What is a city?

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What is a city?

- What is density?
- What is mixed use?
- What is public space?
- Morphology
- Ownership
- Supply - demand
What is a City?
Diagram (based on Table CXII, pp. 143-4) showing the percentage of population dwelling in cities at the latest censuses.

Legend:
1. Percentage of total population dwelling in cities of 100,000 or more.
2. " " " " " " " " " " " " " " 10,000-100,000.
3. " " " " " " " " " " " " " " 10,000-20,000.

The entire length of the bars therefore represents the percentage of city dwellers in the total population of the countries named. Broken ends indicate lack of satisfactory statistics for exact measurements.
"That the most remarkable social phenomenon of the present century is the concentration of population in cities is a common observation,"

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

1790.

Population of the United States 3,929,214
Population of cities of 10,000 and more 123,551
Proportion living in cities of 10,000 and more 3.14 per cent.

1891.

Population of the 7 colonies of Australia 3,809,805
Population of cities of 10,000 or more 1,264,283
Proportion living in cities of 10,000 or more 33.20 per cent.

That the most remarkable social phenomenon of the present century is the concentration of population in cities is a common observation, to which point is given by the foregoing comparison of two typical countries of different centuries. The Australia of to-day has the population of the America of 1790; it is peopled by men of the same race; it is liberal and progressive and practical; it is a virgin country with undeveloped resources; it is, to an equal extent, politically and socially independent of European influence. But Australia is of the nineteenth, rather than of the eighteenth century; and that is the vital fact which explains the striking difference in the distribution of population brought out by the introductory comparison. What is true of the Australia of 1891 is, in a greater or less degree, true of the other countries in the civilized world. The tendency towards concentration or agglomeration is all but universal in the Western world.

What are the forces that have produced such a shifting of population? Are they enduring? What is to be the ultimate result?
What are the economic, moral, political and social consequences of the re-distribution of population? What is to be the attitude of the publicist, the statesman, the teacher toward the movement?

These are some of the questions to be answered, so far as may be, in the course of the present investigation. They are not questions capable of off-hand answers, for they are parts of a great problem. As Mackenzie says, “the growth of large cities constitutes perhaps the greatest of all the problems of modern civilization.” It is the problem of dwindling district schools, of city labor disputes, of the tenement house, of municipal transit, of agrarian reforms, of the “desolate” country village, of the “submerged tenth” and the physical wastes of civilization.—in short, it touches or underlies most of the practical questions of the day. “The social problem that confronts practical people is in a very great degree the problem of the city.” It is, therefore, of prime importance to ascertain the extent of the movement and its probable direction in the future; the forces that may be presumed to cause it; the more immediate as well as the ultimate consequences; and the possible remedies.

To a certain extent the distribution of the inhabitants of the earth is determined by man’s physical environment. Nature’s mandate it is that explains why the arctic have fewer inhabitants than the temperate zones, why mountainous regions are not so densely settled as valleys. To study the distribution of population, geographers and statisticians calculate the density of population, the number of inhabitants to the square mile or acre, and then compare variations in density with variations in climate, soil, earth formation, political institutions, etc., in order to ascertain the causes that determine the distribution.

But the distribution of population is only partially explained by natural causes. With the same physical environment, people of the same race move to lands inhabited by those from the native Indians. The latter lived in tribes and congregated in villages; the means of communication were too undeveloped and the population too small to permit labor between city and country. Primitive peoples probably did not live in scattered dwellings, for man is a social being; at the present time, at least, the lowest races like the Australians and Terra del Fuegians dwell in small family groups. The group can never be very large as long as it derives its sustenance from the land it occupies. With the growth of transport facilities and the development of trade, the community may obtain its food-supply from outside sources in exchange for its own products. Then arises a differentiation of dwelling-centres and their functions, which increases pari passu with the development of methods of communication, and very noticeably affects the customs and modes of life of the inhabitants. That the townsman is different from the countryman has long been recognized in politics, law and social science. The names “pagan” and “heathen” originally designated countrymen, while the adjective “urban” and the nouns “citizen” and “politics” are derived from the Latin and Greek terms for city. In modern German “kleinwürtdeisch” is a term of reproach, while in nearly all languages there exists a strong antithesis between “citified” and “countrified.”

As our study proceeds, we shall discover fundamental differences in the structure of city and rural populations, which underlie and explain the ordinary manifestations of disagreement just noted. But the first step must be the determination of a method of measurement that can be used with some
What, for instance, is the real significance of the terms "urban population," "rural population?" Does urban population include the dwellers in villages and small towns as well as those in cities? What is the line of division between urban and rural districts?
“Half of the world’s population now lives in cities”
UN:s statistics is based on the different nations self reported figures

Municipality borders

- Pure population
- Employment conditions
- Density
- How a region is governed
- Type of economic activity
- No one refers to urban form
What is a city in statistics?

- A: an administrative border?
- B: a continuous built up area?
Urban and Rural according to Eurostat

Kristianstad

Karlskrona

Gällivare

Kiruna
How many lives in dense, mixed-use cities?

7 - 13%
“the wildly divergent criteria of urbanity used by national census bureaus — whether administrative, population-based or otherwise — have profoundly skewed the UN’s estimations of the world urban population.”
“it is clear that settlement-based understandings of the urban condition have now become obsolete. The urban cannot be plausibly understood as a bounded, enclosed site of social relations that is to be contrasted with non-urban zones or conditions.”
• Urbanity is everywhere
  – Global Capitalism

• Urbanity is almost nowhere
  – Local public life
The 'urban age' in question

(A) Methodological territorialism:
social processes are bounded and self-enclosed within clearly delineated, mutually exclusive zones

(B) Urbanization as concentration:
the process of urbanization entails the concentration of population within a territorial space

(1) Settlement fetishism:
all spaces in the world are differentiated into distinct types of settlement

(2) Urban/rural opposition/continuum:
all spaces in the world are either 'urban' or 'rural' (strong version); the urban/rural opposition provides the analytical foundation for classifying all other settlement spaces (weak version)

(3) Distributional model of urban transition:
spatial change entails the redistribution of population according to ontologically fixed settlement types (urban/rural); the specificity, coherence and discreteness of the types are not impacted through such transformations

Urban age thesis

'In 2008 the world reaches an invisible but momentous milestone. For the first time in history, more than half its human population, 3.3 billion people, will be living in urban areas.' (UNFPA, 2007: 1)
“cities have torn down their fortifications, which separated them from the open country; while the railways, the newspaper press...
...cause the spread of the ideas originating in the cities and lift the people of the rural districts out of their state of mental stagnation.”
“The technological developments in transportation and communication ...  
...have enormously extended the urban mode of living beyond the confines of the city itself.”
The new urban: Towards Progressive Secondary Cities

“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”
Habitats III 2016 : Urban – Rural linkages

“With increasing urbanization, greater mobility and connectivity, the linkages between urban, peri-urban and rural areas intensify and differences are reducing ... 

...Many rural areas reacted to globalization with innovative approaches such as the New Rural Economy and territorial cooperation.
• Urbanity is everywhere
  – Global Capitalism

• Urbanity is almost nowhere
  – Local social life
The urban municipality – where do people live? Is there any public life?
New classifications

• Rural to urban is obsolete
• We need new classifications (that maybe reflects morphology):
  • Rural
  • Semirural
  • Semiurban
  • Urban
Density
degree of refinement. In other words, when does a dwelling centre cease to be rural and become urban?

One method of studying the spatial relations of men and communities to one another is by measuring the density of population; the more human beings to the square mile, the closer together must be their habitations. The limitations upon the use of this method are, however, very considerable. Given two districts of equal population and territorial extent, there will be equal density; but in one case, the population may be scattered in small communities, and in the other congregated in a few large centres. In the latter case the average density will not be a true average; for example, to say that the average number of persons to the square kilometer in the province of Brandenburg, including the city of Berlin, is 112, is to give a ratio that is true neither of the rural part of the province (70) nor of Berlin itself (26,456).

And when it is said that in California there are 7.78 persons to the square mile, in New Hampshire 41.51, it does not follow that in California the people are scattered and in New Hampshire agglomerated. On the contrary, 41 per cent. of the Californians dwell in towns of 10,000 or more inhabitants, and in New Hampshire only 25 per cent. 1 Or compare Eng-


Table CXV, infra. Objection may be made to the use of California in such comparisons, since its average density is not a true average. But no such objection can be raised against Iowa, which, as Prof. Wilcox says, (op. cit., 418), “is perhaps the most evenly settled State in the Union as measured by the mean variation of the densities of population of its counties from the State average.” Vermont and Mississippi also have small percentages of variation, yet how different the distribution of population!

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Density</th>
<th>Per cent. of population in cities of 20,000+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Missouri</td>
<td>38.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vermont</td>
<td>36.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iowa</td>
<td>34.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mississippi</td>
<td>27.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>17.99</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“To say that the average number of persons to the square kilometer in the province of Brandenburg, including the city of Berlin, is 112, is to give a ratio that is true neither of the rural part of the province (70) nor of Berlin itself (26,456)”
Core

Ekonomic sphere

Metropolis

Stockholm

Core
Not Only Does Los Angeles Have An Urban Core, LA’s Metro Area Is Denser Than New York City’s
Building height
The density of public space

• Percentage of public space is decreasing
As Urban Populations Explode, Personal Space Will Become a Rare Luxury

Avoiding eye contact and turning our backs to strangers can go only so far, as our neighbors increasingly wall us in.
Public Space and its users
Public spaces in the North

Abandonment

Commercialization
Rapid urbanization in the South

Object Focused

Informal settlements
But public space is not what it seems to be
The ABC-people
The urbanites

Seniors
Lonely people
Teenagers
Unemployed
Immigrants
Undesirables
Small entrepreneurs
---
Tourists
Public Space and life chances
Africa: Street vendors everywhere
Supply - Demand

- Many big cities are expensive despite a continuous supply of dwellings.
- Can it be that new supply for some reason unleash further demand?
Locations/places

• A location is what a real estate broker refers to in advertising
• What happen when new buildings are added to such a location?
Anticipation value
The galleria effect

- Search costs are going down which can increase the demand
The content effect
The new configuration of the place
Kungsholmen, Stockholm

- 5000 new dwellings
- 20 000 more people
- 15000 work places

= Higher prices
Supply – Demand

• Given that the demand is too great for a certain location it can happen that the new building alters the urban system in a positive way, so that prices go up.
Morphology
Streets as places

The new science of street design

If transportation officials embrace a new approach backed by science, safe and effective mobility no longer need conflict with the multidimensional role of streets as public spaces and with people's varied modes of travel.
When streets become places they deliver more accessibility to the grid
So, we have a renaissance for the main street – but we can’t build them anymore
A good street pattern boosts accessibility, sustainability, productivity, quality of life, and promotes equity and social inclusion.

Well planned cities have around 30 to 35 per cent of land allocated to the streets.

Some cities in developing countries have only 10 per cent land allocated to streets.

UN policy recommendation is 30% land should be allocated to streets.
City Prosperity Index

STREETS AS PUBLIC SPACES AND DRIVERS OF URBAN PROSPERITY
Can the layout of the city have something to do with it?
Street Density

• Street density is measured as the total length of linear kilometers of streets per one square kilometer of land.

Total street length/km²
Proportion of Land Allocated to Streets

- Proportion of land allocated to streets is the total land area covered by streets as a percentage of the total land area.

Total area of streets/km²
Intersection Density

• Street intersection density is measured as the number of intersections per one square kilometres of land.
Cities with a CPI below 0.900

FIGURE 5.1  CPI OF EQUAL TO OR HIGHER THAN 0.900
Cities with a CPI below 0.700 - 0.799
FIGURE 5.8
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN STREET CONNECTIVITY AND PRODUCTIVITY ACROSS CITIES

\[ y = 0.4306x + 0.4219 \]
\[ R^2 = 0.428 \]
Plot structure

Big plots
1. Fine grain ownership and smart money
2. Easy to mix different groups in the block
3. Easy to mix tenure in the block
4. Easier to adapt or demolish buildings
5. More entrances to the street
6. Fewer dwellings share entrance - reduce anonymity
7. Easier to encourage premises at street level
8. Creates variation of architecture
9. More attractive environment for pedestrians
10. Adapt the block to different street types
Summary

• There are many aspects of our built up environment that we don’t measure in official statistics.

• We need to leave the municipality perspective to find out what to measure.