



## Revisiting urban economics in light of data

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#### Outline

Urban science: state of the art

# The polycentric structure of data Mobile phone data Patterns of commuting Measuring hotspots

Understanding polycentrism and scaling exponents
 The edge-city model (Krugman)
 classical model: Fujita-Ogawa
 Revisiting the Fujita-Ogawa model
 Computing scaling exponents

#### Outline

- Understanding mobility
   Mobility: gravity law
   The radiation model
- Relation between commuting distance and income
   Empirical results
  - Testing the McCall model of job search
  - The 'closest opportunity' model

Infrastructure
 Multilayer networks
 Time evolution of the road network

#### Importance of cities: urbanization rate



Projection: in 2050: 70% of the world population lives in cities

Data from: HYDE historical database

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#### Importance of cities: megacities



#### Importance of cities



Heterogeneous distribution of growth rates

#### The world's megacities

Population 2007	Population 2025
1. Tokyo 35.7m	> 36.4m 1. Tokyo
2. Mexico City 19.0m	26.4m 2. Mumbai
3. New York-Newark 19.0m	22.5m 3. Delhi
4. Sao Paulo 19.0m ———	22.0m 4. Dhaka
5. Mumbai 18.8m	21.4m 5. Sao Paulo
6. Delhi 15.9m	21.0m 6. Mexico City
7. Shanghai 15.0m	20.6m 7. New York-Newark
8. Kolkata 14.8m	20.6m 8. Kolkata
9. Buenos Aires 12.8m	19.4m 9. Shanghai
10. Dhaka 13.5m	19.1m 10. Karachi
11. LA-Long Beach-S' Ana 12.5m	16.8m 11. Kinshasa
12. Karachi 12.1m 🛛 🖊	15.8m 12. Lagos
13.Rio de Janeiro 11.9m	15.6m 13. Cairo
14. Osaka-Kobe 11.7m 📃	14.8m 14. Manila
15. Cairo 11.3m	14.5m 15. Beijing
16. Beijing 11.1m	13.8m 16. Buenos Aires
17. Manila 11.1m	13.7m 17. LA-Long Beach-S' Ana
18. Moscow 10.5m	13.4m 18.Rio de Janeiro
19. Istanbul 10.1m	12.4m 19. Jakarta
	12.1m 20. Istanbul
	11.8m 21. Guangzhou
	11.4m 22. Osaka-Kobe
	10.5m 23. Moscow
	10.5m 24. Lahore
	10.2m 25. Shenzhen
SOURCE: UN-HABITAT 2008 NOTE: S' ANA = SANTA ANA	10.1m 26. Chennai

#### Cities are about concentration

#### Urbanized area



#### Finding the logic behind the apparent diversity of cities



#### Many 'theories' in urbanism...and nevertheless



- Brasilia (1960) - Thought for cars
- Plan too rigid

#### Many 'theories' in urbanism...and nevertheless



"Villes nouvelles" (1960): pendular movement...enhanced !

#### Many 'theories' in urbanism...and nevertheless



Urban sprawl: high environment, social and economical cost

#### KAEC is the Largest Integrated Economic City at Over 168km<sup>2</sup> With 64km of Waterfront





Many 'theories' of urbanism but nevertheless, we observe a large number of problems !

 Social and economical problems (spatial income segregation, crime, accessibility, ...)

Traffic problems; pollution

Sustainability of these structures ?

- We need a robust theoretical guide for urbanism - Necessity to understand these phenomena and to achieve a 'science of cities' (or 'quantitative urbanism') validated by data (in particular, for large-scale projects)

### Long term goal: 'quantitative urbanism'



Fig. 5.25. Simulation of road network around a central node by Monte Carlo procedures. Source: Morrill, 1965.

- Long standing, interdisciplinary effort ! Quantitative geography (1960s)
- Morrill (1965) Stochastic model of road network evolution
- Historical approaches
  - Cellular-automaton
  - Percolation, DLA
  - Urban economics

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Loop: theory-empirical data Machine learning: still a black box...

#### (Urban) Economics and real-world systems

 Equilibrium: systems such as cities are not in equilibrium (existence of many time scales)

• Utility: Choice usually impacts the analytical form of functions... You cannot measure an utility but usually the outcome of a theory

 Decision process: rationality is not driving all our decisions. A large number of factors, and large fluctuations among individuals...

 Urban systems: Monocentric assumption, homogeneous infrastructure, complete social graph, etc.

#### Towards a (new) science of cities

- "The physicist point of view":
  - 1. Get the data
  - 2. Extract useful information; ask (interesting) questions
  - 3. Propose a hierarchy of mechanisms
  - 4. Propose a model, extract predictions
  - **5**. Compare predictions with data if not ok go back to 3 and 4
  - Note 1: the model should be with the smallest number of parameters and able to reproduce a large number of empirical facts

Note 2: Modeling the city, or an aspect of the city?

### Towards a (new) science of cities

Game changer ? Always more data about cities !Different scales, different phenomena



### New data

 New datasets (mobile phone, GPS, RFIDs, etc) with detailed (real-time) origindestination matrix, allow to:

- Answer old questions: statistics of OD matrices; choice of trips; relation with socio-economical factors (income).
- Ask new ones: information about the city structure (coarse-graining the OD matrix); relation mobilitysocial network; familiar strangers effect, etc.



1. Mesoscale information from mobile phone data

How can we extract useful information from new data ?

#### Mobile phone data

Aggregated

- For all antennas, at any time: number of mobile phones

- No mobility information

Individual data logs

- Allow to 'track' individuals
- Contains the OD matrix

id-caller|id-receiver|date|duration|op-caller|op-receiver|zone-start|zone-end| 9590|9899|01/10/2015 04:29:05|136|Other|Telefonica|A|A 9590|9899|01/10/2015 04:33:18|88|Other|Telefonica|A|A 9590|9899|01/10/2015 04:59:06|21|Other|Telefonica|A|C 9001|9899|01/10/2015 06:33:30|33|Other|Telefonica|B|D 9086|9875|01/10/2015 02:05:51|58|Other|Telefonica|C|C



## Data : two months of usage data from mobile phones in (31) Spanish urban areas



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#### Mobile phone activity vs. time



### A common urban rhythm







#### Space time varying density

- State of the art: how to represent a time and space varying density
  - 1. A first approach with "Hotspots" or "Activity centers": an important concept in urban studies and spatial economics
  - 2. Weighted quantities (Venables index)



#### Hotspots: local maxima of density

City structure (mono- vs. polycentric)



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#### Hotspots location Example : the urban area of Barcelona







## Hotspot identification

- State of the art
  - No clear method
  - Density larger than a given threshold is a hotspot
  - Problem of the threshold choice ?

#### $i \text{ hotspot } \Leftrightarrow \rho_i > \delta$

Louail, et al, Sci. Rep. 2014

## Hotspot identification



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DIO EVOLUTIVE USER-CENTRIC NETWORKS FOR INTRAURBAN ACCESSIBILIT

Numbers of hotspots vs. population size of the city

We can now count the hotspots:

- residential hotspots
- activity hotspots

Numbers of hotspots vs. population size of the city

Exponent value is remarkably smaller for work/school/daily activity hotspots

→ in Spanish urban areas, the number of activity places grows slower than the number of major residential places.

Sublinear in both cases !!!



## Typology of mobility patterns (journey to work trips)

#### Motivation:

Compare the spatial structure of mobility patterns in many cities

#### Question:

How to build a quantitative typology of cities based on the spatial structure of the mobility patterns ?



(Bertaud & Malpezzi 2003)

## How to compare OD commuting matrices of different cities?

- The OD matrix is a large and complicated object
- Difficult to compare different cities !
  - Different sizes
  - Potentially different spatial resolutions
- We need a **simpler**, **clearer** picture: coarse-grained information



## How to compare OD commuting matrices of different cities?

Determine
 Residential and
 work hotspots
 (Louail et al, 2014)

- 2. Separate 4 categories of flows: I, C, D, R
- Integrated: Hotspot->Hotspot Convergent: Non hotspot->hotspot Divergent: Hotspot->non hotspot Random: non hotspot->non hotspot Louail, et al, Nature Comms 2015


# Structure of flows versus population (30 largest urban areas in Spain)

The importance of Integrated flows decreases when population size increases, in favor of an increase of "Random" flows

Weights of Divergent and Convergent flows are constant

I and R alone seem enough to characterize cities



Louail, et al, Nature Comms 2015

**ICDR vs. Population size** 



ICDR ranked by decreasing I



The importance of Integrated flows seems to decrease when population size increases, in favor of an increase of "Random" flows

Weights of **D**ivergent and **C**onvergent flows seem constant whatever the city size

I and **R** alone seem sufficient to classify cities

#### Structure des flots (Espagne) Cordoba Zaragosa Valencia Madrid Gijon Malaga Sevilla Barcelona Vitoria Population 41% R 36% 46% 27% 43% 37% 31% 25%

Vient des possibilité plus grandes dans les grandes villes de se deplacer (?)

Structure spatiale "délocalisée" des grandes villes

# Hierarchical clustering of cities based on their I, C, D, R values

1km \* 1km grid



2km \* 2km grid

II. Understanding the polycentric structure

Numbers of hotspots vs. population size of the city

Exponent value is remarkably smaller for work/school/daily activity hotspots

→ in Spanish urban areas, the number of activity places grows slower than the number of major residential places.

Sublinear in both cases !!!



### Polycentric structure

Activity centers (# of employees per zip code, USA)



San Antonio (TX), USA



Winter Haven (FL), USA

 For each city, we can count the secondary centers
 (9000 cities US, 1994-2010)

$$k \sim P^{\beta} \ \beta \simeq 0.64$$



#### Polycentric structure

- We have a polycentric structure, evolving with P
- We can count the number H of centers

# $H\sim P^\beta \ \beta\approx 0.5-0.6$

- Mobility is the key: we need to model how individuals choose their home and work place
- Problem largely studied in geography, and in spatial economics: Edge-city model (Krugman), Fujita-Ogawa model (1982): utility maximization
- Revisiting Fujita-Ogawa: predicting the value of  $\beta$

## Mobility is the key

- We have a polycentric structure, evolving with P
- We need to model how individuals move from home to work
  - Connected to the spatial structure of the city
  - Once known allows to compute all mobility/transport related quantities

#### Spatial economics: the edge city model (Krugman 1996)

The important ingredient is the 'market potential'

$$\Pi(x) = \int K(x-z)\rho(z)dz$$

Describes the spillovers due to the density in zSpecifically

$$K(u) = A(u) - B(u)$$

The average market potential is

$$\overline{\Pi} = \frac{1}{\Omega} \int \Pi(x) \rho(x) \mathrm{d}x$$

#### Spatial economics: the edge city model (Krugman 1996)

The equation for the evolution of business density is

$$\frac{\mathrm{d}\rho}{\mathrm{d}t} = \gamma \left( \Pi(x) - \overline{\Pi} \right)$$

Linearize around flat situation  $ho(x) = 
ho_0 + \delta 
ho(x)$ 

$$\delta \rho(k) \sim \mathrm{e}^{\gamma K(k)t}$$

 At least one maximum at k=k\*; the number of hotspots is then:

 $H\sim \Omega k_*^2$ 

- Scaling with the population ?
- Link micromotives-macrobehavior ?

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A model for the spatial structure of cities: an agent will choose to live in x and work in y such that

$$Z_0(x,y) = W(y) - C_R(x) - C_T(x,y)$$

Home x

is maximum

- W(y) is the wage at y
- $C_R(x)$  is the rent at x
- $C_T(x,y)$  is the transportation cost from x to y [proportional to d(x,y)]

$$C_T(x,y) = td(x,y)$$

ttice y

And a similar equation for companies (maximum profit)

$$P(y) = \Pi(y) - C_R(y) - L(y)W(y)$$

- W(y) is the wage at y
- $C_R(y)$  is the rent at y
- L(y) number of workers (N=ML<sub>0</sub>)
- $\Pi(y)$  is the benefit to come to y: Agglomeration effect !

$$\Pi(y) = \int K(y-z)\rho(z)dz$$

$$K(u) = k \mathrm{e}^{-\alpha |u|}$$





Main result: monocentric configuration stable if

$$\frac{t}{k} \le \alpha$$

- t: transport cost
- $1/\alpha$  interaction distance between firms
- Effect of congestion: larger cost t

This model is unable to predict the spatial structure and the number of activity centers....

• We have to simplify the problem !

There are many problems with this model:

- Not dynamical: optimization. We want an out-ofequilibrium model
- No congestion (!) We want to include congestion (for car traffic)

 No empirical test. Extract testable predictions (see the book: Spatial Economics, by Fujita, Krugman, Venables)

# A physicist's variant of Fujita-Ogawa

- Assumptions and simplifications:
  - Assume that home is uniformly distributed (x): find a job !

$$Z_0(x,y) = W(y) - C_T(x,y)$$

 $\hfill\square$  We have now to discuss W and  $C_T$ 

# A physicist's variant of Fujita-Ogawa

- Assumptions and simplifications:
  - Add congestion (BPR function, t=cost/distance) and the generalized cost reads:

$$C_T(i,j) = td_{ij} \left[ 1 + \left(\frac{T(j)}{c}\right)^{\mu} \right]$$

Wages: a typical physicist assumption (s: typical salary)

$$W(j) = s\eta_j$$

The 'attractivity'  $\eta$  is random (in [0,1]) (cf. Random Matrix Theory)

# Note: length scales

We have t: transportation cost per unit distanceWe have s: salary scale

 $\ell = s/t$  (usually large: ~10<sup>2</sup>-10<sup>3</sup>kms)

A new length: effective commuting distance financially sustainable

=>No naive scaling...



 $L_{tot} = \sqrt{A}F(\frac{\ell}{\sqrt{A}})$ 

## Summary: the model

- Every time step, add a new individual at a random i
- The individual will choose to work in *j* (among N<sub>c</sub> possible centers) such that

$$Z(i,j) = \eta_j - \frac{d_{ij}}{\ell} \left[ 1 + \left(\frac{T(j)}{c}\right)^{\mu} \right]$$

is maximum

- W(j) is the wage at j --> random

-  $C_T(i,j)$  is the transportation cost from i to j: depends on the traffic from i to j --> congestion effects

Louf, MB, PRL 2013

## Results

- Depending on the values of parameters, we see three type of mobility patterns:
  - 1. Monocentric: one activity center



# Results

- Depending on the values of parameters, we see three type of mobility patterns:
  - 2. Attractivity driven polycentrism: many activity centers, attractivity  $\eta$  dominates



# Results

- Depending on the values of parameters, we see three type of mobility patterns:
  - 3. Spatial polycentrism: many activity centers, basins spatially coherent



- Start with one center  $\eta_1 > \eta_j$
- All other subcenters have a zero traffic T(j)=0
- The number of individuals P increases, T(1) increases and at a certain point there is another j such that:

$$Z(i,j) > Z(i,1)$$

#### Or:

$$\eta_j - \frac{d_{ij}}{\ell} > \eta_1 - \frac{d_{i1}}{\ell} \left[ 1 + \left(\frac{P}{c}\right)^{\mu} \right]$$

$$\eta_j - \frac{d_{ij}}{\ell} > \eta_1 - \frac{d_{i1}}{\ell} \left[ 1 + \left(\frac{P}{c}\right)^{\mu} \right]$$

Mean-field type argument
d<sub>i1</sub> ~ d<sub>ij</sub> ~ L (L =  $\sqrt{A}$ )
The new subcenter has the second largest attractivity  $\eta_2$ on average

$$\overline{\eta_1 - \eta_2} \simeq 1/N_c$$

We obtain a 'critical' value for the population

$$P > P^* = c \left(\frac{\ell}{LN_c}\right)^{1/\mu}$$

Critical value for the population: effect of congestion !

$$P > P^* = c \left(\frac{\ell}{LN_c}\right)^{1/\mu}$$

• c sets the scale

• If  $\ell$  is too small, P\*<1 and the monocentric regime is never stable

 If the population continues to increase, other subcenters will appear. We assume that for P, we have k-1 subcenters:

$$\eta_1 \ge \eta_2 \ge \dots \ge \eta_{k-1}$$

with traffic: 
$$T(1) \sim T(2) \sim ...T(k-1) \sim rac{P}{k-1}$$

• The next individual will choose a new subcenter k if:

$$Z_{ik} > \max_{1,..,k-1} Z_{ij}$$
$$\eta_k - \frac{d_{ik}}{\ell} > \max_{1,..,k-1} \{\eta_j - \frac{d_{ij}}{\ell} \left[ 1 + \left(\frac{T(j)}{c}\right)^{\mu} \right] \}$$

• We assume:  $d_{ik} \sim d_{ij} \sim L$ 

### Results: scaling for the number of centers

We obtain the average population for which a k<sup>th</sup> subcenter appears is:

$$\overline{P}_k = P^*(k-1)^{\frac{\mu+1}{\mu}}$$

• Which implies:

$$k \sim \left(\frac{P}{P^*}\right)^{\frac{\mu}{\mu+1}}$$

Sublinear relation !

From US employment data (9000 cities)

$$k \sim P^{0.64} \quad (\Rightarrow \mu \simeq 2)$$

'Urban transition: Phase diagram' Number of hotspots H versus population P (Mean-Field analysis)



From US employment data (9000 cities)

$$H \sim P^{0.64} \; (\Rightarrow \mu \simeq 2)$$

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III. Scaling of socioeconomical quantities



#### Scaling



#### Table 1. Scaling exponents for urban indicators vs. city size

Y	β	95% CI	Adj-R <sup>2</sup>	Observations	Country-year
New patents	1.27	[1.25,1.29]	0.72	331	U.S. 2001
Inventors	1.25	[1.22,1.27]	0.76	331	U.S. 2001
Private R&D employment	1.34	[1.29,1.39]	0.92	266	U.S. 2002
"Supercreative" employment	1.15	[1.11,1.18]	0.89	287	U.S. 2003
R&D establishments	1.19	[1.14,1.22]	0.77	287	U.S. 1997
R&D employment	1.26	[1.18,1.43]	0.93	295	China 2002
Total wages	1.12	[1.09,1.13]	0.96	361	U.S. 2002
Total bank deposits	1.08	[1.03,1.11]	0.91	267	U.S. 1996
GDP	1.15	[1.06,1.23]	0.96	295	China 2002
GDP	1.26	[1.09,1.46]	0.64	196	EU 1999–2003
GDP	1.13	[1.03,1.23]	0.94	37	Germany 2003
Total electrical consumption	1.07	[1.03,1.11]	0.88	392	Germany 2002
New AIDS cases	1.23	[1.18,1.29]	0.76	93	U.S. 2002–2003
Serious crimes	1.16	[1.11, 1.18]	0.89	287	U.S. 2003
Total housing	1.00	[0.99,1.01]	0.99	316	U.S. 1990
Total employment	1.01	[0.99,1.02]	0.98	331	U.S. 2001
Household electrical consumption	1.00	[0.94,1.06]	0.88	377	Germany 2002
Household electrical consumption	1.05	[0.89,1.22]	0.91	295	China 2002
Household water consumption	1.01	[0.89,1.11]	0.96	295	China 2002
Gasoline stations	0.77	[0.74,0.81]	0.93	318	U.S. 2001
Gasoline sales	0.79	[0.73,0.80]	0.94	318	U.S. 2001
Length of electrical cables	0.87	[0.82,0.92]	0.75	380	Germany 2002
Road surface	0.83	[0.74,0.92]	0.87	29	Germany 2002

#### Bettencourt et al, PNAS 2007

#### Scaling in cities: measures



US cities+ some OECD data (Louf, MB, 2013)

#### Other quantities

- We know the location of home and office => we can compute other mobility-related quantities
- Scaling of delay due to traffic jams (US cities)



#### Other quantities

#### Emitted CO2 (transport-related)



Naive scaling: total area

Population 
$$\rho = \frac{P}{A}$$

(Crude) Assumption:

 $\rho = \text{const.}$   $\Rightarrow A \sim \lambda^2 P^{\alpha}$ Exponent  $\alpha = 1$ 

Order of magnitude: 10<sup>3</sup>-10<sup>4</sup>hab/km<sup>2</sup>

- North America: 2,000hab/km2
- Europe: 4,000-10,000
- Asia: 10,000-40,000
- Paris: 18000 (Region: 3000)



# Naive scaling: total length of roads



Length of road segments:

$$\ell_R \sim 1/\sqrt{\rho_n}$$

Total length:

$$L_N = P\ell_R$$
$$\frac{L_N}{\sqrt{A}} \sim \sqrt{P}$$

Exponent=1/2


## Incidentally: Block area distribution

Simple argument: density fluctuations

$$\ell_R \sim 1/\sqrt{\rho}$$
$$\Rightarrow a \sim \ell_R^2 \sim 1/\rho$$

Assumption: density random

$$\rho$$
 follows  $F(\rho)$   
 $\Rightarrow P(a) \sim \frac{1}{a^2} F\left(\frac{1}{a}\right)$ 

Fragmentation process-Master equation argument P(A,t)

#### Naive scaling: Total commuting distance (1)

• Simple argument:

Existence of a typical average journey-to-work distance, independent from the city

 $L_{tot}$  : total distance travelled by all commuters

$$\frac{L_{tot}}{P} \sim \text{const.}$$

#### Naive scaling: Total commuting distance

• Simple consistency relation

$$\begin{cases} L_{tot} \sim P\\ L_{tot} / \sqrt{A} \sim P^{\beta}\\ A \sim P^{\alpha} \end{cases}$$
$$\Rightarrow 1 - \frac{\alpha}{2} = \beta$$



## Measures: Total commuting distance





US cities + some OECD data (Louf, MB, 2013)

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# Scaling in cities: measures

Quantity	"Naive" scaling	Measured value for the exponent of $P$	
$L_{tot}/\sqrt{A}$	1/2, 1	$0.595 \pm 0.026 \ (r^2 = 0.91) \ [\text{USA}]$	
$L_{tot}/P$	0	$0.03 \pm 0.02 \ (r^2 = 0.1) \ [\text{USA}]$	
$L_N/\sqrt{A}$	1/2	$0.42 \pm 0.03 (r^2 = 0.83)$ [USA]	
$A/\ell^2$	1	$0.853 \pm 0.011 \ (r^2 = 0.93) \ [\text{USA}]$	
$\delta \tau / \tau$	?	$1.270 \pm 0.067 \ (r^2 = 0.97) \ [\text{USA}]$	

- We have consistency:  $1 \frac{0.853}{2} = 0.574 \simeq 0.595$
- $L_{tot}$  seems to scale as  $\mathsf{P}$
- Area A? Monocentric picture seems wrong

# What is wrong with the naive scaling ?

Assume k 'hotspots' or activity centers:





Can change scaling exponents if k varies with P !



#### Total delay due to congestion

• We have 
$$\tau = \sum_{i,j} \frac{d_{ij}}{v_0} \left[ 1 + \left( \frac{T(j)}{c} \right)^{\mu} \right]$$
• Delay

$$\frac{\delta\tau}{\tau_0} \sim P^{1+\delta}, \ \delta = \frac{\mu}{2\mu + 1}$$

- From the data  $\frac{\delta \tau}{\tau_0} \sim P^{1.39} ~~(1.27) \qquad {\rm Superlinear} \; !$ 

CO2 emitted (car related)

$$Q_{CO_2} \propto \tau \sim P^{1+\delta}$$

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# Predicting the exponent values

Quantity	Theoretical dependence on $P$	Predicted value	Measured value
	$(\delta = \alpha/\alpha + 1)$		
$A/\ell^2$	$\left(\frac{P}{c}\right)^{2\delta}$	$2\delta = 0.78 \pm 0.20$	$0.853 \pm 0.011 \ (r^2 = 0.93) \ [\text{USA}]$
$L_N/\ell$	$\sqrt{P} \left(\frac{P}{c}\right)^{\delta}$	$\frac{1}{2} + \delta = 0.89 \pm 0.10$	$0.765 \pm 0.033 \ (r^2 = 0.92) \ [\text{USA}]$
$\delta  au /  au$	$P\left(\frac{P}{c}\right)^{\delta}$	$1 + \delta = 1.39 \pm 0.10$	$1.270 \pm 0.067 \ (r^2 = 0.97) \ [\text{USA}]$
$Q_{gas,CO_2}/\ell$	$P\left(\frac{P}{c}\right)^{\delta}$	$1+\delta = 1.39 \pm 0.10$	$1.262 \pm 0.089 \ (r^2 = 0.94) \ [\text{USA}]$
			$1.212 \pm 0.098  (r^2 = 0.83)  [\text{OECD}]$

# Predicting the exponent values

- Polycentrism is the natural response of cities to congestion, but not enough !
- For large P: Effect of congestion becomes very large
   => large cities based on individual cars are not economically sustainable !

## Predicting the exponent values

# Q<sub>gas</sub>/P is not a simple function of density (cf. Newman & Kenworthy)



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#### Discussion and outlook

- Pushing the models and compute predictions; testing predictions against data. Goal: understand the hierarchy of mechanisms (and a model with a minimal number of parameters).
- End of story ? Integrating socio-economical factors: rent, other transportation modes, income,...
- Discussion: importance of scaling exponents Y ~ P<sup>β</sup>

   'close' to 1: the value depends on assumptions
   one cannot rule out the linear behavior

   Is this scaling nonlinear?
   Leitao, Miotto, Gerlach, Altmann, arXiv preprint arXiv:1604.02872 (2016)