THE NEW URBAN

TOWARDS PROGRESSIVE SECONDARY CITIES

EDITOR
JORGE CARRILLO RODRIGUEZ

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This publication is dedicated to Daphna Beerdsen (1983–2014)
Respected colleague and friend

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FOREWORD

The development landscape in Asia is changing. As more countries reach middle-income levels, new challenges emerge while old ones evolve, all of which demands increasingly innovative perspectives. The region is experiencing rapid urbanization, ageing populations, increasingly mobile and connected peoples, increased cultural and ethnic diversity, greater vulnerability to macroeconomic shocks, more devastating natural disasters, chronic poverty with widening disparities, a rising middle class and other political transformations that might open the doors for more active citizens, and robust economic growth, which means richer but not necessarily more effective governments.

These changes are taking place largely in cities – the arena in which citizen influence is the strongest. Many middle-income cities house expanding populations, often generate more than 50 per cent of the national income and are centres of culture, industry, commerce and politics. With this concentration of growth, many cities have risen, and are continuing to rise, in prominence. This is particularly the case for secondary cities. Contrary to common belief, the majority of the world's urban population resides in cities of fewer than one million inhabitants. Increasingly, secondary cities are vital elements in economic development strategies and as platforms for social and political innovations.

Against this reality, international aid organizations are reorienting their work, especially in the more fragile countries that tend to be poorly governed. External funding institutions cannot exert the same degree of influence as before because any financial incentive they might offer is likely to be overshadowed by other streams of financial flows. In most of these developing countries, the issue is no longer the amount of growth but the quality of growth. The need, then, is to engage with the increasing variety of stakeholders and with the social, economic and political processes that are shaping the new development priorities and policy-making.

Recognizing that cities are the focus of change for rural, local, national and global development agendas, Oxfam is re-engaging its work in middle-income countries through urban programming. This includes campaigning in cities to leverage for national change and simultaneously using these new approaches to complement its traditional rural development work. The challenge for Oxfam is to build sustainable institutional processes through which the urban poor can advocate and innovate to realize their rights, while governments and other influential actors (the private sector and international agencies) become more responsive and accountable to the urban poor. In other words, fostering active citizens and honing responsive states.

A key component of Oxfam's urban framework is the generation and sharing of knowledge that can support its urban programming and feed advocacy and capacity-strengthening initiatives. An Asia Development Dialogue (ADD) platform was started in 2012 to promote multidisciplinary analysis and debate regarding a limited number of prioritized and cross-cutting issues that have longer-term implications for social and economic development in Asia – especially issues that may be highly relevant but have not yet been systemically addressed through this type of learning forum. It is a joint collaboration among Oxfam Great Britain, Chulalongkorn University (Thailand) and the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy (Singapore), with support from the Rockefeller Foundation.

Embracing the importance of collective thinking, multidisciplinary analysis and joint solutions in tackling the critical challenges confronting Asia today, the project leverages the expertise and networks of each consortium member to gather diverse stakeholders from government, the private sector, academia, media and civil society onto the same platforms.

The topics included in this publication emerged during various ADD meetings that took place in 2013 focusing on the challenges and opportunities of secondary cities. The publication is not intended to be a report or a collection of in-depth analytical papers, but rather an exploration of questions that the ADD discussions brought to the surface. This collection both highlights emerging issues and provides different perspectives on persistent issues.

— Asia Development Dialogue Team

INTRODUCTION

Urbanization has been a fixture in the development of most countries in South-East Asia for more than 40 years. The massive and rapid growth of urban agglomerations, such as Bangkok, Jakarta, Manila and, more recently, Ho Chi Minh City, forced planners and urban managers to focus, at least initially, on finding solutions to housing demands and a massive need for basic infrastructure (water, sewerage, electricity and transport). Urban policies and interventions were – and in many places still are – based on simple physical terms: the number of people, houses and roads and the area covered. These remain key factors. But with the number of cities and urban dwellers increasing and systems of cities becoming more intricate, it is clear that a more complex notion of 'urban' is needed. Urban planning ministries, local government officials and development organizations are under pressure to design programmes that respond to the needs and demands of urban people; to do it effectively, they need to incorporate new and more complex dimensions into their plans. The essays in this publication highlight some of these 'new urban' dimensions.

Cities are becoming more socially diverse. The idea that cities are inhabited by stereotypical urban individuals or families is being replaced by recognition of extensive diversity and the variety of needs and demands that this diversity brings. Each social group engages with urban processes differently, and each claims and exercises its citizenship in their own unique manner. For instance, rural-to-urban migrants have long been characterized as 'different' people who, with time, break with their rural roots and become fully integrated into city life. This continues to be the case, but advances in communication technology and new patterns of migration (such as seasonal, circular, jump-scale and multi-local households) now make it possible to maintain strong links with a place of origin and thus enable migrants from rural homes to develop their own urban identity. This trend is strengthened by the improved economic situation of rural inhabitants. Rural migrants are not necessarily associated with being poor any more. Living conditions in rural areas have improved, and the number of people living below the poverty line has decreased as a result of national economic growth. Rural migrants today represent a new type of urban dweller who are prepared to assert their identity and engage with the social and political landscape.

Urban settings have the potential to generate new roles for women, not only in economic or family terms but also as citizens. Such factors as access to education and productive employment, declining fertility rates and transformation of traditional family structures, common throughout South-East Asia, are redefining the position of women in society. Women in the region are becoming more assertive in terms of seeking legal protection and financial independence, even though societal and cultural attitudes continue to present obstacles. As pointed out by Sumrit in her essay, urbanization for women has become largely synonymous with new opportunities, especially with employment and thus financial independence, access to better health care, education and creative expression and, arguably, redefining traditional gender roles. Unfortunately, the city has also come to represent what can go wrong. The inability of cities to ensure their safety in public spaces presents a major obstacle to the aspirations of urban women, while failure to understand how women and men experience cities differently undermines many urban programmes aimed at reducing poverty and increasing the well-being of residents.

All countries' populations are ageing, although each one is at a different stage. From a city perspective, however, the greying population is a particularly complex issue. Many countries in Asia, including those in South-East Asia, are experiencing rapid ageing and urbanization simultaneously. So far, no other region in the world has had to deal with this challenge. The fact that national populations are ageing does not necessarily mean that cities are also ageing; in fact, the opposite might be true, given that most rural-to-urban migrants tend to be young. Thus, the average age in cities, where the main growth factor is still rural-to-urban migration, is likely to be below the national average. However, the number of older urban dwellers also will continue to increase, and, as noted by Long in his essay, cities are ill-prepared to cope with them. Traditional views of an older person only as a burden who needs health care and assistance still dominate social policies and programmes. Fortunately, there is increasing awareness that the needs of older persons go beyond health alone and, most importantly, that, with improved nutrition and access to modern medical services, they can be productive much longer and can be an asset to their community. But the physical design of most South-East Asian cities is still a major barrier that impedes older

persons from leading a more active life.

International migration poses challenges to questions of citizenship and national identity. It has become one of the markers of globalization, and most international migrants tend to flow to capitals or secondary cities and towns. Now, nearly every country in the region is at the same time a country of origin and destination. Contrary to common belief, migration is triggered not only by poverty or lack of development in countries of origin. There is an increasing differentiation between types of migrants, such as businesspeople, highly skilled and knowledge workers, students, mid-level entrepreneurs and low-skilled and unskilled workers. Cities are becoming more cosmopolitan, although as Jayaraj mentions in her essay, countries pride themselves on ethnic and cultural diversity but seem to want to control how diverse they become.

Informality is a key dimension of cities in South-East Asia. Informality presents opportunities (it can act as a safety net) and challenges (it creates highly vulnerable conditions and strains on urban services). In contrast to standard approaches that dismiss it as an aberration to be eliminated through various processes of formalization, contemporary perspectives are starting to recognize that the informal sector is pivotal to the functioning of a city. It provides livelihoods to migrants and poor households and transport for workers to and from their jobs. It is a source of employment at times of economic contraction or when the formal sector cannot create enough jobs to keep up with population growth. Informality has become a structural component of urban life. The interface between the formal and the informal is blurred, with people and services moving across each sector. The challenge is to minimize the social and economic costs associated with informality while strengthening its potential to contribute positively. Urban informal workers are often considered 'second-class citizens' but, as Pruecksamars notes in his essay, the question for urban managers is not how to formalize informality but how to adapt formal definitions, rules and policies to accommodate the informal sector.

Urban resilience has become a matter of great urgency. Over the past two decades, South-East Asia has been affected by the Indian Ocean earthquake and tsunami, Cyclone Nargis, Typhoon Yolanda and massive flooding, all of which have resulted in extraordinary loss of life and/or assets and sources of livelihood. Climate change is also likely to produce smaller and more frequent disasters that have a bigger impact on poor people, who are continuously pushed further into poverty. City dwellers, especially people who are poor, are affected by climate change in ways different from those that rural people experience. In the rush to strengthen urban resilience, many urban managers and planners have forgotten that climate change is about people. As Beersden shows in her essay, attention has shifted towards local-level strengths with people as active participants. The interaction between local governments and community members is often an eye-opener to both sides. And both are learning together how to prepare and cope with the inevitable impact that climate change will have on them.

Never before have so many people been instantly connected to each other and to boundless information. The emergence and dissemination of digital communications and social media are pervasive forces shaping what it means to be an urban citizen. The impact on individuals is undeniable, including the utility of digital communications and social media as tools for urban governance and citizenship. Suriyawongkul argues in his essay that their capacity to mobilize large groups of people unknown to one another but sharing a common goal has particularly potent potential. The collection and generation of data relevant to citizens' rights is only beginning to be tapped. The exercise of such opportunity will enable urban residents to claim and engage in more meaningful citizenship.

Secondary cities need to perform increasingly complex functions. The new urban landscape goes beyond these coalescing social dimensions highlighted in this collection of essays to include as well the transformation of systems of cities and the forces shaping them. Secondary cities are where most urban residents reside; for most South-East Asian countries, as Roberts points out in his essay, much of their future economic and social development will depend on how well their secondary cities perform and how effective their systems of cities become. Secondary cities are characterized less by their size now than by their administrative or economic roles. Most of them must perform different functions simultaneously: they must implement national policies and plans, act as centres for the development of their region, and, more recently, be competitive at the regional, and sometimes, global level. The emergence of progressive secondary cities in South-East Asia requires a shift in urban policies. Governments need to develop innovative approaches to financial decentralization and boost local economies within the context of more open governance and economical and mobile labour markets. Governments must also avoid neglecting participatory structures and resilience and sustainability requirements just to attract investment.

Most secondary cities in South-East Asia suffer from deficits in human and financial resources and struggle with

limited autonomy to raise their own resources. Budgets based on population size likely do not correspond to the realities of a city; for instance, secondary cities with robust economies may attract workers into their informal sector who are thus rarely counted or may have large daytime populations (from surrounding areas). Taylor argues in his essay that secondary cities have the opportunity to innovate in their policies and turn perceived disadvantages into potential assets. Smart and good governance can leverage the competitive advantages of smaller cities. Many local governments are turning to inclusive and participatory budget policies that tap into local resources and knowledge. These cities may attract people who want places that are less congested, offer a cleaner urban environment and a higher quality of life than larger cities. By being creative and entrepreneurial, these cities are able to thrive – not in spite of their smaller size but because of it.

Innovative approaches to enriching the attractiveness of secondary cities will be crucial to narrowing their 'desirability gap' with large primate cities. People in South-East Asia, even those living in rural areas, have an urban orientation. This means that values, attitudes, behaviours and aspirations are shaped largely by urban lifestyles and views. Rural communities have become socially urbanized. As a consequence, the old notion of a continuum running from rural villages through market towns and secondary cities to capitals has lost its relevance. As Thompson points out in his essay, increased mobility has had two opposing effects on secondary cities: urban-oriented young rural adults can easily bypass them; and they are more accessible to people looking for alternative living environments, students, temporary workers and travellers in search of unique experiences.

Managing progressive secondary cities with all the old and new urban dimensions requires some of the same complex thinking that once seemed applicable only to global megacities. When looking at these urban dimensions, it is vital to keep in mind that they interact with each other and their impact will depend on specific conditions and context: Urban resilience must take into consideration the persistent presence of informality, not only as a burden but also as a potential resource; new technologies tend to be adopted by the young segments of a population with older or poor persons not reaping the benefits; the vulnerabilities of women are amplified when they are migrants; ageing in a small city may offer more social support but less suitable health care, while in a larger city the effects may be reversed, etc.

Urbanization in South-East Asia will continue to bring challenges and opportunities. Cities and citizens must learn to manage this 'new urban' to ensure a just and sustainable future.

UNDERSTANDING THE NEW URBAN

Urbanization refers not only to the physical and/or demographic expansion of urban areas, but also to the increasing dominance of urban views in shaping the social attitudes and aspirations, political processes and institutions, consumption patterns and lifestyles of populations, regardless of their geographical location (urban, rural, slum, etc.). Urbanization is also a dynamic process – the composition of urban populations constantly changes, economic opportunities come and go, and new lifestyles and choices continually emerge. Being urban now means to be in a state of flux. The analysis, design and implementation of urban programmes and interventions must respond to this new context. Many theories and perspectives that dominated urban studies for many years do not apply to the rapidly changing cities of today. The essays in this section discuss some of the factors shaping the urban future of South-East Asia.

GENDER AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT: TOWARDS WOMEN-FRIENDLY CITIES

Sita Sumrit

One of the biggest stories of the century so far is the urbanizing of the global population and what that means for planning and coping. Nearly half of Asia's population inhabit an urban enclave. Over the next 40 years, the urban population is expected to double. By 2023, Asia's forecasted population will be more urban than rural, and by 2050, more than 66 per cent of the region's population will be urban.

Although the statistics reflect that women make up half the city dwellers, what is often missing from the stories of the great Asian urban challenge is how women and men experience cities differently. They also benefit differently from urbanization and the opportunities that cities offer. Urbanization for women has become largely synonymous with opportunity for women, especially in terms of employment and thus financial independence, access to better health care, education and creative expression and, arguably, to possibilities to redefine traditional gender roles. Yet, urban spaces also remain synonymous with all that can go bad for females.

Surviving the city

"We are worried about our daughters when they are in the city," explained a woman farmer in rural Vietnam.

The disturbing gang rape in Delhi in 2012 triggered similar worldwide discussion about women's safety in public spaces. The rape was additionally unsettling because it took in a private realm but on a public bus. A UN Women study that followed found that an estimated 95 per cent of women and girls in Delhi feel unsafe in public spaces, and 92 per cent of women had experienced some form of sexual violence in public spaces in their lifetime.

Although urban dwellers are more likely to report crime than their rural counterparts, studies have shown that a large number of rapes and other crimes against women go unreported. This pattern is reinforced by the general tolerance of sexual harassment and the trivialization, if not mockery, of women who file a complaint on sexual violence. The inability of cities to ensure safety for women impedes the achievement of gender equality. In many Asian

cities, street lighting remains poor, some underground walkways feel secluded and news of rape by public transport drivers is not unusual. Insecure public spaces instigate fear, which is the most effective method of subordinating women because it inhibits their mobility and, consequently, undermines their rights to active citizenship.

Making a living

Safety is only one facet of the great urban challenge for women. A sizeable proportion of the urban poor are women, thus coping with the additional challenges that poverty imposes. Despite the hope implicit in offers of employment opportunity that cities dangle, most women who migrate to the city end up in a low-paying job or informal sector work with little income, hazardous working conditions and no social protection. In Indonesia, thousands of rural women (and girls) who move to Jakarta end up working as housemaids in the informal sector, earning far below the city's minimum wage, with no contract, no limit on working hours and no oversight on their living conditions.

The meagre income from informal work is insufficient for women to sustain themselves and their family. This has led to more intractable problems due to unaffordable and poor housing, health risks and the mushrooming of slums in many Asian cities.

Even though cities have initiated a number of 'innovative' measures to make urban centres more liveable, such as the creation of green spaces and eco-friendly transport and architecture, the efforts typically are cosmetic, piecemeal and unsustainable. Worse, these initiatives are assumed to be beneficial to all. Using a bicycle in

the city may be friendly to the environment and help diminish heavy traffic, but to what extent is it friendly to women? Many women who wear dresses to work are not accustomed to riding a bicycle in such attire. In fact, a study on fear of cycling found that women feel less comfortable than men being highly visible in public spaces, especially in the road environment where male drivers can see them. According to the study findings, women feel safer and less vulnerable in a car.

Claiming citizenship

Despite immense challenges and all the 'evils', the urban realities for women are not all that sombre and gloomy. In fact, urban spaces have created many opportunities for women as shapers and planners of their city. Economically, rapidly increasing numbers of urban women are key actors, consumers and investors and their demands are being taken into account. Politically, women are rising and their voices are

ACKNOWLEDGING AND, MORE ACUTELY, RESPONDING TO THE PIVOTAL ROLES AND NEEDS OF WOMEN AS SHAPERS OF THE URBAN FUTURE – AND NOT CONTINUING TO REGARD THEM AS PASSIVE USERS OF CITIES – IS CRITICAL

The 5th Asia–Pacific Urban Forum in 2011 highlighted the importance of 'green transport' options tailored to support women. A number of Asia–Pacific cities, such as Jakarta, Mumbai and Tokyo, have invested in public transport systems to reduce emissions from private vehicles but that support women's mobility and security with 'women's only' carriages on trains and buses.

echoed in the urban context through expanding networks of empowered women in the cities where political resources are centred and to be tapped into.

Nevertheless, the role of women in urban governance needs to be enhanced further. Women have yet to be recognized as equal citizens to men. Equal citizenship does not

simplistically mean equal rights to vote, but also includes social acceptance towards women's proactive roles as leaders and as citizens with their own agency. In Asia, women account for a mere 18 per cent of parliamentarians, and the number of women in local government is even smaller in many Asian countries, particularly the ones without a quota system. In South-East Asia, only an estimated 6 per cent of mayors are women. These numbers reflect major institutional barriers for women to fully exercise their citizenship, such as gender biases towards women's capacity, social negligence of women's voices and agency, limited mobility and opportunity for mobilization and lack of support for women leaders, both officially and culturally. Women's

WHAT IS OFTEN MISSING FROM THE STORIES OF THE GREAT ASIAN URBAN CHALLENGE IS HOW WOMEN AND MEN EXPERIENCE CITIES DIFFERENTLY

needs, as caregivers and street walkers and bicycle riders, need to be understood by both policy- and decision-makers.

In this twenty-first century, which many view as the urban century, urban space is transforming rapidly. One of the key transformations is the feminization of the urban population. Female-headed households have increased markedly in urban areas, which present additional challenges to urban experts. Unless women gain a larger share of the decision-making processes in city planning and

management, gender-responsive change to women's situations is unlikely to move beyond a snail's pace. Acknowledging and, more acutely, responding to the pivotal roles and needs of women as shapers of the urban future – and not continuing to regard them as passive users of cities – is critical. Urban planning and development that does not treat women's voices, experiences and expertise equally to men's will remain gender blind and thus stunted, both economically and socially.
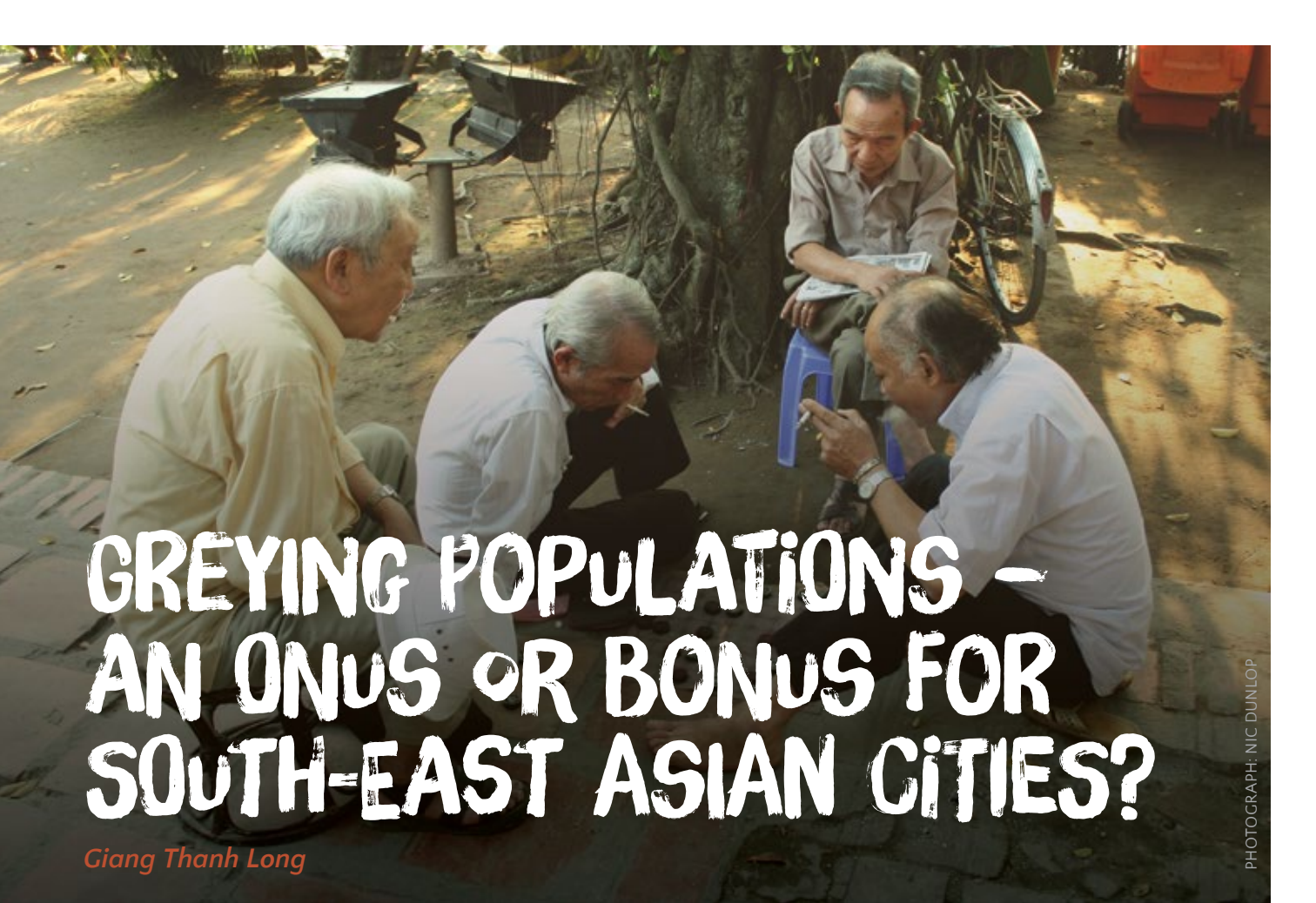
GREYING POPULATIONS – AN ONUS OR BONUS FOR SOUTH-EAST ASIAN CITIES?

Giang Thanh Long

Arecurring sight in South-East Asian cities is elderly vendors selling sweets in front of elementary schools or collecting and recycling garbage in small streets and alleyways. It is reflective of two major transformations that societies in this region are experiencing simultaneously: demographic transition towards an ageing population and urbanization. Population projections indicate that by 2050, more than one fifth of the urban population in developing countries will be 'older people' – those aged 65 years and older. It will only take these countries some 20 years to shift from an ageing population to an aged population, compared with at least 50 years in many industrialized countries. At the same time, and driven by fast economic growth, among other factors, rapid urbanization has become a dominant feature of development over the past few decades. The two phenomena make life in cities for older people convenient in some ways and constraining in others. [1]

The opportunities

The geographical distribution of health centres and medical services tend to favour urban areas so that basic social services, such as health care and other social support systems, are more easily accessible. So too is information about public and private programmes.

Older people's associations (OPAs) usually reach to the lowest administrative level, i.e., wards in cities or communes in rural areas and can provide support and opportunity to interact with other people of similar age. They also help inform older people of their rights and, most importantly, OPAs work to improve the living conditions not only for older people, but also for their communities.

There are a number of ways in which older persons can become an asset for their community and city. In Asia's

[1] Undoubtedly, the impact of urbanization also is creating a number of issues in suburban and rural areas with young people moving to cities to earn a living; the increasing number of so-called 'skipped-generation families' in suburban and rural areas in which older people – even very advanced-age people – are taking care of their grandchildren, is a critical concern.

AGEING POPULATIONS REQUIRE NEW INVESTMENTS IN PHYSICAL URBAN INFRASTRUCTURE TO ACCOMMODATE THE NEEDS OF OLDER PERSONS, AS WELL AS NEW APPROACHES TO THE FORMULATION AND DELIVERY OF SOCIAL SERVICES FOR THE ELDERLY

middle-income countries, such as Vietnam, urban OPAs have involved older people in city management activities, ranging from conflict resolution between local people to maintaining clean streets to mentoring young people. Similarly in Thailand, where urban communities often have a community committee to interact with external organizations (including the government), older persons, who tend to spend more time in the community, can be key in dealing with such issues as access to electricity and water. Urban areas also provide various opportunities for older people to earn some income, especially those without a regular income source from a pension or social assistance.

The challenges

Managing the expense of urban living, especially if they are not officially registered in the city where they live, leaves many older people paying more out of their pocket for health care and other basic needs. In many Asian cities, older people can only participate in health insurance schemes if they are officially registered in that city.

Additionally, non-registered older people who need to continue earning an income typically find work only in the informal sector, such as selling candies on the street, which prohibits them from participating in standard social protection schemes and often

exposes them to additional health hazards. Older persons in cities tend to suffer from social exclusion and loneliness. The urban lifestyle is typically incompatible with traditional informal care systems whereby adult sons and daughters cater to the social and psychological needs of their parents.

### The need for new infrastructure

With the numbers of older people expanding rapidly, city planners are confronted with the need to create elder-friendly living environments. This requires infrastructure that is accessible to people who navigate with canes, walkers or wheelchairs or other assistive devices.

Medical facilities and health centres also need to reorient their services. The increasing number of older people with multiple non-communicable diseases requires investment in both preventive and curative health care for older people.

Living arrangements for older urban people are changing rapidly. In some heavily populated city centres, where economic opportunities are abundant, many older people and their families squeeze into tiny apartment spaces. Behind magnificent hotels and skyscrapers, urban slums are filling with older people. Safety and security in these urban settings are stressful for older people. Although considered a minority problem thus

far, domestic violence against older people, especially females, has been reported. In general, cities in South-East Asia tend to neglect the proper maintenance of public spaces and walking areas. Consequently, roads and pathways are difficult to manoeuvre, with pavements used for commercial purposes and roads overcrowded with vehicles.

Managing modern cities with appropriate facilities for older people has emerged as a serious challenge for policy-makers in general, and city planners in particular, in terms of future planning. Ageing populations require new investment in physical urban infrastructure to accommodate the needs of older persons and they require new approaches to the formulation and delivery of social services for older people. Without good planning, ageing populations will become an 'onus' rather than a 'bonus' for economic development.
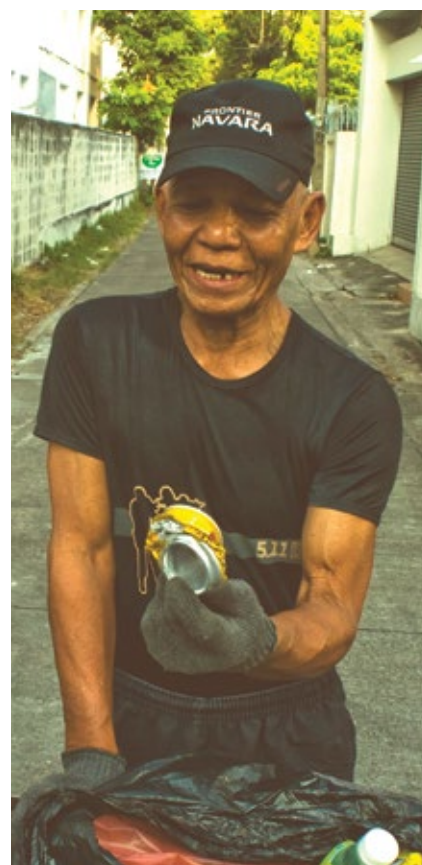
THE CHANGING FACE OF COSMOPOLITAN ASIA

Subatra Jayaraj

Many Asian cities pride themselves on being diverse agglomerations of people, heritage and trade. Hong Kong, Malaysia and Singapore tout their cosmopolitan melting pot, built on the foundation of migration. Bangkok, Bangalore and Kolkata, traditionally subregional hubs, increasingly attract talent and economic activities from around the world.

Population movements have shaped the urban landscape of Asia over centuries, and cultural demographics of cities are constantly being reshaped. Diversity of cultures throughout cities in Asia can be traced to pre-colonial times, when economic and cultural interests brought traders and travellers from as far as the Middle East, the Indian subcontinent

Colonial powers further shaped the demographic identity of cities, sometimes along racial lines. In post-independence Asia, nationalism increased, with cities situating as a strategic representation of state identity.

The new migrants

Despite being cosmopolitan cities over the ages, the current trend is that of new countries of origin colouring the migrant landscape. Many of these new influences are from within Asia but are very different to the previous waves of migration. The new wave of urban diversity in Asia is fuelled by economic migrants as well as economic demand for labour. Thus, it is, for the most part, made up of economic migrants going through

the pattern of circular migration but with wide-ranging effects on local populations.

However, although diversity in terms of origins and culture is valued, especially in areas of tourism and economic significance, the cultural group in the majority wants to maintain a politically prominent role – to the point of influencing the demographics of the urban landscape. In Malaysia, for example, state interventions seek to increase the Malay portion of the urban population. The 2013 Population White Paper in Singapore encountered outraged citizen protest partly due to its loosening of the government's policy towards foreigners.

In Malaysia, a new wave of migrants

has clustered in the capital Kuala Lumpur – historically a confluence of Malay, Chinese and Indian quarters. As a result of migration policies to facilitate low-skilled migrant workers needed in a labour-driven economy, new 'quarters' with distinctive business have formed, such as the Nepali street and the Myanmar communities. These businesses have sprouted to provide cultural products, such as financial and remittance services, sundry goods, food and beverage requirements and travel needs of the migrant communities. These urban developments are a response to a natural supply and demand of the economy, yet are not seen as 'truly Malaysian'. In December 2013, a Malaysian member of parliament asked to ban billboard advertisements that use language other than Malaysian, arguing that the use of Nepalese, Burmese or Vietnamese defiles the national language. The request was perceived as reactionary to the increasing presence of foreign cultures in strategic parts of the capital.

sociological context of Singaporeans. 'The Singaporean way', as noted by many citizens in response to the incident, demonstrates the cultural context in which citizens distinguish themselves from others with similar ethnicities but different origins.

The challenge of integration

Compounding the effects of the rural–urban divide and the new migration waves, multiple layers of ethnic and economic factors have created a spectrum of cultural expression in major townships. In many Asian cities, truly indigenous communities are a minority. Taiwan, for example, has vibrant cities that showcase the national culture, including 14 local ethnic groups recognized by the government. However, their participation in the urban economy remains minimal. Indigenous communities often lack satisfactory educational resources, which undermines their pursuit of marketable skills. The economic disparity between the village and

xenophobia in the urban areas, including against indigenous communities, and has encouraged a pan-indigenous consciousness in the pursuit of political representation and protection in the island-State.

Tourism campaigns throughout Asia promote diversity as an asset and capitalize on the variety of experiences they can deliver. Countries pride themselves on their ethnic and cultural diversity but seem to want to control their brand of varieties by pursuing nationalistic and political agendas.

Migration policies and population policies have seen a move towards liberalizing trade and transfer of skills. The increase in movement of lower skilled labour from around Asia has resulted in increased population flows from South Asia and South-East Asia. The ease of transportation, especially of low-cost airline travel, has also encouraged the frequency and number of circular migrations. This has resulted in an increased variety of cultural origins in a city as well as a larger portion of newcomers. Diversity of Asian cities is progressively being driven more by macroeconomic values rather than cultural values.

DESPITE BEING COSMOPOLITAN CITIES OVER THE AGES, THE CURRENT TREND IS THAT OF NEW COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN COLOURING THE MIGRANT LANDSCAPE

In late 2013, Singapore experienced one of the few recorded social disturbances in its modern history in which riot police responded to an incident involving a group of South Asian migrant workers in the enclave of Little India. With social behaviour controlled in the city-State, the distinction that recent South Asian and mainland Chinese immigrants differ from locals of Indian and Chinese heritage presents a contradiction of sorts to those unfamiliar with the

urban schools has resulted in social barriers to indigenous communities, which prevent many from moving beyond vocational training. Their participation in the urban landscape continues to dwindle. The dynamics of indigenous integration is also being influenced by external migrants from neighbouring countries. Recent laws in Taiwan governing the employment of labourers from Indonesia, the Philippines and Vietnam have led to an increased atmosphere of

The expression of a city's demographic identity is a dynamic process, and the shape of the urban landscape will change as the diversity of migration evolves. This is a natural process of urban agglomeration. As Abdool, a banana pancake vendor from Bangladesh says while frying roti on the streets of Bangkok, "We look different, so we must try harder... but we still can find our spot in this economy. It's all about finding your identity throughout the changing times."

URBAN INFORMALITY REVISITED

Witchaya Pruecksamars

Wafting aromas from food carts, traffic-jetting motorcycle taxis and self-built houses of 'recycled' lumber and tin are defining features of most South-East Asian cities – they are also expressions of 'informality'.

Although informality is recognized as an inevitable phase of capitalist development, there is evidence that under certain circumstances, such as those in many South-East Asian countries, it is a core component of the total economy. Standard theories explain that the informal economy shrinks as the formal economy grows. Countries in South-East Asia, however, are defying that logic – as economies have grown in this region, the informal sector actually has expanded.

Not one without the other

Officially considered illegal, unorganized or even 'invisible', informality characterizes a substantial portion of Asia's urbanization and will continue to do so for decades to come, partly because of the formal sector reliance on it. Many, if not all, urban services in Asia–Pacific cities would collapse without the support of informal workers and businesses. Rather than imposing costs and inefficiencies, the informal sector has long filled gaps that the State and the markets have failed to accommodate.

In Thailand's transport sector, for example, motorcycle taxis (not all of them properly registered) take on a huge share of the city's transport needs. Bangkok's above-ground rapid transit Skytrain and its subway together do not reach a million trips a day, while motorcycle taxis conduct an estimated four million trips daily. These taxis have formed a pervasive and penetrating network that shuttles city dwellers to and from places that are out of reach by the city's formal modes of transport. They not only have integrated themselves into the citywide transport network, more profoundly, they have helped connect the otherwise fragmented transport systems.

In cities like Bangkok and Ho Chi Minh, solid waste management has been improved by an army of waste-separators and waste-pickers (maids, office cleaners, security guards, door-to-door waste buyers, scavengers and those who pick through the trash

mountains) who sell to medium-sized scrap traders that feed recycling plants reusable and recyclable materials to process. To date, it has been financially unfeasible for the operators of such plants to collect, sort, salvage, transport and process each city's solid waste (Thailand only has plants for recycling used beverage cartons). Thus they subcontract the small but essential tasks to waste-pickers and scrap traders. Informal workers and businesses now are even integrated into transnational supply chains. For example, in the period leading up to the 2008 Olympic

efficient than its formal counterpart. Informality is also valuable in building urban resilience.

Although resilience is often defined exclusively in relation to natural disasters and built infrastructure, it has a social dimension that relates to the ability of communities and people to deal with risks and recover from shocks. The informal labour market becomes a safety net in times of economic recession or household shocks that affect people's livelihood. Immediately after the Asian financial crisis began in 1997 in Thailand, for

labour market.

The informal realm also helps transform people from rural poverty to urban citizens. Unable to join the formal sector when they first arrive in a city, rural migrants must rely on informal modes of working and living and networking before becoming legally recognized as urban residents and benefiting from the formal system. With the continuing failing of the urban formal sector to generate enough jobs to absorb the rural migrants, the informal sector remains a major source of employment.

INFORMALITY CHARACTERIZES A SUBSTANTIAL PORTION OF ASIA'S URBANIZATION AND WILL CONTINUE TO DO SO FOR DECADES TO COME, PARTLY BECAUSE OF THE FORMAL SECTOR RELIANCE ON IT

Games in Beijing, the price for aluminium was four times the usual level due to the sudden demand from China for stadium construction. Many informal scrap traders in Bangkok bought at those prices but then nearly went broke when China had procured enough material and prices fell overnight.

Foundation of resilience and growth

Informality makes important contributions towards achieving environmental sustainability. Trash-sorting robots at best can sort out 50 per cent of recyclable materials from a pile of trash. In Mumbai, for example, waste-pickers and scrap traders can recycle more than 80 per cent of the material thrown away – in addition to also managing the transporting and processing of those materials. Although laborious and poorly remunerated, informal waste-picking in many Asian cities can be much more 'green' and

instance, many urban jobless Thai workers shifted into the informal sector to earn an income. It was not uncommon for white-collar workers (even senior financial advisors and former millionaires) to drive a taxi or sell assorted items, used clothes or food in street markets or at roadside businesses.

Going informal

There is no doubt that informal workers and communities are exposed to great risk and vulnerabilities because the very nature of their status precludes protection from the State. And although many people operating in the informal sector may have been forced there by circumstances, many are also there by choice. Whether it's the freedom to set their hours, work in the open air or even the income that can be earned (sometimes exceeding available formal employment), they find what the informal sector offers more attractive than the formal

Informal but still a citizen

Unlike unionized formal workers, informal workers generally do not have permanent and recognized negotiating forums. Instead, informal workers are beginning to open up new spaces of negotiations and participation and engage in direct citizen action to challenge unjust laws and undemocratic governance or to improve their work and social conditions. They have been known to form teams to negotiate vending rights with municipal managers and councillors or negotiate policy changes, particularly on social protection coverage, with their national government.

Across the region, city managers are beginning to explore new types of relations with informal workers. In Bangkok, street vendors have negotiated working arrangements with the city government and with the private sector. In Ho Chi Minh City, waste-pickers coordinated with health officials to receive training on how to deal with common health issues related to their work. Throughout South-East Asia, slums dwellers have regularly come together to challenge and ultimately negotiate threats of eviction.

THE INFORMAL LABOUR MARKET BECOMES A SAFETY NET IN TIMES OF ECONOMIC RECESSION OR HOUSEHOLD SHOCKS THAT AFFECT PEOPLE'S LIVELIHOOD

Informal workers ultimately can enter the formal system by paying taxes, by obeying the rules and so forth; but if they are required to do so on an unfair basis or in a way not appropriate to their conditions and needs, then formalization actually reinforces socioeconomic inequities and disparities. In South–East Asia, urban informality is incredibly central to a city and yet incredibly marginal. It occupies a 'grey space' between the 'whiteness' of legality, approval and safety and the 'blackness' of illegality and degeneration. Ultimately, authorities have the power to decide what is black or white; but to manage their cities effectively and inclusively, they must first recognize not only that 'informal is normal' but that informality is intrinsic to the functioning of their city. Thus, the question for urban managers is not how to formalize informality but how to adapt formal definitions, rules and policies to accommodate the informal sector – minimizing its negative side while boosting its positive contributions.

URBAN RESILIENCE: PREPARING FOR UNCERTAINTY

Daphna Beerdsen

Centimetres of sea-level rise, tonnes of greenhouse gases, houses affected by a typhoon – international negotiations about climate change strongly emphasize numbers. Although these figures are extremely important, a sole focus on data can push the spotlight away from the people struggling with the climate change.

The aftermath of floods and typhoons are heavily reported, while stories of those coping with the less visible effects of climate change remain largely untold. For example, there is a growing number of Indonesians contracting dengue fever because of longer rainy seasons. Or the Pakistani fishermen who, already among the poorest in their country, are affected by declining fish stocks. Too much

focus on statistics does not do justice to the full complexity of how climate change affects people and how they adapt.

The urgency of building resilience in Asian cities is mounting. Of every ten disaster victims worldwide, more than eight live in Asia. Of them, roughly four live in cities. These city dwellers, especially people who are poor, are affected by climate change in ways different from those that rural people experience.

Cities and their inhabitants are not only passively affected, they are also actively determining how climate change will affect them. Bangkok, for example, was built on a flood plain with a good natural drainage system. Over the years, canals and

flood plains were replaced by roads and industrial estates. In 2011, after an exceptionally heavy monsoon season, what waterways remained reached their maximum capacity and the water entered neighbourhoods and suburbs. With better planning, the unusually heavy rainfall might not have resulted in as big a disaster.

More citizens taking charge of their resilience

Because space in cities is scarce, impoverished city dwellers have no choice but to live in the most vulnerable locations, such as riverbanks or steep slopes, at constant risk of being swept away by a flood or landslide. For new migrants, there is the additional risk of not having a local social network, usually the most

important asset to impoverished families in times of disaster.

Many city managers in Asia now recognize the need to enhance their resilience and are developing long-term plans. But planning for climate change is not unlike driving a car with blinded front windows – decisions can be based only on what is visible in the rear-view mirror. What is clear nowadays is that what lies ahead will not resemble what lies behind.

Integrating climate change into urban policy-making requires a shift in mindsets not only of planners but of all urban stakeholders. Most city managers are accustomed to planning for certainty or for a 'fail safe' state: governments are looking for solutions that will keep their cities and people safe in all circumstances. With climate change, however, such solutions no longer exist.

Planning for safe failures

Cities must learn to plan for uncertainty, or 'safe failure'. In addition to governments implementing large hardware solutions, such as constructing sanitation systems or

CITIES MUST LEARN TO PLAN FOR UNCERTAINTY, OR 'SAFE FAILURE'. IN ADDITION TO GOVERNMENTS IMPLEMENTING LARGE HARDWARE SOLUTIONS... CITIZENS NEED TO BE READY AND ABLE TO TAKE RESPONSIBILITY FOR RESPONDING AT THE MICRO LEVEL

replanting mangrove forests, citizens need to be ready and able to take responsibility for responding at the micro level.

Slowly but surely, the perception that disasters are acts of God or bad luck (and thus impossible to prepare for) is

waning. And although there remains the belief that the government has sole responsibility for disaster risk reduction, many communities increasingly are adapting autonomously. Women in poor communities in Indore, India, for instance, have organized themselves into savings groups, with the support of the local NGO Urban Health Resource Center, and initiated negotiations with their councillor to solve water scarcity issues. The local government agreed to contribute

financially to improvement of the water supply system, and the community was able to pay the remainder of the costs through community savings. The women thus managed to reduce the challenges they were facing on a daily basis by taking matters into their own hands.

Many city managers appear uneasy at giving such responsibilities to citizens. When a community group in Nakhon Sawan, Thailand, asked the local government for assistance to strengthen their housing, the city managers were initially reluctant, unsure of the ability of people with little formal education to manage a complex project. The residents persisted and over the years built a relationship with their local authorities – one that proved extremely important during the 2011 floods. Group leaders were able to convey information about pressing needs in their flooded community and could, in return, assist the local government to distribute relief goods. Through its ties with the community, the local government was better prepared for any unexpected event, illustrating an excellent example of the value of active citizens and a responsive government.

The contact between local governments and community members is often an eye-opener to both sides. Communities ultimately are surprised at what they can achieve for themselves. Local governments learn first-hand that people who are poor can contribute resources

to a solution. Some cities have embraced this idea and are involving citizens in resilience-building. Surabaya, Indonesia, for example, organizes yearly competitions among communities to make their neighbourhoods cleaner and greener. Some community projects have contributed to reducing flood risk, without much investment from the government.

Learning to involve citizens

Involving citizens in resilience-building takes learning. Most local governments in low-income countries, particularly those in medium- and small-sized secondary cities, do not have experience with long-term planning, let alone with participatory planning for climate change. For a long time, climate change was a topic covered in international negotiations about emission caps and energy-saving measures. The relatively recent change in focus towards adaptation and resilience-building has also shifted attention to the local level.

THE CONTACT BETWEEN LOCAL GOVERNMENTS AND COMMUNITY MEMBERS IS OFTEN AN EYE-OPENER TO BOTH SIDES. COMMUNITIES ULTIMATELY ARE SURPRISED AT WHAT THEY CAN ACHIEVE FOR THEMSELVES

Cities have gained importance, but this new reality is rarely reflected in national-level policies and financial systems, resulting in unclear distribution of responsibilities and a lack of adaptation funding at the subnational level.

Managing a multistakeholder process is demanding for cities coping with a combined lack of funding, capacity and knowledge. Yet, starting such a process may actually help fill the gaps as different stakeholders bring their assets to the table, be it money, knowledge or skills.

Climate change impacts people and cities at different levels, and it is challenging for cities to take appropriate action on all levels simultaneously. That climate change directly impacts people's daily lives opens up opportunities for solutions with co-benefits. Investments in climate-proofing people's shelter, livelihoods or living environments will, at least, strengthen homes, secure income and improve people's health.

Improving the resilience of cities and their inhabitants is not easy – dealing with uncertainty never is. But it is not impossible. Local governments and citizens are no longer powerless onlookers to how climate change is changing their cities. They can plan for uncertainty.

SENSORY CITIZENSHIP

Arthit Suriyawongkul

Mobile phone market penetration is now reaching 100 per cent (or even higher²) in many countries, especially those emerging markets where landline infrastructure is lacking. Mobile subscriptions and use concentrate in urban areas. This will remain true for some time because as cellular network coverage increases, less urban areas become more urbanized. The influx of mobile people – domestic rural–urban and foreign migrants, along with travellers – adds to the concentration. 'Mobile network connected' is rapidly becoming one of the key characteristics of an urbanite.

Strangers' collectives: Buyers, fans and citizens

Mobile digital communication facilitates collective action by bringing together, physically or virtually, massive numbers of strangers. These collectives can take various shapes. Group buying, or 'tuángòu' (team buying), originated in China when people started using Internet forums to buy products at discounted prices. This practice was replicated and adapted in other countries, giving rise to such services as Groupon and LivingSocial. 'Cash mobbing', initiated in New York, is an evolution of this approach that goes beyond buying for economic benefit to group buying for a cause. For example, people gather together to make purchases from local businesses to support a local community.

A similar transformation has occurred with 'flash mobs'. Originally referring to spontaneous groups of people coming together through social media either for entertainment or artistic purposes, it grew to be used by fans of celebrities to alert one another when stars were spotted and thus gather a crowd to greet them. From there it was only a short step to the organization of political rallies and movements, such as the campaign

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² Mobile phone market penetration is defined as the number of mobile phones and/or SIM cards per capita. Hence, it is possible to have more than 100 per cent penetration.

'MOBILE NETWORK CONNECTED' IS RAPIDLY BECOMING ONE OF THE KEY CHARACTERISTICS OF BEING AN URBANITE

to encourage people to vote in Malaysia's 2013 general election.

These strangers' collectives have inspired new business models and led to shifts in power relations by providing urban dwellers with stronger negotiating positions that go beyond the marketplace and allow them to exercise their citizenship in completely new ways.

Votes versus data points

Mobile phones in the categories of feature phones and smart phones are increasingly equipped with a variety of sensors, including the traditional microphone and camera. The most commonly used sensory data by mobile application is geolocation data. From maps and navigation to weather information and local business reviews, geolocation data – be it from a cellular site or GPS or other sources – can help applications better find what type of information users are looking for at a set time.

New phone models come with motion sensors (such as accelerometers and gravity sensors), environmental sensors (barometers and thermometers) and position sensors (orientation sensors and magnetometers). These sensors can automatically provide data points about a particular area where a mobile handset is situated. Additionally, a mobile phone user can provide more meaning to those data points. Found a pothole in the street? Turn on the GPS, take a photo of the hole, measure its width, write a comment and upload it

to a citizen-reporting platform.

Long before the wide adoption of the camera phone, video witnesses proved instrumental in many civil rights cases. One of the most famous is the case of Rodney King, a black American who in 1991 was brutally beaten by police officers in Los Angeles, California. The incident was videotaped by a nearby resident and used in the trial against the police officers. Similar cases can be found in recent years in Asia in which videos and photos taken with camera phones helped to strengthen the accountability of government institutions, supporting claims in cases of human rights violations and documenting abuses and corruption.

With the pervasive use of mobile phones and more innovative applications, these sensors, whether on their own or with human annotation, provide streams of data points that can be used in decision-making processes in a constituency. For instance, streams of citizen-generated data can become a continuous voting system. Individuals can capture incidents of importance to them and inform the public in acts of real-time civic participation. Such citizenship is also good news for data scientists.

Sensory citizenship: Mobile phones as urban sensors

Citizenship is the State's recognition of an individual. Once recognized, a citizen can claim particular rights and privileges in that State, including

access to public services. Yet, these days, it is private companies – and no longer the State – managing many public services. And a mobile phone number or social media account is now considered a legitimate identity reference for accessing many offline public services. In a way, a mobile phone number enables recognition as a 'citizen' – although not full citizenship, it is enough to access services needed for everyday life.

One of the privileges of being a citizen is the right to vote. Social media comments, citizen-reporting platforms and data streaming from mobile phone sensors work in many ways like voting – not as in a general election but more like a public hearing process or a public consultation meeting. But the data does not represent only one electoral district (as election votes do because citizens can only register in one constituency). Many people now live in one city and work in another city, and thus the data from networked mobile devices better reflects the reality of their life. Additionally, it not only reflects the lives of officially registered citizens but every resident of a city.

Geographical, demographical and various other data and statistics were once only available to the State. The State also only collects the data of interest to it. With that information, the State has long been in a better position of power during public consultations. Citizens previously did not have the same access to information for their meaningful participation in public policy- and decision-making processes (what information they might have had was likely collected by the State). Now, through the data generated by a large volume of urban sensors in personal devices connected to a mobile network, together with creativity and self-organization, it is possible for every urban resident to

psychologically, economically and physically) are what is captured ultimately. For example, acts of petty bribery will be easier to document than acts of policy corruption, political rent-seeking or cronyism; so there is likely to be a huge volume of small bribery reports and few large-cale structural corruption exposés. Another risk is that data point streaming from mobile devices will create a new kind of digital divide – a 'data divide'. Residential areas with more mobile phone users and more sensors will have more data points and thus will potentially receive more suitable services and access a higher-quality living standard. Areas with fewer sensors will receive less attention and will have less data to appropriately design a plan that fits the situation. It will create a 'network effect': those who already 'have' will have more potential to have more. People and communities with less access to those sensors or who lack the literacy to operate them, such as economically disadvantaged people or the elderly, could be marginalized (or worse, regarded as if they do not exist).

In this sensor-abundant world, citizens who cannot be measured or who produce no signal or those whose signal is too weak, essentially will not 'exist'. Although 'sensory citizenship' offers much potential, we

claim meaningful citizenship and be as informed as the State.

New citizenship, new divide

"Given enough eyeballs, all bugs are shallow," wrote Eric S. Raymond in The Cathedral and the Bazaar, on the open-source software development culture. Raymond suggests that if information and communication technology can help people organize and fix computer bugs, the same model could be applied to 'fixing' flaws in human society. And a network of mobile phones could become a society's 'eyeballs'.

SOCIAL MEDIA COMMENTS, CITIZEN-REPORTING PLATFORMS AND DATA POINT STREAMING FROM MOBILE PHONE SENSORS WORK IN MANY WAYS LIKE VOTING

However, in terms of documentation or data point collections, there is risk that only incidents that are convenient to capture (technologically, socially,

should be extremely conscious about the weak signals that might never be heard in the new world order.

THE RISE OF SECONDARY CITIES

Secondary cities are defined both on the basis of their size and by their structural position within an urban network and regional, national and global economic systems. In the past few decades, secondary cities in South-East Asia have been rising in prominence as industrial centres, regional growth centres for rural products and urban services, and administrative headquarters for district or subdistrict administrations as well as destinations for migrants from rural areas, smaller cities and neighbouring countries. This increase in importance has churned up new difficulties that intensify existing problems. General governance notions, such as participation, accountability and subsidiarity, may inform the way local governments function, but the actual day-to-day practice often encounters serious challenges and is affected by a variety of factors. Secondary cities are unique in the way these challenges and factors manifest and in the availability of alternative means to tackle the challenges. The essays in this section provide an indication of the type of challenges secondary cities face and alternative redress.

EXPLORING THE MULTIFUNCTIONALITY OF SECONDARY CITIES

Brian Roberts

PHOTOGRAPH: AM AHAD

Megacities dominate the research and discussions on urbanization. Yet, they account for only 13 per cent of the world's urban population. Of the estimated 4,000 cities with a population in excess of 100,000, more than half – 2,400 – have fewer than 500,000 inhabitants. These are the secondary cities, some of which are facing enormous challenges in managing rapid urbanization and economic growth, while others are trying to stem local economic and population decline.

Enormous disparities are appearing between large metropolitan cities and the secondary cities. In India, Mumbai produces almost seven times the GDP per capita of the smallest

secondary cities. In China, that ratio is 4.5, when compared with Shanghai, and in Thailand it is 4.7, compared with Bangkok. In many Asian, African and European countries, the disparity among income, production and wealth indicators continues to widen. However, there are many secondary cities that are performing very successfully, such as Curitiba, Bangalore and Toulouse. So the question is: Why are some secondary cities succeeding and many others falling behind in the development race?

This brief discussion looks at the need for governments to confront the growing problems and disparities facing secondary cities in South–East Asia.

The struggle to manage secondary cities

The dualities and gaps that are emerging within systems of cities in many countries and regions are having a profound effect on the economic and development prospects of secondary cities. Furthermore, the increasing interconnectedness of cities nationally and globally has left local governments not only coping with the dual role of implementing national policy and developing and managing local economic opportunities, but also having to respond to competition and the need to support the development of specialized markets and strategic infrastructure to operate in a more globally competitive marketplace.

Most city government officials do not recognize the need to take a greater role in facilitating the development of trade, investment and business links. Even among those who realize the imperative, many do not know how to go about creating more diverse, specialized and dynamic local economies.

For the 65 per cent of secondary cities located in developing countries and regions, the challenge is particularly difficult when faced with weak and corrupt governance systems, a general failure of decentralization, lack of capital to develop essential strategic infrastructure, poor logistics and communications systems, high levels of urbanization and migration and concerns about climate change and food security.

Types of secondary cities

Secondary cities have a vital role in national development. Most of them have a population size ranging between 10 and 50 per cent of the country's largest city. However, not all secondary cities perform the same functions. Broadly speaking, they fall into three typologies: i) subnational administrative centres of government or of a particular resource or function; ii) clustered secondary cities that grow like mushrooms on the periphery of large urban centres; and iii) economic corridor secondary cities emerging along major transport routes between large cities within countries and across countries.

Subnational secondary cities are an essential link in national systems of cities. They function as intermediaries – as logistics, administrative and knowledge hubs and markets for the flow of resources, goods and products from the rural areas to national and global markets and in the reverse flow of manufactured goods, services and materials to the primary

sector. Many regional secondary cities, especially the larger ones, generate local economies of scale and offer large and expanding labour, land, housing, specialized services (education, research, tourism, etc.), commercial, and investment markets.

Clustered cities tend to function differently from subnational secondary cities. These are mainly a product of the demand for land in rapidly growing metropolitan regions. In most cases, they are a spillover of planning policies designed to restrict the physical growth of cities or the de-industrialization of congested inner cities where development costs and room for expansion forces industries to the periphery and to new satellite or expanded towns, where transaction and other externality costs are lower. Regional examples of clustered cities are Bekasi, southeast of Jakarta, Biên Hòa, north of Ho Chi Minh City and Amphoe Mueang, south of Bangkok in Samut Prakan Province. Many of the problems associated with clustered cities differ to what subnational secondary cities experience, although they are not dissimilar to resource-rich regional cities, where infrastructure, basic urban services, squatter settlements and housing problems are acute.

City-to-Bangkok corridor. Corridor secondary cities are logistics and low-value-adding process centres that take advantage of lower-priced infrastructure, labour and land and the back-loading capacity of rail and trucks, many of which travel the return-home city journey empty. These cities are the new economic enterprise zone locations and are governed and managed by international trade arrangements rather than local government laws and regulations.

Across the region, there are noticeable differences in how well secondary city economies perform. In Indonesia, with the exception of Balikpapan, which benefits from natural resources (petroleum, in particular), there is a huge gap in GDP per capita value between Jakarta and all the other secondary cities. Vietnam, on the other hand, has a somewhat more evenly distributed pattern of GDP per capita among its secondary cities. However, less well-served cities, like Hue and Buôn Ma Thuột, are much poorer than the others (see charts below). The expanded city of Biên Hòa has benefited greatly from the growth overspill from Ho Chi Minh City.

NATIONAL URBAN POLICIES SHOULD RECOGNIZE THE NEED FOR SECONDARY CITIES TO BECOME MORE SPECIALIZED, COMPETITIVE AND NATIONALLY AND GLOBALLY ORIENTATED IN THEIR DEVELOPMENT FOCUS

The growth of economic trade corridor secondary cities is a new phenomenon. These are cities selected and developed as growth nodes along major transportation routes crossing several countries. Plans are well advanced in Asia for the development of these cities, especially along the Ho Chi Minh

For some secondary cities, geographical issues and challenges impact on their function and development performance. Coastal and navigable river secondary cities usually perform better than inland cities, which rely on road and rail transport. Inland secondary cities in China, for example, are usually

Indonesian cities US$/capita, 2012

Vietnam cities GDP/capita, 2012

10–25 per cent poorer than coastal secondary cities — except those that are mineral and petroleum resource rich and thus generally outperform all other cities.

In South-East Asia, these extremes are even greater. In Vietnam, the GDP per capita of Buôn Ma Thuộ in the Central Highlands is less than half that of Cần Thơ (located in the Mekong Delta) and of the port city of Đà Nẵng .

Secondary cities used to be defined within a hierarchical system that was based on population size. Now the hierarchy is defined by types of prominence, as illustrated by the global impact of America's Washington, D.C. on politics, India's Bangalore on the ICT industry and France's Toulouse on aircraft manufacturing. However, such secondary city prominence is not happening in South-East Asia, where specialization is concentrated in the large primate cities.[3] This raises important questions for governments and policy-makers: How are they going to cope with the multiple roles of secondary cities and how are they

going to deal with the disparities and disadvantages emerging between different types of secondary cities within national systems of cities? What implications do these factors have on incumbent urban governance systems? What needs to change?

Six areas of change

These questions need resolving if the disparities and problems confronting the management and development of secondary cities are to improve. A fresh approach to urban policy and action on supporting the development of secondary cities is needed. In particular, six areas of change are required.

Global dimension to national urban policy: Many countries have developed national urban policies that still use a hierarchical system of cities based on population size. The system provides the basis for the allocation of resources for public administration and other national functions. Few countries, however, recognize that some secondary cities have a significant regional or global

role, which requires a different set of policies and programme activities for supporting local economic development and the provision of strategic infrastructure. National urban policies should recognize the need for secondary cities to become more specialized, competitive and nationally and globally orientated in their development focus. This is a major issue for national urban policy in Indonesia, the Philippines and Thailand. Without this, they are unlikely to attract investment, create good jobs or raise the capital needed to fund the huge backlog of infrastructure and urban services they currently lack.

Greater support to disadvantaged secondary cities: National economic development policies also need to recognize regional differences between inland and coastal secondary cities. Policies for inland secondary cities need to incorporate special needs for resource deficiencies, potential climate change impact and logistical gaps. Economic policies may also need to recognize differential taxation for

[3] For other transformations affecting secondary cities as a result of these challenges, see Thompson's essay on Rethinking the Rural–Urban Continuum, included in this publication

businesses and individuals to attract investors and skills development into more disadvantaged regions where secondary cities are struggling to manage high levels of migration and urbanization. Chiang Mai is an inland secondary Thai city seeking to become more creative and innovative. Most other secondary cities in the region are struggling to diversify, innovate and reform and thus to spread investment away from the primate city of the country.

Policy for greater competition between cities: There is growing interest in measuring the competitiveness of cities. Enhancing the competitiveness of secondary cities is considered important to bring about greater efficiencies in local government and encourage them to work closely with the private sector as well as to bring about greater transparency and the streamlining of regulatory processes, thus stability to local land and property markets. Many governments are reluctant to introduce policies to make cities more competitive because of the impact this may have on local politics, employment loss and corruption. Policies to encourage greater competition between secondary cities are essential if new markets are to open up to trade and investment and greater efficiency and transparency is to occur in governance systems.

A new policy framework for decentralization: Most countries have introduced decentralization policies, aimed at devolving administrative, financial and other functions to local government. However, for various reasons, decentralization policies have not worked. A general failure of them in many South-East Asian countries has been a weakness in the financial autonomy of local governments. This is made more difficult in countries like Indonesia and the Philippines, where there has been a propensity to increase the number of local governments rather than amalgamate many of them into more efficient units. Progressive local governments, within limits, should have access to sub-sovereign lending and financial capital markets to raise the capital needed to build strategic infrastructure and support the diversity of local economies.

Metropolitan regional planning and development: The explosion of city clusters around large metropolitan areas has led to a large amount of uncontrolled and poorly managed development occurring at the peri-urban fringe. All the megacities in South-East Asia have failed to manage the development of their metropolitan regions. Many have poor public transport services and experience severe flooding problems caused by poor catchment management. Many of these cities have become very large, have limited resources to fund the necessary infrastructure and services and have large migrant populations seeking employment in newly established industrial estates that lack many of the amenities of the central city area. Metropolitan regional planning and development policies, including the development of authorities, have not successfully managed urbanization in many of the cluster city developments. New institutional governance arrangements are needed that are based on collaborative governance and resource-sharing arrangements that reduce costs, ensure better managed services and recover from developers and land owners more of the costs to cover the provision of essential urban services and amenities.

A focus on endogenous growth: Many secondary cities in developing countries are net importers of goods and services. Too many governments try to export development strategies based on industrialization when faced with enormous disadvantages caused by lack of skills, poor communication, weak local governments and capital markets. There is the need for all governments to give much stronger emphasis to endogenous growth (stimulating diversity and growth of the local economy) to create more localized employment opportunities. In many cases, this requires co-investment of capital by the central government, international development agencies and businesses in partnerships to stimulate local employment and business development opportunities in small- and medium-scale enterprises that are linked into a national network of trading cities.

Secondary cities are re-emerging in the policy debate as an important issue in many countries. As the disparity between large metropolitan regions and secondary cities widens in many countries, governments are recognizing the need to develop new and innovative policies to stimulate the development of local economies within the context of more open governance and economical and mobile labour markets. The importance of local governments taking a more active role and responsibility for the economic development of secondary cities needs to be recognized. So, too, is the need for changes in attitude towards city competitiveness, urban governance and management. Secondary cities can make the changes if policy-makers are better educated, are given greater responsibility and are made more accountable in making secondary cities more liveable and sustainable. This must become a key area of focus for national governments and international development agencies, banks and NGOs.

DOING MORE WITH LESS – RESOURCE CHALLENGES FOR SECONDARY CITIES IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA

John Taylor

PHOTOGRAPH: JORGE CARRILLO RODRIGUEZ

Populations in secondary cities across South-East Asia are growing rapidly, placing heavy demand on overstretched local governments to extend already strained public services. Local governments, caught in the difficult position of having to provide more services to citizens with limited resources and capacity, sometimes rely on central governments for funding and expertise. However, examples from the region also show that many local governments are finding alternative ways to deal with the mounting pressure. Extension of services is not always a matter of more funds but of using what is available in a more effective manner. Thus, 'resourceful' refers not only to financial resources, but also to ideas, people, knowledge and expertise.

This essay explores some of the creative ways in which secondary cities across South-East Asia are managing the new challenge. In particular, it looks at how good governance has been instrumental in the introduction of innovative policies, the design of inclusive measures, such as participatory planning, and the implementation of collaborative arrangements, such as the sharing of service delivery responsibilities. These responses illustrate how good governance, creative policy-making and leveraging the unique strengths of secondary cities can lead to growth – if city managers avoid the trap of overdependence and unsustainable development.

How crisis can bring out the best in cities

The new challenges have led many secondary cities to be more resourceful, become competitive and to adapt their strengths in increasingly networked regional and global systems. Far from being a disadvantage, a city's smaller size can be used to its advantage. It allows for an introduction and experimentation of new policies, a more democratic and inclusive approach to using scarce resources and the discovery of unique assets that can connect them to new markets and promote economic development.

Secondary cities have numerous options for finding a sustainable and resilient development model

that works for them. For example, in countries where decentralization has granted increased decision-making powers to cities, local governments of secondary cities are taking advantage of the new authority to experiment with policies. Often, new ideas and approaches to urban management are easier to test and implement in smaller cities than in larger urban centres. This may be because they are further away from entrenched and intractable political interests common in large metropolitan areas and thus have more flexibility to approach age-old problems in new ways.

For example, when a young entrepreneur who had little experience with political parties became mayor of Solo, Indonesia, he quickly introduced ideas and policies to prove his competence to the city's half million inhabitants. Joko Widodo, who would eventually be elected president of Indonesia, was the city's first mayor to engage with street vendors to explore solutions to the endemic problem of managing public spaces. His dialogue-and-negotiation approach encouraged street vendors to move to newly renovated markets voluntarily and away from the public spaces. He also used that approach to manage the relocation of threatened riverbank settlements. Up until recently,[4] decentralization in Indonesia has opened opportunities for a new generation of mayors to emerge, emboldened and empowered by regulations that allow them to develop innovative approaches to their city's problems.

Although limited access to resources, expertise and knowledge stunts some cities, others see it as an opportunity to do more with less. Some city governments of secondary cities have seized upon their lack of financial resources to become more inclusive and democratic in determining their local development budget by instituting participatory budgeting policies to involve citizens in deciding the city's needs and priorities.

Several cities in Asia have introduced participatory budgeting policies, such as Solo in Indonesia, Dong-Gu in South Korea and Ichikawa in Japan. In doing so, they have improved accountability and transparency while making public investments more efficient. Participatory budgeting is often credited with reducing corruption, enhancing citizenship and promoting better governance because citizens feel they are being listened to and their needs are being met through a transparent process.

example, Metro Naga is an association of Naga City with 14 neighbouring municipalities. The Metro Naga Development Council was created to share management responsibility for the water supply, deliver health services and coordinate the public transportation system. By working together, they found they could more efficiently create economies of scale – resulting in better service delivery and wiser public spending. Such arrangements require good governance mechanisms to ensure coordination and the swift resolution of potential conflicts.

Far from being too small to offer comparative advantages to larger cities, smaller cities possess strengths that they can use to their advantage.

GOOD GOVERNANCE, CREATIVE POLICY-MAKING AND LEVERAGING THE UNIQUE STRENGTHS OF SECONDARY CITIES CAN LEAD TO GROWTH

Other budget accountability policies, such as budget monitoring, are also widespread in secondary cities throughout Bangladesh, India, Malaysia and the Philippines. Decentralization, again, helps create the conditions under which experimental policies are able to emerge.

Managing such urban public services as solid waste collection and water supply are typically a challenge for secondary cities because it stretches their limited resources and capacities. By sharing responsibilities between neighbouring cities and coordinating service delivery, secondary city managers are overcoming the challenges. In the Philippines, city managers and local government officials are working together on the issues that affect them all. For

For instance, many people want to live in secondary cities because they may be less congested, offer a cleaner urban environment and a higher quality of life than larger cities. They may be smaller, but their characteristics may also be unique, which can be leveraged to offer opportunities for economic and cultural development. Some secondary cities considered heritage sites, such as Penang in Malaysia, Chiang Mai in Thailand and Hue in Vietnam, have taken advantage of cultural heritage assets to create a distinct identity to attract visitors and support a thriving tourism economy. Similarly, Jogyakarta in Indonesia has used its smaller size to its advantage by offering easy access to cultural and education facilities to become a national centre of higher education. These cities don't have to offer all the

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[4] A national Parliamentary Bill was passed in September 2014 that abolished the direct election of Mayors. This Bill significantly curtails the possibility of electing new, independent leadership.

same services of large cities. They simply need to make better use of their own unique character to create a niche market. By being creative and entrepreneurial, these cities are able to thrive – not in spite of their smaller size but because of it.

Challenges

Such opportunities, however, are not without their challenges. In their efforts to seek resources and promote development, local governments may fall into one of many traps. By being entrepreneurial and finding new sources of income, for instance, local governments may adopt a short-sighted approach and ignore the importance of sustainable policies and planning. The local democratic process may fuel this because relatively short mayoral electoral cycles can drive a short-term mindset as the politicians seek to create an immediate impact and secure re-election.

This may place environmental resources at risk. For example, in Makassar and Manado, both in Indonesia, land reclamation projects along the cities' coastline have enabled the city leadership to entice

private investors into supporting redevelopment. The strategy attracted new investment for the city; but it came at a cost to the fragile coastal ecosystems, to coastal fishing communities and to the mangroves that provide protection from storms and storm surges. Decentralization

economy is, the more vulnerable it becomes. For example, the dangers of overdependence have hit many cities in Asia that rely on the extraction of primary resources for their income. They may be thriving and growing, but their lack of diversification can lead to shocks when the commodity or resource that they rely on loses its value. The city of Banjarmasin, in Indonesian Borneo, for example, grew with lumber and paper processing in the 1970s and 1980s, but then the sector suddenly collapsed and the city leaders had to find alternative industries. Additionally, if a city's economy is not diversified, the distribution of wealth likely will be low. It may starve investment to other economic sectors and may lead to the marginalization of social groups. Some secondary cities have avoided this trap by diversifying their economies and developing social policies that ensure that all sectors and social groups are able to share the benefits of economic growth.

SOME CITY GOVERNMENTS OF SECONDARY CITIES HAVE SEIZED UPON THEIR LACK OF FINANCIAL RESOURCES TO BECOME MORE INCLUSIVE AND DEMOCRATIC

and democracy have contributed to this by providing incentives for short-term gains to take precedence over longer-term sustainability considerations. Thus, although decentralization and democracy do empower local governments to be proactive about their development vision, a longer-term view and public awareness are required to ensure that the vision is not unsustainable.

Another trap for secondary cities to avoid is becoming too reliant on one economic sector or industry. Such reliance exposes them to economic disruptions. The less diversified a city's

Making the most of smaller size with uniqueness

From introducing new policies to expanding public spaces to attracting investors with new coastal developments, governments in secondary cities throughout South-East Asia are finding a range of interesting ways to respond to the challenges of rapid growth. By implementing democratic and inclusive policies, adopting creative arrangements and promoting new leaders, secondary cities are able to make the most of their smaller size and unique strengths.

RETHINKING THE RURAL-URBAN CONTINUUM

Eric C. Thompson

Much has changed since Robert Redfield popularized the idea of the rural–urban continuum in the early twentieth century. Redfield proposed that rather than a simple divide between traditional rural villages and modern urban cities, there existed intermediate communities, such as those of market towns. Today, however, we see less of a continuum and more of a thoroughgoing urbanization of rural places, particularly in Asia.

Given the great social, cultural, political and economic diversity of Asia, the processes of thoroughgoing urbanization or rural urbanization look very different from place to place. They are also not a universal phenomenon. There are still places where some communities exist in relative rural isolation from dominant urban societies, though such communities are becoming exceedingly rare.

What has become common is that while the majority of Asia's population still lives in areas designated as rural, their orientations are increasingly urban. Moreover, the places in which they live are to some extent only nominally rural communities, at least of the sort we imagine to be relatively tight-knit social units. Instead, rural communities have become socially urbanized. The social and economic life of these communities conform more to the sorts of materialistic, individualized, commercial and loosely networked forms of social life that we associate with urban megacities.

This short discussion sketches some of the implications of this transformation, particularly what it means for secondary cities and for social and economic programmes and policies.

Urban orientations

Rural residents throughout much of Asia live in an environment heavily infused with urban forms of knowledge, media and social relations. This is particularly true for children in rural areas, who are growing up with a thoroughgoing urban orientation. The schools they go to, the television shows they watch, the goods they consume and many of the adult rural–urban circular

migrants whom they interact with – often including their parents – all orient them towards living urban-based or at least urban-centred lives. Their urban-oriented upbringing means that many do not see a future for themselves in rural places, at least not in their young adult and working years. A city is seen as the place where their future lies. But in this respect, secondary cities suffer from a 'desirability gap'. In countries like Thailand and Malaysia, for example, the large megacities of Bangkok and Kuala Lumpur dwarf such secondary cities as Khon Kaen or Ipoh in the cultural imaginary of rural Thais and Malays. In other places, the imbalance may not be as pronounced. In Indonesia or the Philippines, the archipelagic geography and underdeveloped infrastructure may mean that closer-at-hand secondary cities loom larger in the ways that young people imagine their rural-to-urban mobility. Similarly, countries like China or India have a greater diversity of major and minor urban centres and, with it, a greater diversity of urban orientations.

Nevertheless, the tendency for primate cities like Bangkok, Jakarta or Manila to draw the attention of young people throughout a particular country is a challenge for those who seek to develop the role of secondary cities within a national urban system. Simply allocating development funds or supporting industrial zones in secondary cities is probably not enough. It is also important that young people learn to imagine their futures outside of primate cities – whether in secondary cities, towns or more rural locales.

Mobility and circular migration

In tandem with thoroughgoing urban orientations, modern infrastructure has made populations across Asia extremely mobile. Road networks

RURAL COMMUNITIES HAVE BECOME SOCIALLY URBANIZED...RURAL RESIDENTS THROUGHOUT MUCH OF ASIA LIVE IN AN ENVIRONMENT HEAVILY INFUSED WITH URBAN FORMS OF KNOWLEDGE, MEDIA AND SOCIAL RELATIONS

and private vehicles, in particular, have afforded rural and small-town residents the ability to bypass secondary cities and move directly to megacities as well as between those cities and their homes. Rail networks or even bus networks, by contrast, draw people to train and bus depots in secondary cities. Yet, it is private cars and motorcycles that are becoming ever more common in contemporary Asia.

High mobility may still have payoffs for secondary cities. Circular migration between rural villages and cities used to be seen and largely practised as migration between two points – a place of origin (often a village) and a destination where one worked (usually a primate city). Nowadays, circular migration is better thought of in terms of broad and diverse circulation – of people, goods, ideas and the like. Despite the ability to bypass secondary cities by road, ultra-high mobility in Asia means that secondary cities may benefit from a 'secondary mobility' that goes beyond migrants' typical shuttling between natal villages and places of work.

Highly mobile migrants and others now move to, across and through many different places, not only for work, but also for tourism, schooling, shopping, religious pilgrimage and visiting dispersed family and friends. This reality reflects the theme of desire and imagination – the ways in which places other than megacities can become desirable

destinations. For secondary cities in particular, it is more important than ever for planners, managers and entrepreneurs to consider ways to make their towns and cities desirable destinations for tourists, students, temporary migrants and others.

Closely related to the rapid development of transportation infrastructure has been the equally, if not more, rapid development of telecommunication infrastructure. In places without telephones just a decade or two ago, mobile phones are now ubiquitous. For several decades, television has broadcast images from the world beyond into many of the remotest settlements in Asia. Residents of Iban longhouses in the rainforests of Sarawak on Borneo, for instance, have been watching Hulk Hogan and similar fare since the 1980s. An entire generation, and in some places two or three generations, have now grown up with broadcast television throughout almost all of Asia.

More recently, landline telephones, mobile phones and internet service have made an even more profound impact in networking together the largest cities and smallest villages.

The high mobility of people and of ideas through telecommunication has deeply altered social life. It has led to a seemingly contradictory situation in which people are more connected and less connected than ever before. Mobility has led to the dissolution or at least dispersal and dissipation of

PHOTOGRAPH: AM AHAD

and within other spheres in ways previously unlikely or impossible. One of the more obvious examples of this is rural–based transnational migrants. It was once thought that only jet-set elites operated internationally or, at a minimum, that working class migrants would move through nationally regulated migration paths mediated by relationships between global cities. Today, there are increasingly direct connections between provincial Thailand, the Philippines or Indonesia, for example, with Singapore, Hong Kong or Dubai that were forged by working class migrants moving for construction, domestic work and other sorts of employment.

Transnational rural-to-rural migration for labour also is becoming common, such as with Lao agricultural workers in Thailand and Burmese workers in Malaysia. Also of significance is the very large number of marriage migrants, particularly women from less affluent countries, moving to marry men from more affluent countries.

This sort of high mobility and jumping scale is apparent throughout Asia, as much in secondary cities as in primate ones. Again, whereas previously only global megacities were thought of as diverse, international melting pots, many secondary cities are now also having to contend with the opportunities and challenges these dynamics bring. This is especially true of cities located near borders or along major transit routes; such as Udon Thani in Thailand, which is receiving an influx of Lao and Chinese settlers, or Kota Kinabalu in Sabah, Malaysia, where large numbers of Filipinos and Indonesians reside. Local governments in such secondary cities must increasingly implement plans and policies for managing diverse, even multinational and transnational populations, in ways that typically were thought of as issues for larger

the strong ties that once held local communities together. At the same time, people are more broadly connected to geographically dispersed networks of family and friends and able to form new sorts of communities of interest rather than communities of proximity. This change has implications for a range of policies and programmes.

Communities in absence

Governments and NGOs frequently plan interventions in rural places and urban low-income neighbourhoods through a community development approach. A problem with such an approach is that, increasingly, there is little or no pre-existing community through which to organize programmes. The dissolution of the rural–urban continuum due to high mobility and general rural urbanization means that villages and neighbourhoods – whether in primate

or secondary cities – tend not to be tightly integrated social units. Rather, those living in villages, towns and secondary cities are often likely to be atomized and individualized as much as those living in megacities. In a more positive respect, they are also as likely to be connected to others through long-distance, diffuse networks. Organizations seeking to implement development or welfare programmes need to think of approaches other than community development or to think of communities differently.

Another phenomenon that complicates our thinking about social and other relationships across villages, towns, secondary cities and megacities is the ability of people to 'jump scale'. The idea of jumping scale, drawn from research in geography, is that residents and citizens operating in certain local spheres are able, through transportation and telecommunication, to operate across

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WHEREAS PREVIOUSLY ONLY GLOBAL MEGACITIES WERE THOUGHT OF AS DIVERSE, INTERNATIONAL MELTING POTS, MANY SECONDARY CITIES ARE NOW ALSO HAVING TO CONTEND WITH THE OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES THESE DYNAMICS BRING

'global' cities, such as Singapore, Bangkok, Kuala Lumpur or Hong Kong.

All the changes outlined here – thoroughgoing urbanization, ultra-high mobility and the diffusion of communities and social networks – pose challenges for secondary city managers in planning and using local resources. These days, it may be more difficult to engage in planning on the basis of traditional community participation. On the other hand, through social media, it may be possible to enlist broader participation from dispersed individuals who have either traditional or future stakes in the prosperity of particular places.

Secondary cities need to consider how to close the desirability gap with global megacities. On some bases, such as scale of certain industries, it may be impossible to compete. But in other ways, such as liveability or local novelties, secondary cities may have distinct advantages. The key will be not to think only in terms of the local population's needs (though they should certainly not be forgotten!), but also the needs and desires of mobile populations.

The thoroughgoing urbanization and transnationalization of Asia is producing a complex patchwork of mobility, settlement and interaction that requires new thinking about how people live their lives and how States and non-government actors can provide services and opportunities to the people they govern and assist. Traditional ways of approaching communities may prove to be ineffective.

Secondary cities and even minor towns and villages require some of the same complex thinking that once seemed applicable only to global megacities. As well, there are likely to be innovative opportunities to work through the networks that residents and citizens are forming and to encourage new, future-oriented thinking about secondary cities, small towns and rural life.

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