Immigrants and world cities: from the hyper-diverse to the bypassed

Marie Price · Lisa Benton-Short

Abstract A relationship between globalization, cities and immigration is increasingly apparent. Whether one is trying to understand Dubai, Toronto, or London, immigrants are culturally, economically, and spatially changing cities in significant ways. This study compares the roster of world cities with that of major urban immigrant destinations. The number of major urban immigrant destinations is growing due to the acceleration of immigration driven by income differentials, social networks and various state and local policies to recruit skilled and unskilled labor and replenish population. This study will present urban-level data on the foreign-born for 145 metropolitan areas of over 1 million people. It will focus on the world's 19 metropolitan areas with over 1 million foreign-born residents. Analysis of the data suggests that there is a range of destination types. Although not all world cities are immigrant gateways, many are.

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Globalization, the growth of cities and the global movement of people are increasingly interrelated processes (Sassen 1998, 2002a; Beaverstock et al. 2000a). It is impossible to understand the processes of globalization without studying cities, as they are the central locations in which global interconnections are forged. We contend it is also vital to study *global immigration trends* at the *urban scale*, to better understand how large-scale immigration is creating new and more urban immigrant destinations, often in overlooked settings (Benton-Short et al. 2005). These localities, which we refer to as immigrant gateways, take on different forms, but many are hyper-diverse, globally linked through transnational networks, and in some cases, increasingly segregated spaces. Immigrant cities are growing in number because of globalization and the acceleration of migration driven by income differentials, social networks, and various state policies to recruit skilled and unskilled laborers and to replenish population (Castles and Miller 2003: 7–8).

The term gateway is often used to designate a major metropolitan area where large numbers of immigrants have settled (Clark and Blue 2004; Ley and Murphy 2001; Skop and Menjivar 2001; Singer 2004; Gozdziak and Martin 2005). Viewed historically, there have always been urban centers that have attracted ethnically and culturally diverse peoples. Trading centers of great empires or colonial outposts have often been sites of diversity and, at time, highly segregated spaces. The attractiveness of these urban

centers to immigrants waxes and wanes over time due to internal and external factors. Thus the episodic, rather than continual, draw of gateways must be kept in mind. It is also a mistake to think of these destinations as sites of permanent settlement. A more accurate metaphor may be that of a turnstile, where immigrants enter for a period of time and then leave for other cities in a transnational network. Thus a Nigerian immigrant may migrate to Seville, then to London or New York, and then return back to Lagos. What makes contemporary immigrant gateways a significant object of study is that urban economies are increasingly reliant upon new and large flows of foreign-labor for distinct segments of the labor market. At the same time, the discourse of about inclusion/exclusion of newcomers has intensified as growing numbers of foreign-born peoples in urban areas challenge basic assumptions about citizenship, identity and belonging.

Consequently, many world cities that are immigrant gateways are often characterized in polarizing terms. On the one hand they are seen as the centers of transnational capital, world trade, immigration and cosmopolitan culture. They are also portrayed as localities of displacement and heightened polarization along racial and class lines (Lin 1998; Sassen 1999). As large numbers of foreign-born and ethnically distinct people are thrown into the mix, cities become the places where global differences are both celebrated and/or contested. Jan Lin colorfully juxtaposes the image of the gateway city as ''alternatively pluralistic gorgeous mosaics or Malthusian Noah's Arks'' (1998: 313).

Not all major immigrant destinations are considered world cities. And not all world cities are immigrant destinations. The most 'global' of the world cities are those that are attracting large numbers of diverse immigrants. For those cities—and we contend that the number of such cities is growing—these localities are evolving as culturally diverse transnational spaces. Their formation challenges assumptions about identity, the power of the state, and the role of millions of individual immigrants to influence global economic processes via redirecting flows of capital to home countries (as remittances) or by investing in cities of destination (as entrepreneurs) (Inter-American Dialogue 2004; Smith 2001).

This paper presents a portion of a much larger research project that seeks to empirically document the formation of urban immigrant gateways throughout the world. Additional data on immigrants in 145 metropolitan areas can be found at the web site developed by the authors (www.gstudynet.org/gum). Although the cities in this study vary tremendously both in form and function, their evolution as immigrant destinations underscores important, but often overlooked, socio-cultural aspects of globalization processes. What follows is a brief review of the literature on global cities and immigrants. Next, the methodology and terms used in this research will be discussed. The third section analyzes the data for over 100 metropolitan areas of 1 million or more people with over 100,000 foreign-born residents. It demonstrates that not all global cities are immigrant destinations and that among these cities there is a range from hyper-diverse to bypassed cities. The article concludes with a discussion of why immigration needs to be considered part of world city formation. The value of doing so captures immigrant-led transnational networks that link localities in new and important ways. It also reveals that many gateway cities embody globalization through the presence of ethnically and culturally diverse immigrants.

World cities and immigrants

Social scientists have attempted to give meaning and coherence to the changes in cities and urban networks brought about by economic globalization (Friedmann 1986; Clark 1996; Hall 1984; Knox and Taylor 1995; Taylor 2004; Nijman 2000; Sassen 1991, 1994; Short and Kim 1999; Marcuse and van Kempen 2000; Robinson 2002; Samers 2002; Grant and Nijman 2002; Gugler 2003; Abrahamson 2004). Much of the literature on world cities disproportionately weighs economic power in ranking relative importance and connectedness. The subjective quality of many of these measures is often commented upon, as well as the elusiveness of hard data that are readily comparable (Short et al. 1996; Beaverstock et al. 2000b). Nevertheless, there appears to be agreement that the most important cities—the command and control centers for economic globalization—are referred to as Global Cities or World Cities.[1] London, New York

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[1] The terms world city and global city are used interchangeably throughout the literature. We use both terms in this study to refer to the same urban characteristics.

and Tokyo rise to the top of most world city lists, and dozens of other cities follow. These centers have been defined as: major sites for the accumulation of capital; command points in the world economy; headquarters for corporations; important hubs for global transportation and communication; intensified areas of social polarization; and points of destination for domestic and international migrants. However this latter characteristic has tended to be overshadowed by the others. Overall, the global cities literature has not seriously considered the impact of immigration on these places to the extent that it should (Samers 2002; Burnley 1998).

One compelling exampling of the value of linking immigration and global cities is the case of Birmingham, England. British geographers argue that Birmingham should be considered a global city based on its diverse immigrant population (Henry et al. 2002). Given that 16.5% of the city is foreign-born with large numbers of South Asians and Irish, it is clearly a major immigrant destination. Borrowing from post colonial and transnational theories, Birmingham's immigrants are viewed as critical players in a ''bottom-up notion of globalization that draws upon its residents and their histories'' in inventing a cultural distinctiveness for the city that allows it to vie for a place in the global urban hierarchy (Henry et al. 2002: 118). The idea that immigrants add to a city's global competitiveness has also been explored in two recent books, one by Florida (2005) and another by Ruble (2005). Although both scholars examine different cities, their general argument is that immigrants (especially skilled ones) enhance a city's diversity and talent, thus making such places better able to compete in a global age.

Geographer Peter Taylor's book, *World City Network* (2004), is the most comprehensive and systematic study of world cities to date. The work presents various measures to explore connectivity in world city network formations. Taylor identifies 82 cities that have been citied in seminal global cities research (Taylor 2004: 40–41). In his explorations of urban connectivity he has ranked the top 25 cities based on their overall connectivity as well as rankings by specific sectors including banking, media and NGOs. Each of these lists creates a very different distribution of cities with banking heavily weighted towards Europe, North America and East Asia and NGO networks recognizing cities in Africa, South

Asia and Latin America. Taylor's work does not take immigration into account when measuring a city's role in the world city network. Yet this work encourages scholars to broaden conceptualizations of how various cities are linked in a complex and ever-changing global network.

We contend that immigration is a window to view the reconfiguring of urban and global networks as millions of economic migrants settle in select cities around the world. This challenges us to ''recapture the geography behind globalization'' (Sassen 2002b: 257).

There is a significant body of literature that focuses on the specific networks that immigrants create as well as the ways they transform the socioeconomic spaces in cities (Smith 2001; Li 1998; Ley and Murphy 2001; Peach 1996; Wright et al. 2005; Light 2006). This study, however, aims to identify the global flows of immigrants *to* cities around the world. It is a view of immigration and world cities at the aggregate scale. As such, it does not analyze the impact of immigrants *in* cities, although by offering a comprehensive picture of immigrants it underscores the significance of these flows in understanding broader processes of globalization. While the global cities literature presents case studies of individual cities, there is a dearth of empirical evidence to compare the major urban immigrant destinations with world city networks. To address this data gap, a comprehensive database was constructed which is the subject of the next section.

Methodology and definitions

Beginning in 2002, we began collecting census level data from various countries in order to map the world's major urban immigrant destinations and see how they compared with the roster of world cities according to the Globalization and World Cities (GaWC) study group and network based in Loughborough University, United Kingdom. We included their entire roster of cities and added those cities in countries where large numbers of immigrants are based according to United Nations data (United Nations 2002). Quickly we discovered that urban level data on the foreign born were not readily found and that there was not a simple answer to the question: What are the world's top urban immigrant destinations? Organizations such as the United

Nations estimate the foreign-born by country and do not extract data at the urban/metropolitan scale. To our knowledge, this is the first comprehensive database documenting contemporary urban immigrant destinations.

After several years of research we were able to gather data from various sources (mostly country censuses and statistical bureaus) and build a website with information on the foreign-born for 145 cities in 52 countries. We limited our research to those metropolitan areas of 1 million or more people.[2] Since many immigrants reside in suburbs, metropolitan-level data were sought whenever possible. Admittedly there are localities of less than 1 million people that are important immigrant destinations (say a university town or a specialized agro-industrial center). But given the focus on this research in linking global cities with immigrant gateways, understanding what is happening in the world's largest and most connected cities is a priority.

Gathering comparable urban-level data is difficult. The definition of ''urban'' varies. For U.S. cities, the data used are the foreign-born estimates for Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSA) based on the 2005 American Community Survey data released by the US census in 2006.[3] For Canada, 2001 data were readily obtained from Statistics Canada at the metropolitan level. Yet for many European cities, data on metropolitan areas is less common and more focused on the city proper. Obviously how countries report urban-level data vary and inconsistent definitions are a problem in any comparative international urban research but should not preclude research being undertaken (Short et al. 1996).

We decided to focus on the foreign-born found in national census data rather than consider the yearly

flow of immigrants reported by various national agencies. Flow data typically provide a break-down of different immigrant categories (permanent settlers, guest workers, students, agricultural laborers or asylum seekers) that are not always found when examining foreign-born stock data and thus are valuable for immigration scholars (Bardsley and Storkey 2000). Yet flow data are inconsistently available from country to country and they rarely report the flow of immigrants at the urban-scale, which makes these data problematic given the objectives of this research.

There are considerable advantages in analyzing the urban foreign-born stock when doing comparative global research. The most obvious reason is that of data availability, many national censuses provide foreign-born data that can be extracted at the urban scale. Secondly, more often than not, individuals recorded in a census reflect a residential stock of foreign-born while more transient flows of foreign-born tourists, students, and temporary workers are less likely to be counted in a census. We acknowledge that these transient flows are important, but they are less likely to have a lasting impact on the urban landscape than a more settled stock of immigrants. Thirdly, census data on the foreign-born stock at the urban level can be used to produce a detailed spatial analysis of settlement patterns. Understanding the social-spatial dimensions of immigrant settlement in relationship to each other and the native-born is increasingly significant when trying to analyze questions of immigrant integration, assimilation and differentiation.

We acknowledge there are limitations with using census-derived foreign-born data. First, censuses tend to be taken every 10 years and each country conducts their censuses at different cycles. And frequencies differ as well. For example, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand conduct their censuses at 5-year intervals instead of 10. A few developed countries, such as Germany, no longer conduct a national census at all. Thus the data we have reflect a range of reporting years, mostly from 2000 to 2005. In general the foreign-born counted in censuses usually represent a minimum documented figure for the foreign-born, whereas the actual number could be significantly higher especially when a city receives a large number of undocumented immigrants. There are also different definitions of what constitute the

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[2] There are a few cities included in the database that do not meet the 1 million-person threshold because the data found on the foreign-born were for the city proper and not the metropolitan area. We included cities such as Amsterdam, Frankfurt, Dusseldorf, Bonn, Bern, Oslo, Muscat and Jerusalem because their metropolitan areas are greater than 1 million people and they also are cities with significant numbers of foreign-born.

[3] In 2003, the MSAs were redefined. This produced many definitional and demographic changes for metropolitan areas in the United States so that comparisons between 2000 and 2005 foreign-born data must be made with care. In addition the 2005 American Community Survey does not include group quarter data, which results in an undercount of the foreign-born.

foreign-born, although most states define the foreign-born as individuals born outside the territorial state. In the Netherlands, for example, the definition of foreign born considers the children of immigrants to be ''foreign born'' even if they were born in the host country (Hagendoorn et al. 2003).[4] In cases of large circular immigrant flows, the foreign-born label can be misleading. Take, for example, the Mexican census, which counts anyone not born in Mexico as foreign-born. Many of the foreign-born in Mexico are from the United States. These ''foreign-born'' individuals could be the children of native-born Mexicans, speak Spanish, and be undistinguishable from the general population. Thus their foreign-ness is determined strictly by their place of birth and does not take into account their cultural heritage. Despite these limitations, we believe that documenting the foreign-born found in census data is the best way to begin a broader comparative look at the development of urban immigrant gateways and their relationship to world cities.

Results: the world's largest immigrant destinations

In answer to the question of where are the world's top immigrant destinations, Fig. 1 shows nineteen cities with more than 1-million foreign-born residents. Combined, these metropolitan areas have 34.5 million foreign-born residents, which accounts for 18% of the world's foreign-born stock (United Nations 2006). These few points on the globe are the destinations for nearly one-in-five of the world's foreign born. This selectivity of immigrant destinations underscores the significance of cities, especially a few large ones, as locations that are disproportionately impacted by immigration. Figure 1 also clearly demonstrates that immigration is a global phenomenon—nine high-destination cities are in North America, three are in Europe, three are in the Middle East, two are in Asia and two are in Australia/Oceania. Several of these cities topped the 1 million mark only recently. In

2005 Dubai, Houston, Washington DC, Dallas-Ft. Worth and San Francisco[5] were added (See Table 1).

Latin American and African cities are absent from Fig. 1, although they are destinations for internal and international migrants. This is reflective of the fact that most countries in these regions have a negative rate of net migration with more emigrants leaving then immigrants arriving. Buenos Aires, a long-established immigrant destination, had fewer than 1 million foreign-born residents according to the 2001 Argentine census (approximately 920,000 foreign born), a decrease from earlier censuses.[6] Other 'global cities' in Latin America such as São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro and Mexico City attract far fewer foreign-born residents, and if anything these localities tend to be sources for immigrants to other regions of the world including North America, Europe and Japan (Pellegrino 2004; Douglass and Roberts 2003). For many African countries, the data are simply not available at the urban scale. Even if the data were available, there is little evidence that these cities are attracting large numbers of foreign-born residents, with the exception of some South African cities such as Johannesburg and Cape Town (see the Southern African Migration Project; Crush and McDonald 2002).

Sixteen of the top 20 immigrant cities are cited in world city research (See Taylor 2004: 40–41). Many of these are 'top tier' world cities such as London, New York, Paris, Hong Kong, Singapore, and Los Angeles. Others such as Toronto, Houston or Miami are often listed as second or third tier world cities. Thus one could argue that there is a strong relationship between 'global cities' and 'immigrant gateways'. Of note is both New York and London, world cities by any measure and metropolitan areas where roughly one-third of the population is foreign-born from a staggering diversity of countries.

Surprisingly, three of the world's largest immigrant destinations Riyadh, Jiddah, and Dubai are absent in world city research (Taylor 2004: 40–41). Two of these cities are in Saudi Arabia, which has

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[4] In the case of Amsterdam we were able to distinguish between the foreign-born born in the Netherlands and those born outside the Netherlands. We counted only those individuals born outside the country.

[5] The addition of San Francisco and Dallas-Ft. Worth is, in part, a reflection of new MSA boundaries for these areas. San Francisco MSA includes the city of Oakland and thus gives the metropolitan area 1.2 million foreign-born in 2005. Dallas MSA includes Ft. Worth and just topped 1 million in 2005.

[6] If the undocumented immigrant population of Buenos Aires could be included, it is likely the city's foreign-born population would exceed 1 million.
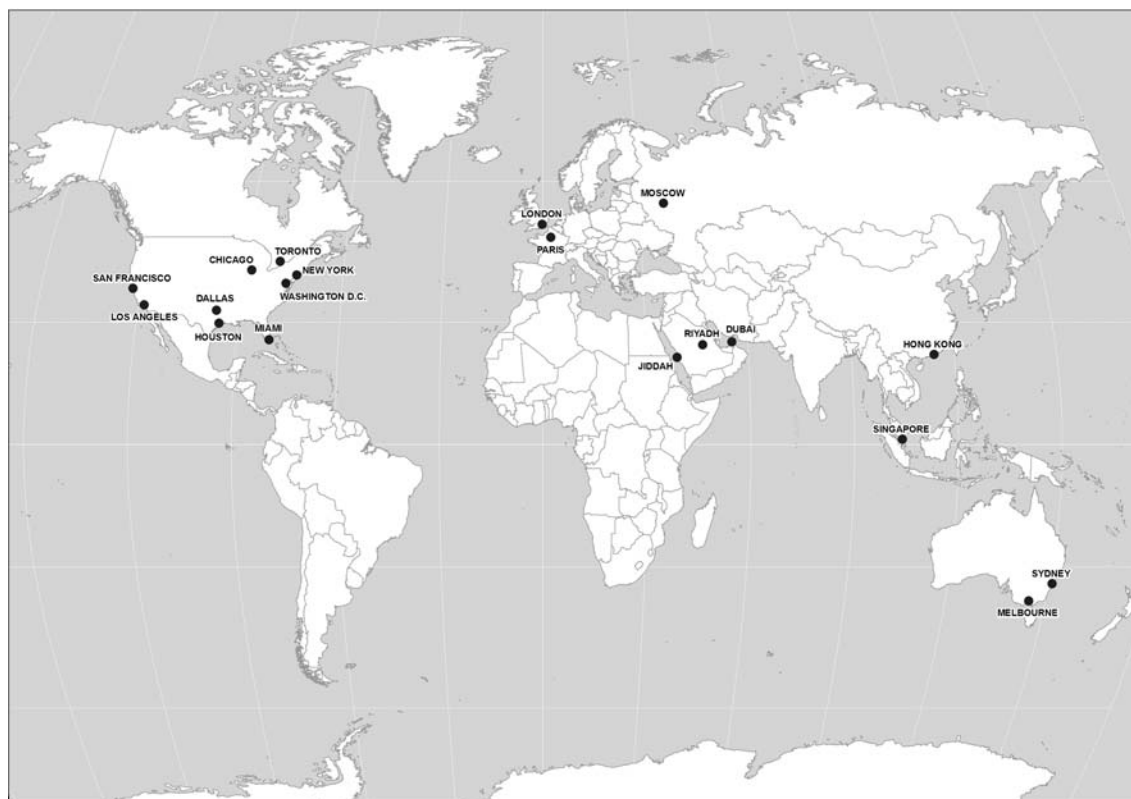
Cities with over 1,000,000 Foreign-born Residents

Fig. 1 Cities with over 1,000,000 foreign-born residents

more foreign-born residents than all of Canada or the United Kingdom. Riyadh is the largest city and capital of Saudi Arabia. Jiddah, the second largest city, is the country's major commercial center and port on the Red Sea. The other is Dubai, which has suddenly emerged as one of the fastest growing cities in the Arab world, and a major immigrant destination. Dubai's growth as an economic and commercial center is very recent, thus it is possible that future rankings may include this city. Still, one could speculate that these cities, located in conservative oil-producing kingdoms, are seen as apart from the global urban network. Yet this may be an oversight or even a bias in how the rankings are constructed. An argument can be made that these cities exert regional, and increasingly global, influence. One way this can be demonstrated is through the flows of immigrants to the region and transnational networks they construct with their countries of origin.

With regards to immigration, these Arab cities are exceptional in that most immigrants arrive as guest workers on 1- to 3-year temporary contracts. Yet, workers do renew their contracts and many reside in these countries for much longer periods of time. Immigrants to the oil-producing states in the Persian Gulf come from a diversity of countries, but the vast majority of these laborers never have access to legal permanent residency or citizenship. Thus, the immigrant system in the gulf is distinct from that of traditional settler societies such as Canada, Australia or the United States in that laborers are excluded from political integration as well as from many forms of social integration.

Cities with over 100,000 foreign-born residents

The map of the world's immigrant cities changes when cities with over 100,000 foreign-born residents are shown. Figure 2 reveals roughly 100 metropolitan areas that meet this threshold figure. In this map, the North American and European cities stand out as key

Table 1 Top 25 immigrant destinations, total foreign-born

City	Country	Census year	Metropolitan population	Foreign born
New York	USA	2005	18,351,099	5,117,290
Los Angeles	USA	2005	12,703,423	4,407,353
Hong Kong	China	2005	7,039,169	2,998,686
Toronto	Canada	2001	4,647,960	2,091,100
Miami	USA	2005	5,334,685	1,949,629
London	United Kingdom	2001	7,172,091	1,940,390
Chicago	USA	2005	9,272,117	1,625,649
Moscow	Russia	2002	10,382,754	1,586,068
Riyadh	Saudi Arabia	2000	4,730,330	1,477,601
Singapore	Singapore	2000	4,017,733	1,350,632
Sydney	Australia	2001	3,961,451	1,235,908
San Francisco	USA	2005	4,071,751	1,201,209
Jiddah	Saudi Arabia	1998	3,171,000	1,186,600
Houston	USA	2005	5,193,448	1,113,875
Paris	France	1999	6,161,887	1,081,611
Dubai	United Arab Emirates	2005	1,272,000	1,056,000
Washington, D.C.	USA	2005	5,119,490	1,017,432
Dallas	USA	2005	5,727,391	1,016,221
Melbourne	Australia	2001	3,367,169	960,145
Buenos Aries	Argentina	2001	11,460,625	917,491
Riverside	USA	2005	3,827,946	827,584
Vancouver	Canada	2001	1,967,475	767,715
Tel Aviv-Yafo	Israel	2002	2,075,500	747,400
St. Petersburg	Russia	2000	4,661,219	711,596
Boston	USA	2005	4,270,631	684,165

Source: Globalization, Urbanization and Migration web site http://www.gstudynet.org/gum

immigrant destinations. The numbers of foreign-born in European cities continues to rise as a result of immigration from within Europe and from outside the region. Figure 2 shows 30 European cities with over 100,000 foreign-born. Since European metropolitan areas tend to be smaller than North American ones, the 100,000-person threshold often accounts for 10% or more of a city's total population.

All the western European states now have at least one major immigrant city and states such as Germany, France and the United Kingdom have several. The numbers of foreign-born in Moscow, St. Petersburg, Kyiv and Tiblisi are also significant but the foreign-born are, in part, a by-product of political change and reclassification of people after the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991. Peoples that were once classified as citizens of the Soviet Union turned into 'foreign-born' residents if their republic of birth

was not their republic of residence. Yet the cities of the former Soviet Union are destinations for new or 'non-traditional' immigrants such as Afghans, Angolans and Chinese but their numbers are still relatively small (Braichevska et al. 2004).

North America receives more immigrants that any other world region and it has nine metropolitan areas with more than 1 million immigrants. The two largest immigrant destinations in the world, New York City and Los Angeles, combined have almost 10 million immigrants. In total Fig. 2 shows 42 metropolitan areas in North America with at least 100,000 foreign-born residents (Fig. 2). In Canada immigrants primarily go to one of three cities: Vancouver, Montreal and Toronto. But smaller Canadian cities such as Ottawa and Calgary are places where 20% of the population is foreign-born. In the United States, immigrants go to established immigrant destinations such as New York
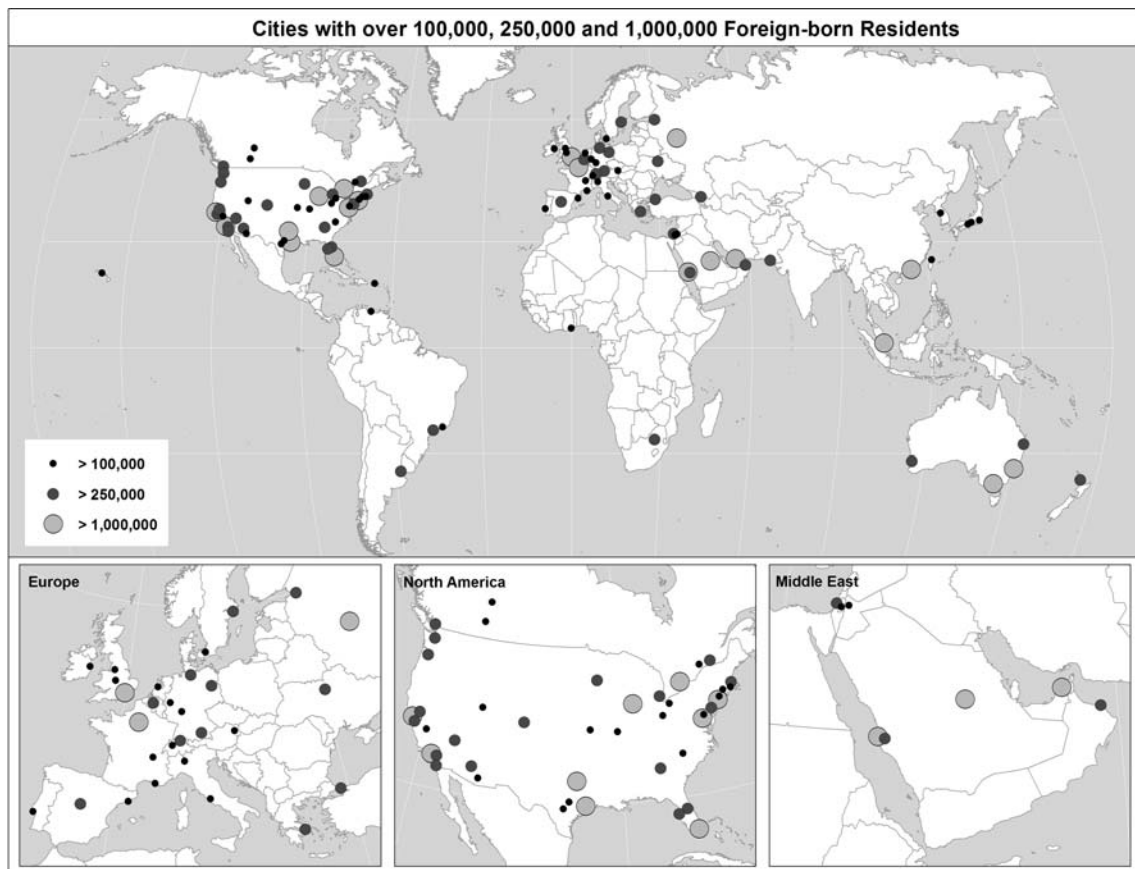
Fig. 2 Cities with over 100,000, 250,000 and 1,000,000 foreign-born residents

and Chicago as well as newer destinations such as Las Vegas, Phoenix, Washington, Charlotte, and Atlanta. In fact, the increase in the foreign-born population is much higher in these newer gateways than in traditional ones (Singer 2004).

Additional immigrant cities in the Middle East and Oceania (including Australia and New Zealand) also appear in Fig. 2. Oceania has Auckland, Brisbane and Perth while the Middle Eastern cities include Istanbul, Amman, Muscat, Mecca, Medina, Karachi, Tel Aviv and Jerusalem. Since Israel is a relatively young country, and the homeland for the Jewish diaspora, 40% of the total population is foreign-born according to the United Nations (2006). Many of the foreign-born in Israel are Jewish immigrants from the former Soviet Union who emigrated to the country in the early 1990s. Consequently the rates and numbers of the foreign-born in Israeli cities such as Tel Aviv and Jerusalem are high. The large number of immigrants

in the Arab cities of the Persian Gulf is due to established temporary worker programs that result in thousands of laborers migrating to this region, especially form North Africa and South Asia. These cities are likely to grow as immigrant destinations and other cities, such as Doha or Kuwait City (which are currently less than 1 million total residents) may be added in the near future.

Several important East Asian cities appear in Fig. 2 including Seoul, Nagoya, Tokyo, Osaka and Taipei. These are major urban agglomerations well over 5 million people with foreign-born numbers ranging from 100,000 to 250,000, which is proportionally very low. All of these cities, but especially Tokyo, are cited as world cities of significance due to their economic power and productivity. Yet, they have not attracted large numbers of foreign-born, and in most cases state policies have restricted entry of foreign workers as well as access to citizenship.

At the same time, these East Asian countries and cities have experienced a rapid increase in foreign-born workers in the past 15 years. This is driven both by demographic shifts (the aging of the population) and economic need. And yet in each of these countries, newcomers are usually admitted only on a temporary basis (typically as worker trainees) with limited access to citizenship. Even a global city such as Shanghai has certainly seen its foreign-born population increase although hard numbers are absent. That said, it is highly likely that the numbers of foreign-born workers will continue to increase in the region, especially from China, the Philippines and Indonesia (Hugo 2006).

In contrast to East Asia, in Latin America emigration, rather than immigration, has become the norm (United Nations 2006). In the early 20th century, cities such as São Paulo and Buenos Aires attracted tens of thousands of immigrants. Likewise the oil boom in Venezuela in the mid-20th century resulted in new immigrants from Europe (especially Portugal, Spain and Italy) as well as from neighboring Colombia into Caracas and Maracaibo. These cities still have substantial foreign-born populations from Europe, South America and Asia but the absolute numbers of foreign-born, as well as the percentage of foreign-born compared to the overall urban populations, is declining. Moreover, these cities are loosing native-born and foreign-born residents to destinations in Europe, Japan and the United States (Pellegrino 2004). It is quite possible that if the macroeconomic situation improves for the region inflows of migrants, especially from poorer countries in South America, will result. Yet the historical source countries for South America (Spain, Italy, Portugal and Japan) are unlikely to contribute future immigrants to these cities.

Finally, Fig. 2 only shows two African cities, Johannesburg and Accra. In general, the data for this region is poor and certainly there is more inter-regional movement of people between countries than this map suggests. Moreover, many of the refugee populations in this region are probably not reflected in the urban data. South Africa, the most prosperous country in Sub-Saharan Africa, is likely to continue growing as an immigrant destination for African immigrants. At the same time, South Africans are reluctant recipients of other Africans because of serious problems with unemployment and poverty

among the native-born as well as the perception that immigrants raise crime levels and de-stabilize neighborhoods.

Mapping the world's current immigrant cities is a snapshot approach to a far more complex immigration story. Given limitations in the data, especially the lack of data for the urban foreign-born for China, India and most of Africa, there are major urban centers that are left out of this analysis. However, we suspect that we have captured the majority of the major urban immigrant destinations. In addition to absolute numbers, the percent of the total population that is foreign-born in these cities ranges widely from a high of 83% in Dubai to a low of 1% in Seoul. Table 2 shows the 25 cities in the world with the highest percentage of foreign-born residents based on data collected as of 2005. In each of these cities, at least a quarter of the total population is foreign-born. We acknowledge that the absolute and relative numbers do not begin to address the composition, residence status, or distribution of the foreign-born within cities. Yet such data demonstrate the significant demographic contribution of immigrants to diverse metropolitan regions.[7]

What Fig. 2 does reveal is the range of immigrant destinations from widely recognized world cities to places that are never mentioned as global cities. Eighty percent of the largest immigrant destinations shown in Fig. 1 are recognized as world cities. Yet among the 100 cities shown in Fig. 2, only 57% are commonly cited in the global cities literature. Some of these cities are small but important immigrant destinations in North America (such as San Jose, Orlando and Denver), others are found in regions often overlooked in global cities research, especially in the Middle East and Africa. What this suggests is that important immigrant destinations are not automatically viewed has having global economic importance. Nevertheless, these places are part of a global, or at least regional, network of transnational urban residents. To further examine the relationship between global cities and immigrant gateways, the discussion turns to three distinct kinds of immigrant

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[7] It is beyond the scope of this article to elaborate upon the different categories (such as temporary workers, students, settlers, contract workers, trainees, and resettled refugees) of immigrant admission used by host countries. The foreign-born figures in this study include people in all of these categories.

Table 2 Top 25 immigrant destinations, percentage foreign-born

City	Country	Census year	Metropolitan population	Foreign born	% Foreign born
Dubai	United Arab Emirates	2005	1,272,000	1,056,000	83.02
Toronto	Canada	2001	4,647,960	2,091,100	44.99
Muscat	Oman	2000	661,000	294,881	44.61
Hong Kong	China	2005	7,039,169	2,998,686	42.60
Vancouver	Canada	2001	1,967,475	767,715	39.02
Jiddah	Saudi Arabia	1998	3,171,000	1,186,600	37.42
Miami	USA	2005	5,334,685	1,949,629	36.55
Tel Aviv-Yafo	Israel	2002	2,075,500	747,400	36.01
San Jose	USA	2005	1,726,057	614,304	35.59
Los Angeles	USA	2005	12,703,423	4,407,353	34.69
Singapore	Singapore	2000	4,017,733	1,350,632	33.62
Auckland	New Zealand	2001	1,103,466	354,126	32.09
Perth	Australia	2001	1,336,239	422,547	31.62
Riyadh	Saudi Arabia	2000	4,730,330	1,477,601	31.24
Sydney	Australia	2001	3,961,451	1,235,908	31.20
Jerusalem	Israel	2002	678,300	208,700	30.77
Mecca	Saudi Arabia	1998	1,326,000	397,800	30.00
San Francisco	USA	2005	4,071,751	1,201,209	29.50
Melbourne	Australia	2001	3,367,169	960,145	28.51
Amsterdam	Netherlands	2005	742,951	211,260	28.44
Medina	Saudi Arabia	1998	885,000	247,252	27.93
New York	USA	2005	18,351,099	5,117,290	27.89
Frankfurt	Germany	2000	650,705	181,184	27.84
Tbilisi	Georgia	1999	1,339,105	370,932	27.70
London	United Kingdom	2001	7,172,091	1,940,390	27.05

Source: Globalization, Urbanization and Migration web site http://www.gstudynet.org/gum

cities: the hyperdiverse, the non-global gateway city, and the by-passed global city (Table 3).

Hyperdiverse global cities

At the dawn of the 20th century when New York City was the premier immigrant gateway in the United States, nearly all the immigrants were European. The city was linguistically and ethnically diverse but not so racially. At the dawn of the 21st century New York City is one of the most racially and ethnically diverse places on the planet. Of the top ten sending countries to metropolitan New York, only one is from Europe, and that is Italy. The top-ten sending countries represent half of the city's foreign-born: including immigrants from the Dominican Republic, China, Jamaica, Mexico, Guyana, Ecuador, Haiti, and

Colombia, in addition to Italy.[8] The remainder of the city's foreign-born includes every region in the world. Cities of 1 million of more people are considered hyperdiverse in this study if (1) at least 9.5% of the total population is foreign-born,[9] (2) no one country of origin accounts for 25% or more of the immigrant stock and (3) immigrants come from all regions of the world.

New York, London, and Toronto are recognized as global cities and immigrant gateways (Eade 2000; Foner 2000; Anisef and Lanphier 2003) that are also hyperdiverse. Together these three cities have

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[8] Data and sources for particular cities discussed in this article can be found at www.gstudynet.org/gum

[9] The 9.5% figure is the average percent of foreign-born stock for developed countries according to the United Nations (2006).

Table 3 Gateway variations

Hyperdiverse gateways	The non-global gateway	By-passed global city
Population >1 million	Population >1 million	Population >1 million
At least 9.5% foreign born	At least 9.5% foreign born	Less than 3% foreign born
No one country of origin accounts for 25% of immigrant stock	Overlooked in global cities literature; not cited as significant global city	Frequently cited in global cities literature as economically or politically important
Immigrants originate from all regions		
Commonly cited in global cities literature as significant		
Examples: New York, London, Toronto, Sydney, Amsterdam, Hamburg, San Francisco, Washington D.C.	Examples: Dubai, Riyadh, Medina, Mecca, Ottawa, Perth, Las Vegas, Birmingham, Athens	Examples: Tokyo, Osaka, Mexico City, Seoul, Cairo, São Paulo

approximately 9 million foreign-born residents. In London, the top sending country is India, which accounts for 8.9% of the city's foreign-born population in 2001. Together thirteen more countries, including Ireland, China, Germany, Bangladesh, Jamaica, Nigeria, South Africa and the United States account for half of the foreign-born population. But nearly every country in the world has an immigrant in London. A similar pattern holds for Toronto. In 2001, 45% of the city's population was foreign-born, one of the highest percentages for any major metropolitan area. Some 70,000 immigrants arrive in the city annually from approximately 170 countries and there are over 2 million foreign-born residents (Anisef and Lanphier 2003). No one group dominates Toronto's immigrant stock. Nine countries account for half of the foreign-born population, lead by China, then India, the United Kingdom, Italy, the Philippines, Jamaica, Portugal, Poland and Sri Lanka. Other hyperdiverse metropolitan areas include Washington, San Francisco, Paris, Sydney, and Melbourne.

Not all immigrant gateways are hyper-diverse. In terms of the top immigrant destinations, Mexicans account for about half of the foreign-born in cities such as Los Angeles, Chicago, Houston, and Dallas. Similarly foreign-born Cubans dominate in Miami. Immigrants from mainland China are over 80% of the foreign-born in Hong Kong and Malaysian immigrants comprise half of the foreign-born in Singapore.

Yet, due to the globalization of migration there is a tendency for immigrants to come from a broader range of sending counties and in the process create cities that are more racially and ethnically diverse. This is true for the smaller gateway cities with less

than 1 million foreign-born residents. Amsterdam exhibits hyperdiversity as nearly 30% of the city's population is foreign-born with immigrants from around the world; four countries (Suriname, Morocco, Turkey and Indonesia) account for half of the foreign-born population. In metropolitan Copenhagen about 13% of the population is foreign-born with nine countries (Turkey, Pakistan, Yugoslavia, Iraq, Sweden, Lebanon, Germany, Morocco and Norway) accounting for half of the foreign-born. Similar patterns of hyperdiversity are evident in Hamburg, Munich, and Seattle. Such ethnic and linguistic diversity in an increasing range of cities is an important aspect of globalization and world city formation. Yet how native-born and newcomer live amid such increasingly diverse social spaces is an opportunity and a challenge that requires the active attention of urban officials and communities.

Immigrant gateways in non-global cities

Approximately 40 cities in Fig. 2 are not (or rarely) described as global cities, and yet in their most recent census data they have over 100,000 foreign-born residents. Dublin, for example, has only recently attracted large numbers of foreign-born, mostly from other European countries but also from Africa and Asia. A metropolitan region of over 1 million people, it is never on world city rosters. Yet *Foreign Policy* magazine's index of globalization ranked Ireland as number one for 3 years in a row from 2002–2004 (Foreign Policy 2004). How could a country be so global but its largest city be virtually unrecognized?

Dublin has only recently become a gateway, with nearly 12% of its population foreign-born in 2002. It is not hyperdiverse, as over 40% of the foreign-born population is from England, Wales and Northern Ireland. Still, 13% of the city's foreign-born are from Asia and about 9% are from Africa. More importantly, one could argue that the surge in immigration to Dublin is an indication of its rise in global economic importance, a connection that is seemingly overlooked in the global cities literature.

As previously mentioned, the major immigrant destinations in the Middle East, namely Dubai, Riyadh, Jiddah and Mecca, could also be considered non-global city destinations. Dubai, a city where 83% of the population was foreign-born in 2005, boasts the highest percentage for any city in the world. Admittedly due to the restrictions placed on immigrants in the United Arab Emirates, few foreign workers become permanent settlers with access to citizenship. Yet, Dubai portrays itself as a world city and officials actively promote international tourism to this modern commercial oasis in the Middle East. According to *New York Times* columnist Bennet (2004), more than 4.5 million people visited Dubai in 2003 and the development of the Dubai resorts have been compared to Disneyworld or Las Vegas. In addition Dubai is one of 27 cities tracked by the Economist magazine in its on-line Cities Guide (www.economist.com/cities/). This suggests the rising economic importance of this Middle Eastern city. The only other Middle Eastern city featured in the Cities Guide is Tel Aviv, also a major immigrant destination.

In addition to the Middle Eastern cities, other significant immigrant destinations such as Accra, Ottawa, Phoenix, Auckland, St. Petersburg, Salt Lake City, Perth, and Las Vegas, Marseille, Birmingham, and Athens have not yet made many global city rosters (Taylor 2004: 40–41). While these cities tend to be neglected by various measures of globalization, nevertheless they are attracting significant numbers of immigrants from a growing diversity of locations. As these immigrant flows mature, and the cities become more cosmopolitan, it will be difficult to ignore the 'globalness' of these cities.

The global cities bypassed by immigrants

Almost all 'global cities' have some foreign-born residents, but the proportion and significance of the foreign born varies greatly. It is important to understand which cities immigrants are going to as well as which cities they appear to avoid or are prevented from entering. In a global economy the movement of goods, capital and people is interrelated. Thus the relative absence of the foreign-born in key economic centers is counter-intuitive to the logic of neo-liberal capitalism and invites closer scrutiny.

The case of Tokyo is compelling because in nearly every measure of world city status Tokyo is one of the top-tier cities (Beaverstock et al. 1999: Taylor 2004). According to the United Nations, the average percent foreign born for all developed countries is 9.5 (United Nations 2006). Tokyo at 1.8% and Osaka at 2.1% are far below the averages for industrialized countries. The Japanese government has historically restricted immigration in an attempt to maintain cultural homogeneity. Due to an aging population and increasing labor shortages, however, the government initiated a new immigration policy that began to take effect in the 1990s that allowed foreign workers of Japanese ancestry (principally from Brazil and Peru) to legally work and reside in Japan (Douglass and Roberts 2003: xv). Although the numbers of foreign-born in Japan are small, they have increased dramatically in the last 15 years. And interestingly, many of the foreign-born reside, not in Tokyo–Yokohama, but in smaller industrial cities where they work and live in highly segregated factory housing. Not surprisingly, the newest and largest sources of foreign labor in Japan come form China, followed by the Philippines and South Korea.

Mexico City, one of the largest cities in the Americas, has a tiny foreign-born population. The city has never been considered a modern immigrant destination; instead, it has been the destination for millions of internal migrants, drawn to the opportunities associated with Mexico City's primate status. In the Federal District, which has a population of 8.5 million people, there were only 55,742 foreign-born residents representing 0.7% of the population in 2000. Although the immigrant population is small; its composition is diverse. The leading country of origin is the United States, Mexico's neighbor and partner in NAFTA. The second sending country is Spain, the former colonial power. Other Latin American countries are well represented (including Cuba, Colombia and Argentina) and so too are other European (France, Germany, Italy) and East Asian states (Japan

and Korea). The diverse but small numbers foreign-born residents from developed countries in Mexico City suggests that Mexico plays a vital role as a world city in the global economy but it does not have the economic opportunities nor structures that would attract significant numbers of foreign laborers.

The Chinese cities of Shanghai and Beijing as well as the Indian city of Mumbai are always on world city lists but, alas, we have been unable to obtain foreign-born data for these cities. While the foreign-born are, no doubt, a growing presence in these cities, they represent a very small percentage of the total population. There are also many cities in Latin America and Africa for which we were unable to find data. Other global cities with foreign-born populations of under 100,000 that are in the database include Bangkok, Budapest, Jakarta, Kuala Lumpur, Cairo, Prague, Cape Town, and Kobe.

Conclusions and directions for future research

Identifying urban immigrant destinations is the first step in a more detailed analysis of how such localities function as part of a global network of cities.

Recent global cities literature emphasizes the network among global cities and how immigrants may fit into this system (Scott 2001; Beaverstock et al. 2000a; Taylor and Catalano 2002; Waldinger 2001; Sassen 2002b; Short 2004). This research demonstrates that there is a strong relationship between the 19 largest urban immigrant destinations and the roster of world cities. It suggests including immigration in world city formation may be a valuable addition. The relationship between global cities and immigrant destinations that draw smaller numbers of immigrants (more than 100,000 and less than 1,000,000) is less obvious but more provocative suggesting that there may be important urban immigrant destinations that are overlooked in world cities research. But as this research has shown, not all world cities attract immigrants.

By filling in the map of the world's urban immigrant destinations, this research presents a comprehensive vision of where immigrants are today. Yet in doing so, we hope to encourage more comparative work on not just where immigrants go but how urban immigrant gateways function as part of a world city network. Such immigrant derived networks form vital linkages from global cities to other global cities and the economic periphery. Our database can be used to begin to trace these urban networks and the immigrant-sending countries that are a part of them.

The data show that immigration to cities has created increasingly diverse populations in terms of race, ethnicity and nationality. A particularly fertile area for additional research is comparing immigrant settlement patterns in established gateways with new immigrant destinations as research suggests that they are fundamentally different (Waters and Jimenez 2005). Certainly immigrant enclaves have cultural impact on cities that may also vary. And, the broader issues of immigrant segregation and integration should be included in discussions of cosmopolitanism and world cities. Lastly, large numbers of foreign-born challenge many place-based assumptions about citizenship and identity in world cities.

This study of urban immigrant gateways creates a vantage point to view the personal choices that millions of individuals make in response to global economic forces. Yet the movement of these same individuals results in complex cultural consequences at the urban scale that are not fully appreciated. The linking of immigration and global cities is a view of globalization from below. This study is a first step in deepening the empirical connections between global cities and the foreign-born that reside in them.

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