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Measuring World Cities

London

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European & US Concepts of the city



Do we have **one**?

*“...this scepter’d isle,...This other Eden, demi-paradise,
This fortress built by Nature for herself Against infection and the hand of war,
...This precious stone set in the silver sea, Which serves it in the office of a
wall, Or as a moat defensive to a house, Against the envy of less happier
lands,This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, ..This England,”*

Wm Shakespeare

*“I view great cities as pestilential to the morals, the health & the
liberties of man. True, they nourish some of the elegant arts, but
the useful ones can thrive elsewhere & less perfection of others
with more health, virtue & freedom would be my choice....”*

Thomas Jefferson

*“The bourgeoisie has....created enormous cities, has greatly
increased the urban population as compared with the rural and has
thus rescued a considerable part of the population from the idiocy of
rural life...”*

Karl Marx

Britain & the US differ from continental Europe

- The defensive function of cities disappeared in UK from the 1500s; never really existed in US
- ‘Within the walls’ meant safety & high density...
- And it **cost**: suburbs were for the poor

In continental Europe

- Armies continued to raid & the Nation state came later;
- Walls remained & cities retained the rich – still do
- Cities were civilisation
- Why is Paris not like Detroit?

So long as cities were enclosed by walls you knew what they were, where they were & who were ‘citizens’

Cities 'invented' 10 000 years ago - the most productive innovation in human history for both productivity & quality of life

- Cities represented the original division of labour
- The specialisation of activities they create is the basis of the division of labour: the primary source of productivity growth
- Cities generated the demand for innovation e.g. in transport, infrastructure & public health
- Living in cities directly generates welfare
- People **choose** to live in cities: firms **choose** to locate in them

City means?

UK has an annual beauty parade to get 'city' designation

- And an ever changing hodge-podge of definitions: 'Boroughs' 'Urban Districts'; Metropolitan Districts; London Country Council – Greater London Council – Greater London Authority: All variations on administrative or political city
- Then we have statistical definitions: or do we?
- A revealing feature of ONS website – themes offered do not include 'cities' or 'urban' statistics
- Census has 'Output areas' classified mechanically according to similarity on arbitrary indicators
- Urban Audit 'Cities'; Built-up areas
- Travel to Work Areas

City means?

US has a more consistent (or fixed) political definition

- The Central City – but with few exceptions boundaries have remained fixed since early 20th Century; also a few regional governmental units – e.g. for Minneapolis-St Paul

But long standing – since 1940s – attempt to define cities consistently for statistical reporting

The actual definition has more or less continuously evolved but stuck to some key principles relating to the concept and functions of cities

- Identify a 'nucleus'
- Identify adjacent communities that have a high degree of integration with each nucleus
- Use data for the smallest units (counties, townships) available
- That is – 1)Urban cores+2)surrounding integrated areas
- Cores defined in terms of population (density) amalgamating counties meeting threshold
- Integrated areas defined on commuting – in 2000 25% (up from 15% in 1990): again amalgamating counties meeting threshold.

City means?

- The French – political purposes - have the Commune and Canton (but they also have the Communauté Urbaine): & - of course - the city of Paris
- For statistical purposes they have the agglomération (but on French agglomération definitions Belgium is one city from Antwerp to Liege...) and also additional metropolitan units for varying purposes
- The Germans have the Kreisfreie Stadt: but some cities - Hamburg, Bremen or Berlin – are Länder. They also have an urban region for Stuttgart.....
- In Germany data are collected for the political cities but also some data are assembled for 'functionally' defined city-regions
- And other European countries have their own political and statistical definitions

And Eurostat has NUTS....and the Urban Audit

- A lost opportunity to bring order to chaos?

Cities are far too important to know nothing about

International comparisons, serious investigation of what makes cities work, planning or policy evaluation...

Needs comparably defined 'cities'

- Existing sources of data - UN, World Bank, OECD, Eurostat - fatally flawed

Adopt national definitions – usually political - of cities

Alternatives?

- Morphological/physical criteria – proximity of buildings, densities
- Functional criteria – employment (or population) concentrations + areas linked by commuting

Currently sexy

Technologically sophisticated – satellite imagery - & cheap

- But don't capture factors people and economic agents react to so not so relevant for policy or planning
- And ignore increasing importance of land use regulations

Greenbelts, Urban containment, smart growth, 'Green hearts' (Randstad) \Rightarrow mean physical structures increasingly at variance with functional city-regions

- Transport systems need to fit functional reality – where people want to travel to
- Comparisons need to include a similar proportion of all cities

Even within countries a problem

- London – growth pressures stronger \Rightarrow so leapfrog further

But consider the French-Belgian problem

London on population densities

GAME

Pop 1999

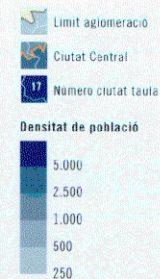
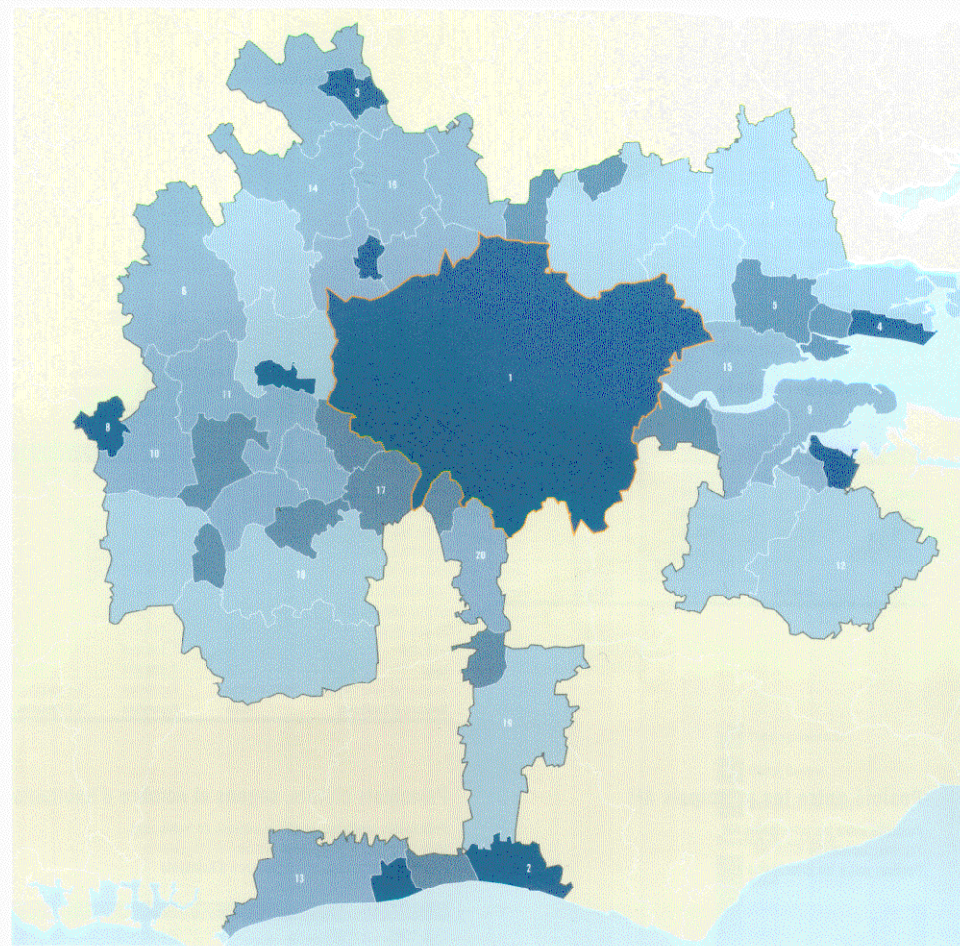
12.653 million

Grans

Aglomeracions

Metropolitanes

Europees



Al Regne Unit les unitats estudiades són de nivell NUTS 3 i per tant en alguns casos els toponims corresponen a aquestes zones administratives i no a nuclis urbans.

The units being studied for the United Kingdom are NUTS3 level and so, in some cases the toponyms correspond to those administrative areas and not to urban centres.

Firms choose cities on the basis of access...

- MNEs/HQs–
 - access to major international airport
- New media firm clusters in Paris & London? most important factors –
 - 1) access to public transport
 - 2) high capacity internet connections
- City of London financial cluster–
 - access to specialised labour skills – public transport

Property developer/investor

- expected rents: determined by economic conditions within *economic region*

Highly skilled worker –

- Access to appropriate jobs

Judging regional prosperity? GDP per cap. But

- GDP measured at workplace
- People counted where they live
- ⇒ Self-containment

People travel – increasingly - across boundaries and across unbuilt countryside

GDP p.c. for different Londons 1998: EU15=100

Greater London	157.4
Inner London	250.6
Inner London -West	461.9
Inner London - East	129.1
Outer London	99.4
Outer London – East & N. East	77.8
Outer London – South	95.3
Outer London – W. & N. West	120.9
South East	116

source: REGIO

So what are Functional Urban Regions?

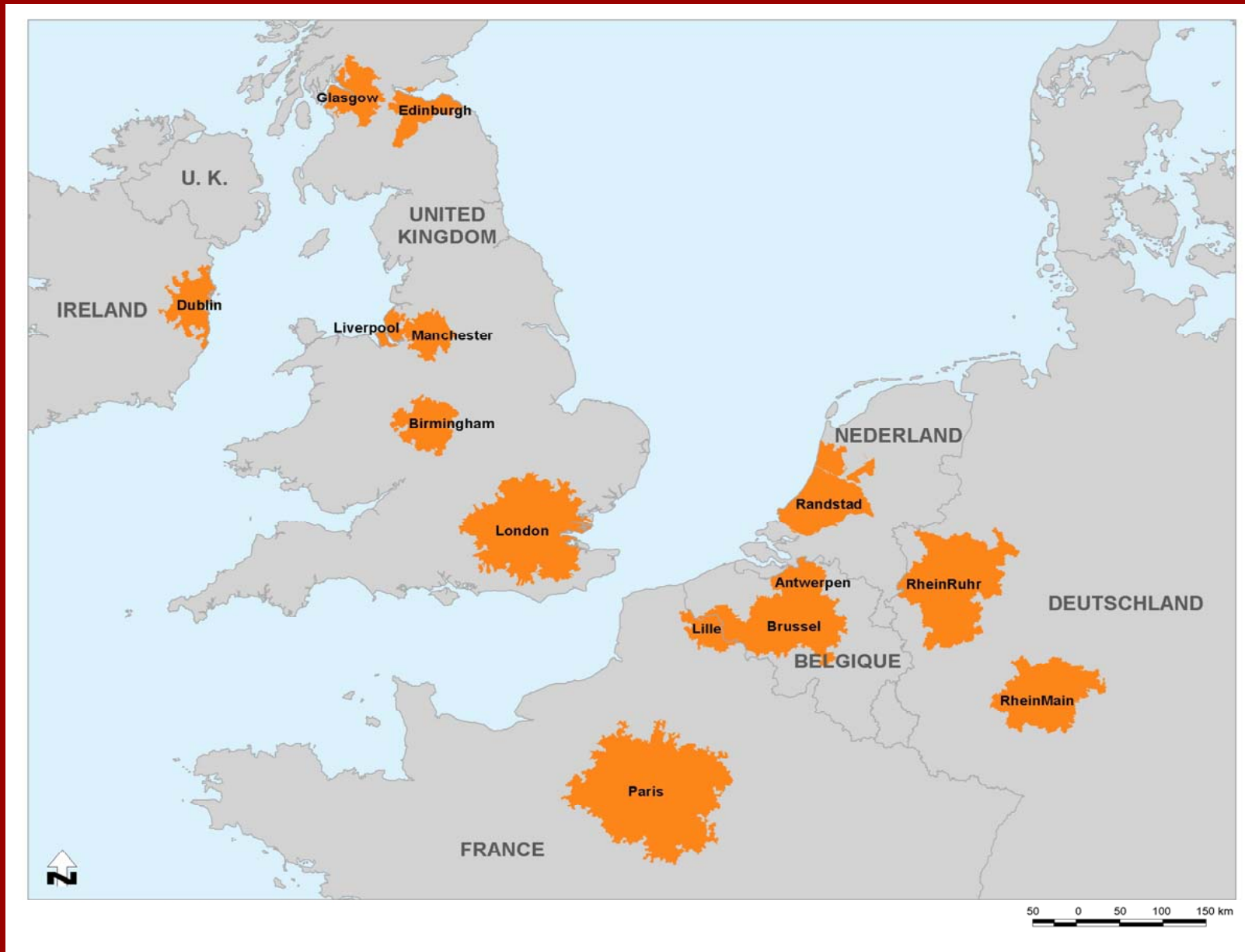
Concentrations of employment + spheres of economic influence defined by commuting – similar to US Metropolitan Areas but employment cores

- No uniquely right 'rules': GEMACA Project (1999-2001) tried several: looked for consistency & comparability; Used 1991 data
- Cores defined on employment – not population – concentrations
- Sets of contiguous units with 7+ jobs per ha & 20 000+ jobs = Core
- Sets of units with 10% commuting to core = hinterland
 - 'Enclaves' & 'Bridging'
 - Total population 1 million+
 - Monocentric & Polycentric FURs

But no uniquely right 'rules'

Don't let the best be the enemy of the good!

Functional Urban Regions in N-W Europe: GEMACA rules+ 1991 data





FUNCTIONAL URBAN REGIONS

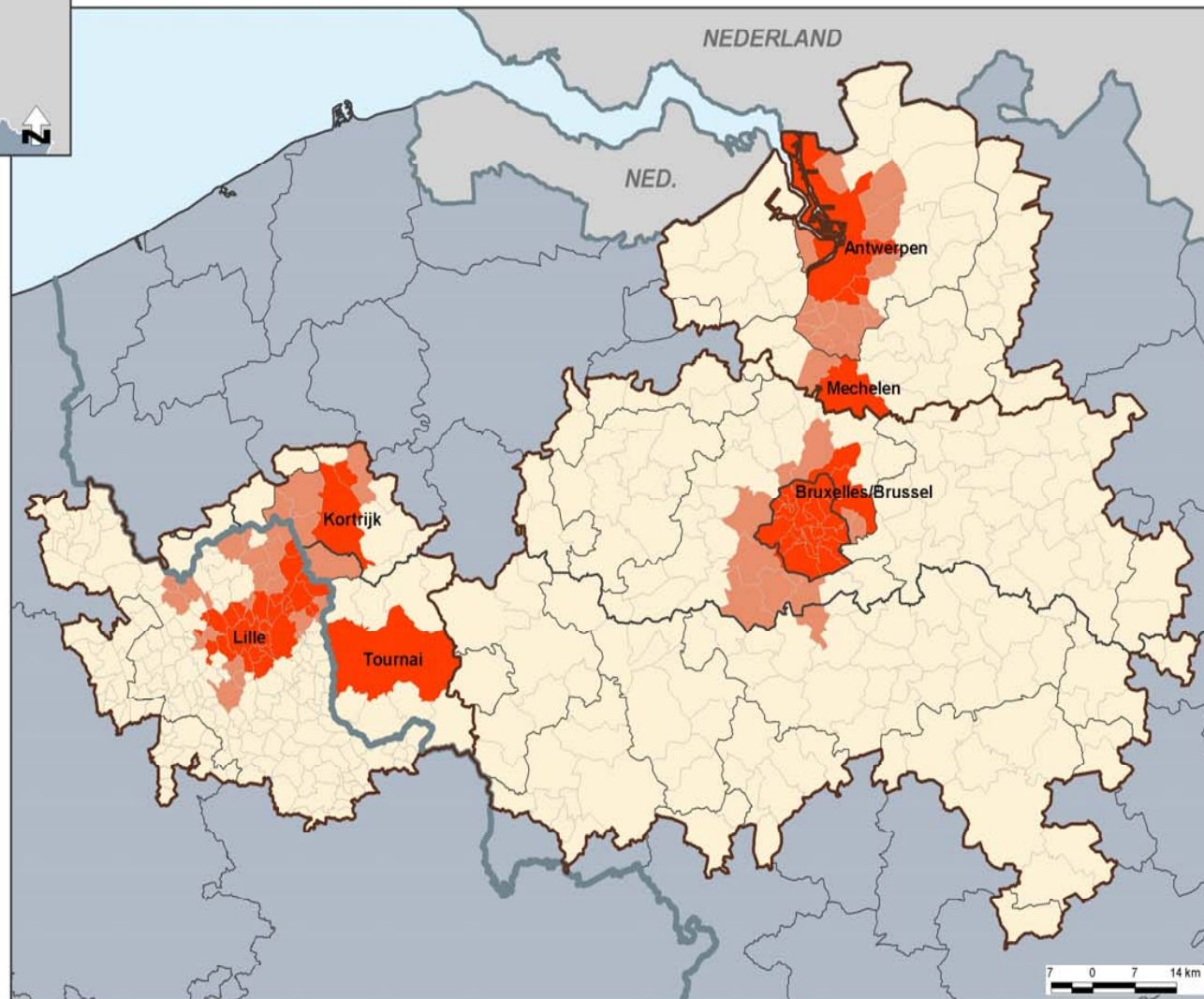
ANTWERPEN 1998

BRUXELLES / BRUSSEL 1998

LILLE 1999

Data : National Institutes of Statistics

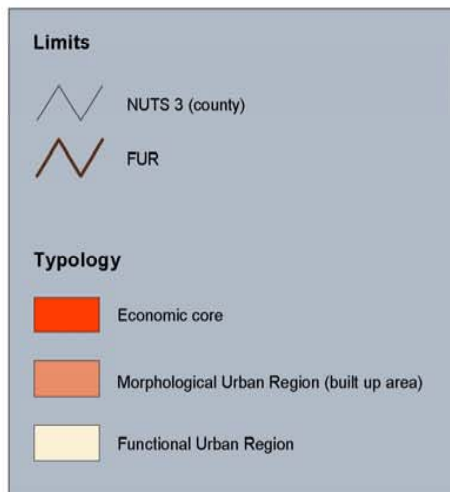
Background : MACON





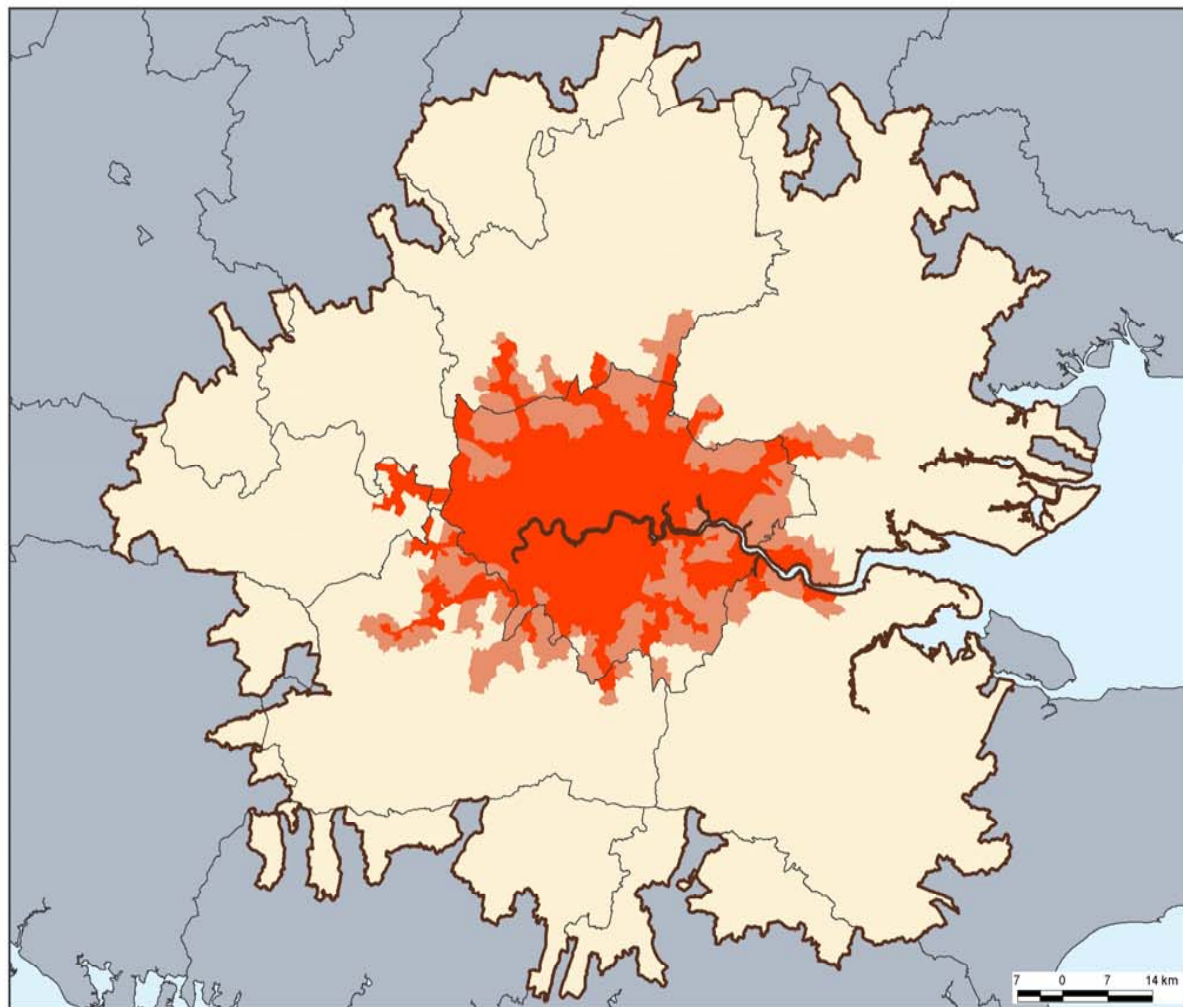
Data : National Institutes of Statistics

Background : MACON



LONDON

FUNCTIONAL URBAN REGION 1991



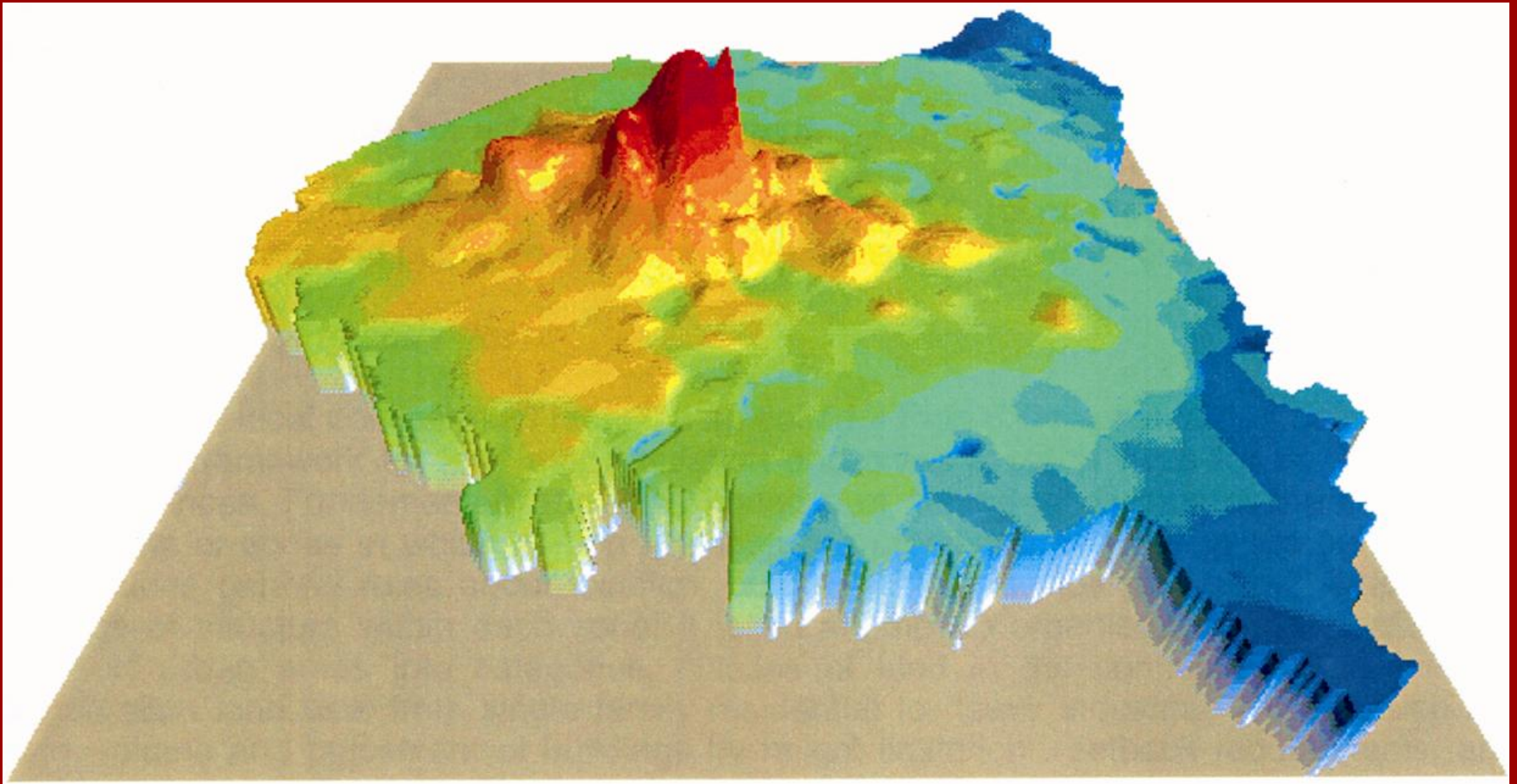
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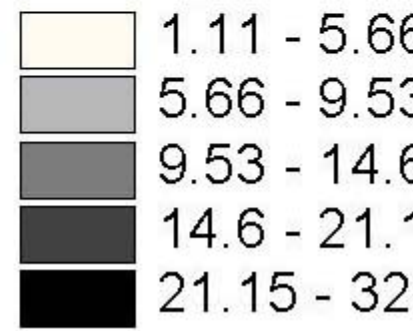
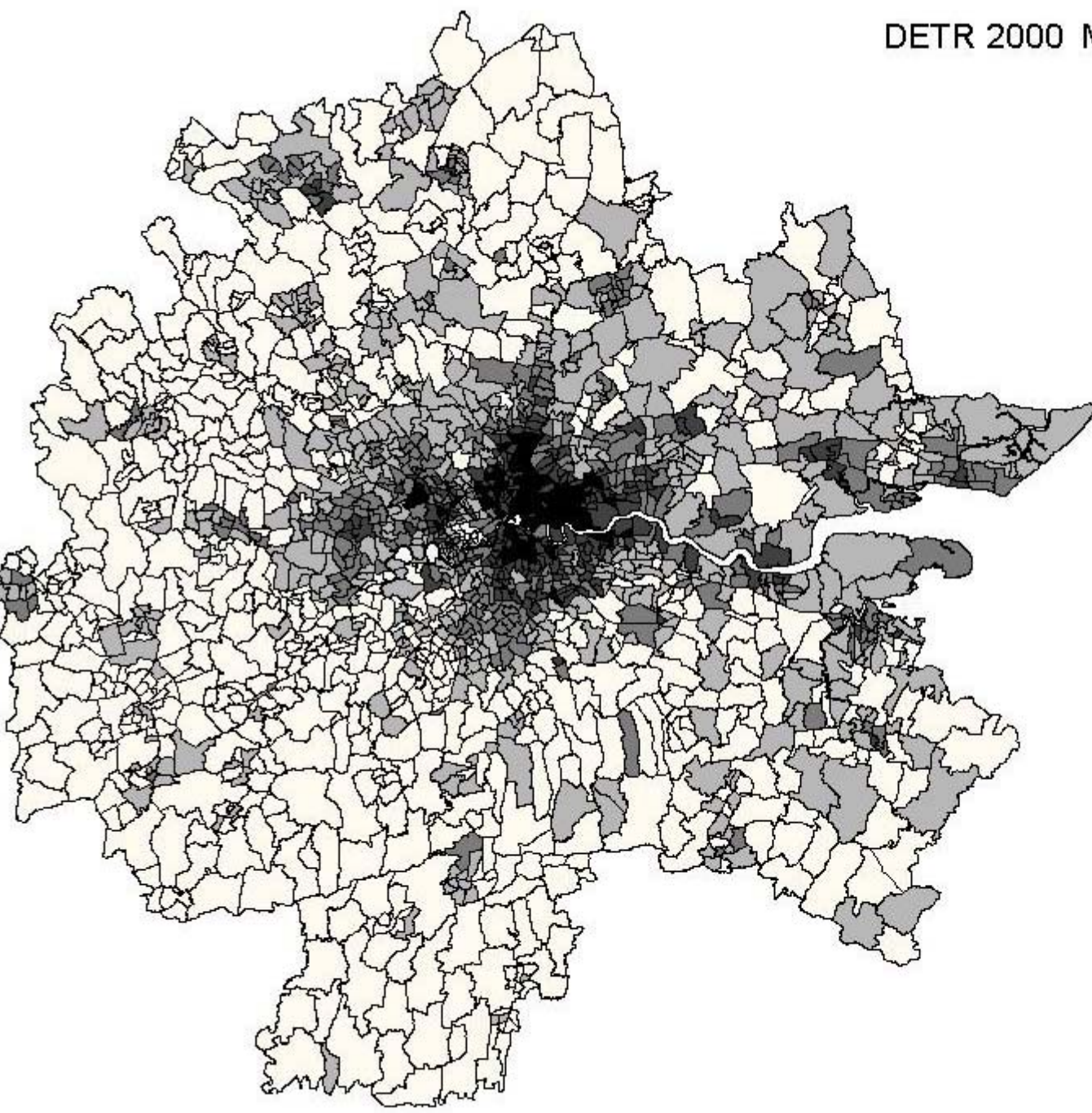
- Where are the unemployed?
- Where are the rich?
- Where are the disadvantaged?
- Paris (Ile de France) compared to....
- London (Metropolitan region)

Paris/Ile de France:

vertical scale: price of housing per m2: Red= most professionals.& managerial; blue=most unskilled & unemployed



DETR 2000 MDI: Employment Domain Score



1971 to 1991 Paris grows & London expands

	Population in 1991		
	FUR71	GEMACA FUR91	Built-up Area
London			7843.2
core	4639.2	6125.5	
hinterland	4117.3	6393.8	
FUR	8756.5	12519.3	
FUR growth 1981-91%	-3.2	1.9	
Paris			9516.3
core	8574.5	7898.0	
hinterland	2049.3	3520.0	
FUR	10623.8	11418.0	
FUR growth 1982-90%	5.5	6.3	

FUR71 is defined on 1971 employment+commuting data but 1991 population values:

GEMACA FUR91 defined on 1991 data + 1991 population values

Conclusions -1

- Economies & societies reflect patterns of behaviour so – more or less - built out of FURs: which are self-contained economic regions
- US has statistical definitions of cities which are consistent and - in broad terms - defined on functional criteria
- But it makes more sense to use a combination of employment concentration + commuting – not population concentration - to identify Core cities+surrounding integrated areas
- Europe does not even have consistent NATIONAL definitions of ‘cities’
- **Eurostat’s Urban Audit a step forward but also a missed opportunity**

- **Need a definition of city to allow comparisons beyond Europe: useful to governments, analysts & economic decision-makers**
- Could work out criteria which used employment concentrations to identify core cities but which produced very similar actual definition of cities as one would get using current population concentrations
- That way have the best of both worlds?
- Definitions which better reflected functional relationships useful for policy makers and economic actors and gave comparability between US and European cities for a period
- That over time they would diverge not an issue since US changes its definitions regularly
- Need in long run to set definitions internationally

The Best is the enemy of the Good