounds, 1999). They also include urban re-development programs for consolidation and intensification, leading to high-rise gentrification in adjacent inner-city neighbourhoods (Bounds & Morris, 2005, 2006; Searle, 2007; Searle & Filion, 2011). Urban design has also become a useful tool under the neoliberal planning agenda for a global Sydney. In the process of making global urban forms and spaces, urban design is a ready tool under the paradigmatic New Urbanism; it is largely elitist, deployed in the direct promotion of economic competitiveness, in the direct aspiration of capital interests and values, and in the direct attraction to the creative classes in their desire for gentrification and inner city living (Gospodini, 2002; Gunder, 2011).

New Migration

Inter-censual comparison between 2006 and 2011 reveals new dynamics of migration in global Sydney. In this period, both metropolitan Sydney and central Sydney had significant growths in living population and working population, and in shares of foreign born population (see Table 1). The growth rates in central Sydney were much higher than metropolitan Sydney: central Sydney's living and working populations grew by 26 per cent and 11 per cent respectively, while metropolitan Sydney grew by 8 per cent and 6 per cent. In both 2006 and 2011, and in both metropolitan Sydney and central Sydney, the share of foreign born people in the working population was higher than that in the living population. In both 2006 and 2011, and in both living population and working population, the share of foreign born people in central Sydney was higher than that in metropolitan Sydney.

Table 1 Foreign Born Population in Metropolitan Sydney and Central Sydney, 2006-2011

		Metropolitan Sydney		Central Sydney	
		Foreign Born Population Share	Total Population	Foreign Born Population Share	Total Population
Place of Usual Residence	2006	32%	4,119,190	35%	156,572
	2011	34%	4,428,976	38%	196,778
Place of Work	2006	36%	1,730,729	41%	357,767
	2011	40%	1,835,363	45%	395,335

Data source: Australian Bureau of Statistics, Census 2006 and 2011.

The Usual Address Five Years Ago Indicators in the 2006 census and 2011 census reveal further insights into the new migration into global Sydney. One comparison is made for the composition of the citizenships of the internal and international migrations to metropolitan Sydney and central Sydney in the inter-censal periods of 2001-2006 and 2006-2011 (see Table 2). In both inter-censal periods, the internal migration contained considerable shares of non-Australian citizens, while the international migration contained even higher shares of Australian citizens. A time-series comparison shows that the shares of non-Australian citizens in the internal migration increased slightly, while the shares of Australian citizens in the international migration decreased to a greater extent. Central Sydney had higher shares of non-Australian citizens in the internal migration, and lower shares of Australian citizens in the international migration, compared with metropolitan Sydney. These reflect central Sydney's higher exposure to international migrants.

Table 2 Citizenships of Migration to Metropolitan Sydney and Central Sydney, 2001-2006 and 2006-2011

		Metropolitan Sydney		Central Sydney	
		2001-2006	2006-2011	2001-2006	2006-2011
Internal Migration	Australian	90%	90%	87%	86%
	Non Australian	8%	9%	12%	13%
	Not Stated	2%	2%	2%	1%
	Total	1,034,226	1,219,616	46,174	59,728
International Migration	Australian	27%	21%	20%	17%
	Non Australian	70%	77%	78%	81%
	Not Stated	3%	2%	2%	1%
	Total	244,075	302,985	22,566	31,353

Note: Internal migration includes intra Sydney migration.

Data source: Australian Bureau of Statistics, Census 2006 and 2011.

The other comparison is made for the composition of the countries of birth for the internal and international migrations to metropolitan Sydney and central Sydney in the inter-censal periods of 2001-2006 and 2006-2011 (see Tables 3-6). A time-series comparison for the internal migration shows that: the shares of Australia born people reduced slightly, despite its dominance; the shares of both mainland China and India born people increased, so did their positions in the top 20 countries of birth (from 4th to 3rd and from 7th to 5th respectively); the shares of Asian countries in the top 20 countries of birth increased in both metropolitan Sydney and central Sydney, from 13.4 per cent to 15 per cent and from 11.4 per cent to 12.5 per cent respectively. A time-series comparison for the international migration shows that: the shares of Australia born people reduced, so did its position in the top 20 countries of birth (from 1st to 3rd); the shares of both mainland China and India born people increased, so did their positions in the top 20 countries of birth (from 2nd to 1st and from 4th to 2nd respectively); the share of Asian countries in the top 20 countries of birth increased in metropolitan Sydney from 44.8 per cent to 48.8 per cent, but decreased in central Sydney from 42.3 per cent to

39.8 per cent. In both internal and international migration, there was a higher concentration of migrants from English-speaking countries in central Sydney than metropolitan Sydney.

Table 3 Countries of Birth for Internal Migration to Metropolitan Sydney and Central Sydney, 2001-2006

Countries of Birth	Metropolitan Sydney	Central Sydney
Australia	66.5%	65.9%
England	3.6%	4.9%
New Zealand	2.7%	3.9%
China (excl. SARs and Taiwan)	2.6%	2.7%
Viet Nam	1.6%	0.8%
Philippines	1.5%	0.8%
India	1.3%	0.5%
Lebanon	1.2%	0.2%
Korea, Republic of (South)	0.9%	1.0%
South Africa	0.8%	0.7%
Hong Kong (SAR of China)	0.8%	1.3%
Fiji	0.7%	0.3%
Iraq	0.7%	0.1%
Indonesia	0.6%	2.1%
Sri Lanka	0.6%	0.2%
Malaysia	0.5%	1.2%
Italy	0.5%	0.3%
Scotland	0.5%	0.6%
United States of America	0.4%	0.8%
Iran	0.4%	0.2%
...
Total	1,034,226	46,174

Notes: Top 20 countries of birth are selected on the basis of internal migration to metropolitan Sydney in 2001-2006;

Internal migration includes intra Sydney migration.

Data source: Australian Bureau of Statistics, Census 2006.

Table 4 Countries of Birth for Internal Migration to Metropolitan Sydney and Central Sydney, 2006-2011

Countries of Birth	Metropolitan Sydney	Central Sydney
Australia	65.6%	64.5%
England	3.5%	4.6%
China (excl. SARs and Taiwan)	3.4%	3.7%
New Zealand	2.5%	3.3%
India	2.1%	0.8%
Philippines	1.5%	1.0%
Vietnam	1.4%	0.8%
Korea, Republic of (South)	1.1%	1.2%
Lebanon	1.0%	0.2%
South Africa	0.9%	0.8%
Hong Kong (SAR of China)	0.8%	1.2%
Iraq	0.8%	0.1%
Fiji	0.7%	0.3%
Indonesia	0.7%	1.6%
Malaysia	0.5%	1.4%
Sri Lanka	0.5%	0.2%

Bangladesh	0.5%	0.1%
United States of America	0.5%	1.0%
Scotland	0.5%	0.6%
Italy	0.4%	0.3%
...
Total	1,219,619	59,729

Notes: Top 20 countries of birth are selected on the basis of internal migration to metropolitan Sydney in 2006-2011;

Internal migration includes intra Sydney migration.

Data source: Australian Bureau of Statistics, Census 2011.

Table 5 Countries of Birth for International Migration to Metropolitan Sydney and Central Sydney, 2001-2006

Countries of Birth	Metropolitan Sydney	Central Sydney
Australia	12.0%	12.7%
China (excl. SARs and Taiwan)	11.5%	10.4%
England	8.2%	10.1%
India	7.9%	2.6%
New Zealand	6.4%	5.9%
Korea, Republic of (South)	4.1%	7.2%
Philippines	2.9%	0.9%
South Africa	2.4%	1.1%
Hong Kong (SAR of China)	2.3%	2.5%
Iraq	2.1%	0.0%
Indonesia	2.0%	5.7%
United States of America	1.9%	2.7%
Bangladesh	1.7%	0.7%
Lebanon	1.7%	0.1%
Japan	1.6%	3.0%
Malaysia	1.6%	3.1%
Fiji	1.5%	0.2%
Viet Nam	1.4%	0.7%
Thailand	1.3%	5.0%
Sri Lanka	1.2%	0.2%
...
Total	244,074	22,564

Note: Top 20 countries are selected on the basis of international migration to metropolitan Sydney in 2001-2006.

Data source: Australian Bureau of Statistics, Census 2006.

Table 6 Countries of Birth for International Migration to Metropolitan Sydney and Central Sydney, 2006-2011

Countries of Birth	Metropolitan Sydney	Central Sydney
China (excl. SARs and Taiwan)	13.0%	12.7%
India	10.7%	3.3%
Australia	10.3%	11.2%
England	7.5%	9.6%
New Zealand	4.9%	5.4%
Korea, Republic of (South)	3.6%	5.0%
Philippines	3.4%	1.2%
Nepal	3.4%	1.1%
South Africa	2.2%	1.0%

Iraq	2.2%	0.1%
Vietnam	2.0%	1.5%
United States of America	2.0%	3.5%
Indonesia	1.8%	5.1%
Ireland	1.7%	3.2%
Bangladesh	1.7%	0.5%
Malaysia	1.5%	1.9%
Hong Kong (SAR of China)	1.4%	1.6%
Thailand	1.4%	5.3%
Sri Lanka	1.4%	0.3%
Pakistan	1.3%	0.2%
...
Total	302,984	31,351

Note: Top 20 countries are selected on the basis of international migration to metropolitan Sydney in 2006-2011.

Data source: Australian Bureau of Statistics, Census 2011.

New Plans

The content of new plans concerning global Sydney at federal, state, and local government levels is analysed. They are respectively: *Our Cities, Our Future*; *Metropolitan Plan for Sydney 2036*; and *Sustainable Sydney 2030* (see Figure 2). The Commonwealth Department of Infrastructure and Transport released *Our Cities, Our Future* as a national urban policy in 2011. The document states that ‘the Australian Government has a role in planning for, and delivering, an urban Australia...’ (Australian Government, 2011, p. 6). It covers 18 Australian major cities with populations over 100,000, which accommodate three-quarters of Australians, with Sydney the largest city. It identifies three contemporary challenges faced by Australian cities – aging population, climate change, and global economic competition – and argues for the necessity of a national urban policy:

The complexity and scale of these challenges requires a national approach to cities. The Australian Government, as a key player in the future of our urban systems, must provide leadership on innovative, adaptable and resilient solutions. (Australian Government, 2011, p. 8)

The NSW Department of Planning released *Metropolitan Plan for Sydney 2036* in 2010. It drew on two documents – the 2005 metropolitan strategy *City of Cities: A Plan for Sydney’s Future*, and the 2010 *Metropolitan Transport Plan: Connecting the City of Cities* – to form a single, integrated metropolitan plan. The plan identifies several challenges facing metropolitan Sydney, including growing population, aging population, suitable and affordable housing, more jobs close to home, efficient transport, efficient infrastructure delivery, sustainability, climate change, and global competitiveness. It aims to address these challenges ‘through an integrated, long-term planning framework...’ (NSW Government, 2010, p. 6):

The Metropolitan Plan will guide Sydney’s growth to 2036 and coordinate efforts by the NSW Government and local councils to deliver its aims. By coordinating and integrating intent and effort, Sydney’s growth will be efficient and public resources will be well-targeted, delivering

an even more liveable, affordable and sustainable city...With the integration of transport and land use planning, there is now a much greater emphasis on a connected and networked city. This will further the development of Sydney as a 'city of cities'. (NSW Government, 2010, p. 9)

The City of Sydney Council released *Sustainable Sydney 2030: The Vision* in 2008. The City of Sydney is the central Sydney area. The plan was instructed by the international urbanist, Jan Gehl, whose study report *Public Spaces, Public Life Sydney 2008* provided a policy framework. The plan also identifies several challenges facing Sydney, including climate change, global economic competition, transport congestion, decreasing affordability, leisure and cultural experience, persistent social disadvantage, maintenance of living standards, replacing aging infrastructure, and greater accessibility and inclusiveness. It states that:

As the world grasps the urgent need to respond to climate change and rising fuel prices, the City of Sydney is offering leadership through the 2030 Vision now being implemented to address urgent issues facing Sydney... The innovative and transformative ideas in the Vision will progressively make necessary and positive changes to city life. As it is implemented, Sydney will be a stronger community and better place to live in the future. (City of Sydney Council, 2008, p. 13)



Figure 2 New Plans for Global Sydney

Despite the different spatial scales of the plans, they demonstrate a high degree of thematic convergence in visions and issues concerning global Sydney. Appendix A lists the detailed visions and issues of the plan documents. All three of the plans identify the global economic competition as a contemporary challenge facing Sydney. Globalism constitutes a major dimension of the visions and issues in each plan, in addition to other important dimensions such as sustainability, liveability, housing, transport, and social inclusion. The globalist planning theme reflects a continuation of the neoliberal planning for global Sydney from the 1980s and 1990s into the 21st century. It remains economic-centric, focusing on Sydney's global competitiveness in attracting business and investment. The globalist ethos is prevalent, in particular, in the plans by the NSW state government and the City

of Sydney council. In contrast, the theme of migration is almost obscured. The frequencies of the thematic attributes in the plan documents reveal the prominence of globalism and the obscurity of migration (see Table 7). Under the globalist theme, the thematic attributes of global city, global Sydney, global competition, and global economy, far outweigh the thematic attribute of global migration.

Table 7 Frequencies of Thematic Attributes in Current Plans: global vs. migration

Plan Documents	Global	<i>global city</i>	<i>global Sydney</i>	<i>global competition</i>	<i>global economy</i>	<i>global migration</i>	Migration
<i>Our Cities, Our Future</i>	10	0	0	3	3	0	2
<i>Metropolitan Plan for Sydney 2036</i>	205	44	46	7	3	0	5
<i>Sustainable Sydney 2030</i>	76	10	16	3	4	1	1

Discussion

The literature synthesis summarises the prominent themes in the existing research on migration in global Sydney, and on planning global Sydney. Not much literature has been published concerning global Sydney and migration. It mostly highlights the increasing scale and complexity, and the changing characteristics of migration, but does not provide a holistic understanding of the complex relationship between global Sydney and migration. Planning global Sydney has been economic-centric, and missing the important element of migration, under a neoliberal planning agenda. The updated evidence of migration in global Sydney reveals new dynamics and distinct patterns. The new migration, however, is not incorporated and addressed in the current plans for global Sydney at the federal, state, and local government levels, as demonstrated by the content analysis of the plan documents. The new plans remain economic-centric and reflect a continuation of the neoliberal planning agenda. Based upon the converging findings from the literature synthesis and from the empirical evidence of the new migration and the new plans, I make the following critical reflections to propose an alternative new research and policy agenda, to address the knowledge gap and policy insufficiency concerning global Sydney and migration.

Reflection 1: New Research Agenda

The new research agenda should integrate the constructs of global Sydney and migration. The existing research has not sufficiently addressed the relationship between global Sydney and migration. 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). Using economic measures as criteria of the global city network is one dimensional, and fails to capture the multiple and complex aspects of the relationships between globalisation and cities. People movement should not be separated from economic globalisation. In effect, migration constituted an important

component in the early conceptualisation of global cities. For Sassen (1991), global cities are not only the centres of command and control in an increasingly globalised economy, but also the main destinations for immigrants. In Friedmann's (1986) world city hypothesis, migration is also an important factor: world cities are points of destination for large number of both domestic and/or international migrants. However, the dimension of economic globalisation has attracted more attention in the global city thesis, as well as in the global Sydney thesis. But, the new research agenda on global Sydney and migration should not be simply a return to the original conceptualisation of global cities as destinations of immigrants and social polarisation. It should address the new dynamics of people movement between global cities in the contemporary globalisation as well.

The new research agenda should use global Sydney as a meaningful scale for migration analysis. The importance of city-based analysis of the contemporary globalisation has been acknowledged in the global city discourse. 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). 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 are emerging as dominant spatial scales replacing countries as central nodes in the world economy (Friedmann, 1986; Friedmann & Wolff, 1982; Sassen, 1991, 1994). In this process, some cities are growing to be world cities or global cities, and are emerging as key world locations and as a new 'sub-national scale of economic agency' (Pain, 2008, p. 28). The new research agenda on global Sydney and migration should employ a city-based approach not only for economic analysis, but also for migration analysis. Hugo (2008) contends that 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. Global Sydney should be a meaningful scale for analysing the new migration in the contemporary globalisation.

The new research agenda should capture the multi-dimensional dynamics of new migration and the associations with global Sydney. There are multiple dimensions in the compositions of the new migration, including foreign born populations, citizenships, and countries of birth. There are multiple dimensions in the directions of the movement of the new migration, including internal migration, international migration, and intra-city migration. They should also include inward migration and outward migration. There are multiple dimensions in the spatial scales of the new migration, including metropolitan area, central city area, and numerous communities that have unique local attributes associated with the new migration. These multiple dimensions cross each other, forming a linked web encompassing the complexities of the new migration in global Sydney. The empirical study of the new migration reveals some insights of the web, including the dynamic compositions of foreign born populations, citizenships, and countries of births for internal and international migration to

metropolitan Sydney and central Sydney, and their time-series changes in the inter-censal periods of 2001-2006 and 2006-2011. The new research agenda should redefine migration in global Sydney, and unpack the complexities of the new migration. It should also look into how migration has been associated with Sydney's increasing integration with the global economy, particularly in the Asia-Pacific area.

Reflection 2: New Policy Agenda

The new policy agenda should address the issue of migration to the extent it should. The current policy agenda is dominated by the imperatives of facing the global challenges of economic competition, and of enhancing Sydney's global competitiveness. It is overwhelmingly economic-centric. Migration is an important dimension of Sydney's relationship with globalisation, and is intrinsically associated with Sydney's integration with the global economy. The relationship between Sydney and globalisation is reflected not only by the international movement of trade, capital, and knowledge, but also by the international movement of people. Failure to incorporate the important issue of migration into the policy making for global Sydney will impact the effectiveness of strategising Sydney's future in the contemporary globalisation. The importance of incorporating migration in the policy agenda for global Sydney is more than economical; migration has important social, political, and cultural implications for global Sydney. Its impacts on the social transformations of the local communities, its networks of linking sending and receiving communities, and its dynamic movement patterns, all constitute important policy issues for global Sydney and migration.

The new policy agenda should coordinate different levels of governments, and different departments. The current multi-scaled governance structure presents challenges for coordinated policy and planning for global Sydney (Acuto, 2012; Blakely & Hu, 2007; Kübler, 2005; McGuirk, 2008). Combining global Sydney and migration requires better inter-governmental and inter-departmental coordination. Immigration strategy and policy is the responsibility of the commonwealth government, and the major authority of urban planning rests with the state government, while the local councils are responsible for much of the operationalisation of urban management. Increasingly, the new migration demonstrates personal attributes, and spatial movement and settlement patterns, which are more associated with global cities and the local communities within global cities. Addressing the particularities of the new migration in global Sydney requires a high degree of policy coordination between the multi-levels of governments. It also requires a high degree of policy coordination between different departments in charge of immigration affairs, and urban management affairs. The coordination should involve concerted policy making, and more importantly, should involve effective dialogues and knowledge sharing that lead to concerted policy making.

The new policy agenda should respond to the new dynamics of migration in global Sydney. Classifying migration by countries of birth and citizenships is insufficient in capturing and defining the new migration. The division of internal and international migration tends to be blurred by the mixture

of people with different countries of birth and citizenships. The globally mobile migration, coupled with the knowledge and economic implications associated with the people movement, makes part of the space of flows around the globe in a networked society (Castells, 2000). The policy agenda should recognise the new migration defined by global mobility and networks. The analysis of the new migration to global Sydney demonstrates two distinct patterns that have significant policy implications. One is the growing number of Asian migrants. They should be understood as more than a demographic shift of immigration; they should be incorporated into the global Sydney discourse, and into the strategy of Australia in the Asian Century (Australian Government, 2012). The roles of different Asian migrants vary in global Sydney. For example, the Chinese migrants and the Indian migrants – the two largest migrant groups by country of birth – demonstrate different patterns in terms of occupations and qualifications in global Sydney (Hu, Allen, & Carmody, 2013). The other is the high share of overseas migrants who were originally from Australia. The share of overseas migrants who were originally from Australia was particularly high among the people with higher levels of occupations and qualifications (Hu et al., 2013). It requires a change in the perception of overseas migration to global Sydney: international migration includes people moving from foreign countries, and the returning Australia-born people from overseas. The new policy agenda should be able to capture and respond to the new dynamics of migration, and the impacts on global Sydney.

Appendix A

Visions and Issues in Current Plans for Global Sydney

Governments	Plans	Visions/Goals	Key Issues
Australian Commonwealth	<i>Our Cities, Our Future</i>	A national urban policy for a productive, sustainable and liveable future.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Improve labour and capital productivity; ▪ Integrate land use and infrastructure; ▪ Improve the efficiency of urban infrastructure; ▪ Protect and sustain our natural and built environments; ▪ Reduce greenhouse gas emissions and improve air quality; ▪ Manage our resources sustainably; ▪ Increase resilience to climate change, emergency events and natural hazards; ▪ Facilitate the supply of appropriate mixed income housing; ▪ Support affordable living choices; ▪ Improve accessibility and reduce dependence on private vehicles; ▪ Support community wellbeing; ▪ Improve the planning and management of our cities; ▪ Streamline administrative processes; ▪ Evaluate progress.
NSW State	<i>Metropolitan Plan for Sydney 2036</i>	Metropolitan Sydney – sustainable, affordable, liveable, equitable and networked.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Strengthening a city of cities; ▪ Growing and renewing centres; ▪ Transport for a connected city; ▪ Housing Sydney's population; ▪ Growing Sydney's economy; ▪ Balancing land uses on the city fringe; ▪ Tackling climate change and protecting Sydney's natural environment; ▪ Achieving equity, liveability and social inclusion; ▪ Delivering the Plan.
City of Sydney	<i>Sustainable Sydney 2030</i>	The vision for Sydney is a green, global, connected	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ A globally competitive and innovative city; ▪ A leading environmental performer; ▪ Integrated transport for a connected city;

city.

- A city for pedestrians and cyclists;
 - A lively, engaging city centre;
 - Vibrant local communities and economies;
 - A cultural and creative city;
 - Housing for a diverse population;
 - Sustainable development, renewal and design;
 - Implementation through effective partnerships
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