

# URBAN EXTENSION: AN EXAMINATION OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS OF UNCOMPLETED BUILDINGS IN IBADAN, NIGERIA

**Name: Micah, Damilola John (PhD)**

**Email: [damilolamicah@yahoo.com](mailto:damilolamicah@yahoo.com)**

**Address: Department of Sociology Faculty of Social & Management Sciences Adekunle Ajasin**

**University Akungba-Akoko**

**Affiliation: Adekunle Ajasin University Akungba-Akoko**

**Country of Residence: Nigeria**

## ABSTRACT

The rapid extension of Ibadan city triggers phenomenon of irregular architectural structures, uncompleted buildings which significantly threaten wellbeing and health. This study investigated challenges associated with uncompleted buildings in the city extension area. Henri Lefebvre's *political economy theory of urbanization* was adopted using descriptive study. Sample of 75 respondents was selected covering extension areas. Purposive, random ballot, accidental sampling, in-depth interviews, key informant interviews ethnographic summary and content analysis were utilised. Respondents (62.4%) above 35 years agreed residents lived in close knit social relationship despite socio cultural differences. Some houses did not have approved building plans and this affected appropriate location which exacerbated erosions, access road and pockets of conflicts. There was poor state monitoring of extension areas to comprise minimum housing standard despite soaring population. Therefore, rapid investment in extension areas should be sustained to protect people and environment. This should be facilitated by public-private collaboration.

**Key words:** urban extension; well being; urbanization; public-private collaboration

## Introduction and problem

Urbanisation is a recurrent phenomenon in the world. It signifies expansion in time, space and landscape of human endeavours. Cities across the world beginning from 18<sup>th</sup> century onward have experienced population explosion due to surge in industrial revolution (Orum and Xiangming, 2003). The social change consequent upon discoveries, science and technology in Europe and America is significant for explanation. Most Europeans countries became

industrialized as a result of discoveries of machines and technology which aided mass production in factories (Sassen, 2001; Onyeonoru, 2005). During this period, there was convergence of people in industries for mass production. Extended family system of production and subsistence farming was substituted for machine production and nuclear family as a new order of development in human history. Factories in city areas needed people for mass production and export of goods. Factories produced goods for cheap prices and this ultimately hindered subsistence system of production by individuals. The urgency to survive the impact of industrial revolution therefore forced massive transition to locations factories were located for mass production (Zukin, 1995). This marks the beginning of urbanization in Europe and other developed nations of the world. The breakthrough recorded in Europe and America especially advance technology was exported to Africa and other Asia countries. Specifically, the discoveries of oil at commercial quantities in Nigeria in 1958 were made possible by advance technology of Europe and America (Logan and Harvey, 1987). Consequent upon oil discovery, Nigeria became hub of Africa attraction for Europe and America. This period was the beginning of rapid urbanization in Nigeria.

The convergence of technology for oil exploration led to diminishing return in agriculture and there was transition to area oil industries were localized (Adesina, 2000). Oil exploration in Nigeria led to massive neglect of agriculture that was once the main stay of the economy and export. The convergence of petrochemical industries and the rapid economic revolution it brought prompted massive rural urban migration. Locations where petrochemical industries were located became city area due to investment in infrastructure, social amenities and quality of life that attracted people to the locations. There were massive employment opportunities created by oil and petrochemical industries and this was major bait that attracted migration to urban area. Government income from oil was exponential and it could invest same in capital cities which became attraction for migration from rural areas. The magnitude of progress in city area is a major attraction to people in rural area. In the city, job opportunities abound, industries were localized, social amenities and infrastructure were available to people live abundant live and connect global world. This was the main reason for migration to city, whereas rural areas were deprived of this numerous opportunities.

Now that cities in Nigeria and specifically Ibadan have experienced population explosion due to availability of infrastructure and location of industries, this is attended with some

consequences. Initially, Ibadan as a capital city had infrastructure that could sufficiently serve certain numbers of population. Ibadan is one of the foremost cities in Nigeria and one of the largest cities in West Africa (National population Commission, 2010). Therefore the attraction of people across Nigeria to migrate to Ibadan city was not a misplaced priority to benefit from the socio economic gains of the area (Ministry of Finance, 2010; World Bank, 2010). In Ibadan, people benefit from the education infrastructure especially the premier university, industries employ people for economic gains, government ministries and parastata are major source of employment and telecommunications firms and multinational stores were all available to employ people. The opportunities that abound in Ibadan led to massive convergence of people and rapid population growth (Ministry of Finance, 2010; Ministry of Housing, 2010). Consequently the infrastructure especially housing available in city area became overstretched and there was need for extension area in the less city also known as developing area. The less city area is mainly characterized by new buildings and some large numbers of buildings were uncompleted. People live in most of the uncompleted buildings as a response to pressure created by city explosion. Some socio cultural and economic conditions are associated with housing accommodation in the less city area. Similarly, some uncompleted buildings created environmental nuisance, poor sanitary and drainage problem that hinder sustainable environment and decent living. This is the main focus of this study.

Against this background, the study specifically addressed the following objectives. To:

- i. Examine socio cultural factors associated with uncompleted buildings in less city area
- ii. Identify challenges created by the phenomenon of uncompleted buildings

### **Scope of the Study and Clarification of Concept**

The study specifically focused on individuals who were residents in new developing area in Ibadan. This location is rapidly developing due to urban spill and city extension in Ibadan. It is called Less-City because the location is a transition to city life and there is gradual increase in literate population and working class of non agricultural sector.

### **Literature Review and Theoretical Framework**

Urbanization is the process whereby large numbers of people congregate and settle in an area, eventually developing social institutions, such as businesses and government, to support themselves (Lefebvre, 1991). Urban areas, or those pockets of people and institutions thereby created, are generally characterized as relatively dense settlements of people. Furthermore, it is

claimed, urban areas sometimes originate from the effort by authorities to consciously concentrate power, capital, or both at a particular site (Orum, 2011). This represents major forms of urbanization in Nigeria where localization of industries was the main source of city and population explosion in an area. The process of urbanization has gone on throughout history. Large congregations of people have existed across the world, from ancient China to ancient Rome and Greece (Sassen, 2001). Although the numbers of residents of such cities pale by comparison with urban areas today, the relatively large and dense congregations of people still helped to foster new institutions and, in general, to make urban life in many ways preferable to that of living in relatively isolated rural areas. Urban residents typically benefit from better forms of education, improved medical care, the availability and distribution of information, and the greater supply of life sustaining goods, such as food and shelter.

Today, more than half the world's population resides in urban areas (Orum and Xiangming, 2003). Furthermore, demographers project that between 2000 and 2025 the population growth of urban areas will constitute about 90 percent of all world population growth. This may be true especially in some countries in Africa where there has been rapid rural urban migration to benefit from urban infrastructure. Major concentrations of people today can be found on all continents. Yet urbanization is more than just the process leading to dense settlements (Logan and Harvey, 1987). Social theorists across the ages have wrestled to understand it. Indeed, one might say that the process of urbanization is a focal point for many sociological concerns; the urban area serves, in effect, as a major stage on which social change plays itself out (Zukin, 1995). If one takes a dim view of such change, then urbanization tends to be criticized for the evils it unleashes. Yet if one takes a positive view of social change, then urbanization is claimed to produce many benefits (Castells, 1977; World Bank, 2010). The feature created by urban today is a major concern. There is now city explosion which is consequent upon unabated rural urban migration. Infrastructure in city area is overstretched due to population explosion and consequently there is urban extension to suburb area like less-city in Ibadan to respond to the pressure.

The study engaged political economy theory of Henri Lefebvre, a French scholar. Lefebvre argued that the urbanization process is not one exclusively driven by population expansion and mobility, per se, but rather by the actions of key social actors (Lefebvre, 1991). Social agents, Lefebvre insisted, produce, and reproduce, the spaces in cities; and, to the extent

that such agents reflect the dominant forms of social and economic inequalities, those inequalities will be re-created in the nature of metropolitan space. Lefebvre extended his basic insights in several directions, insisting that we must study not simply the different parts of the metropolitan area but also the way that social rhythms are created therein, such as the rhythm to work life and that to the nature of life on the streets (Orum, 2011)). Lefebvre inspired the sociologist Manuel Castells. Castells argued specifically that it was not simply population growth that created the various forms of social disorganization, such as poor housing condition in city, higher crime rates in the city, but instead it was the forces of capitalism. Capitalism created the inequalities, between residents as well as between sectors of the city. Moreover, Castells suggested, the Marxist view of the world, when applied carefully to the city and to the process of urbanization, emphasized the forces of collective consumption, not those of production, as Marx himself originally argued. Thus, Castells argued, it is the conditions of public housing and of other forms in which urban laborers are exploited as consumers, to which sociologists, studying urbanization, must turn their attention and seek to correct.

The implication of the theory is that it is not the population growth in urban area that constitutes the main problem. It is rather the action and intention of individuals in position of authority in public and private sector that constitute problem. This occurs when bureaucrats in collaboration with politicians neglect policies that could improve living condition of people in urban or city area. These individuals are mainly interested in policies that could create wide gap in social inequality. In this case, government either neglects housing policy that benefits the urban people or cut investment in the sector. This is done in collaboration with capitalist elites who are mainly interested in profit making. The practice is that government grant licence to private individuals to construct housing units for rent at expensive price or some housing units were constructed for sales at prices that could not be afforded by the working class people. While housing condition and urban infrastructure therein become deteriorated, people look for alternative area like less-city in Ibadan as a response to cope with the pressure.

## **Methodology**

The study adopted descriptive cross sectional design and it was mainly qualitative study. In this method, a cross sectional of respondents which consisted of different categories of people such civil servants, farmers, academics, bankers and gender of different sexes were captured in this study. Population of the study was mainly individuals in less-city area. This area was a

developing location and a form of suburbanization. The city of Ibadan is classified into main city and less city. Main city are locations in urban area, while less city are locations in rural area. Less city is a developing area in Ibadan which is mainly residential place. The less city area in Ibadan now composes of large size of people resident in the location. A sample of 75 respondents participated in the study and this size was purposively determined. Sampling procedure for this study consisted of purposive, simple random ballot and accidental sampling technique. Purposive sampling was used to select less-city location which is the area characterized by uncompleted buildings. This area provides characteristics required by the study. Purposive sampling was also used for selection of households. The study was household based and some households were purposively selected in the communities the study took place. Ballot sampling was used to pick the three local government areas where this study was conducted. There are 6 local governments (LGs) in Ibadan identified as less-city. Therefore, using ballot method of sampling, Ido LG, Lagelu LG and Akinyele LG were randomly picked for the study. Accidental sampling also known as opportunistic method was used to pick respondents who were engaged in face-to-face interviews.

Method of data collection was qualitative method and this made use of qualitative data generated from the texts of discussions in interviews. The qualitative data were sourced using instruments of data collection which consisted of in-depth interviews (IDIs) and key informant interviews (KIIs). Similarly, method of data analysis was qualitative method which utilized content analysis. This applies where qualitative data for the study was subject to ethnographic summary. In this case, data for the study was classified according to relevant objectives and verbatim quotation of responses was used. Explanation of the verbatim quotations was engaged to provide inferences. Similarly, quantitative method such as percentage was used to analyse socio demographic data. Quantitative data were generated from socio economic characteristics of respondents identified in the interviews discussions. Specifically, questions on socio economic characteristics of the respondents were structured and this made it possible to generate quantitative data. Ethical considerations which consisted of consent, anonymity, security and protection of respondents were engaged.

## **Data Results**

### **Socio-Demographic Characteristics**

Some socio demographic characteristics of respondents which consisted of sex, age, income, occupation and education were analysed. There were 42.4% male and 57.6% female respondents in the study. Most of the respondents (62.4%) were between 35 years and 40 years. While 63.7% of the respondents earned below fifty thousand naira monthly income. Occupation distribution of the respondents consisted of civil servants (22.4%), artisans (28.5%), academic lecturers (14.2%), farmers (10.4%), corporate sector employees (14.9%) and traders (8.9%). Similarly, most respondents (41.8%) had Bachelor of Science or Higher National Diploma as academic qualification, while there were 74.8% respondents that belonged to Yoruba ethnic group, 10.3% were Igbo ethnic, 6.2% were Hausa and 8.7% indicated other ethnic groups which consisted of Ijaw, Urhobo, Igala, Itshekiri, ibira and Igala. The implication of the above socio demographic characteristics is that individuals in this study cut across male and female gender, belonged to different age group, ethnic differences, level of income, occupation and educational qualification. These characteristics contributed to know how individuals experience, interpret and understand their world views especially living in less-city area where there are uncompleted structures and the attended social consequences.

### **Socio Cultural Factors Associated with Uncompleted Buildings**

Respondents were engaged in discussions to cover some socio cultural factors related to life in less city area and how these factors help to explain social interaction. Respondents were asked to describe social relationship they formed with others in less city area. In this case, a resident in one of the uncompleted buildings put his thought when he said:

There is good relationship with my neighbours. I don't have problems with other landlords here. This is my seventh year of living in this building. I have my children living with me. I'm muslim as you can see. I have three wives and all of them live with me happily. We used to have landlord meetings every Sunday. We discussed issues that affect our community there (IDIs/Landlord/Akinyele LG/Ibadan/2016)

A respondent was elated when he said:

There is peace in this community. We live like brothers and sisters. This is my house and I have been the landlord more than 4 years now. Members here are united and there is no reason we have to panic. I am Christian by religion. There are other Christians in this community. We use to have landlord association and we make common contribution to help provide community service like drainage and security (IDIs/Landlord/Ido LG/Ibadan/2016).

Further in the discussion, a female landlady contributed in her opinions when she said:

I have been living in this community more ten years. I am sure members here related together well especially in community service to provide security and control of erosion.

All landlords and landlady used to have routine meetings to discuss progress and peace of the residents (IDIs/Landlady/Ido LG/Ibadan/2016).

Looking at the various responses above, it is clear that members of the community in less city area maintained good relationship to live together in peace. Although there are conflicts which related to land ownership dispute in less city area, there are mechanisms to resolve the conflict. This statement was buttressed when a respondent said:

The only common place of conflict in this community is land grabber problem. Some landlords built beyond their land boundaries. This often causes problems. The landlord association often mediates to solve the problem (IDIs/Landlady/Lagelu LG/Ibadan/2016).

Respondents were asked whether religion, education, occupation, ethnic was determining factor of association and interaction in the less city. Some views were elicited. A respondent said:

I don't think members of landlords and landladies related by virtue of educational qualification. We see ourselves as one member. I am a university senior lecturer. I related well with other members who do not even have any academic qualification. You need to know that educational qualification is not basis of association in this community. There are landlords or landladies who are artisans, traders and local farmers. We see ourselves as one member of the same community (IDIs/Landlord/Akinyele LG/Ibadan/2016).

A respondent put his words when he held:

I want to let you know that there are muslim's landlords here in large numbers. There are also Christian's landlords in this community. I am certain we related well among ourselves. As you can see, my house is not yet completed. Yet it does not mean that I don't have friends among landlords who are professors, medical doctors, teachers, lecturers and others (IDIs/Landlord/Lagelu LG/Ibadan/2016).

Similarly, a medical doctor in one of the less city communities said:

I don't think there is basis for social discrimination in this community. I am member of landlord association. The secretary of the association is a bricklayer by profession. I am a Yoruba man. We have people from Igbo and other ethnics as members of landlord association (IDIs/Landlord/Ido LG/Ibadan/2016).

A female respondent maintained when she said:

I am certain members of landlords and landladies are friends. We have among our members, people of different occupations, ethnics, age grade and gender. We cooperate on different ground to protect our community (IDIs/Landlord/Lagelu LG/Ibadan/2016).

The content of views above showed that members of less city communities related well and there was no discrimination whether based on educational qualification, occupation, ethnic and religion. The implication is that members of less city communities still maintained close knit affiliation and social bond and this is relatively lacking in the city area. Again the social bond in less city area was responsible for common fund to provide security by members of vigilante and protection of lives and properties. Members rallied together to ward off crimes and expose criminals in the communities. However, one major problem identified by people resident in less city area is the transportation cost to city area. Most members in less city communities in the



study area worked in the main city. Transportation cost had heavy impact on income. Some respondents explained some of the difficulties. A respondent said:

It is not easy to bear transport cost. I spent at least N800 daily from Monday to Friday. I am a civil servant. Some of the roads here are not good and this often time makes it difficult for commercial motor vehicles to ply the roads. This area relies on the use of commercial motor cycle. It is costly (IDIs/Landlord/Akinyele LG/Ibadan/2016).

A police officer in one of the communities said:

The cost of accommodation in the city is high. I moved to this house because of the unfriendly nature of my former landlord. Rent was increased every three years. As you can see this house is not yet completed. May be soon I will roof the remaining part (IDIs/Landlord/Lagelu LG/Ibadan/2016)

A respondent was critical in her opinion when she said:

The government neglected our community. There are no good roads. Some communities are cut off during rainy season because of heavy erosion. Life here is difficult during period of rains (IDIs/Landlady/Ido LG/Ibadan/2016).

Some inferences can be drawn from the above explanations. People live in less city area to avoid high cost of rent in the city area. This necessitated some individuals to build their houses even though such structures are uncompleted to accommodate families and friends. Life in less city area sometimes incur high cost especially transportation which impose burdens due to bad roads. Therefore, it is not surprising that numerous houses in the less-city are incomplete as people desired to avoid high rent and embarrassment this could bring. Again, it can be maintained that the annual rent some people incurred in the city area is sufficient to start off household building in some less city areas. This statement was buttressed by one of the respondents when he said:

I bought this land some years back. My former landlord was just too troublesome. The rent was high and becoming difficult for me. I decided to use my one year rent to start off the building. There are five rooms in the plan. But for now, I could only develop two rooms temporarily to accommodate myself and family (IDIs/Landlord/Akinyele LG/Ibadan/2016).

Therefore people will continue to move to less city area to avoid cost of rent and live in buildings most of which are uncompleted as response to economic pressure in the city area.

### **Challenges Created by Phenomenon of uncompleted Buildings**

Some challenges were identified as consequence created by phenomenon of uncompleted buildings in less-city. Sanitation problem was one of the major problems. Respondents bared their minds on this issue. A respondent in one of the communities said:

Toilet facilities are major issues in this community. I can confirm to you that some houses do not have toilets. They prefer to use available bushes around (IDIs/Landlord/ido LG/Ibadan/2016).

Similarly, a respondent expressed his dissatisfaction when he said:

Landlord association in this community gave resolution that all houses should have toilet facilities whether it is water type or latrine/pit. Some members still do not bother to have either type. These are people who mess up the environment and do not bother about health implication (IDIs/Landlord/Lagelu LG/Ibadan/2016).

The above views notably identify toilet facilities as one of the concerns in less city area. The problem is that some people resident in less city indiscriminately defecate and wrapped faeces in nylons or paper deposited in available space in nearby bushes. This was the common practice of people in the less city.

Access to good water source was a problem in the less city. Although some houses were not affected, there were a number of houses that suffered acute water shortage or non availability especially during dry season. A respondent said:

This is my house. I have been living here more than 8 years. Most of the well waters in this area dry during rainy season. This place is mountainous and there is rock. So water is scarce during dry season (IDIs/Landlady/Akinyele LG/Ibadan/2016).

Another respondent supported the above view when she said:

The community needs government assistance. We suffer from scarcity of good water source. Most landlords in this area are not financially buoyant to afford borehole water. Some of the well waters do not last in period of dry season (IDIs/Landlady/Lagelu LG/Ibadan/2016).

Most respondents believed that government should intervene to provide portable water for drinking and this could prevent attitude of using bushes for defecation where there is adequate water to flush toilets in the homes. Poor drainage in some of the less city communities was responsible for erosion havoc especially during raining season. The observation was that some buildings occupied erosion channel or some did not create channel for water passage in the houses. The result was that once the rainy season approached there used to be panic in the community. Similarly, some uncompleted structures did not have survey plans which specify

appropriate location of buildings. Therefore, houses were built indiscriminately in most parts of less city area.

A respondent was emphatic in her responses when she said:

On major cause of troubles in this community is land boundary. Some landlords built beyond appropriate boundaries of their lands. They do not bother about the need for access road and drainage. This is a serious problem in the community (IDIs/Landlady/Akinyele LG/Ibadan/2016).

Also a respondent put in his words when he said:

The community will continue to experience erosion problem. Many buildings do not have survey plan to show how a structure should be erected to protect the environment (IDIs/Landlord/Ido LG/Ibadan/2016).

Looking at the above submission, it can be maintained that there is dimension of government negligence to enforce environmental protection and safety of people in less city communities. This is so because government effort is concentrated in the city while population in less city is rapidly growing without attention. This is one major reason that most communities in the less city in Ibadan do not have access roads, drainage channels and poor roads that deprive flow of transportation. A discussion with one of the government officials in the Department of Housing in Ibadan revealed some facts.

I can assure you that government monitors the less city area. In housing department, we have units and there is unit that is designated to monitor the area. Government has settlement plan that covers the entire less city area. But you know, government is burdened with a lot of responsibilities. You cannot overrule saboteur among government officials. Some officials collected bribes to undermine building and settlement standards. This is why you see that some buildings do not have government approved plans. It is unfortunate (IDIs/ Official/Ministry of Urban /Ibadan/2016).

A respondent who worked in planning unit of housing department categorically said:

We have master plan for all communities in rural and urban area in Ibadan. The unit is constrained with funds to effectively monitor rural areas. Many times when our task-force moves out to communities and villages, we marked some illegal structures for demolition. The unit is very functional (IDIs/Liaison officer/Housing Department/Ibadan/2016).

Basically, it is true that there are some houses in less city area that were marked for demolition. Finding showed that none of the buildings was demolished after many years they have been marked. The true picture is that there is no effective monitoring of less city area by government.

Therefore people build indiscriminately to block access roads, lack toilet facilities, poor access to water and the problem of erosion havocs keep mounting in the area.

## **Conclusion**

Less city communities in Ibadan are characterizes by socio cultural factors that make live affordable and close knit relation in relationship with others. There are traces of mechanical solidarity in most of the less city communities which ensure that individual perceives others as one family household and they could collaborate in the area of communal security. In the less-city, people believed that there is need for cooperation, landlord/landladies meeting, common fund and relationship with others devoid of occupational/educational status, religious affiliation or ethnic divisions. This explains some of the major reasons crime could be effectively tackled by vigilante members and exposure of criminal elements in the community.

Nevertheless, the phenomenon of uncompleted buildings in the less-city creates environmental hazards, erosion havocs, sanitation problems which sometimes threaten healthy living and protection of the environment. People that live in the less city did so due to cost of rent in the city that was expensive and most time non affordable. In some of the less city communities, there is little or no government presence in the provision of portable water and so people often resort to open defecation in nearby bushes. This undermines possibility of disease outbreak. Similarly, economic hardship was major reason identified by people that lived in uncompleted buildings. These people also wished that there was availability of funds or loans that could afford them to complete their houses. Therefore, this study identifies some measures that could be taken to address the problem at hand.

There is need for government to shift focus to less city area in housing investment. Government should increase investment in less city area to ensure that settlement plans for rural and developing area are effectively implemented. Most less city communities in the study were neglected in the aspect of road projects. It was difficult for people in these communities to access city area where most work place/office locations reside. Cost of transportation was major problems. It is possible that where there is good road network and affordable transportation cost, people could save more to facilitate fund for completion of houses in the less city. Also, government should recognize that population of people in the less city is soaring frequently due to unabated influx of people to this area. Therefore, investment in the less city is now a necessity.

## **References**

- Adesina, O.A. (2000). *Themes and Perspectives in Sociology: African Experience*. Penguin Book. Ibadan
- Castells, M. (1977). *The Urban Question*. Translated by Alan Sheridan. Cambridge, MA: MIT. Originally published as *La Question Urbaine* (Paris: Francois Maspero, 1972).
- Jacobs, J (1961). *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. New York: Random House.
- Lefebvre, H. (1991). *The Production of Space*. Translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith. Oxford, UK: Blackwell. Originally published as *Production de l'espace* (Paris: Anthropos, 1974).
- Logan, J. and Harvey, M. (1987). *Urban Fortunes: Toward a Political Economy of Place*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Ministry of Finance, 2010. Budget Allocation for Ibadan Housing Development. Ibadan, Nigeria.
- Ministry of Housing (2010). *Ibadan Master Plan. Bulletin*, Oyo State Government.
- National Population Commission, (2010). *State by State Annual*. Abuja, Nigeria
- Onyeonuru, (2005). *Industrial Sociology*. Penguin Books, Ibadan, Nigeria
- Orum, A. (2011). 'Urbanisation' Encyclopedia of social Theory. *Sage Publication*
- Orum, A.M. and Xiangming, C. (2003). *The World of Cities*. Malden, MA, & Oxford, UK: Blackwell
- Sassen, S. (2001). *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo*. 2d ed. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- World Bank, 2010. *Human Capital Development*. Washington.
- Zukin, S. (1995). *The Cultures of Cities*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.