Cities in Bad Shape: Urban Geometry in India

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- A wide range of factors determine intra-urban commuting costs: infrastructure, travel demand, land use...
- This study focuses on one which economists tend to overlook: the spatial layout of cities
 - More compact geometries = shorter within-city distances



Introduction Why Study City Shape: an Example





This paper:

Empirical investigation of the economic implications of urban geometry in India

- shape as a shifter of *potential* commuting distances
- exogenous variation in shape due to geography
- revealed preference Rosen-Roback framework to assess the welfare loss of deteriorating shape

A unique setting:

- Rapid urbanization: observe city shape as it evolves
- Diffused urbanization: large sample
- Policy relevance:
 - 40% of Indian population will be urban by 2030
 - Highly debated regulatory tools: e.g. building height restrictions

(A) Economic implications of city shape:

- How does urban shape affect city choice?
 - Spatial equilibrium across cities (Rosen-Roback)
- Do consumers and firms value "good city shape"?
 - Impact of city shape on population, wages and rents
 - Welfare cost of deteriorating shape
- Mechanisms and heterogeneous effects

(A) Economic implications of city shape:

- How does urban shape affect city choice?
 - Spatial equilibrium across cities (Rosen-Roback)
- Do consumers and firms value "good city shape"?
 - Impact of city shape on population, wages and rents
 - Welfare cost of deteriorating shape
- Mechanisms and heterogeneous effects
- (B) Responses to city shape:
 - Firms' location within cities : polycentricity
 - Interactions of policy and city shape: FARs, roads

- Panel of ~460 urban footprints:
 - Historic maps (1950) + remotely sensed data (DMSP/OLS Night-time Lights, 1992-2010)

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 - Compute geometric indicators of urban shape
 - IV approach: time-varying instrument for urban shape
 - Geographic obstacles + mechanical model for city expansion
 - Instrument actual shape with potential shape that a city can have, given surrounding topography
 - As cities expand, they face different topographic constraints which affect their shape
 - $_{\scriptscriptstyle -}$ City and year FEs

Compact city shape as a consumption amenity

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 - As cities grow into more compact shapes
 - Population \uparrow
 - Wages \downarrow
 - Housing rents \uparrow
 - Spatial equilibrium: households pay for "good shapes" by foregoing wages and paying higher rents

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 - Large implied welfare cost of "bad shape" for consumers: one std. dev. deterioration in shape = - 5% income
 - But no impact on firms' productivity

City shape and firms' location within cities

• Degree of polycentricity:

Less compact cities do not have dispersed employment

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- Channels:
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- City shape and firms' location within cities
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Channels:

- Infrastructure and motor vehicles mitigate the negative effects of poor geometry on population
- Policy responses to city shape: land use regulations
 - Restrictions on building height (FARs) result in larger and less compact footprints

Outline

- Introduction
- Conceptual Framework
- Data
- Empirical Strategy
- Results
- Conclusion

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Spatial equilibrium across cities : Rosen (1979)-Roback (1982)

- Consumers and firms must be indifferent across cities
- Wages and rents allocate people and firms to cities with different levels of amenities
- Cities with better consumption amenities should have higher population, lower wages and higher rents

Conceptual framework Rosen-Roback

(A) Consumers

$$max_{C,H} U(C, H, \theta) s.t. C = W - p_H H$$

- Consumption C, housing H
- Wages W, rental price of housing p_H
- Consumption amenities heta

-
$$U(C, H, \theta) = \theta C^{1-\alpha} H^{\alpha}$$

- α : share of housing in consumption

In equilibrium indirect utility must be equalized across cities:

$$log(W) - \alpha log(p_H) + log(\theta) = \overline{V}$$

Conceptual framework Rosen-Roback



(B) Firms :

$$\max_{N,K} Y(N, K, \overline{Z}, A) - WN - K$$

- N: number of workers in the city
- K: traded capital ; \overline{Z} : non-traded capital
- A: city-specific productivity

(C) Developers:

$$max_{H} p_{H}H - C(H)$$

- H = Lh = land * height

Equilibrium

Equilibrium conditions

- (1) consumers' optimal location choice
- (2) firms' labor demand
- (3) housing market equilibrium

Equilibrium conditions

Equilibrium (1) consumers' optimal location choice (2) firms' labor demand (3) housing market equilibrium

Using standard functional form (Cobb Douglas) :

Population:

$$log(N) = \kappa_1 log(A) + \kappa_2 log(\theta) + \kappa_3 log(L) + \kappa_N$$

► Wages:

$$log(W) = \kappa_4 log(A) - \kappa_5 log(\theta) - \kappa_6 log(L) + \kappa_W$$

Housing rents:

$$log(p_H) = \kappa_7 log(A) + \kappa_8 log(\theta) - \kappa_7 log(L) + \kappa_H \qquad \kappa_i > 0$$

"Good shape" S = pure consumption amenity: $dlog(\theta) / dS > 0$ dlog(A) / dS = 0

Compact cities should have:

- dlog(N) / dS > 0 larger population
- dlog(W) / dS < 0 lower wages
- $dlog(p_H) / dS > 0$ higher rents

"Good shape" S = consumption & production amenity: $\frac{d\log(\theta)}{dS} > 0$ $\frac{d\log(A)}{dS} > 0$

Compact cities should have:

- dlog(N) / dS > 0 larger population
- $dlog(W) / dS \leq 0$? wages
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 - satellite imagery recording the intensity of Earth-based lights




Data Urban footprints



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- 1992-2010: DMSP/OLS night-time lights (res. 1 km)
 - satellite imagery recording the intensity of Earth-based lights
- Geography
 - ASTER Digital Elevation Model (res. 30m)
 - Global MODIS raster water mask (res. 500 m)
 - "constrained" = water / slope > 15% (Saiz, 2011)



▶ Population: Census of India, 1871-2011

Wages : Annual Survey of Industries (1990, 1994, 1995, 1997, 2009, 2010)

 Housing rents: NSS Household Consumer Expenditure Survey (2005, 2006, 2007) District urban averages

Descriptives

Other data

- Floor Area Ratios (Sridhar, 2010)
- Directory of Establishments (2005 Economic Census)

Disconnection

Avg. distance between all pairs of interior points

Remoteness

Avg. distance between interior points and centroid

Range

Max. distance between two points on the shape perimeter

Angel and Civco (2009), Bertaud (2004)

All shape metrics correlated with footprint size: can be normalized by footprint radius



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$$Outcome_{c,t} = a \cdot shape_{c,t} + cityFE_c + yearFE_t + u_{c,t}$$

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- Consider the largest contiguous portion of unconstrained land within a given radius around each city: "potential footprint"
- Instrument the shape properties of the *actual* city footprint with the shape properties of the *potential* footprint
- Add time variation by considering time-varying radii: as cities expand they hit new constraints

Empirical Strategy Instrumenting city shape



Starting point: minimum bounding circle of 1950 footprint



"Potential footprint": largest contiguous portion of unconstrained land within r



"Potential footprint": largest contiguous portion of unconstrained land within r

Instrument shape of actual footprint with shape of potential footprint



r₁₉₅₀

Time variation : every year consider a larger concentric disc around 1950 footprint



 $\hat{\mathbf{r}}_{1992}$

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- Common rate model rate of expansion of the radii is equal to the average expansion rate for all cities Details
- City-specific model

rate of expansion of the radii varies across cities based on historic population growth rates

 $\widehat{pop}_{c,t}$: log-linear projection of city 1871-1951 population $O_{\text{Constraints}}$

Empirical Strategy Instrumenting city shape



$$\log(Y_{c,t}) = a \cdot S_{c,t} + b \cdot \log(area_{c,t}) + \mu_c + \rho_t + \eta_{c,t}$$

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▶ 2 endogenous regressors: city shape $S_{c,t}$, $log(area_{c,t})$

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- ▶ 2 instruments: shape of potential footprint $\widetilde{S_{c,t}}$, $\log(\widehat{pop_{c,t}})$

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► 1st stage (1):

$$S_{c,t} = \sigma \cdot \widetilde{S_{c,t}} + \delta \cdot \log(\widehat{pop_{c,t}}) + \omega_c + \varphi_t + \theta_{c,t}$$

▶ 1st stage (2):

$$\log(area_{c,t}) = \alpha \cdot \widetilde{S_{c,t}} + \beta \cdot \log(\widehat{pop_{c,t}}) + \lambda_c + \gamma_t + \varepsilon_{c,t}$$

Outcome $Y_{c,t}$ = population:

$$\frac{pop_{c,t}}{area_{c,t}} = a \cdot nS_{c,t} + \mu_c + \rho_t + \eta_{c,t}$$

Outcome $Y_{c,t}$ = population:

$$\frac{\rho o \rho_{c,t}}{a r e a_{c,t}} = a \cdot n S_{c,t} + \mu_c + \rho_t + \eta_{c,t}$$

- ▶ 1 endogenous regressor: normalized city shape $nS_{c,t}$
- ▶ 1 instrument: normalized shape of potential footprint $nS_{c,t}$

• 1st stage:
$$nS_{c,t} = \beta \cdot \widetilde{nS_{c,t}} + \lambda_c + \gamma_t + \varepsilon_{c,t}$$

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Results First Stage

Eirot Store

FIISL SLAYE			
	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Norm. shape of actual footprint	Shape of actual footprint, km	Log area of actual footprint, km ²
	S	Shape Metric: Discor	nnection
Norm. shape of potential footprint	0.0663***		
	(0.0241)		
Shape of potential footprint, km		1.392***	0.152***
		(0.229)	(0.0457)
Log projected historic population		-1.180***	0.307***
		(0.271)	(0.117)
Observations	6,276	6,276	6,276
Model for r	common rate	city-specific	city-specific
City FE	YES	YES	YES
Year FE	YES	YES	YES

Notes: each observation is a city-year. Disconnection is the average length of within-city trips. Standard errors clustered at the city level.*** p<0.01,** p<0.05,* p<0.1.



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Impact of City Shape on Population				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	
	IV	IV	OLS	
	Population density	Log population	Log population	
	Sha	pe Metric: Disconnec	ction	
Norm. shape of actual footprint	-254.6***			
	(80.01)			
Shape of actual footprint, km		-0.0991**	0.0249***	
		(0.0386)	(0.00817)	
Log area of actual footprint, km ²		0.782***	0.167***	
		(0.176)	(0.0318)	
Observations	1,440	1,440	1,440	
Model for r	common rate	city-specific		
City FE	YES	YES	YES	
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Notes: each observation is a city-year. Disconnection is the average length of within-city trips. Population density is measured in thousand inhabitants per km². Standard errors clustered at the city level.^{***} p<0.01,^{**} p<0.05,^{*} p<0.1.



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Other shape metrics

Robustness:

- Different shape metrics Table
- Different luminosity thresholds resulting in more or less restrictive definitions of urban areas Table
- Excluding cities with "extreme" topographies (coastal and mountainous) Table
- Initial shape x year FEs Table

Impact of City Shape on Wages

	(1)	(2)	(3)
	IV IV OLS Dependent variable: log wage		
Shape of actual footprint, km	0.0996*** (0.0336)	0.0626 (0.0536)	0.0586*** (0.0150)
Log area of actual footprint, km ²		-0.167 (0.465)	-0.00936 (0.0516)
Obs.	1,075	1,075	1,075
Model for r	common rate	city-specific	
City FE	YES	YES	YES
Year HE	YES	YES	YES

Notes: each observation is a city-year. Dependent variable: log urban average of individual yearly wages in the city's district, in thousand 2014 Rupees. Sample includes only districts with one city. Shape is captured by the disconnection index, which measures the average length of trips within the city footprint, in km. Wages are from the Annual Survey of Industries, waves 1990, 1994, 1995, 1997, 1998, 2009, 2010. Standard errors are clustered at the city level. *** p<0.01,** p<0.05,* p<0.1.

impact of City Shape on wages

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Log area of actual footprint, km ²		-0.167 (0.465)	-0.00936 (0.0516)
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City FE	YES	YES	YES
Year FE	YES	YES	YES

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Impact of City Shape on Rents			
	(1)	(2)	(3)
-	IV	IV	OLS
-	Dependent varia	ble: log yearly rent p	er square meter
Shape of actual footprint, km	-0.636	-0.518*	-0.00857
	(1.661)	(0.285)	(0.0736)
Log area of actual footprint, km ²		-0.919	-0.0632
		(0.870)	(0.108)
Obs.	476	476	476
Model for r	common rate	city-specific	
City FE	YES	YES	YES
Year FE	YES	YES	YES

Notes: each observation is a city-year. Dependent variable : log urban average of housing rent per m^2 in the city's district. Sample includes only districts with one city. Shape is captured by the disconnection index, which measures the average length of trips within the city footprint, in km. Housing rents are from the NSS Household Consumer Expenditure Survey, rounds 62 (2005-2006), 63 (2006-2007) and 64 (2007-2008). Standard errors are clustered at the city level. *** p<0.01,** p<0.05,* p<0.1.

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Robustness:

- Rent control: exclude bottom 50% of rent distribution Rents
- Alternative city-district matching approaches Wages
- Initial shape x year FEs Wages Rents

Rents

From consumers' optimization:



$$log(W) - \alpha log(p_H) + log(\theta) = \overline{V}$$



From consumers' optimization:



$$\frac{\log(W) - \alpha \log(p_H) + \log(\theta) = \overline{V}}{\frac{\partial \log(\theta)}{\partial S} = \alpha \frac{\partial \log(p_H)}{\partial S} - \frac{\partial \log(W)}{\partial S}$$



From consumers' optimization:



$$\frac{\log(W) - \alpha \log(p_H) + \log(\theta) = \overline{V}}{\frac{\partial \log(\theta)}{\partial S} = \alpha \frac{\partial \log(p_H)}{\partial S} - \frac{\partial \log(W)}{\partial S}$$

Reduced-form estimates:

$$\frac{\partial \widehat{\log(p_H)}}{\partial S} = - 0.525, \ \frac{\partial \widehat{\log(W)}}{\partial S} = 0.038$$

From NSS Household Consumer Expenditure: share of housing in consumption $\alpha = 0.16$

$$\Rightarrow \ \frac{\partial \widehat{\log(\theta)}}{\partial S} = - \ 0.14$$

One standard deviation increase in disconnection for the average-sized city (\sim 720 m potential round-trip)

= 5% decrease in income



One standard deviation increase in disconnection for the average-sized city (~ 720 m potential round-trip)

= 5% decrease in income

Compare it to actual cost of a 720 m round trip:

- at walking speed (4.5 km per hour): 2.3 % of working day $= \sim 45\%$ of welfare cost
- 225 extra commute km per year

From firms' profit maximization:

$$\frac{\partial \log(A)}{\partial S} = (1-\gamma) \frac{\partial \log(W)}{\partial S} + (1-\beta-\gamma) \frac{\partial \log(N)}{\partial S}$$

From firms' profit maximization:

$$(1-\gamma)\log(W) = -(1-\beta-\gamma)\log(N) + \log(A) + \kappa_W$$

$$\frac{\partial \log(A)}{\partial S} = (1 - \gamma) \frac{\partial \log(W)}{\partial S} + (1 - \beta - \gamma) \frac{\partial \log(N)}{\partial S}$$

Reduced-form estimates: $\frac{\partial log(W)}{\partial S} = 0.038$, $\frac{\partial log(N)}{\partial S} = -0.098$ Labor share $\beta = 0.4$; traded capital share $\gamma = 0.3$

$$\Rightarrow \frac{\partial \widehat{\log(A)}}{\partial S} = -0.003$$

= - 0.1% productivity for a one standard deviation deterioration in shape

Firms' location within cities Are non-compact cities more polycentric? Firms' location within cities Are non-compact cities more polycentric?

- Data: 2005 Economic Census, Urban Directories
 - Address and employment class of urban productive establishments

Compute number of employment sub-centers in each city

 Non-parametric approach (McMillen, 2001): Sub-centers have larger employment density than nearby locations, and have a significant impact on the overall

employment density function in a city

Remoteness

Impact of City Shape on the Number of Employment Subcenters, 2005				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	
	IV	IV	OLS	
_	Shape Metric: Disconnection			
	Subcenters/km ²	Log subcenters	Log subcenters	
Norm. shape of actual footprint	-0.371			
	(0.507)			
Shape of actual footprint, km		-0.0639*	-0.0579***	
		(0.0379)	(0.0154)	
Log area of actual footprint, km ²		0.611***	0.571***	
_		(0.125)	(0.0568)	
Observations	188	188	188	
Model for	common rate	city-specific		

Notes: each observation is a city in year 2005. Number of employment subcenters computed following Mc Millen (2001). Data on firms' addresses and employment are from the Economic Census (2005). Disconnection is the average length of trips within the city footprint, in km. *** p<0.01,** p<0.05,* p<0.1

Remoteness

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Infrastructure mitigates impact of shape

Interactions of City Shape with Infrastructure: Urban Roads

	(1)	(2)	(3)
	IV	IV	IV
		Disconnection	
Norm. shape	-327.6***	-306.2***	-204.8***
	(103.8)	(98.46)	(54.16)
Norm. shape x			
urban road density, 1981	1.955**	1.848**	1.485***
	(0.827)	(0.779)	(0.451)
Observations	1,205	1,205	1,205
Model for r	common rate	common rate	city-specific
City FE	YES	YES	YES
Year FE	YES	YES	YES
Year FE x Banks in 1981	NO	YES	YES

Notes: each observation is a city-year. Dependent variable: population density in thousand inhabitants per km². Urban road density is from the 1981 Census. Disconnection is the average length of within-city trips. Range is the maximum length of within-city trips. Standard errors are clustered at the city level. *** p<0.01,** p<0.05,* p<0.1.

Infrastructure mitigates impact of shape

Interactions of City Shape with Infrastructure: Urban Roads

Dependent variable: population density

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Year FE	YES	YES	YES
Year FE x Banks in 1981	NO	YES	YES

Notes: each observation is a city-year. Dependent variable: population density in thousand inhabitants per km². Urban road density is from the 1981 Census. Disconnection is the average length of within-city trips. Range is the maximum length of within-city trips. Standard errors are clustered at the city level. *** p<0.01,** p<0.05,* p<0.1.

Floor Area Ratios = total floor area of building / area of plot on which it sits

- FARs in top Indian cities are exceptionally low compared to international standards (avg. = 2.3)
- Argument against FARs: they induce sprawl by preventing cities from growing vertically
- Data: FARs as of mid-2000s in 60 cities, from Sridhar (2010)

Results Responses to city shape: Floor Area Ratios

First-stage Impact of FARs on City Shape			
	(1)	(2)	(3)
	OLS	OLS	OLS
	Norm. shape actual footprint	Shape actual footprint	Log area
Norm. shape potential footprint	0.435***		
	(0.123)		
Norm. shape potential footprint x FAR	-0.0908**		
	(0.0452)		
Log projected hist. pop.		2.998	1.984**
		(2.758)	(0.795)
Log projected hist. pop. x FAR		-1.958*	-0.686**
		(1.023)	(0.319)
Shape potential footprint		0.156	-0.186
		(1.182)	(0.233)
Shape potential footprint x FAR		0.665	0.135
		(0.487)	(0.106)
Observations	1,183	1,183	1,183
FAR	average	average	average
Model for r	common rate	city-specific	city-specific
City FE	YES	YES	YES
Year FE	YES	YES	YES

Notes: each observation is a city-year. FARs are drawn from Sridhar (2010) and correspond to the maximum allowed Floor Area Ratios in each city as of the mid-2000s. Higher FARs allow for taller buildings. Shape is captured by the disconnection index, which measures the average length of trips within the city footprint, in km. Standard errors are clustered at the city level. *** p<0.01,** p<0.05,* p<0.1.

Results Responses to city shape: Floor Area Ratios

First-stage Impact of FARs on City Shape FARs determina				
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Outline

- Introduction
- Conceptual Framework
- Data
- Empirical Strategy
- Results
- Conclusions

Poor urban connectivity driven by less compact shape

- Entails welfare losses
- Affects the spatial equilibrium across cities and urbanization patterns

Poor urban connectivity driven by less compact shape

- Entails welfare losses
- Affects the spatial equilibrium across cities and urbanization patterns

Policy relevance:

- ► A range of possible policy responses
 - Investments in infrastructure and public transit
 - Land use regulations:

encourage land consolidation, promote vertical growth



Thank you!