1. Conceptualizing the emerging 21st-century city

Kris Bezdecny and Kevin Archer

INTRODUCTION

The past half-century has seen a fragmentation of urban theory, one that is also evidenced in city-spaces. Cities have been labeled post-modern, post-industrial, post-colonial, mega, global, sustainable, creative, neoliberal, gentrified, themed, among a multitude of theoretical framings. All of these framings are descriptive of key dynamics witnessed in some (but not all) cities, but none describe well all those dynamics in any city. This is a problem showcased by current debates in urban theory today, particularly the recent debate between Scott and Storper (2015) in their discussion of the nature of cities, contested by such researchers as Mould (2016) and Roy (2016b), which calls into question whether a shared theoretical understanding of the ‘city’ is even possible. Indeed, this kind of debate has only intensified as urbanization continues its hyper-acceleration on a planetary scale (Brenner, 2014).

As of 2009, over half the world’s population lives in a city (UNDESA, 2014). This means that roughly twice as many people are (re)producing their lived spaces in cities than the entire global population in 1900. An estimated one in eight people live in a megacity, or in cities with a population greater than 10 million; nearly half live in cities with a population below 0.5 million (UNDESA, 2016). By 2050, it is anticipated that as many as two-thirds of all people will be living in cities – with modest gains in already urbanized North America, Latin America, the Caribbean, and Europe and exploding growth in Asia and Africa – ultimately resulting in as many city-people at mid-century as live on the Earth today (UNDESA, 2009).

Not all cities are created equal. Cities are often ranked competitively, based on a variety of criteria: population size, areal size (land consumed), and economic value. There are currently 214 cities ranked as global cities, those deemed most important to facilitating the global economy (Friedmann, 1986; Beaverstock, Smith and Taylor, 1999; GaWC, 2016). These are further ranked as alpha (49), beta (81), and gamma (84) cities – further demarcating the disparities between the command-and-control centers of global capital (while erasing those cities that are

not considered competitive enough to be ranked) (GaWC, 2016). The megacity, by contrast, ranks cities by absolute population size, with 47 cities meeting the megacity definition of a population of 10 million or greater, and roughly 600 more cities having a population of 1 million or greater (UNDESA, 2016). Interestingly, there is overlap between urban definitions, in that cities defined by one definition become more likely (or less likely) to also meet an alternative definition (shown by the 40 out of 47 megacities that are also ranked as global cities).

Within cities we see a continued growing disparity between those with power, wealth, and a normalized identity (of belonging), and those without. The City of New York has a higher GINI coefficient (one measure of inequality) than Mexico or Chile, the two OECD countries with the highest GINI coefficients (OECD, 2015; Peluso and Andreoli, 2017). Many cities experience gentrification (Lees, Shin and Lopez-Morales, 2015), informal living arrangements (Davis, 2006; Zeiderman et al., 2015), including shanty towns, favelas, slums, the urban camps that remain prevalent in US cities, and homelessness (Wolch, 1991; Kake, 2016; Elwood and Lawson, 2017), in addition to the socio-spatial polarization that exists between established neighborhoods (Brenner and Theodore, 2002; Wilson, 2012; Randolph and Tice, 2014).

Faced with these trends, the economic, political, cultural, social, infrastructural, and logistical implications of how we understand, and then potentially plan, city futures become all the more critical. This *handbook* seeks to explore, both theoretically and empirically, how cities are emerging in the 21st century. This project is designed to highlight any points of commonality that are emerging between different cities *and* to highlight points of departure between cities. The goal is that the chapters in this volume will, together, develop a broad, nuanced, approach to the multiplicity of cities rapidly emerging while seeking to address what even constitutes the meaning of the term ‘city’ in the 21st century.

DEFINING THE CITY

This sense of [theoretical] fragmentation is further reflected in the constantly changing watchwords that circulate through the literature in successive attempts to capture particular spatial or temporal conjunctures of urban development. Terms like *captive cities*, *manipulated cities*, *postmodern cities*, *insurgent cities*, *consumer cities*, *cities as entertainment machines*, *the carceral city*, *the neoliberal city*, *the fragmented city*, *the dual city*, *the digital city*, *the global city*, and *the creative city*, among many others, are all familiar examples of these watchwords. (Scott and Storper, 2015, p. 3; emphasis added)

There is considerable discussion and debate over how the city is defined. This includes debate over whether we should continue to focus on cities at all, or instead focus on the urban, particularly at the planetary scale (Brenner and Schmid, 2015). Planetary urbanization is the recognition that urban processes and forms have become all-encompassing – even in what we would nominally call non-urban spaces, through their interrelationships with urban spaces, the encroachment of urban spaces, and the urbanity the majority-urban global population carries with them in their relationships with non-urban environments.

While it is the case that defining the boundary of a city is becoming commonly more difficult, we would contend there is still significance in discussing this entity we have historically recognized as the city. To paraphrase Potter Stewart, former Justice of the United States Supreme Court, we know them when we see them. They are more than economic, political, social, cultural, and ecological spaces: we are often very much constrained by their legal standing, as well.

TO THEORIZE, OR NOT TO THEORIZE, THE URBAN

The post-colonialist critique of urban theory makes a significant point: when we create a universal(esque) theory of the city, we are really defining what our default expectations for a city are/will be – with any variance from this expectation treated as exceptional and thereby Othered. It normalizes a particular vision of the city – then claims that vision is one (that should be) shared by all cities. Roy (2016a) sees the urban as situated, uneven, defined by its exclusions, and a bureaucratic demarcation that, in a post-colonial context, can use the power of the state to formalize informal processes (at odds with displacement interpretations that are better representative in other cities – see Sassen, 2014 – making this another form of particular situatedness). What commonalities may exist can no longer remain in a Euro-American bubble, but needs (demands!) a more inclusive approach to cities, both in terms of what dimensions define the city (such as Mould's, 2016, critique of Scott and Storper's, 2015, overreliance on economic factors) and in terms of the socio-spatial legacies/contexts embedded within contemporary cities across the world, particularly in Asia and Africa (see Parnell and Pieterse, 2014, for an example of contextualizing urban research within Africa). The focus should not be on theorization and seeking to find any possible historical (or accidental) commonalities, many of which may derive from the history of Euro-American colonization, but instead should be on comparative studies of the urban (e.g., Parnell and Robinson, 2012; Nijman, 2015) or a situated analysis of the urban (such as Simone, 2016).

The alternative, however, is also problematic. There are traits that most, if not all, cities share. There are imaginaries engaged when we use the word 'city.' Taking a particular approach to cities erases any commonalities that exist between and within these spaces. Storper and Scott (2016) view the urban as concrete socio-spatial entities, with commonalities that are independent of their location, taking a critical urban theory approach. Brenner and Schmid (2015) see an uneven rapidly expanding urbanization taking place simultaneously with urban marginalization that has become planetary, as they continue to focus on planetary urbanization. Sheppard et al. (2015) focus on the need to challenge and reconceptualize existing urban theories and policies – particularly as they relate to the Global South, where urbanization is occurring the fastest and which is still often found lacking in urban theory outside of post-colonialist research. Many researchers still feel the need to approach the urban through the lens of urban theory: through some framing of commonalities or quasi-universal characteristics that can be identified as 'urban' (see also Davidson and Iveson, 2015; Walker, 2015).

This is not a new debate: essentialist, universal, and ideographic definitions of the city and urban spaces has occurred many times in urban theory (the best example, in our minds, being the debate that took place in *Society and Space* over three decades ago, between those advocating for the contributions of critical theory as a driving force in urban and regional studies, in contrast to those advocating for the privileging of the individual and of localities studies – see Harvey, 1987). This creates an interesting conundrum in researching cities, as well as in policy – are there dynamics, precepts, theoretical framings, expectations in relations within/through/between cities that can be treated as the same (or similar) for ALL cities? Or are cities inherently unique, with little that can be adopted comparatively between cities? The issue of who defines what is considered a city, and what is valued in our urban spaces, has and continues to be Eurocentric. So while there is a continuum between (quasi-) universal theoretical framings of the city and treating all cities as particularly unique, who determines that framing often reinforces existing power differentials in both theory and in policy, reinforcing the status quo while often railing against that very differential. This includes defining what constitutes a city (which can have policy and funding ramifications), and what to then prioritize within or between cities – the rankings of global cities published by GaWC (2016) a brutal case in point.

Defining the City, Redux

Which returns us to the debate over defining the city. We would argue that both groups are right – and therefore both groups are wrong. Or, we align

with Peck (2015, p.179) when he states the need for a complementary, rather than competitive, relationship between ‘positional analysis and relational theorizing.’ As Cresswell (2013, p. 104) states, ‘there is, after all, nothing more universal than the particular.’ What we are experiencing is, in a way, a crisis of imagination. The city is changing so rapidly, in ways that were difficult if not impossible to imagine a half-century ago; and with the disjointedness of the city, it becomes easy to retreat into abstract generalizations or to focus exclusively on differentiation and uniqueness, as the dynamics within and between cities, and between cities and other scales and spaces of human interaction, become more and more fluid, nuanced, seemingly contradictory, variable, compressed, and so on. Instead, this represents a plurality of responses to many similar dynamics impacting all cities, each in their own way. This project, then, is an attempt to begin working toward a more holistic conceptualization of what cities are, and can mean, as the world continues to rapidly urbanize.

THE STRUCTURE OF THIS *HANDBOOK*

The chapters that follow range from the more theoretical to the more empirically descriptive, with content from across the globe. We cast the net widely for both more experienced authors to those relatively new to the publishing world. The result has been a good smattering of innovative material that gets to the very diversity of city developments in a rapidly connecting, globalizing world. The chapters are generally organized in broadly defined parts but we think that if read closely, connections will be made between chapters within these parts as well as with others across them.

Part I: Emerging City Theory

Leading off Part I, Lauermaann, in Chapter 2, describes how defining ‘the city’ itself is as much about strategic speculation as it is about what the city actually might be in reality, as a whole. As he puts it, ‘such speculative claims on the city are a form of strategic simplification’ where urban complexity is ignored in favor of more ‘targeted,’ ultimately politically biased, ‘claims on urban resources.’ He assesses this politically motivated definition of cities with a case study of various city bids for sports mega-events like the Olympics whereby city authorities seek to portray/define their cities in the most favorable light possible.

In Chapter 3, Moriarty and Honnery take on the rather thorny theoretical task of trying to determine what a ‘sustainable city’ might actually be, given the many descriptions of such found in the extant academic and

policy literature. They are particularly concerned with examining those places dubbed ‘eco-cities’ to determine what this designation actually means in reality. In the end, these authors find that any such city that relies solely on what they call ‘technical fixes’ for sustainability is missing the crucial social factors that actually determine whether such techniques are successful or not.

Bower, in Chapter 4, sets off on a very innovative, even provocative path against the general grain of the pertinent urban literature by suggesting alternative conceptions of the possible future of cities. That is, is it really inevitable that the future will be one of the continual growth of cities on a planetary basis or might there be an alternative to be had by switching gears conceptually and via concerted action? Taking inspiration from the ‘Slow Cities’ (Cittaslow) movement as well as introducing the notion of ‘Antifragility’ to the literature on cities, Bower seeks to frame a ‘critical counter-narrative’ to the ‘conventions and assumptions’ that continue to produce ‘Westernized’ city spaces the world over.

Finally, in Chapter 5, Bezdecny seeks a deeper understanding of the production of city spaces as the result of the uneven geographical development of capitalist accumulation in general. She is particularly concerned with how the social inequities this process produces are scaled in the spaces of cities, particularly in situations where struggles for social change instead lead to reinforcing those social inequities. Bezdecny uses the idea of fractalization, or reinforcing patterns across scales, to investigate how seemingly different processes and impacts can in fact reinforce social inequity in the city.

Part II: Cities as Spaces of Emerging Power

In Part II, Chu, in Chapter 6, closely examines China’s New Urbanization Plan (2014–20), which provides an overall blueprint for city development in the near future. Chu’s emphasis is not only on the details of the plan but also on how it embodies traditional efforts on the part of Chinese authorities to guide city development along socialist lines. That is, while some argue that current trends in China suggest a hybrid sort of ‘state neoliberalism’ with regard to spatial development, Chu makes it clear that city development in China really continues to be heavily guided by state priorities, both national and local, embodied in long-standing political institutions and policies. In this respect, she suggests, a universal theory of ‘urbanization’ does not capture well the specific Chinese experience, either historically or contemporarily.

In Chapter 7, Murphy, Carmody, Grant, and Owusu examine the growing impact of Chinese companies and the Chinese state on urban

development in Africa. Via a comprehensive description of the various channels by which Chinese intervention is happening in urban Africa these authors assess 'whether the increased presence of Chinese actors in, and impacts on African cities is developmentally positive, exploitative, or a combination of the two.' They pay particular attention to how active a role African cities and states play, or not, in how 'positive' the Chinese impact on city development in Africa may be.

In a more empirically descriptive manner, Aijaz, in Chapter 8, provides a country-wide perspective on the nature of Indian cities in terms of historical population growth and quality of life issues such as available housing, water and drainage, sanitation, transportation, and economic opportunities. He seeks to explain why the percentage of the total Indian population living in urban areas is low compared to other countries in similar circumstances (China, Indonesia, Brazil) and concludes that, for the foreseeable future, India will continue to urbanize at a much slower pace than comparable nations.

Finally, in Chapter 9, Warf explores the rise of digitized, globalized cities with a specific comparative case study of Seoul, Singapore, and Shanghai, which have each aspired to such smart city status but in different ways. As Warf puts it, '(i)n each, information technologies have facilitated the implementation of electronic government (e-government), improved commercial ties, improved energy use and environmental quality, and enhanced the quality of life' of citizens. As he also points out, the wider implication of the global rise of such digitized cities appears to be defining a new spatial political-economic configuration of capitalism that just might actually be leaving behind the Westphalian geopolitical order of sovereign nation-states.

Part III: Cities as Spaces of Emerging Economies

Part III begins with an account of how Gulf Cooperation Countries (Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates), the most urbanized countries in the world, are attempting to diversify their economies away from oil production. Pasin and Oner, in Chapter 10, specifically focus on how mega-urban projects in the area 'respond to the problems of urban life and play a role in the post-oil future.' The authors pay specific attention to three megacity projects on the Arabian Peninsula – Silk City in Kuwait, Masdar City in Abu Dhabi, and King Abdullah Economic City – to determine the role of these cities in the development and promotion of post-oil economic diversification in a more sustainable manner for the region as a whole.

In Chapter 11, K'Akumu considers the urbanization of poverty in Africa as a whole with an eye toward its causes and possible solutions. In

terms of causes, K'Akumu makes clear that it is not just the migration of rural poor to cities but also the lack of economic opportunity within cities. Urban poverty is also not merely an economic issue but one of politics and policy as well. Because of this, any solution to urban poverty in Africa has to be a combined economic and political one, which will necessitate more concerted will on the part of African authorities at all levels of the political economy.

In a very interesting take, Holt, in Chapter 12, focuses on three predominantly African-American neighborhoods in the American South: Atlanta's Summerhill (Georgia), Birmingham's North Birmingham (Alabama), and New Orleans' Lower Ninth Ward (Louisiana). In examining the various post-World War II planning efforts and largely failures to improve the quality of life of these city places, Holt shows how these planning and policy efforts 'coupled with present day designs in which these communities bear' the cities' social, economic, and environmental 'burdens' suggests a very close parallel with city places in the formerly colonized Global South.

In Chapter 13, Herzog considers the shift of population toward international frontiers, particularly as this is manifested in the development of what he calls 'transfrontier metropolises,' or urban areas of 0.5 million or more that occupy regions on both sides of an international boundary. His chapter seeks to outline the contours of such metropolises and to explore more closely their evolution over recent decades with special attention to the example of the United States-Mexico border. Focus specifically is on three case studies in the Tijuana-San Diego metropolis that serve to illustrate how 'debordering and rebordering mediate the changing nature of urban space in a transfrontier metropolis.'

Part IV: Cities as Spaces of Emerging Social Dynamics

In Part IV, Chapter 14, Ghadge considers the rise of 'inclusive growth' narratives to increasing dominance in policy discourses in emerging economies. This relatively new narrative seeks to broaden the development discourse, particularly with regard to cities. With a focus on Asia, and particularly India, Ghadge notes that this relatively new inclusive growth 'mantra' consists of a growing consensus among policy-makers that there does not need to be a trade-off between growth and inequality. That is, if properly guided by policy, economic growth can include growing economic equality among the population, even, or perhaps particularly, in cities. In terms of the latter, the growing consensus among planners is that with proper policy guidance, it is possible to 'make urbanization work for growth and poverty reduction.'

In Chapter 15, Peiteado Fernández describes how ‘right to the city’ advocates recently have been able to attain political power in several cities in Spain and how institutional contexts have either facilitated or attenuated their political agendas. After a detailed description of both the theoretical background behind ‘right to the city’ movements as well as recent political events in Spanish cities, the author puts most emphasis on how the political rhetoric involved in such movements has run up against significant political institutional inertia when it has come to translating the rhetoric into political practice. Particularly, the case studies presented, according to Peiteado Fernández, both ‘exemplify how the legal bonds of contracts signed by previous mayors reduce(d) the maneuverability of the new governments’ as well as how the scalar politics of the central state was able to greatly constrain the possibilities for innovative policy at the city level.

In Chapter 16, Wood describes in broad terms the growth and evolving function of border cities, making the case that such cities, the origins of which are both political-military and economic, have not been well enough studied in their own right. His aim is to make a case for the uniqueness of such cities and their geopolitical-economic role, particularly in a time of rapid globalization.

Finally, Saldana, in Chapter 17, describes the changing socio-economic nature of Downtown Los Angeles (DTLA) and how the reclamation of historic buildings became a key strategy in combating the area’s economic decline. Specifically, she describes how the central strategy of what she calls ‘loftification,’ or the ‘renovation of a historical building into a modern, up to code, mixed-use residence,’ as a major part of this new development strategy actually represents another form of gentrification. As such, the socio-economic problems of the DTLA are simply being displaced to other areas of the city as the neighborhood is being marketed specifically to attract a new, more affluent consumer/resident.

Part V: Cities as Spaces of Emerging Technologies

In Part V, Brannon, in Chapter 18, considers how ‘Smart City’ technological initiatives have been touted as the best means to solve a number of city problems, both existing and those to come. She emphasizes, however, that in this discourse of successful technological solutions to the socio-economic problems of cities, there is really very little attention paid to how novel technologies and processes relate to existing racial inequalities and ‘what data collection practices’ might ‘mean at the community level’ in this respect. Brannon seeks to address this gap in the literature by trying to determine how new technological infrastructures in cities ‘exacerbate,

alter, or alleviate racial divides' with a case study of racially divided Kansas City, Missouri.

Fekete, in Chapter 19, considers how, with rapidly emerging innovations in social media particularly, cities have become 'hybrid' entities, existing as much as virtual spaces as well as physical sites. On the basis of a case study of Baltimore, Maryland, she considers how consumer activity in physical space is affected by social media and big data interactions in virtual space. Fekete sees the investigation of this hybridity as an opportunity to identify spaces for urban renewal, and assess the success of those projects once implemented.

In Chapter 20, Richardson and Mitchell apply what they call 'critical cartography strategies' and geographic information systems to examine the changing nature, or not, of spatial patterns of unequal access to capital for disadvantaged communities within cities. On the basis of two brief case studies of Baltimore, Maryland and Oakland, California these authors provide evidence of such continuing inequalities of capital access even after legal protections have been established against such. They particularly focus on gentrification and the role it plays in reinforcing ongoing inequality in the city.

Finally, in a completely novel direction, in Chapter 21, Jansson and Klausen consider the contemporary movement of 'urban exploration' where urban 'explorers' try to 'find, access, explore, and document' places in the city that have been abandoned or neglected or are otherwise on the fringes of the predominant city image or narrative. The documentation of these explorers' urban quests are most important, especially as they are shared far and wide as alternative images of the city via what the authors call 'connective media.' Here the alternative 'virtual' city comes into conflict with the prevailing image or 'brand' city authorities would normally prefer.

REFERENCES

- Beaverstock, J.V., R.G. Smith and P.J. Taylor (1999), 'A roster of world cities,' *Cities*, **16**(6), 445–58.
- Brenner, N. (ed.) (2014), *Implosions/Explosions: Towards a Study of Planetary Urbanization*, Berlin: Jovis.
- Brenner, N. and C. Schmid (2015), 'Towards a new epistemology of the urban?,' *City*, **19**(2–3), 151–82.
- Brenner, N. and N. Theodore (2002), 'Cities and the geographies of "actually existing neoliberalism,"' *Antipode*, **34**(3), 349–79.
- Cresswell, T. (2013), *Geographic Thought: A Critical Introduction*, Chichester: Wiley.
- Davidson, M. and K. Iveson (2015), 'Beyond city limits: A conceptual and political defense of "the city" as an anchoring concept for critical urban theory,' *City*, **19**(5), 646–64.

- Davis, M. (2006), *Planet of Slums*, London: Verso.
- Elwood, S. and V. Lawson (2017), 'Neutralizing homelessness: Federal policy and the depoliticization of poverty,' *Urban Geography*, **38**(3), 329–31.
- Friedmann, J. (1986), 'The world city hypothesis,' *Development and Change*, **17**(1), 69–83.
- Globalization and World Cities Research Network (GaWC) (2016), 'The world according to GaWC 2016,' accessed 5 March 2018 at <http://www.lboro.ac.uk/gawc/world2016t.html>.
- Harvey, D. (1987), 'Reconsidering social theory: A debate,' *Society & Space: Environment and Planning D*, **5**(4), 363–434.
- Take, J. (2016), 'Why are our people overrepresented amongst te panī me te rawokore? Reflections on the root causes of Māori urban homelessness,' *Parity*, **29**(8), 8–10.
- Lees, L., H.B. Shin and E. Lopez-Morales (eds) (2015), *Global Gentrifications: Uneven Development and Displacement*, Bristol: Policy Press.
- Mould, O. (2016), 'A limitless urban theory? A response to Scott and Storper's "The nature of cities: The scope and limits of urban theory,"' *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, **40**(1), 157–63.
- Nijman, J. (2015), 'The theoretical imperative of comparative urbanism: A commentary on "Cities beyond compare?" by Jamie Peck,' *Regional Studies*, **49**(1), 183–6.
- Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (2015), 'Compare your country: Income distribution and poverty,' accessed 28 February 2018 at <http://www.compareyourcountry.org/inequality?cr=oced&lg=en>.
- Parnell, S. and E. Pieterse (eds) (2014), *Africa's Urban Revolution*, London: Zed Books.
- Parnell, S. and J. Robinson (2012), '(Re) theorizing cities from the Global South: Looking beyond neoliberalism,' *Urban Geography*, **33**(4), 593–617.
- Peck, J. (2015), 'Cities beyond compare?,' *Regional Studies*, **49**(1), 160–82.
- Peluso, E. and F. Andreoli (2017), 'Study: US cities have worse inequality than Mexico, with rich and poor living side by side,' *The Conversation*, 1 June, accessed 28 February 2018 at <http://theconversation.com/study-us-cities-have-worse-inequality-than-mexico-with-rich-and-poor-living-side-by-side-76125>.
- Randolph, B. and A. Tice (2014), 'Suburbanizing disadvantage in Australian cities: Sociospatial change in an era of neoliberalism,' *Journal of Urban Affairs*, **36**(1), 384–99.
- Roy, A. (2016a), 'Who's afraid of postcolonial theory?,' *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, **40**(1), 200–209.
- Roy, A. (2016b), 'What is urban about critical urban theory?,' *Urban Geography*, **37**(6), 810–23.
- Sassen, S. (2014), *Expulsions*, Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press.
- Scott, A.J. and M. Storper (2015), 'The nature of cities: The scope and limits of urban theory,' *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, **39**(1), 1–15.
- Sheppard, E., V. Gidwani and M. Goldman et al. (2015), 'Introduction: Urban revolutions in the age of global urbanism,' *Urban Studies*, **52**(11), 1947–61.
- Simone, A. (2016), 'It's just the city after all,' *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, **40**(1), 210–18.
- Storper, M. and A.J. Scott (2016), 'Current debates in urban theory: A critical assessment,' *Urban Studies*, **53**(6), 1114–36.
- United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (UNDESA) (2009), 'Urban and rural areas 2009' [chart], accessed 28 February 2016 at <http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/publications/urbanization/urban-rural.shtml>.
- United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (UNDESA) (2014), *World Urbanization Prospects, 2014 Revision*, accessed 5 March 2018 at <https://esa.un.org/unpd/wup/Publications/Files/WUP2014-Report.pdf>.
- United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (UNDESA) (2016), *The World's Cities in 2016*, accessed 5 March 2018 at http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/publications/pdf/urbanization/the_worlds_cities_in_2016_data_booklet.pdf.

- Walker, R. (2015), 'Building a better theory of the urban: A response to "Towards a new epistemology of the urban?"' *City*, **19**(2–3), 183–91.
- Wilson, W.J. (2012), *The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, the Underclass, and Public Policy*, 2nd edition, Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.
- Wolch, J.R. (1991), 'Urban homelessness: An agenda for research,' *Urban Geography*, **12**(2), 99–104.
- Zeiderman, A., S.A. Kaker, J. Silver and A. Wood (2015), 'Uncertainty and urban life,' *Public Culture*, **27**(2), 281–304.