EXPERIENCING CITIES

THIRD EDITION

MARK HUTTER

Hutter uses symbolic interactionism to examine the social psychology of city life and a political economy perspective to discuss urbanization, uneven development, and social stratification. One of the best urban sociology textbooks on the market.

Richard Adams, *Kent State University*

Any professor will say that explaining the link between the microworld of everyday social life in cities and the macroworld of urban social structures, social forces, and political economy is among the toughest teaching tasks, and also among the most important. Hutter puts this link at the center of this text. While driven by a discussion of city life from a symbolic interactionist perspective, Hutter never loses sight of the urban contexts in which people live. Along with being well-written and -organized, this textbook succeeds for this reason.

Richard Ocejo, *John Jay College of Criminal Justice, CUNY*

This newest edition of Hutter's *Experiencing Cities* is a welcome addition to the study of urban sociology. Our favorite classics, as well as newer research, are included in this comprehensive examination of the development of the city in history, and its importance to society both in the past and in the future.

Diane W. Lindley, *University of Mississippi*

Once again, Hutter's latest edition of *Experiencing Cities* is a rare urban text uniquely focusing on urbanism – how people experience cities and the social psychology of urban life largely from a symbolic interactionist perspective with many topics that students and professors alike will find interesting and engaging.

Peter Venturelli, *Valparaiso University*

Major Cities of the Global South
Note: Various authorities place the north/south divide in different places and rank cities differently.
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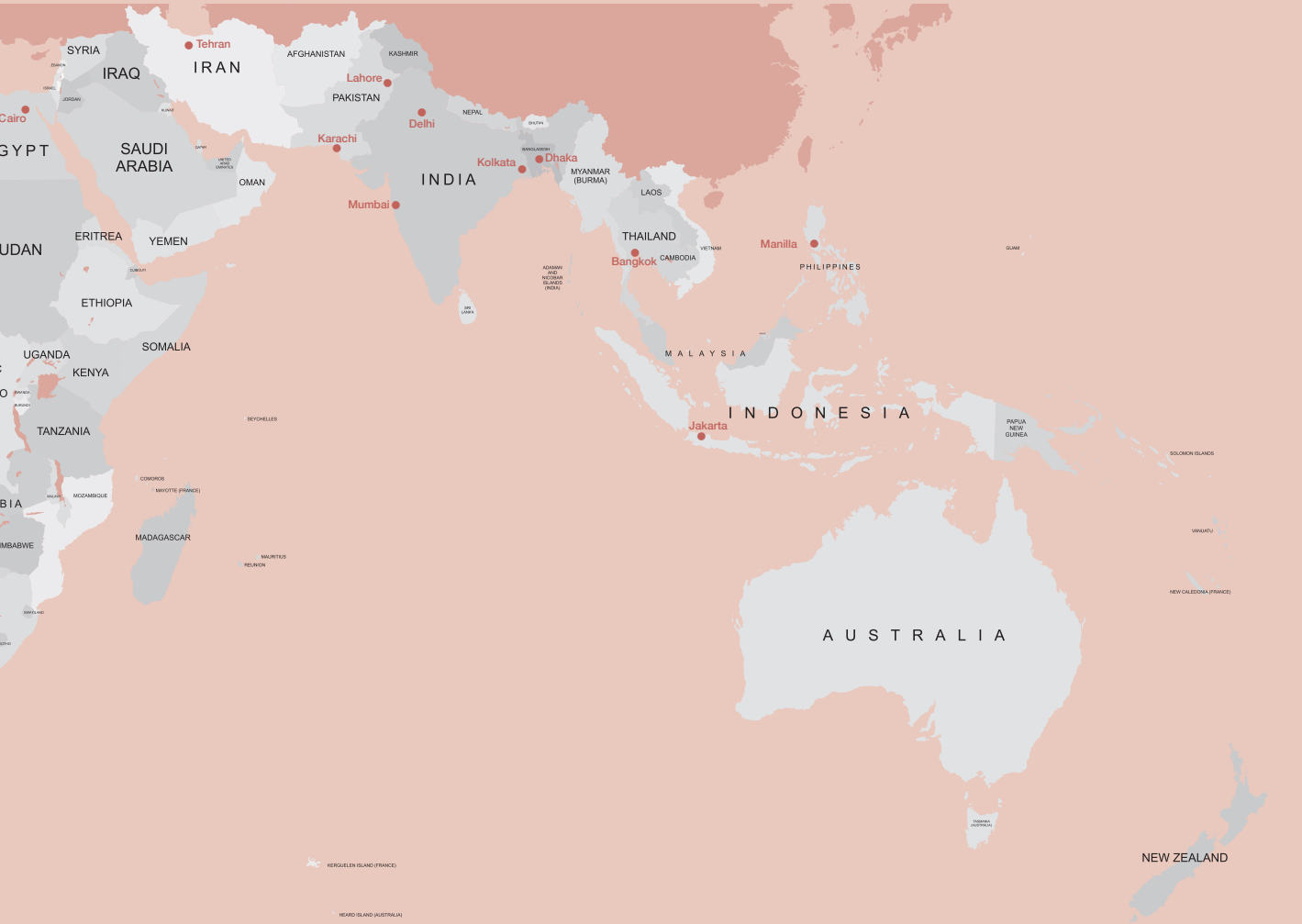
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Experiencing Cities

This extraordinary text for undergraduate urban students is a reflection of Mark Hutter's academic interests in urban sociology and his life-long passion for experiencing city life. His deep academic roots in the Chicago School of Sociology help inform and appreciate the variety of urban structures and processes and their effect on the everyday lives of people living in cities. This text, however, extends the Chicago School perspective by combining its traditions with a social psychological perspective derived from symbolic interaction and also with a macro-level examination of social organization, social change, stratification and power in the urban context, informed by political economy. This entirely new third edition has a *global* outlook on city life and a *visual presentation* unmatched among books in this genre.

Mark Hutter (Ph.D.) is Professor of Sociology at Rowan University, USA.

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Experiencing Cities

Third Edition

Mark Hutter

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To my parents who taught me to love city life
and
To my wife who shares my love of city life
and
To our children who provide new perspectives on city life

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Preface

The third edition of this text for undergraduate students continues to serve as a reflection of both my academic interests in urban sociology and my life-long passion for experiencing city life. My deep academic roots in the Chicago School of Sociology help inform and let me appreciate the variety of urban structures and processes and their effect on the everyday lives of people living in cities. This text, however, extends the Chicago School perspective by combining its traditions with a social psychological perspective derived from symbolic interaction *and also* with a macro-level examination of social organization, social change, stratification, and power in the urban context, informed by political economy.

From my earliest memories, family, friends, and neighbors were connected to community life within the geographical boundaries of the city. Yet, I was also constantly enamored with leaving my neighborhood and going to "the city"—first with my parents and later with my friends or just alone—and witnessing what friend and colleague Lyn Lofland refers to as a "world of strangers." I, too, was a "walker in the city," as so aptly expressed by Alfred Kazin, and I delighted in the sounds and sights of "downtown's" myriad urban activities. In this book, I hope to kindle similar enthusiasms and an inquiring spirit about the urban experience with its readers. I also want to help students understand the nature and detail of how people experience and give meaning to their lives as urbanites and suburbanites.

MAJOR, OVERALL CHANGES IN THE THIRD EDITION

A Worldwide View of Cities: A major departure from earlier editions is the text's examination of cities and the larger metropolitan areas of ever-changing suburbia within a *truly global*, not just American or "global north" framework. As the detailed list of changes by chapter make clear (see below), I have made *substantial* revisions everywhere, both in text and graphics, to communicate to students the truly world-wide nature of the urban experience. Yet, as in previous editions, I continue to integrate issues of gender, race, ethnicity, and class into my examination of city and suburban life. And similarly, the book continues to champion an interdisciplinary perspective, including urban geography, urban history, urban literature, urban art and architectural history into its chapters, further enriching students' understanding of how people experience city life.

Throughout this edition every attempt has been made to incorporate news events that are relevant. To further enhance the timeliness of this text, in the *Instructor's Manual* and on the website we have added an "Annotated Web Links

and Teaching Tips" section with useful access guidelines to news websites and video clips regarding current events that will continue to happen. Instructors and students will assess, analyze, and interpret such events in light of the themes and thinking frames that are articulated throughout the text.

Newly Enhanced Graphical Presentation: This new edition includes more than 175 photographs and exhibits, replete with detailed, informed captions to help students "experience cities" in the multiple ways I have outlined here. And because the visual dimension to this book is so important, I welcome specific suggestions for improving the quality and range of graphics, from students and instructors alike, for future editions. Please contact me at hutter@rowan.edu

Other New Pedagogical Improvements: The structure and organization of every chapter now has hierarchical subheadings (see the "Contents in Detail" or beginning of each chapter) which help students to distinguish overarching concepts from more specific information. Every chapter now ends with a "Conclusion" as a helpful summary, and with a series of "Study Questions" to challenge students to test their knowledge of the chapter's key concepts.

Finally, a new interactive feature:

Experiential Activities are interspersed in strategic places in each chapter. Each activity asks students to *experience* an aspect of cities that pertains to the concept under discussion—to follow Robert E. Park's famous admonition to "go get the seat of your pants dirty in real research." By carrying out these activities, students will turn the city where they live, and/or cities they can virtually visit by using the Internet, into a living laboratory for investigating sociological concepts in real life.

WHAT'S NEW, CHAPTER BY CHAPTER

Part I Historical Developments

Chapter 1 Introduction to Experiencing Cities

The new introduction has an updating and integrating discussion of world urbanization. We live in an *urban world* where more than half of the inhabitants of our planet now live in cities and with the prospect that there will be significant urbanization growth for the foreseeable future, it is vital to understand this at the beginning of our study. To facilitate this investigation, cities and statistics are presented in tables and maps instead of narrative lists. There is a new section on the important influence that Elijah Anderson has on urban sociology and on my thinking about cities. Anderson has expertly used his *sociological imagination* to integrate class, gender, race, and ethnicity factors and how they influence the everyday lives of city people.

Chapter 2 The Emergence of Cities

Updated archaeological findings have been added to our discussion on the origin of cities, which now includes cities in the Americas and East Asia.

Chapter 3 The Industrial Revolution and the Rise of Urban Sociology

The presentation on the impact of the Industrial Revolution and the rise of urban sociology has been enhanced by better photos.

Part II Disciplinary Perspectives

Chapter 4 Chicago School: Urbanism and Urban Ecology

The discussion of Burgess's concentric zone hypothesis and other urban ecology models has been reduced and then linked with the discussion of urban political economy in Chapter 6.

Chapter 5 Urban Planning

The chapter is reorganized for a more logical flow of concepts. There is an expanded discussion on Portland, Oregon beginning with the influence of Robert Moses to its rebirth as a dynamic city that has incorporated many of the tenets of new urbanism.

Chapter 6 Urban Political Economy, the New Urban Sociology, and the Power of Place

The many theories presented in the chapter are better organized to help students comprehend and retain their aspects. The discussion of David Harvey's work on the post-1970s transformation of Baltimore has been updated to incorporate the events surrounding the April 2015 riot. The description of the controversy surrounding the President's House in the historic Independence Hall tourist complex is updated.

Part III City Imagery

Chapter 7 City Imagery

The chapter contains updated coverage of murals as street and community art, and of the Detroit Institute of Art as an example of a fine arts institution as a community resource.

Chapter 8 The Skyscraper as Icon

The discussion of the skyscraper as an icon in Asian cities has been updated and expanded with an in-depth look at the Makkah Royal Clock Tower in Mecca. There is updated coverage on recent changes in New York City's Woolworth Building and Metropolitan Life Insurance Building, Moscow's Cathedral of Christ our Savior and of the Hong Kong skyline. The section on the World Trade Center attack and the media response includes coverage of the controversy of the building of an Islamic cultural center near the site and the construction of One World Trade Center.

Part IV The Social Psychology of City Life

Chapter 9 Experiencing Strangers and the Quest for Public Order

The sections on urban overload and the diffusion of responsibility have been reorganized. There is an updated discussion of flashmobs and the "knockout game."

Chapter 10 "Seeing" Disorder and the Ecology of Fear

Working off the discussion of broken windows theory, there is a new section on "stop and frisk" police tactics, the chokehold death of Eric Garner in Staten Island, and the repercussions that have led to "Hands Up Don't Shoot" protest movements. The discussion on street surveillance now utilizes the Boston Marathon terrorist attack as a case study. There is new coverage of terrorism in the case of the Paris *Charlie Hebdo* shootings. The chapter concludes with a new section on "no-go zones" and the ecology of fear.

Part V City People and Places

This part combines the previous edition's Parts V (City People) and VI (City Places).

Chapter 11 Urban Communities and Social Policies

Added to the discussion of white ethnic groups is a new section on "mass mobs" in ethnic Roman Catholic churches located in the former ethnic villages of many cities. Reflecting the renewal of diplomatic relations initiatives with Cuba, there is a discussion of Miami's Little Havana and Havana, Cuba. The discussion of hypergentrification includes analysis of recent developments in San Francisco, London, and New York City. There is an updated discussion of homelessness.

Chapter 12 Families, Gender, and Singles in the City

This chapter combines and updates the previous edition's Chapters 12 (gender) and 13 (families). Sections on kinship patterns, African American kinship networks, suburban families and the dispersal of kin and kin-work are either eliminated or updated, with some of the material relocated to Chapter 14 on suburbanization. There is condensed coverage of Mexican American families and global migration. More in-depth coverage is given to singles in the city with a new section on the implications of a "childless city."

Chapter 13 The Consumer City: Shopping and Sports

This chapter combines the previous edition's Chapters 13 (downtown stores) and 15 (baseball and basketball). Material on both topics is condensed. There is an updated case study of Washington, D.C.'s U Street Corridor.

Part VI The Urban World

Chapter 14 American and Global Suburbanization Patterns

There is a new discussion of Ferguson, Missouri as an example of a suburban ghetto and of St. Louis as an example of urban revitalization. The section on suburbs and morality is eliminated. Updated (from the second edition, Chapter 18) is a discussion of global suburbs, gated communities and gated cities, and squatter settlements.

Chapter 15 Social Capital and the Resilience of Cities

This chapter contains an updated discussion of the Internet and virtual communities. The discussion of the rebuilding of New Orleans after Hurricane Katrina is extended to include recent developments and assessments. The chapter concludes the book with a new section on global vulnerability and resilience of cities throughout the world. The former Chapter 18, Global Cities, is eliminated as global content is infused throughout the third edition.

INSTRUCTOR'S MANUAL AND TEST BANK

This supplement offers an overview for each chapter followed by Essay, Multiple Choice, and True/False Questions. In the *Instructor's Manual* and on the website we have added an "Annotated Web Links and Teaching Tips"section with useful access guidelines to news websites and video clips pertaining to current events. The supplement is available to qualified instructors on the Routledge Companion Website for my third edition at www.routledge.com/cw/hutter

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For this third edition, Steve Rutter, Publisher and now retired, was the driving force in reconceptualising the pedagogical features and art program to produce a book thoroughly attuned to the needs of today's instructors and students. A most diligent

overseer of the entire project, Steve was actively involved in decision making and, overall, was of immeasurable help in bringing this edition to fruition. Elsa Peterson is an exceptional freelance developmental editor. She corrected my Brooklynese grammar and clarified my thoughts and, most importantly, made major substantive comments and additions to the text. She developed and oversaw the figures, Experiential Activities, and chapter-ending Study Questions that enhance the book and make the reader's quest to experience cities much more meaningful. Editorial Assistant Margaret Moore provided highly capable and understanding editorial support. I also owe deep gratitude for the contributions of Samantha Barbaro, Sociology Editor, and Joe Kreuser, Social Science Marketing Manager.

My wife, sweet Lorraine, has shared travel to many, many cities both in the United States and to all parts of the world. Our children, Daniel and Elizabeth, share a common love of travel and city life. They have already surpassed our life list of countries visited! Living in the Philadelphia metropolitan area and in the Northeast Corridor of the United States has allowed me to visit many cities very frequently. Further, having children who have lived in Washington, D.C., New York City, and Miami Beach provides the added incentive to not only see them often but also to appreciate their views of city life and to share with them their city experiences.

Mark Hutter

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Part I
Historical Developments

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction to Experiencing Cities

Chapter Outline

- The Urban World
  - *Experiential Activity 1.1: Oral History*
- Civilization and Cities
- Microlevel Sociology and Macrolevel Sociology and Experiencing Cities
  - *Experiential Activity 1.2: Micro and Macro Issues*
- Symbolic Interactionism and the Study of City Life
  - W. I. Thomas: The Definition of the Situation
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  - Anselm L. Strauss: Images of the City
  - *Experiential Activity 1.3: Photography*
  - Lyn Lofland: The World of Strangers and the Public Realm
  - *Experiential Activity 1.4: Strangers in the Crowd*
  - Elijah Anderson: Race and Urban Street Life
  - *Experiential Activity 1.5: Make Strangers "Invisible"*
- Experiencing Cities through Symbolic Interactionism
  - *Experiential Activity 1.6: Draw Map of Your Neighborhood*
- Growing Up in the City: A Personal Odyssey
- Conclusion
- Study Questions

Aerial view of the New York City skyline showing the density and sprawl of this magnificent city. Source: Shutterstock © dade72

The contemporary world is becoming more urban. The twenty-first century marks the first time in history that more than half of the world's inhabitants live in cities. This is remarkable given that just 200 years ago the vast majority of people lived in rural areas. Today, all industrial nations have become overwhelmingly urbanized, and the processes of urbanization are accelerating rapidly the world over.

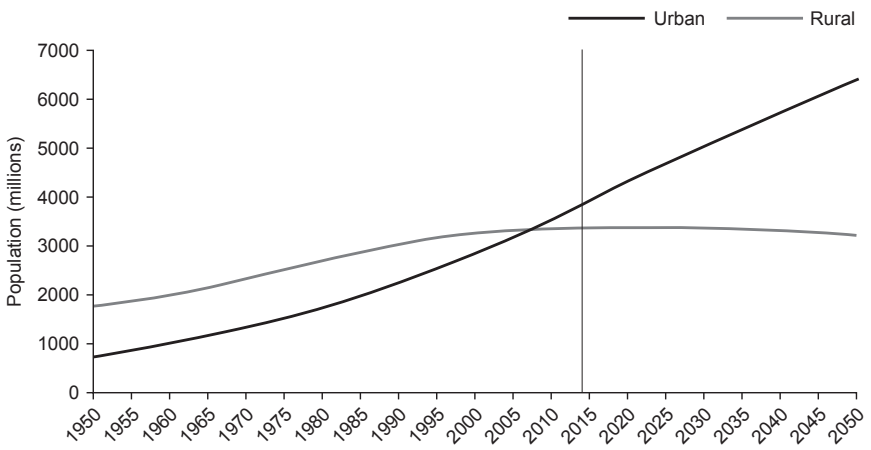
THE URBAN WORLD

The world's urban population growth is accelerating today at a rate two and a half times faster than that of rural areas. According to social scientists at North Carolina State University and the University of Georgia working with United Nations data, on Wednesday, May 23, 2007, for the first time in history, the world had more urban dwellers than rural ones (Science Daily 2007). On that day, 3,303,992,253 urban dwellers exceeded the 3,303,866,404 people who live in rural areas. By the year 2050, urban areas are expected to be home to 66 percent of people living on this planet (United Nations 2014). Further, the United Nations' *2014 Revision of the World Urbanization Prospects* predicts that by 2050, the world's population will increase by 2.5 billion. Virtually all of this population growth is expected to be absorbed in the urban areas of the world, with nearly 90 percent of the increase concentrated in Asia and Africa (United Nations 2014). This is astonishing given that just over 250 years ago, only one country—England—could describe itself as an urban society, in which the majority of its people lived in cities and not on farms or in villages (see Exhibit 1.1).

The demographer Kingsley Davis (1955) highlights the fact that cities are a recent phenomenon as compared to other aspects of human society and culture:

Exhibit 1.1 Urban and Rural Populations of the World, 1950–2030.

Source: United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (Population Division), *World Urbanization Prospects*. New York: United Nations, 2004 and 2014.



> Compared to most other aspects of society—e.g., language, religion, stratification, or the family—cities appeared only yesterday, and urbanization, meaning that a sizable proportion of the population lives in cities, has developed only in the last few moments of man's existence. (Davis 1955:429)

The processes of urbanization are accelerating rapidly all over the world, with much of population growth and urbanization occurring in Asia and Africa. In 1800, only 3 percent of the world's population lived in cities (Hauser and Schnore 1965). In 1950, 29 percent of the world's population lived in cities; in 1975, that figure rose to 37 percent and was approaching 50 percent (47 percent) at the turn of the twenty-first century. As just noted, by 2050 66 percent of the world population is expected to be urban (United Nations 2014). Today, the most urbanized regions include Northern America (82 percent living in urban areas), Latin America and the Caribbean (80 percent) and Europe (73 percent). Asia (48 percent) and Africa (40 percent) are rapidly urbanizing and are projected to become 64 percent urban in Asia and 56 percent urban in Africa by mid-century (United Nations 2014). The urban population of Africa will nearly triple in size and in Asia it will increase by 61 percent. The UN predicts by the year 2050 the world's urban population will likely be the same size as the entire world's population was in 2004.

In 1950 there were just 75 cities in the world with over one million population. Today, more than 421 cities, most of which did not even exist 200 years ago and many of which have appeared within the last 75 years, have populations of one million or more (Brinkhoff 2004; Population Reference Bureau 2010). According to UN population estimates, by 2025 an additional 100 cities will top one million.

Most astonishing is the dramatic increase in megacities—cities with populations over 10 million people. Barbara Boyle Torrey (2004), writing for the Population Research Bureau, observes that this is the most striking example of the urbanization of the world. In 1950 only two (New York City and Tokyo) existed. The number doubled to four in 1975 with the addition of Shanghai and Mexico City. In 1990 there were 10 megacities; in 2007 there were 19 megacities, and the United Nations estimates that today there are 28 (United Nations 2008; United Nations 2014). These 28 megacities contain about 453 million people or about 12 percent of the world's population. By 2030 the UN projection is 41 megacities with populations of 10 million or more (see Exhibit 1.2).

This rapid growth in the urbanization of the world is startling given the patterns of population growth and the rates of urbanization prior to the twentieth century. Only within the time span of the last 200 years, concurrent with the Industrial Revolution, has a sizable proportion of the human population lived in cities. Indeed, at the time when cities are believed to have first emerged, approximately 7,000 to 10,000 years ago, there were only about five million human beings on the face of this planet, about the same number as currently live in the Atlanta metropolitan area (World Population Review 2014). Advances in agriculture associated with the movement away from the nomadic hunting and gathering economy led to accelerated population growth. From the period when cities emerged until 1 AD, the worldwide population was relatively stable at about 250 million. It took about 1,650 years for the population to double to one-half billion, but in a mere 200 years (AD 1850) it doubled again. Then, in a time span of only 80 years—from

Exhibit 1.2 Population of Urban Agglomerations with 10 Million Inhabitants or More: 1950, 1975, 2003, and 2015 (millions).

1950		1975		2003		2015	
Urban Agglomeration	Population	Urban Agglomeration	Population	Urban Agglomeration	Population	Urban Agglomeration	Population
1 New York, USA[1]	12.3	1 Tokyo, Japan	26.6	1 Tokyo, Japan	35.0	1 Tokyo-Yokohama, Japan	37.8
2 Tokyo, Japan	11.3	2 New York, USA[1]	15.9	2 Mexico City, Mexico	18.7	2 Jakarta, Indonesia	30.5
		3 Shanghai, China	11.4	3 New York, USA[1]	18.3	3 Delhi, India	25.0
		4 Mexico City, Mexico	10.7	4 São Paulo, Brazil	17.9	4 Manila, Philippines	24.1
				5 Mumbai (Bombay), India	17.4	5 Seoul-Incheon, South Korea	23.5
				6 Delhi, India	14.1	6 Shanghai, China	23.4
				7 Calcutta, India	13.8	7 Karachi, Pakistan	22.1
				8 Buenos Aires, Argentina	13.0	8 Beijing, China	21.0
				9 Shanghai, China	12.8	9 New York, USA	20.6
				10 Jakarta, Indonesia	12.3	10 Guangzhou-Foshan, China	20.6
				11 Los Angeles, USA[2]	12.0	11 São Paulo, Brazil	20.4
				12 Dhaka, Bangladesh	11.6	12 Mexico City, Mexico	20.1
				13 Osaka-Kobe, Japan	11.2	13 Mumbai (Bombay), India	17.7
				14 Rio de Janeiro, Brazil	11.2	14 Osaka-Kobe-Kyoto, Japan	17.4
				15 Karachi, Pakistan	11.1	15 Moscow, Russia	16.2
				16 Beijing, China	10.8	16 Dhaka, Bangladesh	15.7
				17 Cairo, Egypt	10.8	17 Cairo, Egypt	15.6
				18 Moscow, Russian Federation	10.5	18 Los Angeles, USA	15.1
				19 Metro Manila, Philippines	10.4	19 Bangkok, Thailand	15.0
				20 Lagos, Nigeria	10.1	20 Kolkata (Calcutta), India	14.7

(*continued*)

Exhibit 1.2 (*continued*)

						21 Buenos Aires, Argentina	14.1
						22 Tehran, Iran	13.5
						23 Istanbul, Turkey	13.3
						24 Lagos, Nigeria	13.1
						25 Shenzhen, China	12.1
						26 Rio de Janeiro, Brazil	11.7
						27 Kinshasa, Dem. Rep. Congo	11.6
						28 Tianjin, China	10.9
						29 Paris, France	10.9
						30 Lima, Peru	10.8
						31 Chengdu, China	10.4
						32 London, United Kingdom	10.2
						33 Nagoya, Japan	10.2
						34 Lahore, Pakistan	10.1

[1] Refers to the New York–Newark urbanized areas.

[2] Refers to the Los Angeles–Long Beach–Santa Ana urbanized area.

Sources: United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs/Population Divisions. 2004. *World Urbanization Prospects: The 2003 Revision*. New York: United Nations; Demographia World Urban Areas, 11th Annual Edition: 2015:01. Available at http://www.demographia.com/

NOTE: Population estimates for metropolitan areas vary because of variations in where different demographers draw the boundaries of such areas.

1850 to 1930—the population increased to two billion. By 1975, 45 years later, the population again doubled to approximately four billion people. By the end of the twentieth century the world's population reached six billion, and it only took until 2011 to pass the seven-billion mark (see Exhibit 1.3). Most of the population growth will occur in the poorest and least developed countries located in Africa, southern Asia, and Latin America. Further, almost all of that growth is expected to reside in the urban areas of the less-developed regions of the world.

The last half of the twentieth century saw an urban population explosion never seen before in the history of the world. The first urban revolution began about 10,000 years ago, with the origin and development of cities. It was followed by the second urban revolution nearly 11,800 years later (1800 AD), which was brought about by the Industrial Revolution—led by Western capitalism first in England, Germany, and France, and later the United States and then through European colonization of almost the entire world. From our current perspective, the middle of the second decade of the twenty-first century, we can see the globalization of urbanization patterns that began in earnest after World War II. Indeed, a third urban revolution is occurring, characterized by massive urban growth in non-Western cities and, in effect, the urbanization of the entire world.

In 1950, five years after World War II, the list of the 15 largest cities in the world was dominated by Western cities, with New York City being the largest metropolitan area in the world. According to United Nations data (United Nations 2004) by 2000 only two United States cities, New York City and Los Angeles, remained on that list and they ranked third and tenth, respectively. In 2025, New York City is projected to slip to ninth of the most populous cities (see Exhibit 1.4). In that same year Los Angeles would be in the seventeenth position and therefore is not on Exhibit 1.4 (United Nations 2008).

Exhibit 1.3 Line Graph of World Population, 1804–2030.

Source: United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (Population Division), *World Urbanization Prospects*. New York: United Nations, 2004 and 2014.

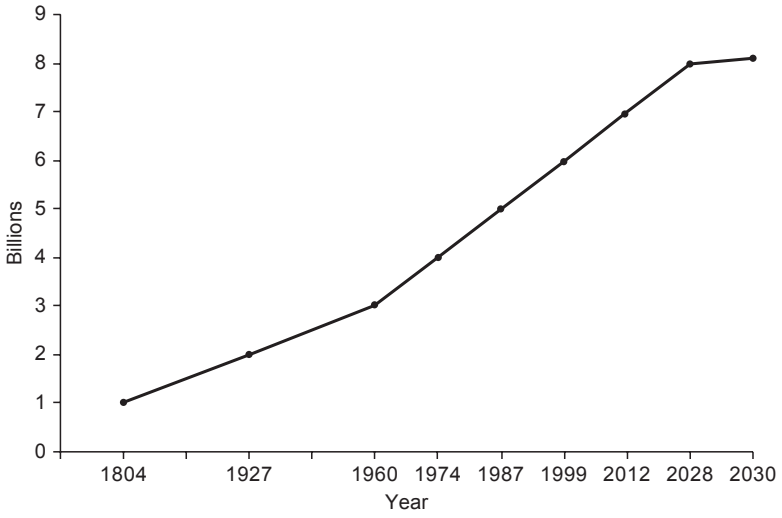


Exhibit 1.4 The 15 Largest Urban Agglomerations Ranked by Population Size.

1950			1975			2000			2025 (projected)		
Rank	Agglomeration and Country	Population (millions)	Rank	Agglomeration and Country	Population (millions)	Rank	Agglomeration and Country	Population (millions)	Rank	Agglomeration and Country	Population (millions)
1	New York–Newark, USA	12.338	1	Tokyo, Japan	26.615	1	Tokyo, Japan	34.450	1	Tokyo-Yokohama, Japan	37.8
2	Tokyo, Japan	11.275	2	New York–Newark, USA	15.880	2	Mexico City, Mexico	18.066	2	Jakarta, Indonesia	30.5
3	London, United Kingdom	8.361	3	Shanghai, China	11.443	3	New York–Newark, USA	17.846	3	Delhi, India	25.0
4	Paris, France	5.424	4	Mexico City, Mexico	10.690	4	Sao Paulo, Brazil	17.099	4	Manila, Philippines	24.1
5	Moscow, Russian Federation	5.356	5	Osaka-Kobe, Japan	9.844	5	Mumbai (Bombay), India	16.086	5	Seoul-Incheon, South Korea	23.5
6	Shanghai, China	5.333	6	Sao Paulo, Brazil	9.614′	6	Calcutta, India	13.058	6	Shanghai, China	23.4
7	Rhein-Ruhr North, Germany	5.295	7	Buenos Aires, Argentina	9.143	7	Shanghai, China	12.887	7	Karachi, Pakistan	22.1
8	Buenos Aires, Argentina	5.041	8	Los Angeles–Long Beach–Santa Ana, USA	8.926	8	Buenos Aires, Argentina	12.583	8	Beijing, China	21.0
9	Chicago, USA	4.999	9	Paris, France	8.630	9	Delhi, India	12.441	9	New York, USA	20.6
10	Calcutta, India	4.446	10	Beijing, China	8.545	10	Los Angeles–Long Beach–Santa Ana, USA	11.814	10	Guangzhou-Foshan, China	20.6
11	Osaka-Kobe, Japan	4.147	11	Calcutta, India	7.888	11	Osaka-Kobe, Japan	11.165	11	São Paulo, Brazil	20.4
12	Los Angeles–Long Beach–Santa Ana, USA	4.046	12	Moscow, Russian Federation	7.623	12	Jakarta, Indonesia	11.018	12	Mexico City, Mexico	20.1
13	Beijing, China	3.913	13	Rio de Janeiro, Brazil	7.557	13	Beijing, China	10.839	13	Mumbai (Bombay), India	17.7
14	Milan, Italy	3.633	14	London, United Kingdom	7.546	14	Rio de Janeiro, Brazil	10.803	14	Osaka-Kobe-Kyoto, Japan	17.4
15	Berlin, Germany	3.337	15	Mumbai (Bombay), India	7.347	15	Cairo, Egypt	10.398	15	Moscow, Russia	16.2

Source: United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs/Population Divisions. *World Urbanization Prospects*: The 2003 Revision; Demographia World Urban Areas, 11th Annual Edition: 2015:01. Available at http://www.demographia.com/

NOTE: Population estimates for metropolitan areas vary because of variations in where different demographers draw the boundaries of such areas.