

Urban Scaling, Economic Complexity and Cultural Evolution

Andres Gomez-Lievano

Postdoc at the Center for International Development, Harvard University

Contact info:

Email: andres_gomez@hks.harvard.edu

Twitter: [@GomezLievano](https://twitter.com/GomezLievano)

An urban species









Photo borrowed from Prof. Sergio Fajardo

Stark differences in levels of urbanization,
wealth, innovation, health, crime, etc...

Why?

A presumptuous goal?



Collaborators:

Luis M.A. Bettencourt
Jose Lobo
HyeJin Youn
Rachata Muneeppeerakul
Shade Shutter
Deborah Strumsky
Kevin Stolarick
Oscar Patterson-Lomba
Ricardo Hausmann

Three takeaways

1. There is a statistical regularity present in urban systems called “**Urban Scaling**”.
2. Every social phenomenon has a “**complexity**” that summarizes many of its statistical properties.
3. Ideas from **Cultural Evolution** are needed in order to account for the differences in development across cities.

Let's internalize the types of questions we're asking

Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA)	Year	Population	Larceny-theft
Carson City, NV M.S.A.	2010	55,119	3,141



Why 3,141?

Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA)	Year	Population	Larceny-theft
Carson City, NV M.S.A.	2010	55,119	3,141

Why 768?

Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA)	Year	Population	Larceny-theft
Carson City, NV M.S.A.	2010	55,119	768

Why 20?

Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA)	Year	Population	Robbery	Larceny-theft
Carson City, NV M.S.A.	2010	55,119	20	768



Robbery in Bridgeport

=

Larceny-theft in Carson City ??

Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA)	Year	Population	Robbery	Larceny-theft
Carson City, NV M.S.A.	2010	55,119	20	768
Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, CT M.S.A.	2010	895,941	991	10,986

Numbers change... but maybe *proportions* do not....

Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA)	Year	Population	Robbery	Larceny-theft
Carson City, NV M.S.A.	2010	55,119	20	768
Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, CT M.S.A.	2010	895,941	991	10,986

Numbers change... but maybe *proportions* do not....

Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA)	Year	Population	Robbery Rate (cases per 100,000 inhabitants)	Larceny-theft (cases per 100,000 inhabitants)
Carson City, NV M.S.A.	2010	55,119	36.3	1,393.3
Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, CT M.S.A.	2010	895,941	110.6	1,226.2

?

Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA)	Year	Population	Robbery Rate (cases per 100,000 inhabitants)	Larceny-theft (cases per 100,000 inhabitants)
Carson City, NV M.S.A.	2010	55,119	36.3	1,393.3
Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, CT M.S.A.	2010	895,941	110.6	1,226.2

?

Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA)	Year	Population	Robbery Rate (cases per 100,000 inhabitants)	Larceny-theft (cases per 100,000 inhabitants)
Carson City, NV M.S.A.	2010	55,119	36.3	1,393.3
Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, CT M.S.A.	2010	895,941	110.6	1,226.2

?

Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA)	Year	Population	Robbery Rate (cases per 100,000 inhabitants)	Larceny-theft (cases per 100,000 inhabitants)
Carson City, NV M.S.A.	2010	55,119	36.3	1,393.3
Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, CT M.S.A.	2010	895,941	110.6	1,226.2

Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA)	Year	Population	Robbery Rate (cases per 100,000 inhabitants)	Larceny-theft (cases per 100,000 inhabitants)
Carson City, NV M.S.A.	2010	55,119	36.3	1,393.3
Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, CT M.S.A.	2010	895,941	110.6	1,226.2



One approach

One approach

Theory: $Y = f_1(X)$

One approach

Theory: $Y = f_1(X)$  Empirics: $y_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 x_{i,1} + \epsilon_i$

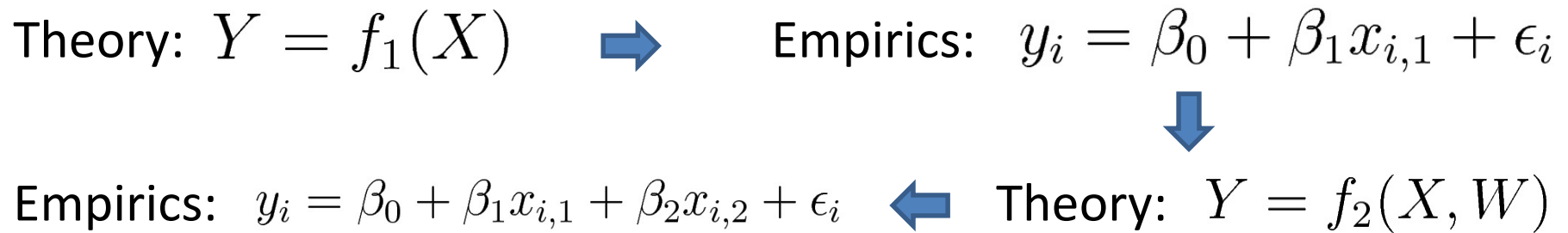
One approach

Theory: $Y = f_1(X)$  Empirics: $y_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 x_{i,1} + \epsilon_i$



Theory: $Y = f_2(X, W)$


One approach



One approach

Theory: $Y = f_1(X)$  Empirics: $y_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 x_{i,1} + \epsilon_i$

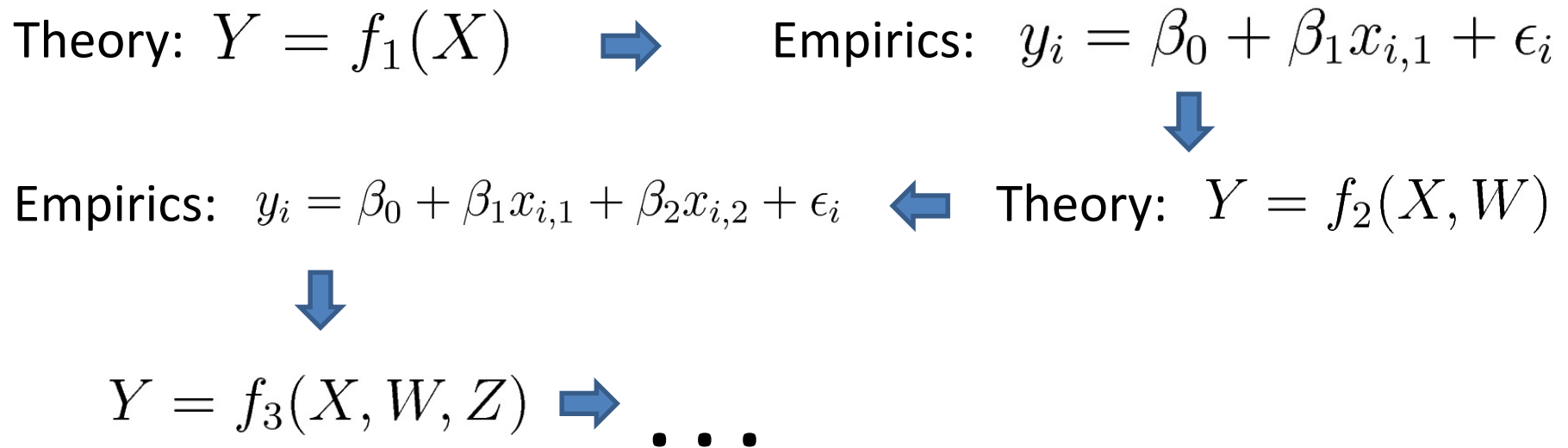


Empirics: $y_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 x_{i,1} + \beta_2 x_{i,2} + \epsilon_i$  Theory: $Y = f_2(X, W)$



$$Y = f_3(X, W, Z)$$


One approach



One approach

Theory: $Y = f_1(X)$  Empirics: $y_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 x_{i,1} + \epsilon_i$



Empirics: $y_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 x_{i,1} + \beta_2 x_{i,2} + \epsilon_i$  Theory: $Y = f_2(X, W)$



$Y = f_3(X, W, Z)$  \dots  $y_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 x_{i,1} + \beta_2 x_{i,2} + \dots + \epsilon_i$

One approach

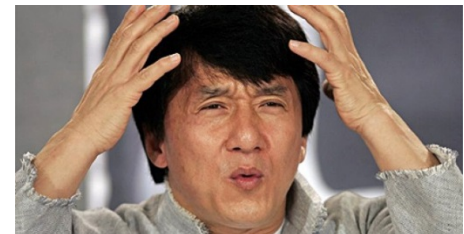
Theory: $Y = f_1(X)$ \Rightarrow Empirics: $y_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 x_{i,1} + \epsilon_i$



Empirics: $y_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 x_{i,1} + \beta_2 x_{i,2} + \epsilon_i$ \leftarrow Theory: $Y = f_2(X, W)$



$Y = f_3(X, W, Z)$ \Rightarrow \dots \Rightarrow $y_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 x_{i,1} + \beta_2 x_{i,2} + \dots + \epsilon_i$



- Collective systems are full of interdependencies, interactions, feedback loops, etc...

A methodological decision

- The conventional approach:

Multivariate regression analysis

(→ Identifying effects/r.h.s.)

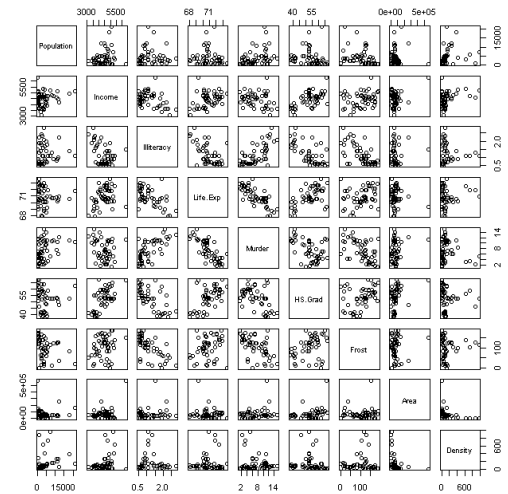


Table 4: Probit Model for Characteristics of Co-Holders

	(1) Co-Holder		(2) Co-Holding > £500		(3) Co-Holding > £1500	
	β / SE	Mfx	β / SE	Mfx	β / SE	Mfx
<i>Age</i>						
18-24	-0.234 (0.154)	-0.061	-0.311 (0.191)	-0.060	-0.849*** (0.311)	-0.105***
25-34	0.016 (0.101)	0.004	0.002 (0.128)	0.000	-0.097 (0.128)	-0.012
35-44	-0.044 (0.096)	-0.012	-0.048 (0.104)	-0.009	-0.085 (0.117)	-0.010
55+	-0.006 (0.105)	-0.001	-0.044 (0.116)	-0.008	0.025 (0.134)	0.003
<i>Demographics</i>						
Male (= 1)	-0.016 (0.068)	-0.004	0.035 (0.076)	0.007	0.052 (0.088)	0.006
Married / living as married (= 1)	0.019 (0.133)	0.005	0.033 (0.155)	0.006	-0.034 (0.179)	-0.004
Dependent children (= 1)	-0.111 (0.084)	-0.029	-0.105 (0.092)	-0.020	0.166 (0.102)	0.020
<i>Education</i>						
Education leaving age	0.083 (0.249)	0.022	0.121 (0.284)	0.023	-0.055 (0.335)	-0.007
Education leaving age ²	-0.003 (0.006)	-0.001	-0.003 (0.007)	-0.001	0.001 (0.009)	0.000
<i>Employment</i>						
Employed (= 1)	0.268*** (0.093)	0.070***	0.254** (0.109)	0.049**	0.303** (0.136)	0.037**
Unemployed (= 1)	-0.016 (0.176)	-0.004	-0.013 (0.209)	-0.002	0.218 (0.240)	0.027
<i>Housing</i>						
Homeowner without mortgage (= 1)	-0.369*** (0.116)	-0.096***	-0.070 (0.129)	-0.013	0.006 (0.150)	0.001
Homeowner with mortgage (= 1)	0.064 (0.082)	0.017	0.254*** (0.093)	0.049***	0.200* (0.109)	0.025*
<i>Household Finances</i>						
Household income (£10,000s)	-0.081 (0.078)	-0.021	-0.017 (0.090)	-0.003	0.043 (0.108)	0.005
Household income ²	0.015 (0.010)	0.004	0.010 (0.012)	0.002	0.010 (0.014)	0.001
Household income ³	-0.001 (0.000)	-0.000	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000	-0.001 (0.000)	-0.000
<i>Behavioural Characteristics</i>						
Literacy score (0-3)	0.042 (0.035)	0.011	0.073* (0.040)	0.014*	0.060 (0.046)	0.007
Impulsive spender (= 1)	0.391*** (0.083)	0.102***	0.458*** (0.091)	0.088***	0.518*** (0.102)	0.064***
Read financial press (= 1)	0.155** (0.071)	0.041**	0.147* (0.077)	0.028*	0.069 (0.089)	0.009
Observations	2196		2196		2196	
Pseudo R ²	0.043		0.063		0.095	
LR chi2	91.854		116.344		119.715	
Prob > chi2	0.000		0.000		0.000	
Baseline predicted probability	0.189		0.129		0.083	

* p < 0.1, ** p < 0.05, *** p < 0.01. Standard errors in parentheses.

Note: Omitted groups: *Employment*: Student/Housewife/Disabled. *Housing*: Private renter/Social renter. Further controls for spouse employment status.

A methodological decision

- The conventional approach:

Multivariate regression analysis

(→ Identifying effects/r.h.s.)

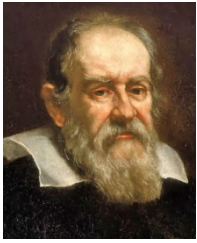
- An alternative approach:

Scaling analysis

(→ Identifying mechanisms/l.h.s.)

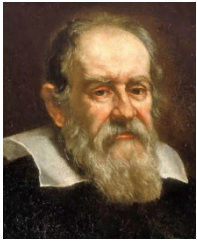
“Scaling Analysis”

- ***Studying a phenomenon as it changes with scale (e.g., size):***
 - Regularities
 - Important underlying mechanisms



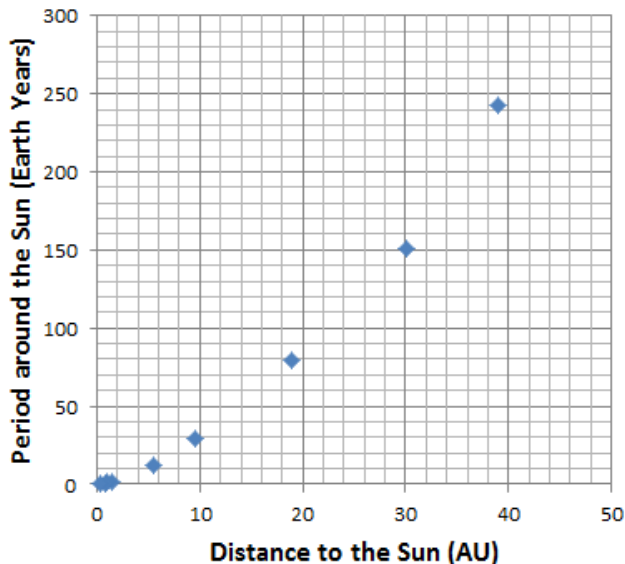
“Scaling Analysis”

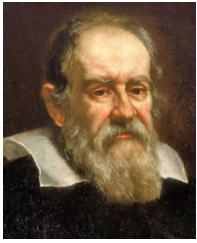
- ***Studying a phenomenon as it changes with scale (e.g., size):***
 - Regularities
 - Important underlying mechanisms



“Scaling Analysis”

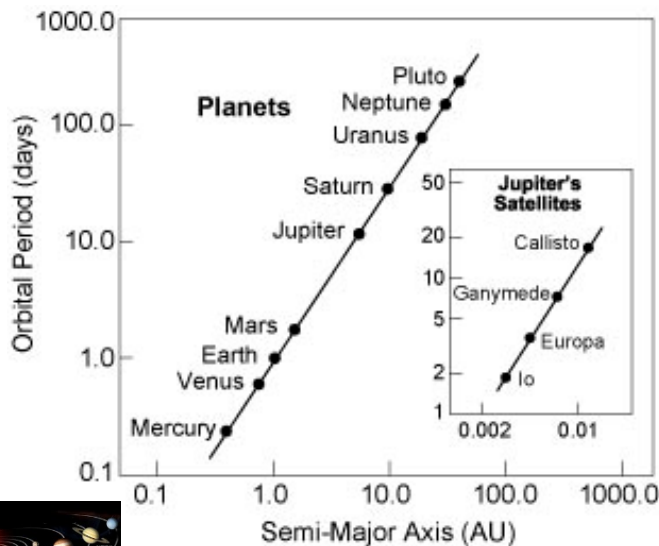
- ***Studying a phenomenon as it changes with scale (e.g., size):***
 - Regularities
 - Important underlying mechanisms





“Scaling Analysis”

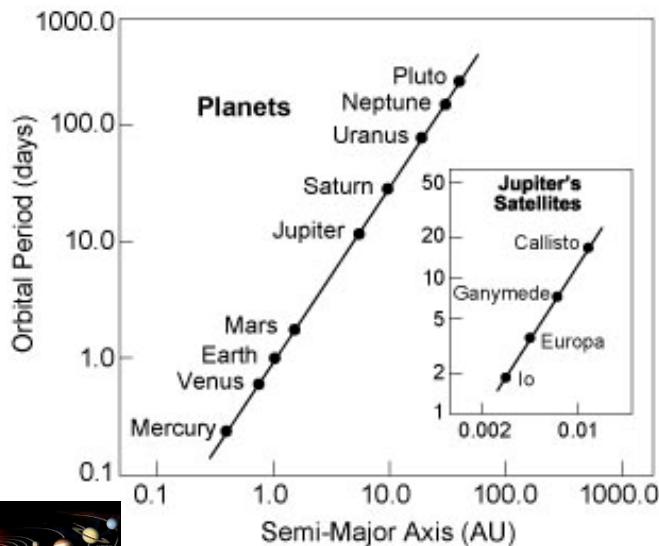
- ***Studying a phenomenon as it changes with scale (e.g., size):***
 - Regularities
 - Important underlying mechanisms





“Scaling Analysis”

- ***Studying a phenomenon as it changes with scale (e.g., size):***
 - Regularities
 - Important underlying mechanisms



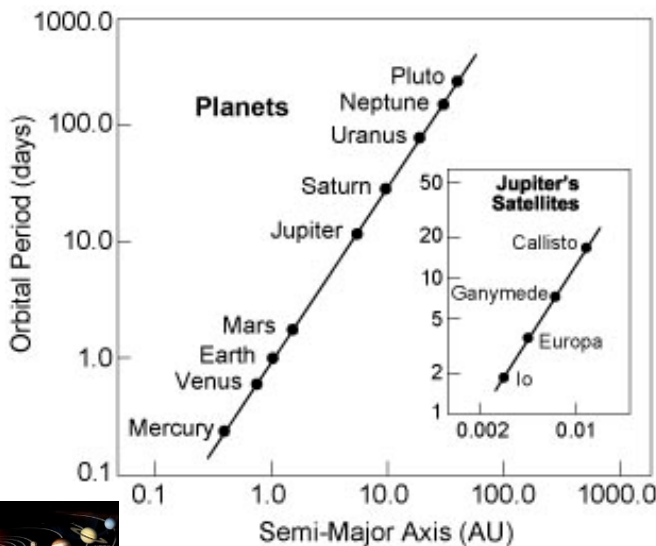
$$T \sim r^{3/2}$$





“Scaling Analysis”

- ***Studying a phenomenon as it changes with scale (e.g., size):***
 - Regularities
 - Important underlying mechanisms



$$T \sim r^{3/2}$$



1. **Slope** of the line:
Gravitational interaction decays with the **square** of the distance.
2. **Intercept** of the line:
Gravitational force is proportional to **mass**.



If interested...

- *“In the beat of a heart”*, John Whitfield (BIOLOGY)
- *“Critical Phenomena in Natural Sciences”*,
Didier Sornette (PHYSICS & COMPLEX SYSTEMS)
- *“Fractals, Chaos, Power Laws”*, Manfred
Schroeder (GENERAL, ENGINEERING & PHYSICS)
- *“G.I. Taylor and the Trinity test”*, M.A.B. Deakin
(2011) (HISTORY OF ATOMIC BOMB)

Table 1: Scaling relationships and corresponding theories.

Quantities	Scaling Law	Name	Theory
Orbital period T and distance to the Sun r	$T = T_0 r^{3/2}$	Kepler's third law	Theory of planetary motion
Average radius of diffusion r and time t	$r = r_0 t^{1/2}$	Law of diffusion	Theory of Brownian motion
Metabolic rate B and body mass M	$B = B_0 M^{3/4}$	Kleiber's law	Metabolic Theory of Ecology
Socioeconomic rates Y and population size N	$Y = Y_0 N^\beta$	Urban Scaling Laws	???

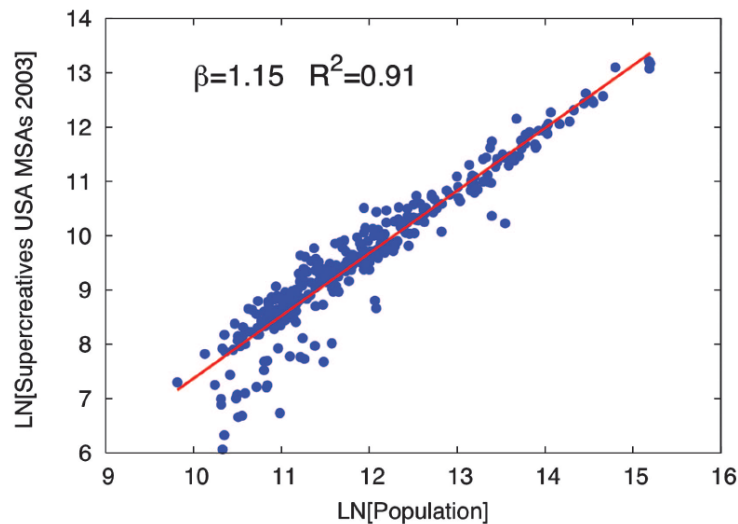
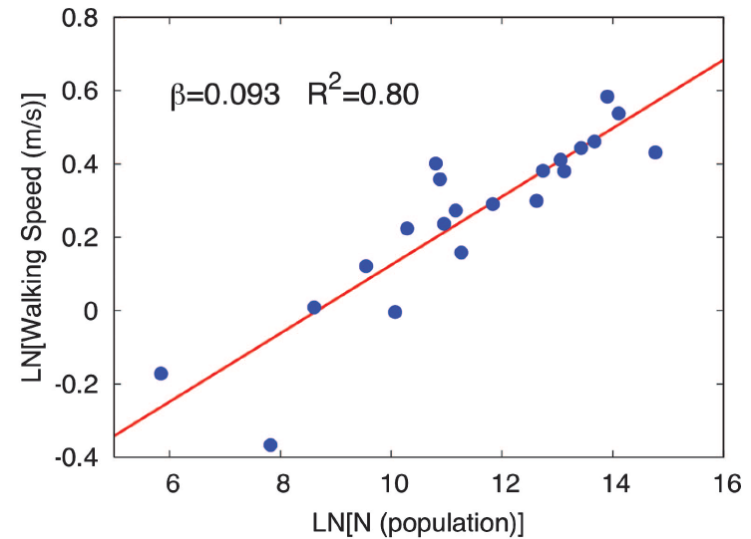
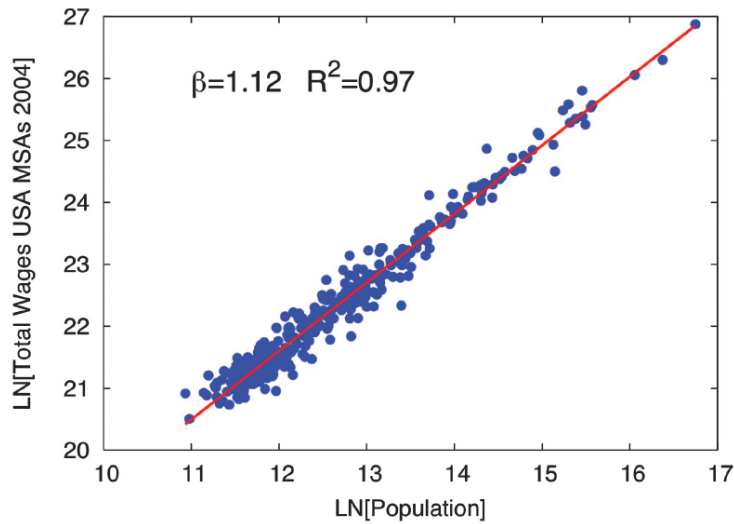
Table 1: Scaling relationships and corresponding theories.

Quantities	Scaling Law	Name	Theory
Orbital period T and distance to the Sun r	$T = T_0 r^{3/2}$	Kepler's third law	Theory of planetary motion
Average radius of diffusion r and time t	$r = r_0 t^{1/2}$	Law of diffusion	Theory of Brownian motion
Metabolic rate B and body mass M	$B = B_0 M^{3/4}$	Kleiber's law	Metabolic Theory of Ecology
Socioeconomic rates Y and population size N	$Y = Y_0 N^\beta$	Urban Scaling Laws	???

?

Allometric laws in urban systems

Allometric laws in urban systems



$$Y \sim N^\beta$$

Bettencourt, L.M., Lobo, J., Helbing, D., Kühnert, C. and West, G.B., 2007.
Growth, innovation, scaling, and the pace of life in cities.
Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences, 104(17), pp.7301-7306.

The Statistics of Urban Scaling and Their Connection to Zipf's Law

Andres Gomez-Lievano^{1*}, HyeJin Youn², Luis M. A. Bettencourt²

¹ School of Human Evolution and Social Change, Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona, United States of America, ² Santa Fe Institute, Santa Fe, New Mexico, United States of America

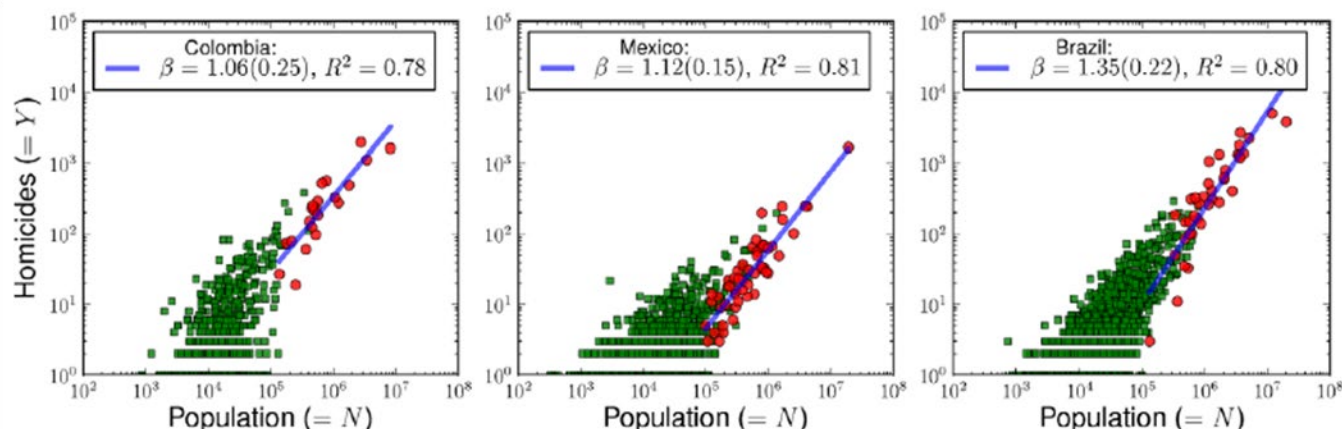


Figure 1. Annual number of homicides in cities of Colombia, Mexico and Brazil versus population size (2007). Large cities are defined in terms of metropolitan areas which are aggregations of municipalities (red circles) while non-metropolitan municipalities are shown separately (green squares). The solid blue line fits only the scaling of homicides for metropolitan areas. Large variations, especially among the smaller population units, and the fact that many municipalities have $Y=0$ (not shown) prevent a direct scaling analysis. However, it is possible to analyze the data consistently through the estimation of conditional probabilities.

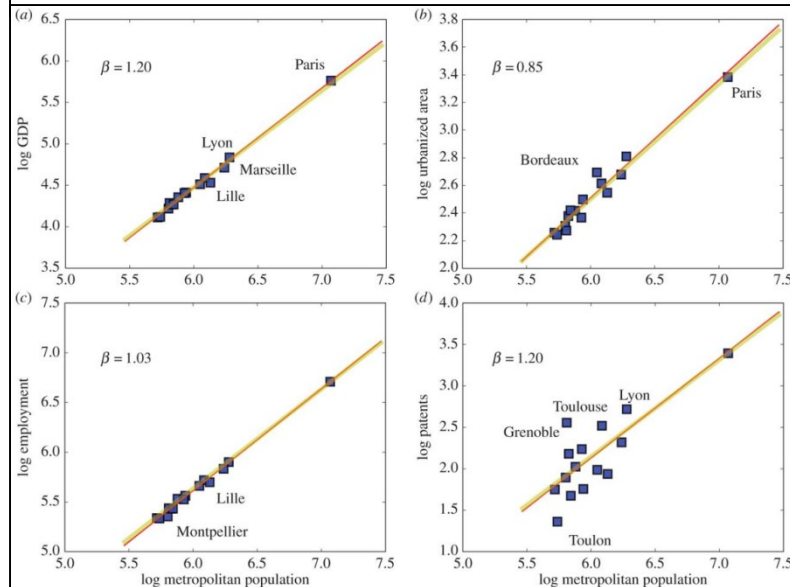
doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0040393.g001



Urban scaling in Europe

Luís M. A. Bettencourt, José Lobo

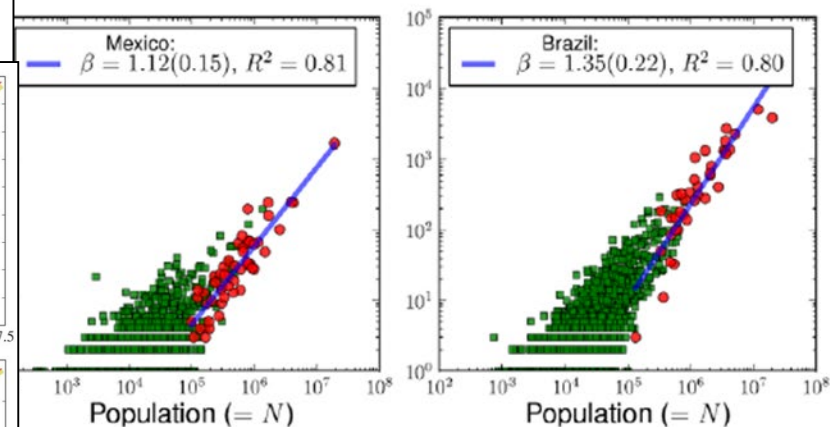
Published 16 March 2016. DOI: 10.1098/rsif.2016.0005



Scaling and Their Connection to

², Luís M. A. Bettencourt²

University, Tempe, Arizona, United States of America, ² Santa Fe Institute, Santa Fe, New Mexico, United



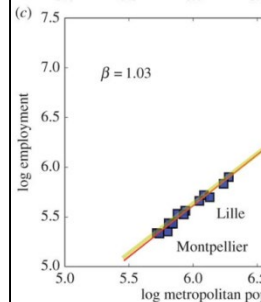
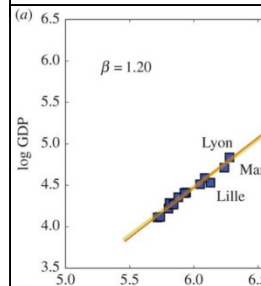
Colombia, Mexico and Brazil versus population size (2007). Large cities are defined of municipalities (red circles) while non-metropolitan municipalities are shown separately homicides for metropolitan areas. Large variations, especially among the smaller population (not shown) prevent a direct scaling analysis. However, it is possible to analyze the data abilities.



Urban scaling in Europe

Luís M. A. Bettencourt, José Lobo

Published 16 March 2016 DOI: 10.1098/rsif.2016.0005



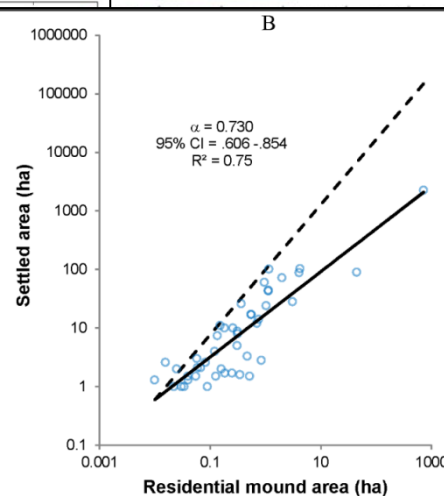
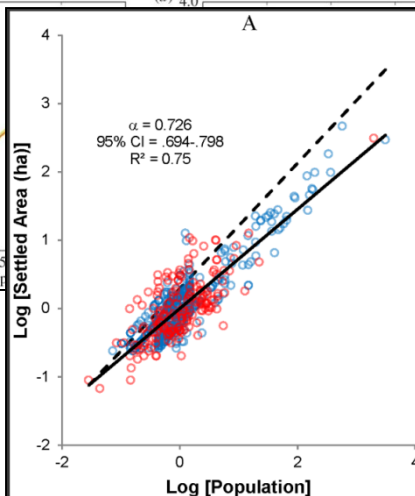
OPEN ACCESS PEER-REVIEWED

RESEARCH ARTICLE

The Pre-History of Urban Scaling

Scott G. Ortman, Andrew H. F. Cabaniss, Jennie O. Sturm, Luís M. A. Bettencourt

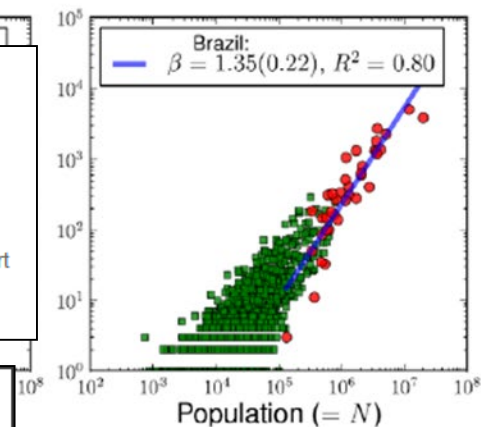
Published: February 12, 2014 • <http://dx.doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0087902>



Urban Scaling and Their Connection to

Luís M. A. Bettencourt²

¹University of Arizona, Tempe, Arizona, United States of America, ²Santa Fe Institute, Santa Fe, New Mexico, United States of America



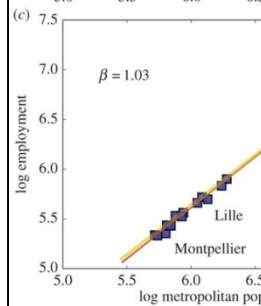
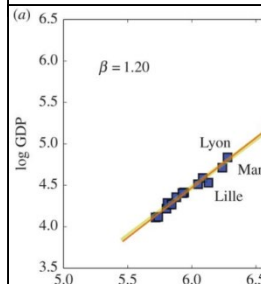
as population size (2007). Large cities are defined as metropolitan municipalities are shown separately to highlight variations, especially among the smaller population size analysis. However, it is possible to analyze the data



Urban scaling in Europe

Luís M. A. Bettencourt, José Lobo

Published 16 March 2016 DOI: 10.1098/rsif.2016.0100

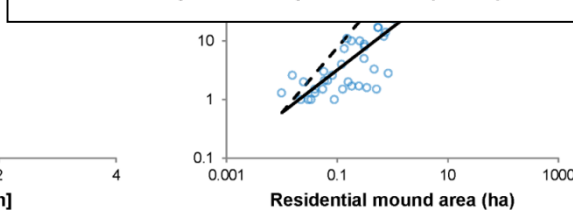
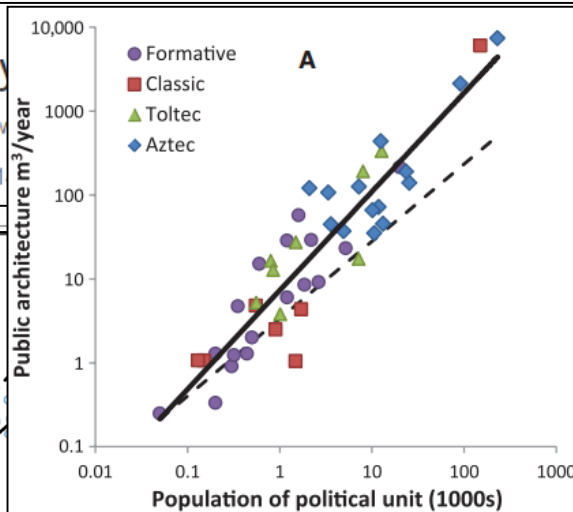
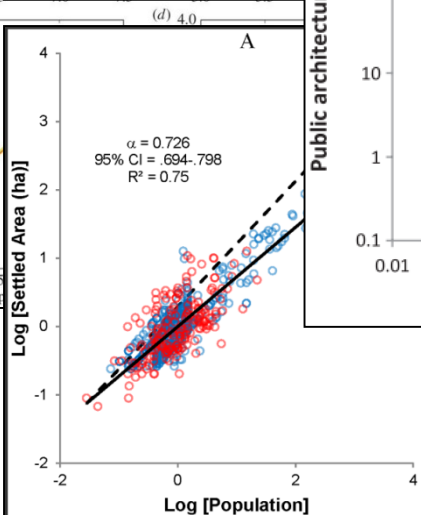


OPEN ACCESS
RESEARCH ARTICLE

The Pre-History

Scott G. Ortman, Andrew H. F. Cabaniss

Published: February 12, 2015



ScienceAdvances

Home News Journals Topics Careers

Science Science Advances Science Immunology Science Robotics Science Signaling Science Translational Medicine

SHARE

RESEARCH ARTICLE | ECONOMIC ANTHROPOLOGY

Settlement scaling and increasing returns in an ancient society

Scott G. Ortman^{1,2,*}, Andrew H. F. Cabaniss^{2,3}, Jennie O. Sturm⁴ and Luís M. A. Bettencourt²

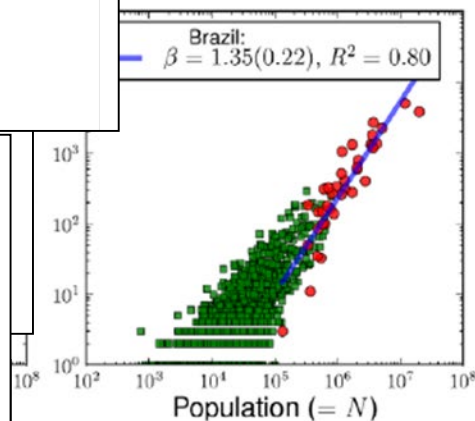
¹ Author Affiliations

² Corresponding author. E-mail: scott.ortman@colorado.edu

Science Advances 20 Feb 2015;
Vol. 1, no. 1, e1400066
DOI: 10.1126/sciadv.1400066

Connection to

Santa Fe Institute, Santa Fe, New Mexico, United States



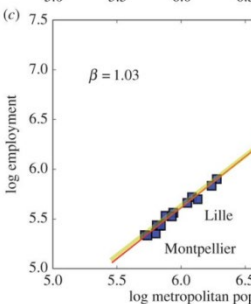
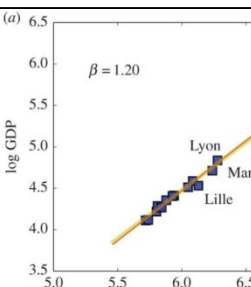
population size (2007). Large cities are defined as non-metropolitan municipalities are shown separately to highlight variations, especially among the smaller population sizes. However, it is possible to analyze the data



Urban scaling in Europe

Luís M. A. Bettencourt, José Lobo

Published 16 March 2016 DOI: 10.1098/rsif.2016.0140



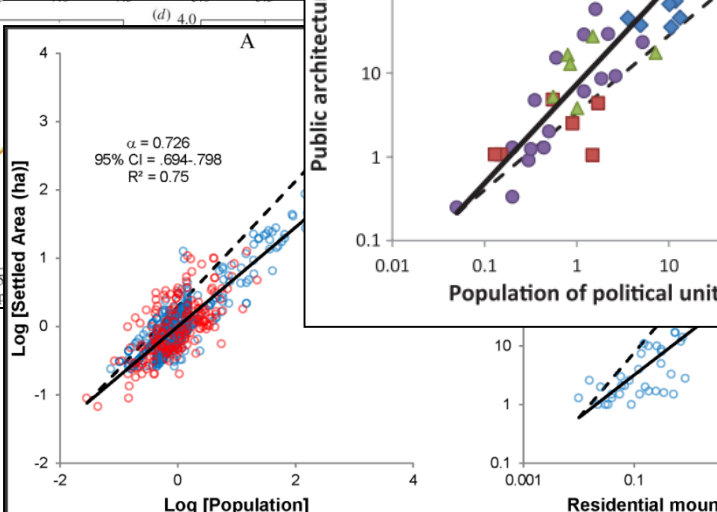
OPEN ACCESS

RESEARCH ARTICLE

The Pre-History

Scott G. Ortman, Andrew H. F. Cabaniss

Published: February 12, 2015



Science Advances

Home News Journals Topics Careers

Science Science Advances Science Immunology Science Robotics Science Signaling

SHARE

RESEARCH ARTICLE | ECONOMIC ANTHROPOLOGY

Settlement scaling and increasing complexity in ancient society

Scott G. Ortman^{1,2,*}, Andrew H. F. Cabaniss^{2,3}, Jennie O. Sturms⁴ and

* Author Affiliations

*Corresponding author. E-mail: scott.ortman@colorado.edu

Science Advances 20 Feb 2015:
Vol. 1, no. 1, e1400066
DOI: 10.1126/sciadv.1400066

RESEARCH ARTICLE

Population-Area Relationship for Medieval European Cities

Rudolf Cesaretti^{1*}, José Lobo², Luís M. A. Bettencourt³, Scott G. Ortman^{3,4}, Michael E. Smith¹

1 School of Human Evolution and Social Change, Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona, 85281, United States of America, 2 School of Sustainability, Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona, 85281, United States of America, 3 Santa Fe Institute, 1399 Hyde Park Rd, Santa Fe, New Mexico, 87501, United States of America, 4 Department of Anthropology, University of Colorado Boulder, Boulder, Colorado, 80309, United States of America

* Rudolf.Cesaretti@asu.edu

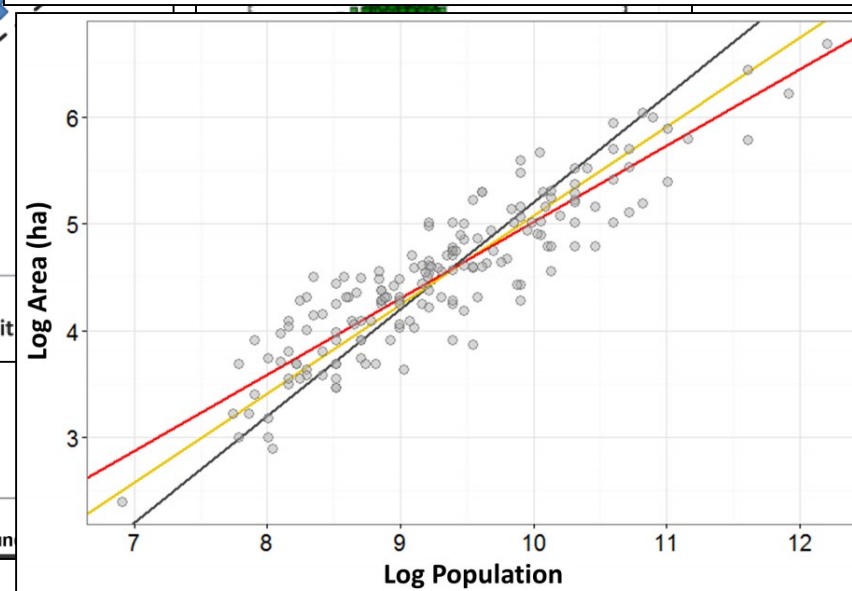


Fig 4. Estimation of Area—Population Scaling Relation for All Settlements. The Area—Population scaling relation for the entire data set of all medieval cities ($n = 173$). The black line represents proportionate (linear) scaling; the yellow line the theoretical prediction where $\alpha = 5/6$; and the red line the best-fit line from OLS regression of the log-transformed data.

doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0162678.g004

Home Content Information for



Urban scaling in Europe

Luís M. A. Bettencourt, José Lobo

Published 16 March 2016 DOI: 10.1098/rsif.2016.0100

Science

Home News Jour

Science Science Advances Scien

SHARE RESEARCH ARTICLE | ECO

Settlement
ancient soc

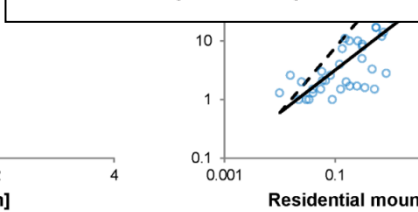
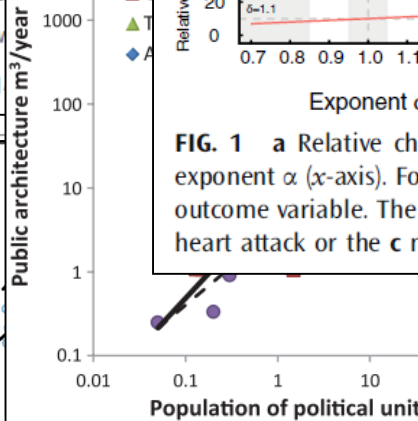
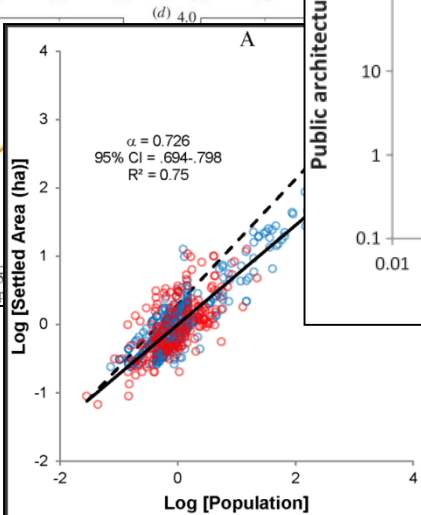
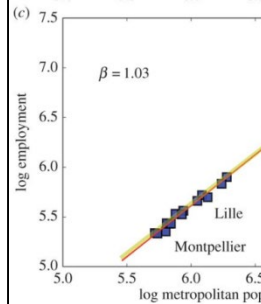
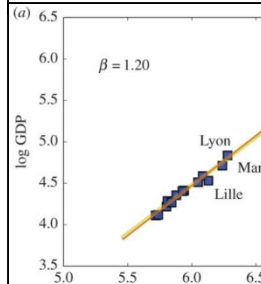
Scott G. Ortman^{1,2,*}, An
+ Author Affiliations
*Corresponding author. E-m
Science Advances 20 Feb 20
Vol. 1, no. 1, e1400066
DOI: 10.1126/sciadv.1400066

OPEN ACCESS

The Pre-History

Scott G. Ortman, Andrew

Published: February 12, 2016



The Non-linear Health Consequences of Living in Larger Cities

Luis E C Rocha, Anna E. Thorson, and Renaud Lambiotte

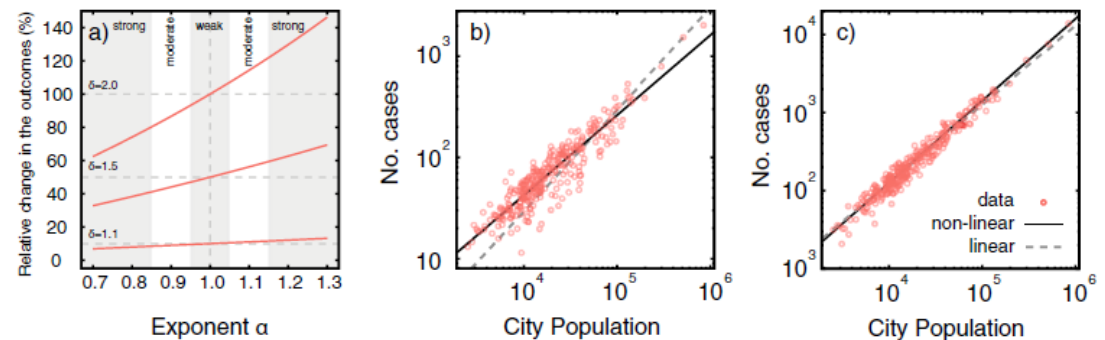


FIG. 1 a Relative change in the outcome Q , $(Q_2 - Q_1)/Q_1$ (y-axis), for different values of the exponent α (x-axis). For $\alpha = 1$, we recover the usual linear relation between population size and the outcome variable. The relation between the population size (x-axis) and b the number of deaths by heart attack or the c number of abortions (y-axis). Both axes are in log-scale.

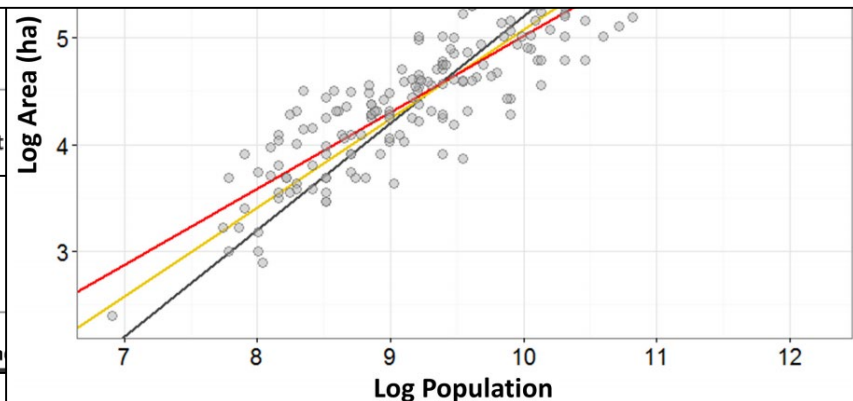


Fig 4. Estimation of Area—Population Scaling Relation for All Settlements. The Area—Population scaling relation for the entire data set of all medieval cities ($n = 173$). The black line represents proportionate (linear) scaling; the yellow line the theoretical prediction where $\alpha = 5/6$; and the red line the best-fit line from OLS regression of the log-transformed data.

doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0162678.g004

Home
Content
Information for

Science
Home
News
Jou

Science
Science Advances
Scien

CrossMark
click for updates

Urban scaling in Europe

Luís M. A. Bettencourt, José Lobo

Published 16 March 2016 DOI: 10.1098/rsif.2016

(a) 6.5

OPEN ACCESS

SHARE
RESEARCH ARTICLE | ECO

Settlement
ancient soc

Scott G. Ortman^{1,2,*}, An

+ Author Affiliations

*Corresponding author. E-m

Science Advances 20 Feb 20

Vol. 1, no. 1, e1400066

The Non-linear Health Consequences of Living in Larger Cities

Luis E C Rocha, Anna E. Thorson, and Renaud Lambiotte

(a) 6.5

OPEN ACCESS

Sex Transm Infect doi:10.1136/sextrans-2014-051932

Epidemiology

Original article

Per capita incidence of sexually transmitted infections increases systematically with urban population size: a cross-sectional study

Oscar Patterson-Lomba¹, Edward Goldstein², Andrés Gómez-Liévano³, Carlos Castillo-Chavez⁴, Sherry Towers⁴

Epidemiology

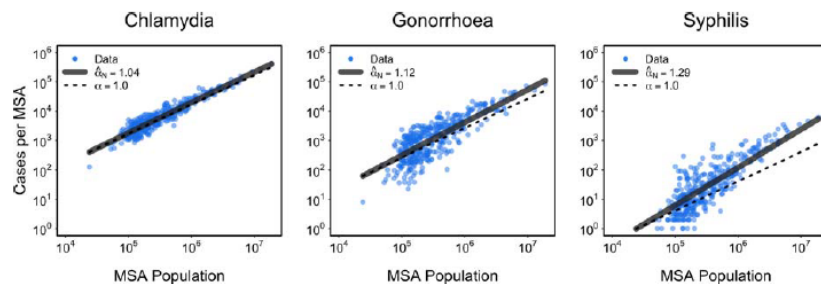
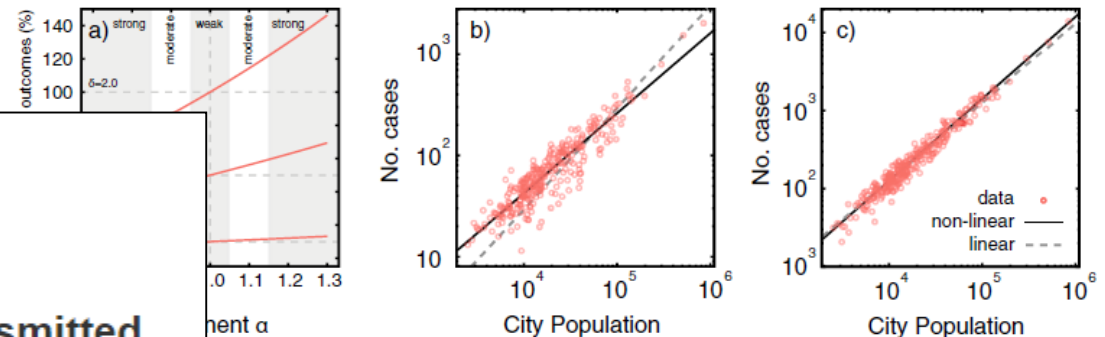


Figure 2 Scaling of STD incidence with MSA population with Negative Binomial regression for chlamydia (left), gonorrhoea (centre) and syphilis (right) using model (4), as reported in Table 1. Comparing the blue lines (with slopes $\hat{\alpha}_0$) with the dotted lines (with slope 1) shows the departures from the linear pattern in each case.



ment α

ve change in the outcome Q , $(Q_2 - Q_1)/Q_1$ (y-axis), for different values of the s . For $\alpha = 1$, we recover the usual linear relation between population size and the s . The relation between the population size (x-axis) and **b** the number of deaths by **c** the number of abortions (y-axis). Both axes are in log-scale.

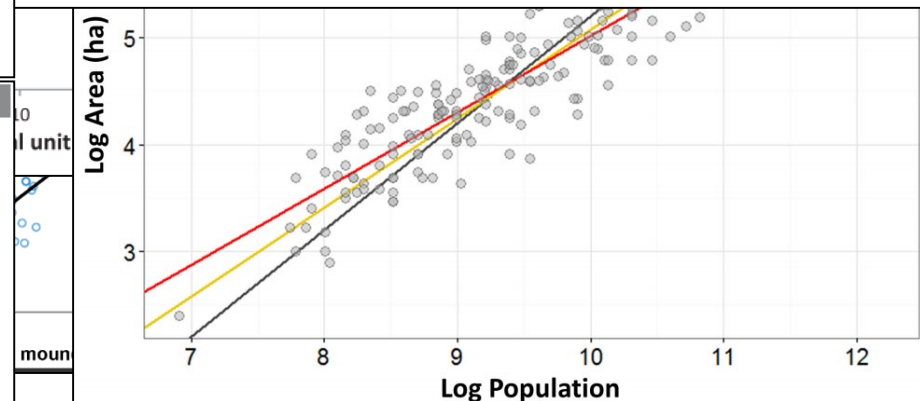


Fig 4. Estimation of Area—Population Scaling Relation for All Settlements. The Area—Population scaling relation for the entire data set of all medieval cities ($n = 173$). The black line represents proportionate (linear) scaling; the yellow line the theoretical prediction where $\alpha = 5/6$; and the red line the best-fit line from OLS regression of the log-transformed data.

doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0162678.g004

Urban Scaling: $Y = Y_0 N^{(1.1667)}$

Scaling Relation	Exponent	Error	Observations	Region/Nation	Urban Unit	Year
Socioeconomic rates						
GDP	$\beta = 1.13$	[1.11,1.15]	363	USA	MSA	2006
GDP	$\beta = 1.22$	[1.11,1.33]	273	China	Prefectural Cities	2005
GDP	$\beta = 1.10$	[1.01,1.18]	35	Germany	LUZ	2004
income	$\beta = 1.12$	[1.07,1.17]	12	Japan	MA	2005
wages	$\beta = 1.12$	[1.07,1.17]	363	USA	MSA	1969-2009
violent crime	$\beta = 1.16$	[1.11,1.19]	287	USA	MSA	2003
violent crime	$\beta = 1.20$	[1.07,1.33]	12	Japan	MA	2008
violent crime	$\beta = 1.20$	[1.15,1.25]	27; 5,570	Brazil	MA; Municipios	2003-07
new AIDS cases	$\beta = 1.23$	[1.17,1.29]	93	USA	MSA	2002-3
new patents	$\beta = 1.27$	[1.22,1.32]	331	USA	MSA	1980-2001
supercreative jobs	$\beta = 1.15$	[1.13,1.17]	331	USA	MSA	1999-2001
R&D employment	$\beta = 1.19$	[1.12,1.26]	227-278	USA	MSA	1987-2002
Average socioeconomic rates	$\beta = 1.17$	[1.01,1.33]				

Table S3, from:

“The Origins of Scaling in Cities”,
Bettencourt, L. M. A. (2013, *Science*)

Urban Scaling: $Y = Y_0 N^{(1.1667)}$

Scaling Relation	Exponent	Error	Observations	Region/Nation	Urban Unit	Year
Socioeconomic rates						
GDP	$\beta = 1.13$	[1.11,1.15]	363	USA	MSA	2006
GDP	$\beta = 1.22$	[1.11,1.33]	273	China	Prefectural Cities	2005
GDP	$\beta = 1.10$	[1.01,1.18]	35	Germany	LUZ	2004
income	$\beta = 1.12$	[1.07,1.17]	12	Japan	MA	2005
wages	$\beta = 1.12$	[1.07,1.17]	363	USA	MSA	1969-2009
violent crime	$\beta = 1.16$	[1.11,1.19]	287	USA	MSA	2003
violent crime	$\beta = 1.20$	[1.07,1.33]	12	Japan	MA	2008
violent crime	$\beta = 1.20$	[1.15,1.25]	27; 5,570	Brazil	MA; Municipios	2003-07
new AIDS cases	$\beta = 1.23$	[1.17,1.29]	93	USA	MSA	2002-3
new patents	$\beta = 1.27$	[1.22,1.32]	331	USA	MSA	1980-2001
supercreative jobs	$\beta = 1.15$	[1.13,1.17]	331	USA	MSA	1999-2001
R&D employment	$\beta = 1.15$	[1.12,1.26]	227-278	USA	MSA	1987-2002
<u>Average socioeconomic rates</u>	$\beta = 1.17$	[1.01,1.33]				

Table S3, from:

“The Origins of Scaling in Cities”,
Bettencourt, L. M. A. (2013, *Science*)

The question of Individual vs. Systemic effects

- **Analytic:**
 - Are individuals in larger cities are more educated, innovative, productive, entrepreneurial (... but also more violent, unhealthy), etc...?

The question of Individual vs. Systemic effects

- **Analytic:**
 - Are individuals in larger cities are more educated, innovative, productive, entrepreneurial (... but also more violent, unhealthy), etc...?
- Productive individuals self-select into larger urban areas.

The question of Individual vs. Systemic effects

- **Analytic:**
 - Are individuals in larger cities are more educated, innovative, productive, entrepreneurial (... but also more violent, unhealthy), etc...?
- Productive individuals self-select into larger urban areas.
- However, additional assumptions would be needed to explain the scaling law.

The question of Individual vs. Systemic effects

- **Analytic:**
 - Are individuals in larger cities are more educated, innovative, productive, entrepreneurial (... but also more violent, unhealthy), etc...?
- Productive individuals self-select into larger urban areas.
- However, additional assumptions would be needed to explain the scaling law.
- It wouldn't explain the disproportionate concentration of crime and disease in larger urban areas.

The question of Individual vs. Systemic effects

- **Holistic:**
 - Is output (*aggregate* GDP, patents, crime, disease, etc...) a function of the number of social connections?

The question of Individual vs. Systemic effects

- **Holistic:**
 - Is output (*aggregate* GDP, patents, crime, disease, etc...) a function of the number of social connections?



$$E = N \times \left(\frac{p \times (N - 1)}{2} \right)$$

$$\text{Interactions} \propto \text{Individuals}^2$$

$$Y \propto E \propto N^2$$

The question of Individual vs. Systemic effects

- **Holistic:**
 - Is output (*aggregate* GDP, patents, crime, disease, etc...) a function of the number of social connections?



$$E = N \times \left(\frac{p \times (N - 1)}{2} \right)$$

$$\text{Interactions} \propto \text{Individuals}^2$$

$$Y \propto E \propto N^2$$

Size and the Density of Interaction in Human Aggregates¹

Bruce H. Mayhew
University of South Carolina

Roger L. Levinger
Temple University

Size and the Density of Interaction in Human Aggregates

Author(s): Bruce H. Mayhew and Roger L. Levinger

Source: *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 82, No. 1 (Jul., 1976), pp. 86-110

The question of Individual vs. Systemic effects

- **Holistic:**
 - Is output (*aggregate* GDP, patents, crime, disease, etc...) a function of the number of social connections?



$$E = N \times \left(\frac{p \times (N - 1)}{2} \right)$$

$$\text{Interactions} \propto \text{Individuals}^2$$

$$Y \propto E \propto N^2$$

Size and the Density of Interaction in Human Aggregates¹

Bruce H. Mayhew
University of South Carolina

Roger L. Levinger
Temple University

Size and the Density of Interaction in Human Aggregates
Author(s): Bruce H. Mayhew and Roger L. Levinger
Source: *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 82, No. 1 (Jul., 1976), pp. 86-110

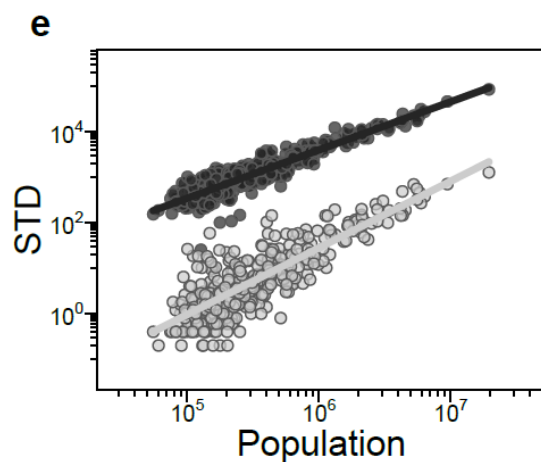
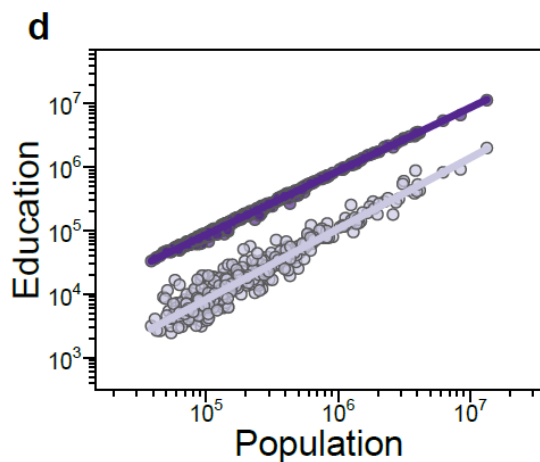
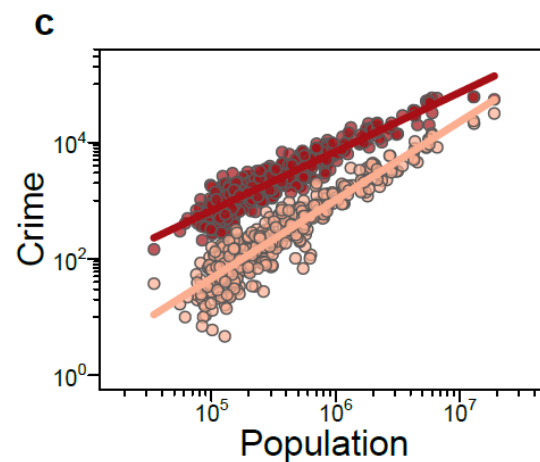
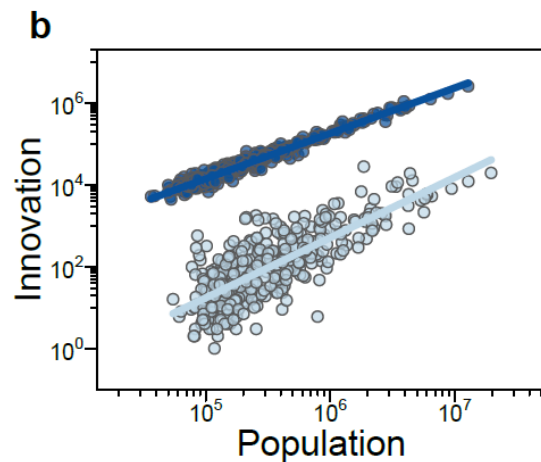
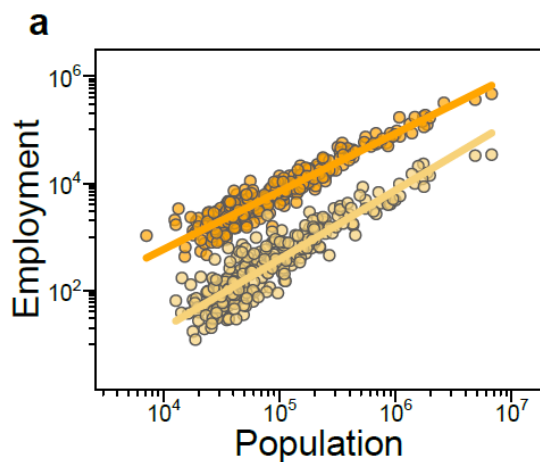
- More individuals engage in productive *as well as* harmful, disadvantageous activities.

Urban Scaling: $Y = Y_0 N^{(1.1667)}$

Scaling Relation	Exponent	Error	Observations	Region/Nation	Urban Unit	Year
Socioeconomic rates						
GDP	$\beta = 1.13$	[1.11,1.15]	363	USA	MSA	2006
GDP	$\beta = 1.22$	[1.11,1.33]	273	China	Prefectural Cities	2005
GDP	$\beta = 1.10$	[1.01,1.18]	35	Germany	LUZ	2004
income	$\beta = 1.12$	[1.07,1.17]	12	Japan	MA	2005
wages	$\beta = 1.12$					
violent crime	$\beta = 1.16$					
violent crime	$\beta = 1.20$					
violent crime	$\beta = 1.20$					
new AIDS cases	$\beta = 1.23$	[1.17,1.29]	93	USA	MSA	2002-3
new patents	$\beta = 1.27$	[1.22,1.32]	331	USA	MSA	1980-2001
supercreative jobs	$\beta = 1.15$	[1.13,1.17]	331	USA	MSA	1999-2001
R&D employment	$\beta = 1.19$	[1.12,1.26]	227-278	USA	MSA	1987-2002
Average socioeconomic rates	$\beta = 1.17$	[1.01,1.33]				

Why do *different* urban activities scale *differently*?!

Table S3, from:
 “The Origins of Scaling in Cities”,
 Bettencourt, L. M. A. (2013, *Science*)



- Admin. services: $\hat{\beta} = 1.08(0.02)$, $\ln(\hat{Y}_0) = -3.61(0.23)$
- Wholesale brokers: $\hat{\beta} = 1.29(0.03)$, $\ln(\hat{Y}_0) = -8.91(0.39)$
- Creatives: $\hat{\beta} = 1.11(0.01)$, $\ln(\hat{Y}_0) = -3.23(0.14)$
- Inventors: $\hat{\beta} = 1.47(0.06)$, $\ln(\hat{Y}_0) = -14.09(0.74)$
- Burglary: $\hat{\beta} = 1.01(0.02)$, $\ln(\hat{Y}_0) = -5.16(0.24)$
- Robbery: $\hat{\beta} = 1.35(0.03)$, $\ln(\hat{Y}_0) = -11.65(0.34)$
- High school: $\hat{\beta} = 1(0)$, $\ln(\hat{Y}_0) = -0.15(0.04)$
- Graduate: $\hat{\beta} = 1.11(0.02)$, $\ln(\hat{Y}_0) = -3.82(0.21)$
- Chlamydia: $\hat{\beta} = 1.06(0.02)$, $\ln(\hat{Y}_0) = -6.37(0.29)$
- Syphilis: $\hat{\beta} = 1.46(0.05)$, $\ln(\hat{Y}_0) = -16.91(0.65)$

Three takeaways



There is a statistical regularity present in urban systems called “**Urban Scaling**”.

$$Y \sim N^\beta$$

2. Every social phenomenon has a “**complexity**” that summarizes many of its statistical properties.
3. Ideas from **Cultural Evolution** are needed in order to account for the differences in development across cities.

Three takeaways



There is a statistical regularity present in urban systems called “**Urban Scaling**”.

$$Y \sim N^\beta$$

2. Every social phenomenon has a “**complexity**” that summarizes many of its statistical properties.
3. Ideas from **Cultural Evolution** are needed in order to account for the differences in development across cities.

Economics

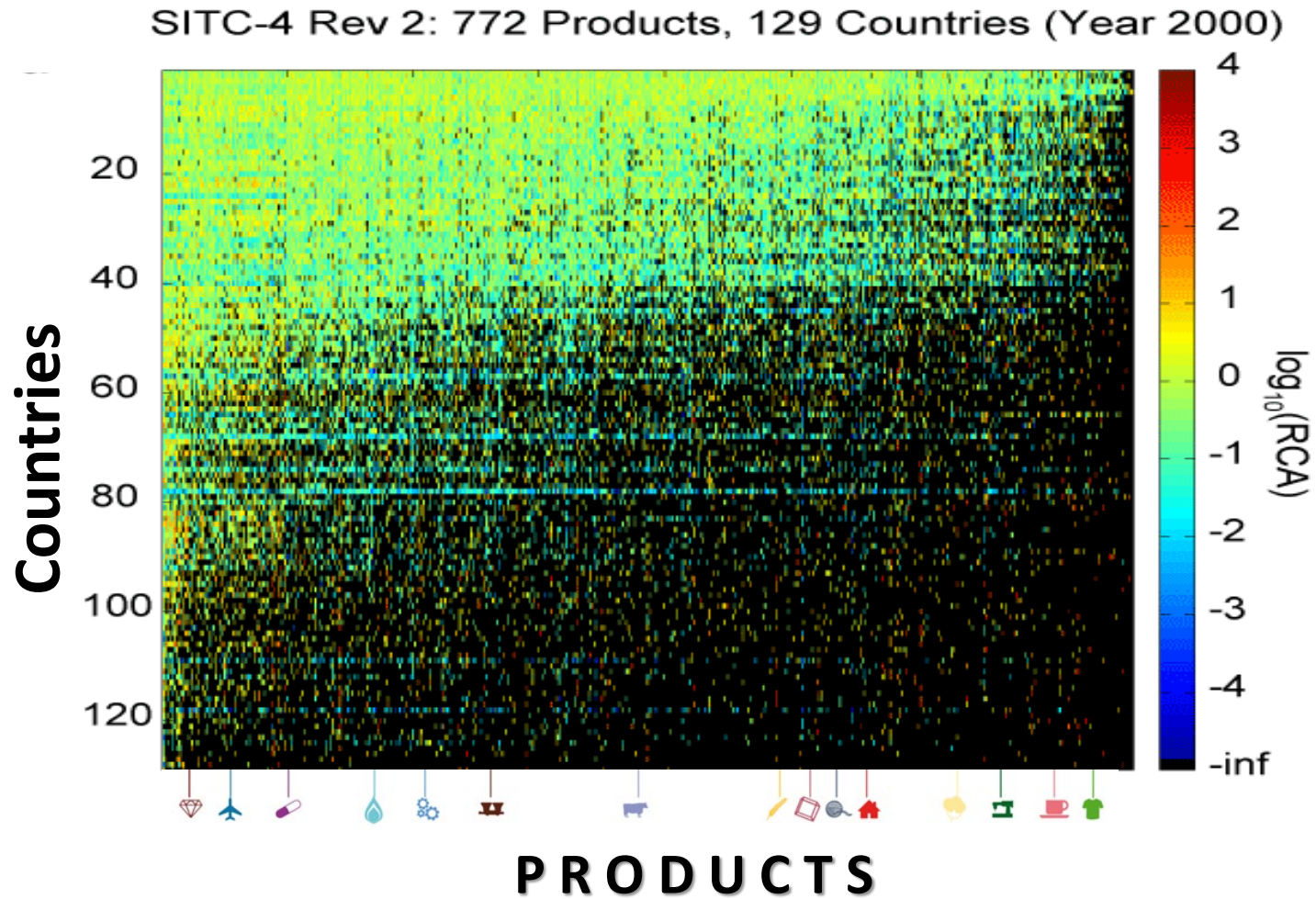
$y = f($



)



International trade



Very similar approach to R. Carneiro
(1962, 1967, 1970)

... it is the type of pattern you'd expect if countries were playing a game...



Hidalgo, C. A. and Hausmann, R. (2009).
The building blocks of economic complexity. PNAS,
106(25):10570-10575.

Hausmann, R. and Hidalgo, C.A. (2011),
The network structure of economic output. J Econ Growth,
16:309-342.

A_1





A₁



C₃ A₁ T₁

A₁



A₁



----- A₁ ----- C₃ A₁ T₁ ----- A₁ C₃ T₁ I₁ N₁ G₂



----- A₁ ----- C₃ A₁ T₁

A₁ ----- A₁



A₁

A₁

C₃ A₁ T₁

A₁ C₃ T₁ I₁ N₁ G₂

A₁

C₃ A₁ T₁

A₁

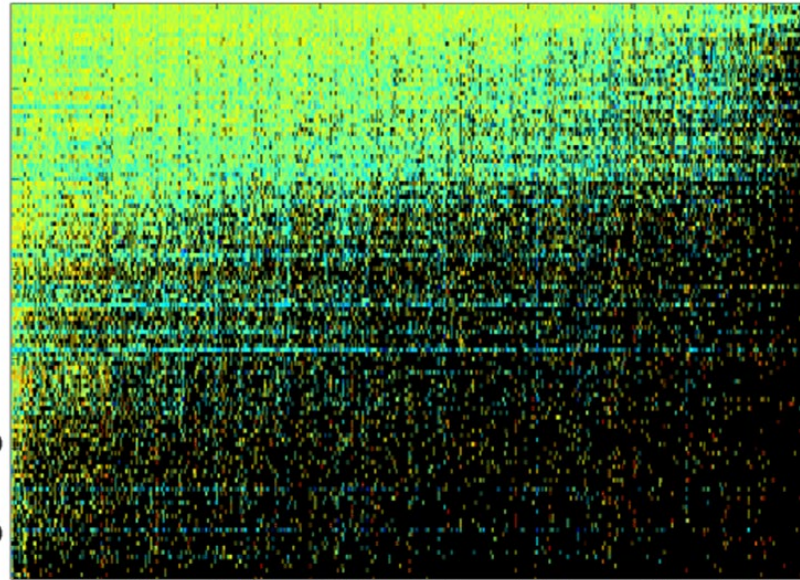




A₁

Countries

20
40
60
80
100
120



1 100 200 300 400 500 600 700

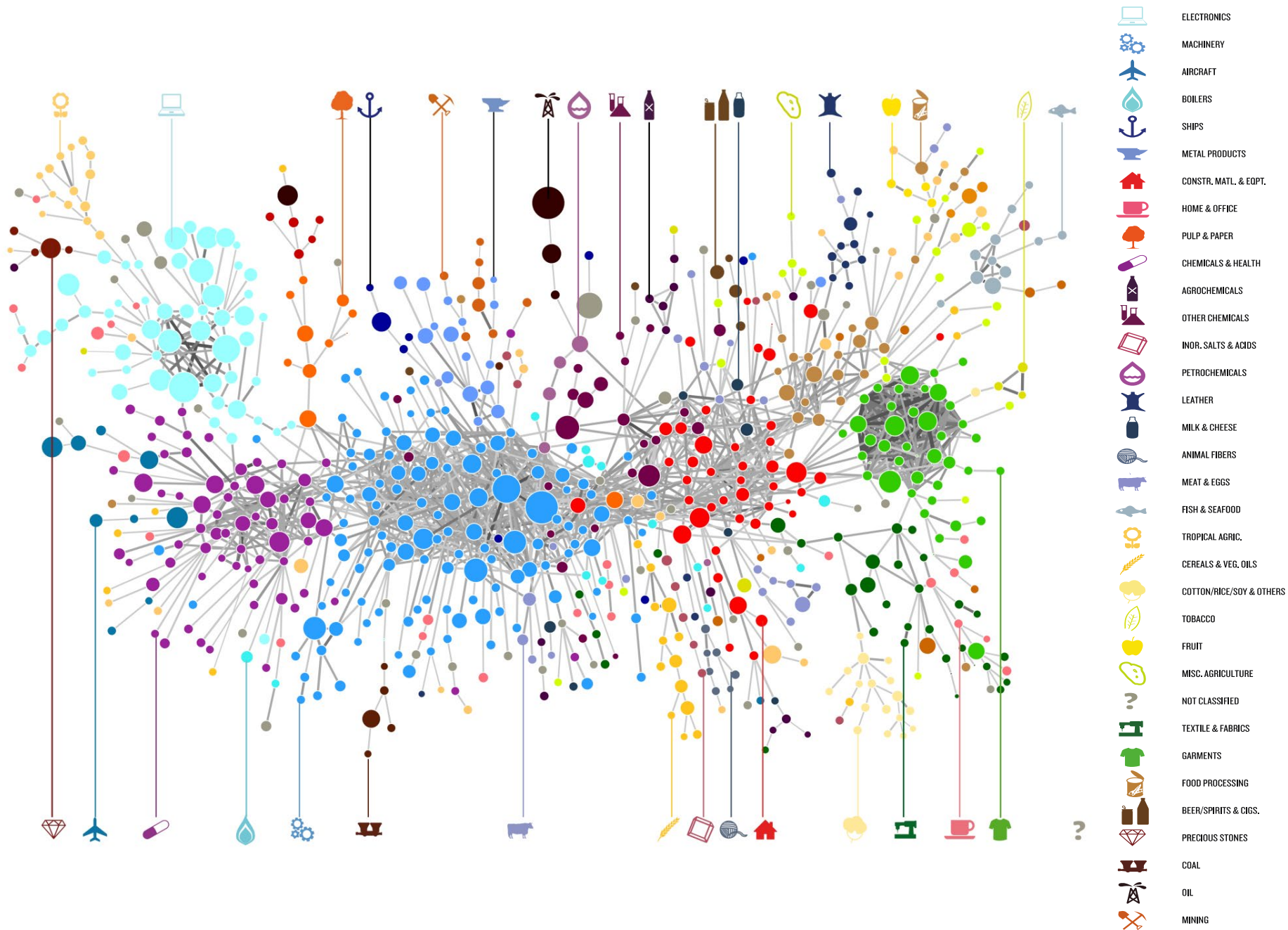
PRODUCTS

A₁

C₃ A₁ T₁

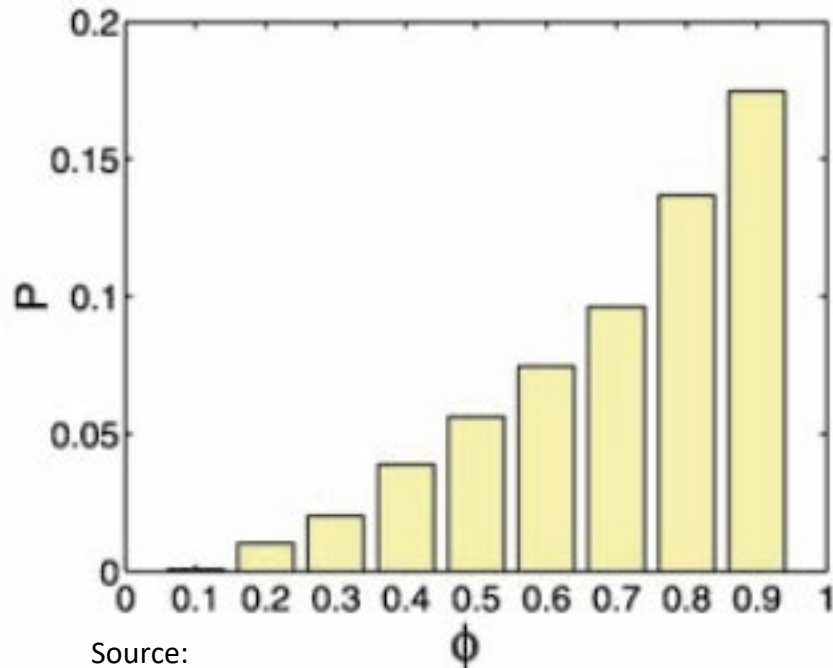
A₁ C₃ T₁ I₁ N₁ G₂





The product space predicts which products will be produced next

D



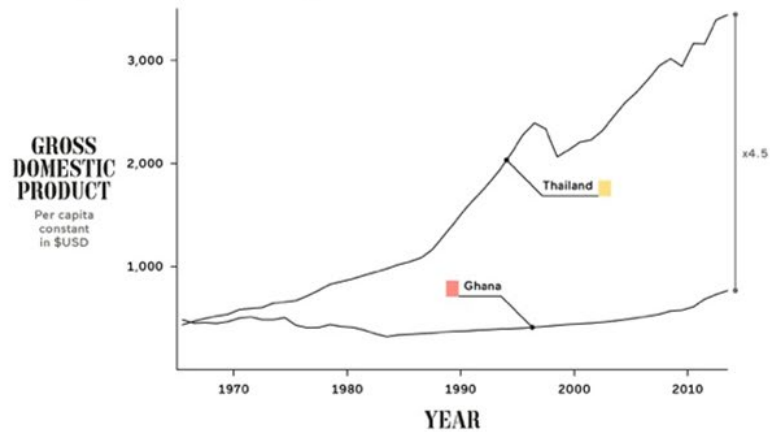
Source:

Hidalgo C.A., Klinger B., Barabási A.-L., and Hausmann R., 2007. The Product Space Conditions the Development of Nations. *Science* (317) pp. 482-487.

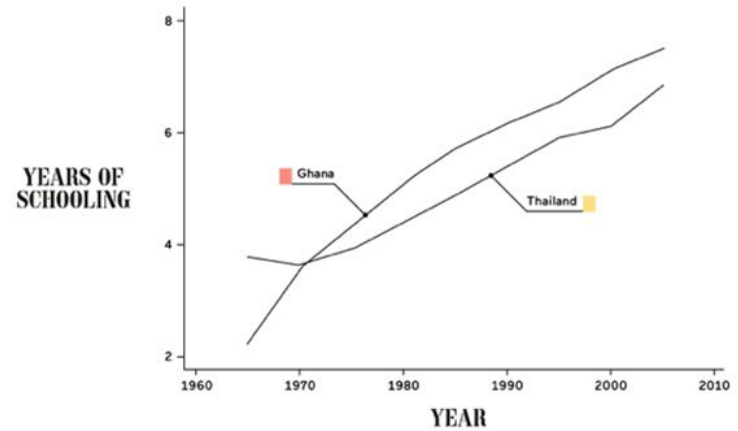
- Entry into new product is easier if you already produce related products
- Products appear in cascades (Klimek/Hausmann/Thurner 2012)

GHANA VS. THAILAND

Huge divergence in income

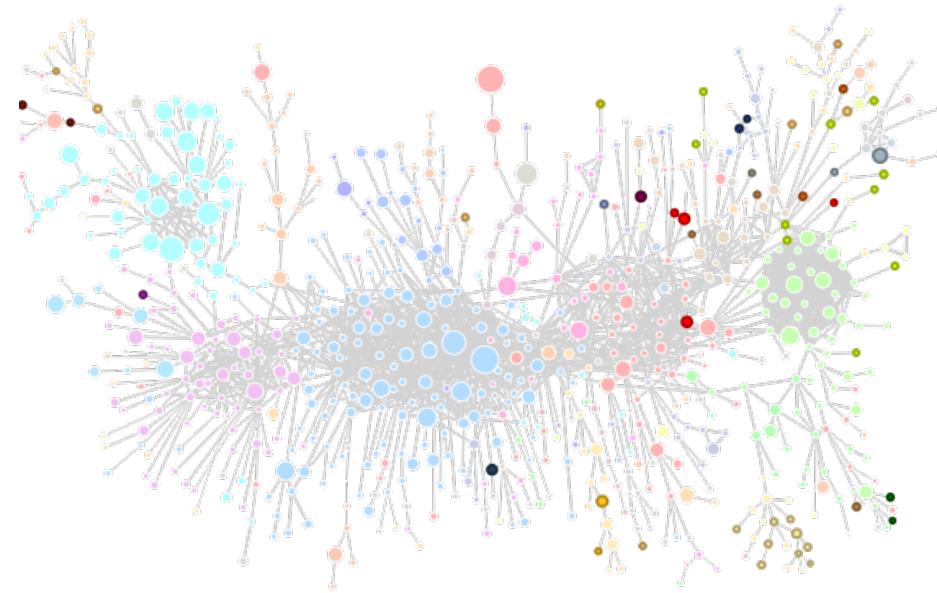


Investment in education



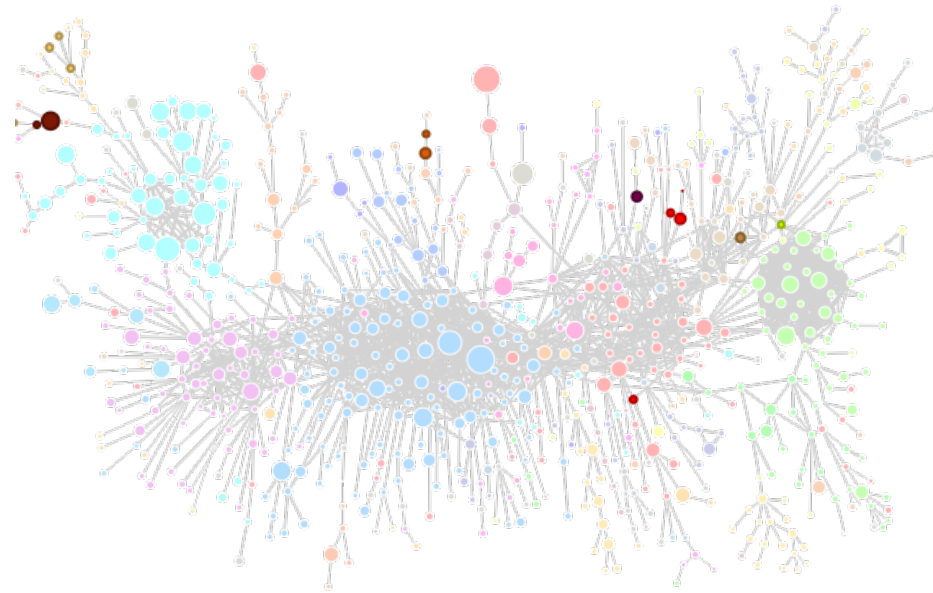
Thailand vs. Ghana in the Product Space 1965

Total Value: \$615,728,000



Thailand

Total Value: \$294,604,000

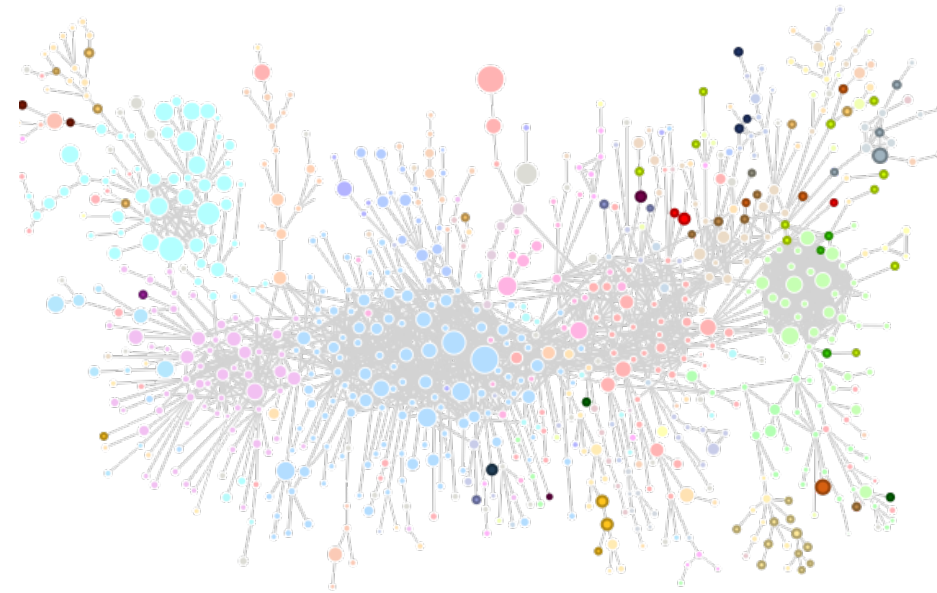


Ghana

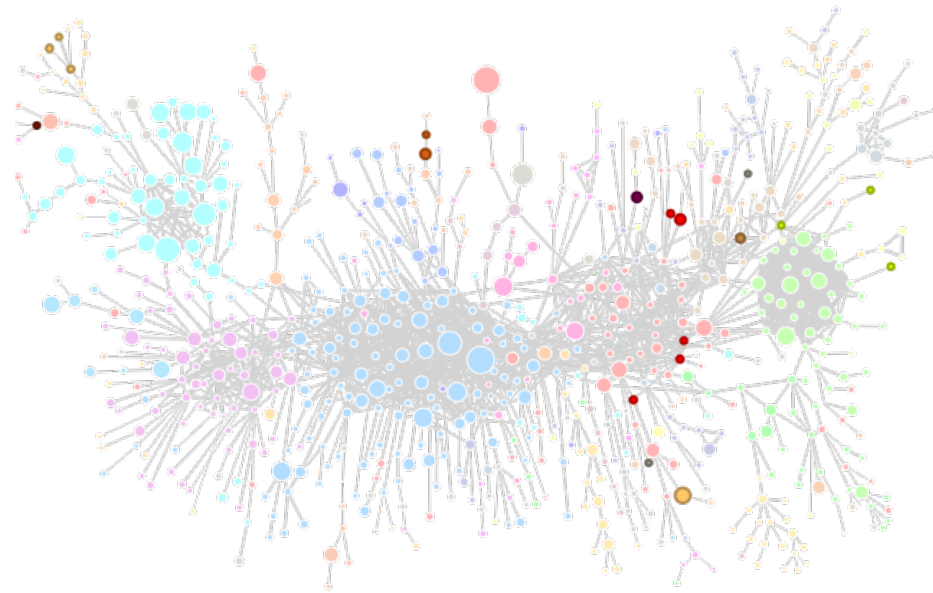
1970

Total Value: \$721,421,000

Total Value: \$432,140,000



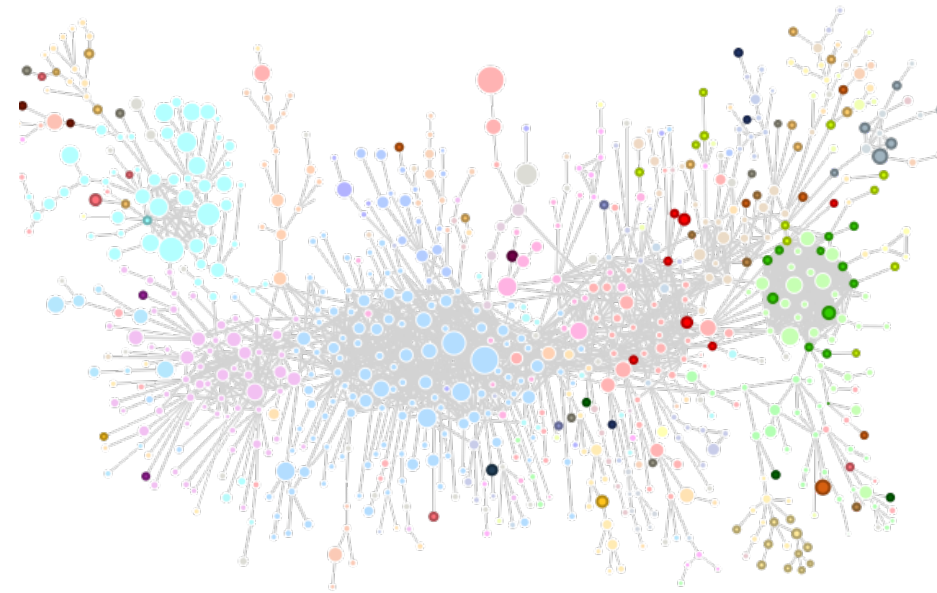
Thailand



Ghana

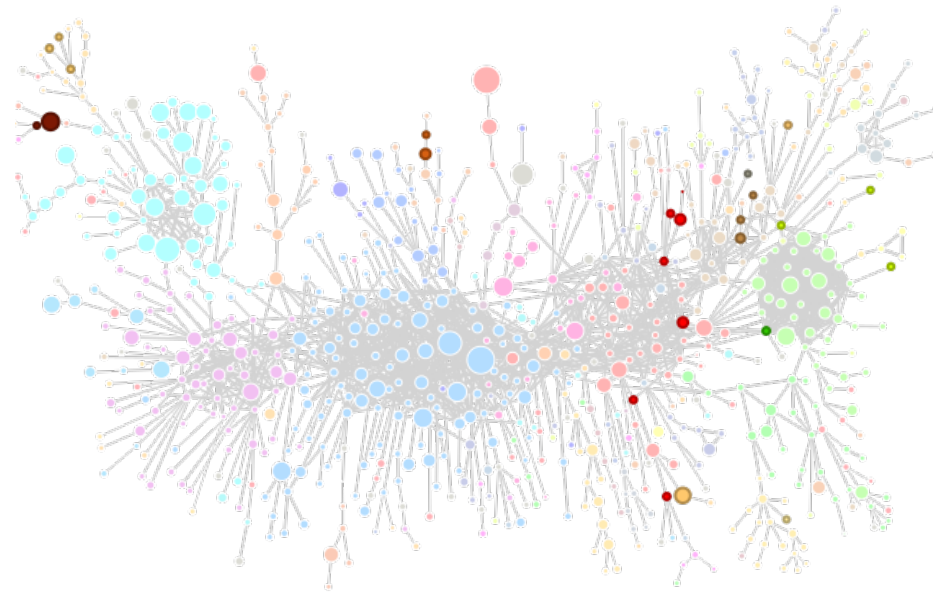
1975

Total Value: \$2,238,988,000



Thailand

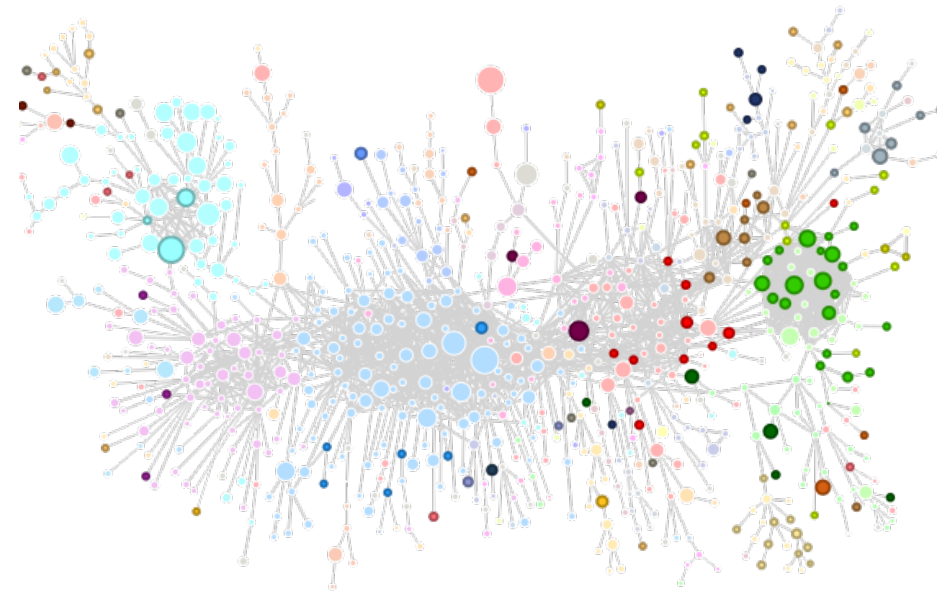
Total Value: \$818,766,000



Ghana

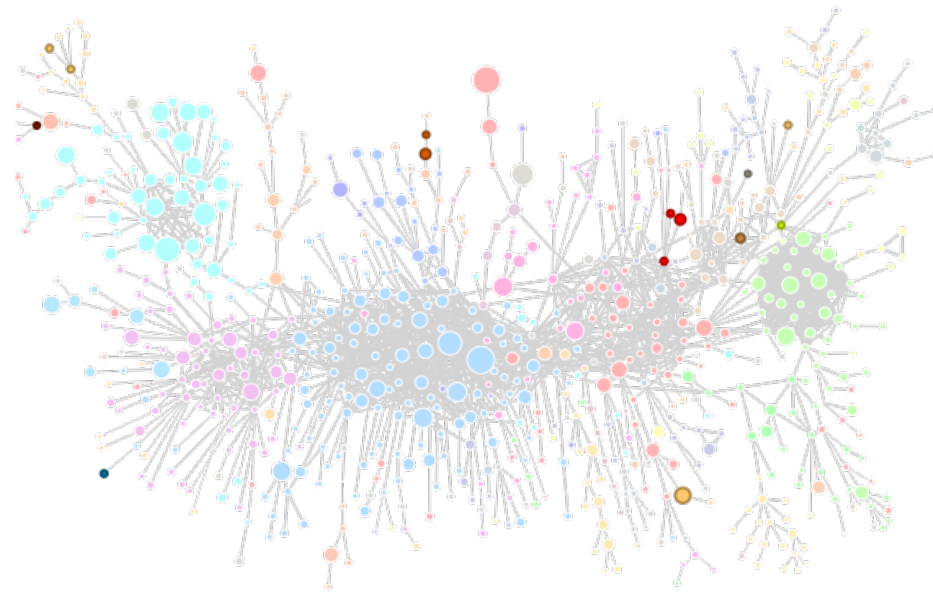
1980

Total Value: \$5,980,038,000



Thailand

Total Value: \$1,017,767,000

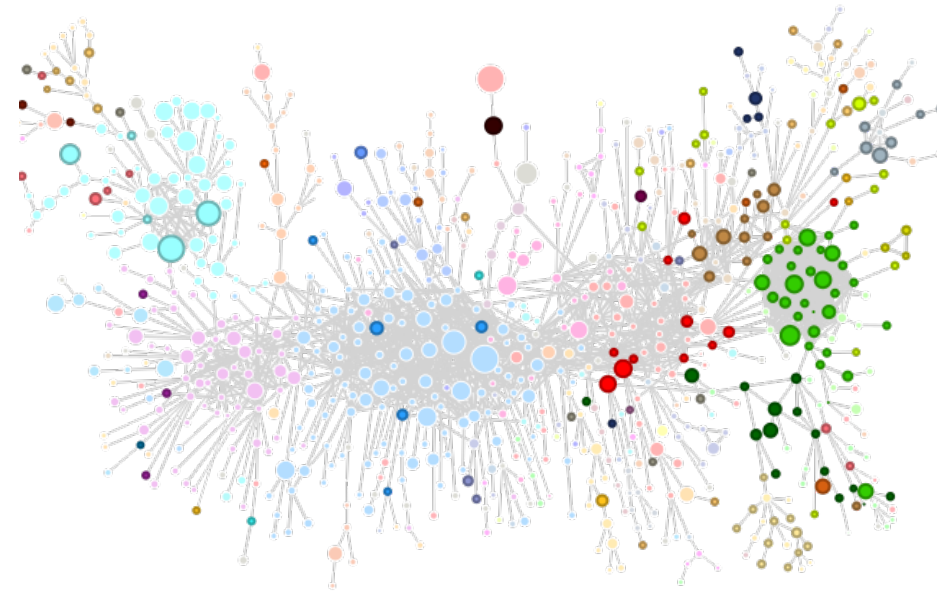


Ghana

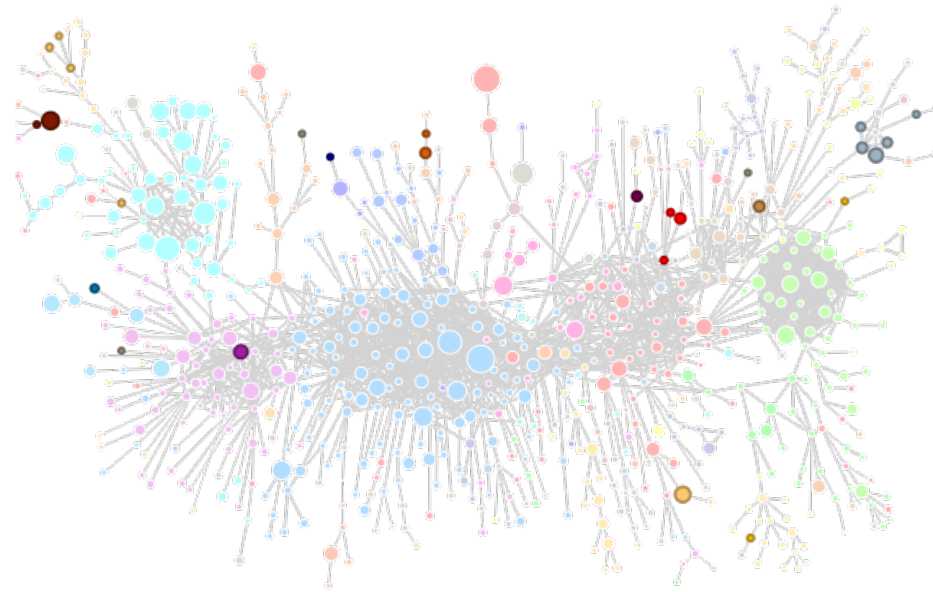
1985

Total Value: \$7,354,613,137

Total Value: \$462,524,204



Thailand

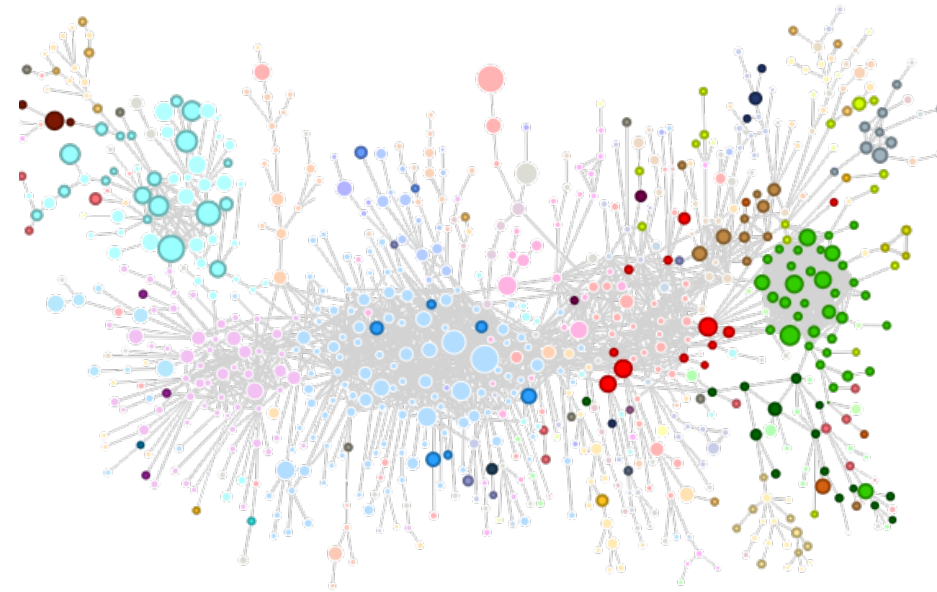


Ghana

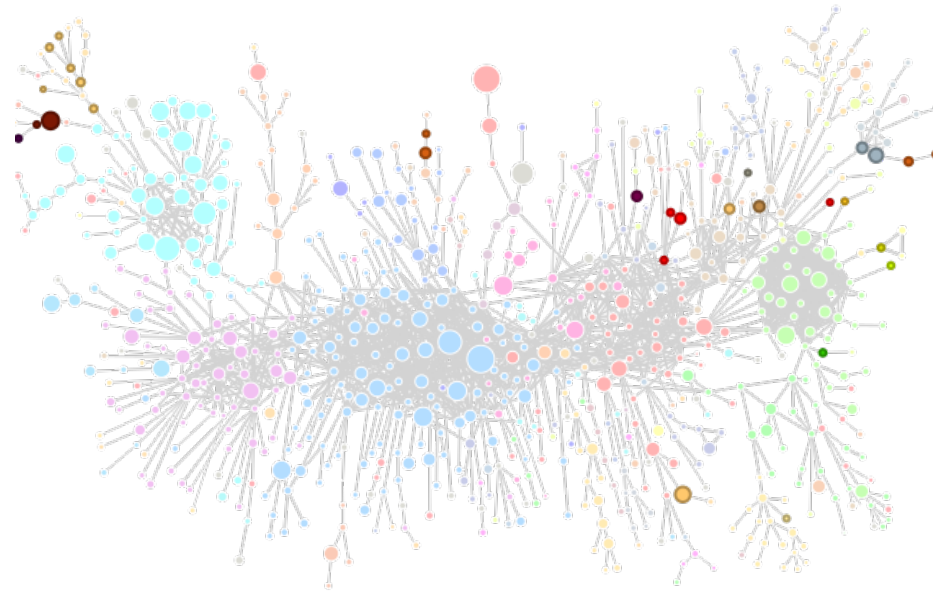
1990

Total Value: \$21,914,013,991

Total Value: \$1,086,328,204



Thailand

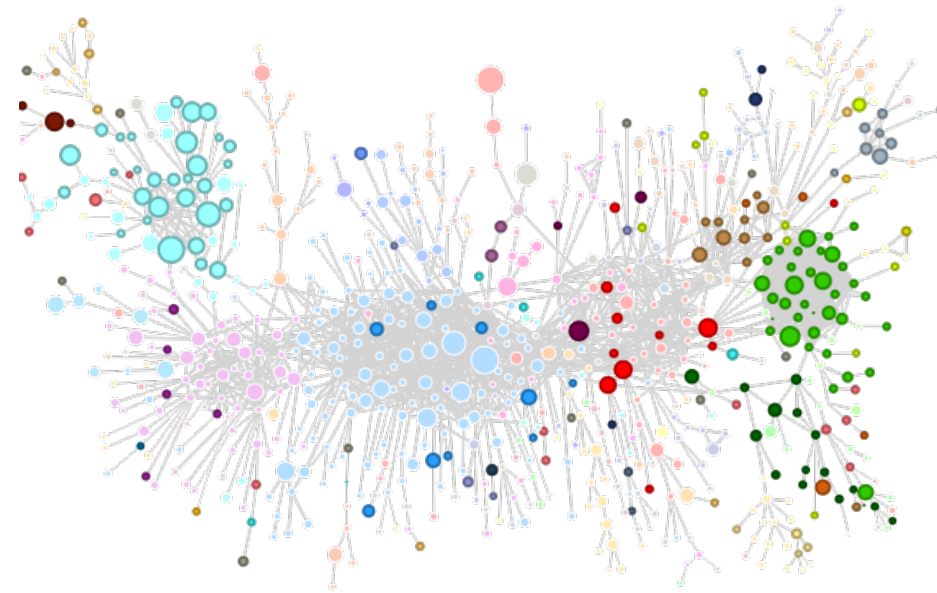


Ghana

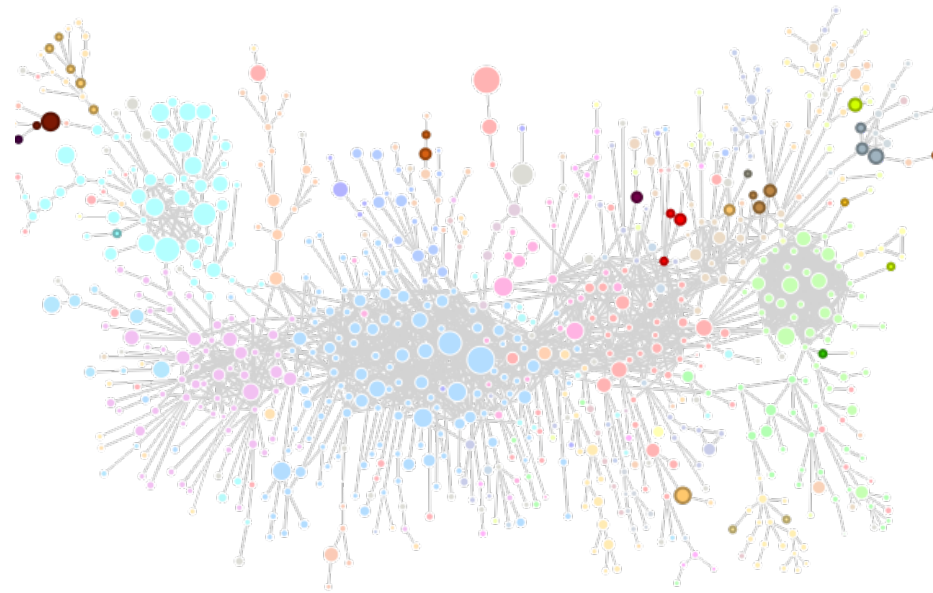
1995

Total Value: \$50,644,730,628

Total Value: \$1,294,057,269



Thailand

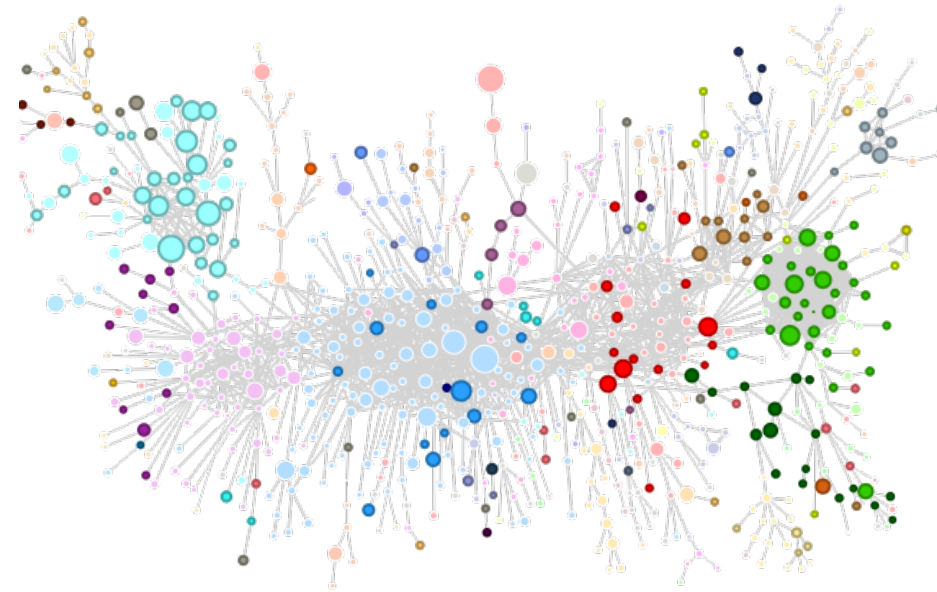


Ghana

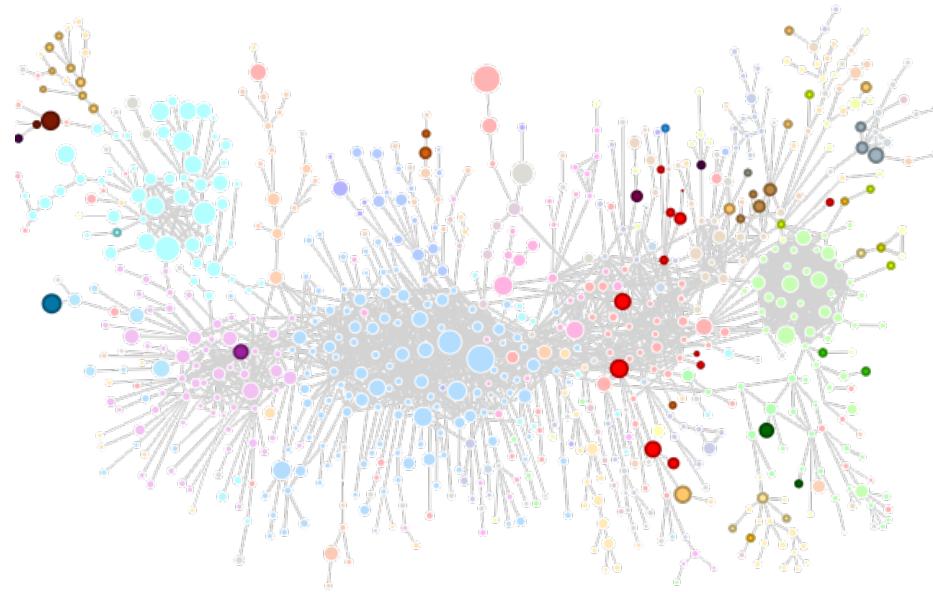
2000

Total Value: \$67,126,271,442

Total Value: \$1,206,161,694



Thailand

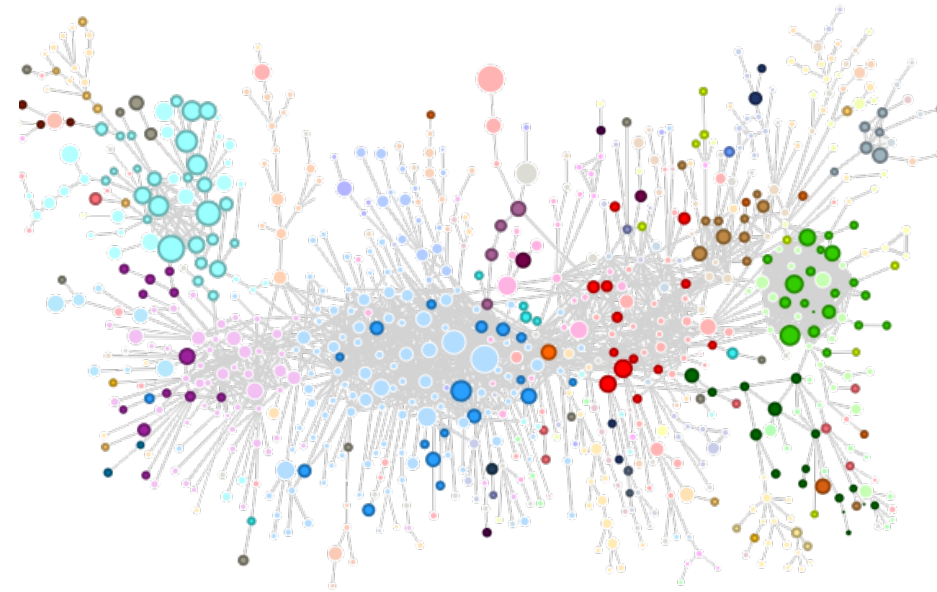


Ghana

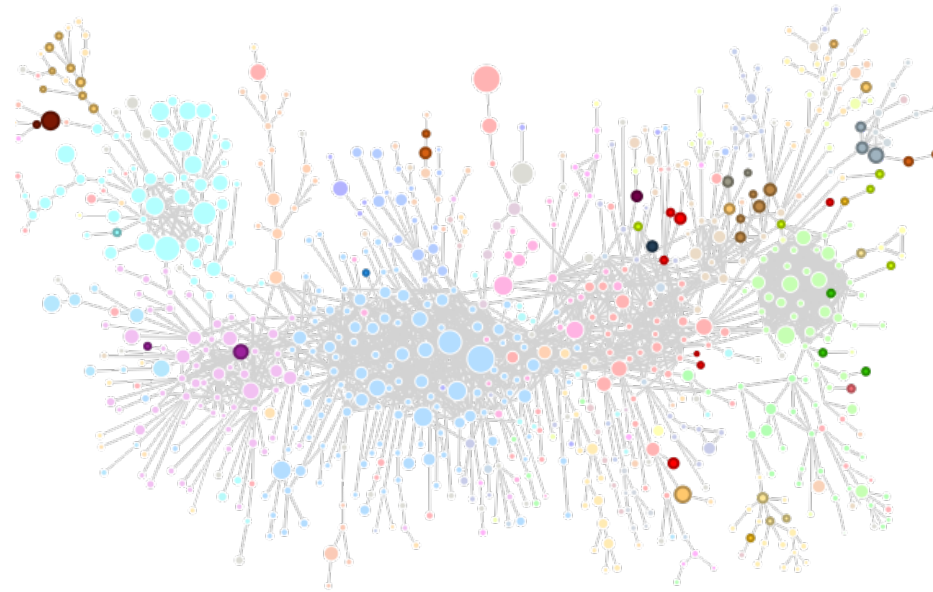
2005

Total Value: \$111,099,204,052

Total Value: \$1,871,625,725



Thailand

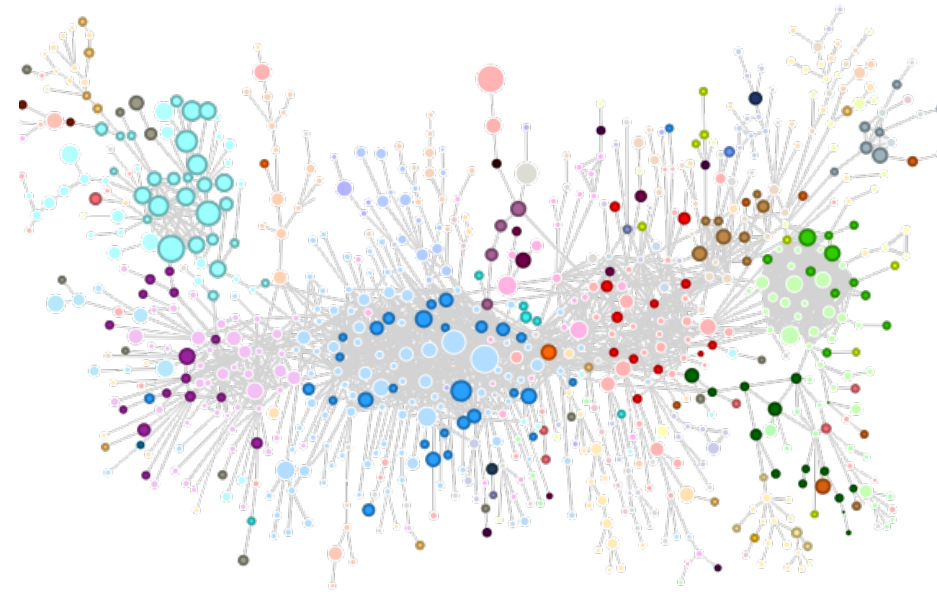


Ghana

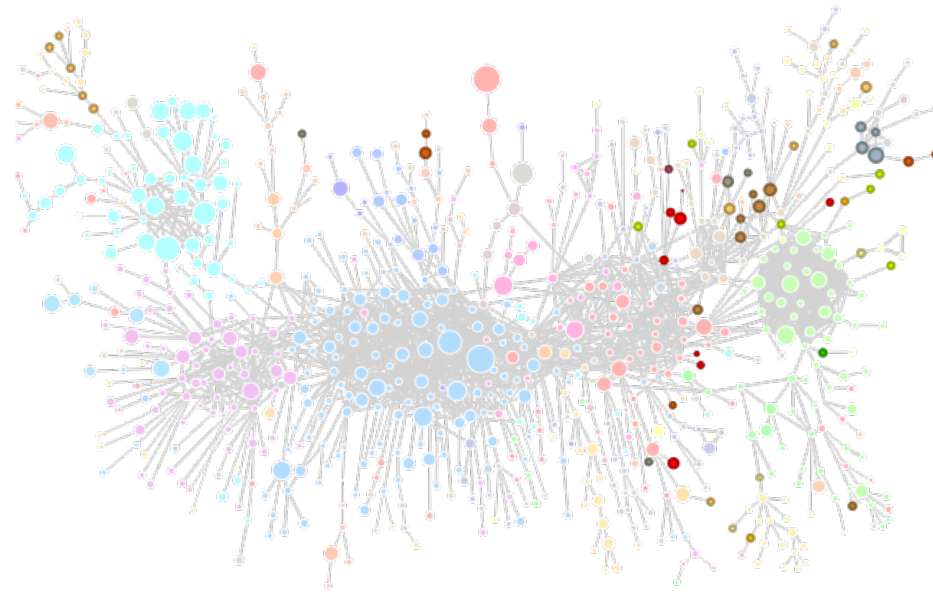
2010

Total Value: \$186,564,165,927

Total Value: \$4,052,850,523



Thailand



Ghana

The Theory of Economic Complexity

- Economic processes arise from a multiplicity of factors.
- More complex processes require more factors.
 - # of factors required = **complexity** = q
- Richer countries have more factors.
 - Endowment of factors = **diversity** = r





$= r$



$= \text{small } q$



$= \text{large } q$



$= r$



$= \text{small } q$



$= \text{large } q$

$$\mathbb{E} \left[\frac{Y}{N} \right] = e^{-M(1-r)q}$$

$$= e^{-Mq} e^{Mrq}$$

$$\mathbb{E} \left[\frac{Y}{N} \right] = e^{-Mq} e^{Mrq}$$

Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA)	Year	Population	Robbery Rate (cases per 100,000 inhabitants)	Larceny-theft (cases per 100,000 inhabitants)
Carson City, NV M.S.A.	2010	55,119	36.3	1,393.3
Michigan City-La Porte, IN M.S.A.	2010	111,553	81.6	2,656.1
Chico, CA M.S.A.	2010	222,130	70.7	1,582.4
Lansing-East Lansing, MI M.S.A.	2010	450,078	79.1	1,763.5
Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, CT M.S.A.	2010	895,941	110.6	1,226.2
Las Vegas-Paradise, NV M.S.A.	2010	1,951,609	240.6	1,580.0
Phoenix-Mesa-Glendale, AZ M.S.A.	2010	4,229,275	124.0	2,400.4
Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA M.S.A.	2010	12,912,749	189.5	1,428.3
New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA M.S.A.	2010	19,042,526	164.2	1,300.3



?

- Robbery rates do not seem to increase exponentially with population size.

Three takeaways



There is a statistical regularity present in urban systems called “**Urban Scaling**”.

$$Y \sim N^\beta$$



Every social phenomenon has a “**complexity**” that summarizes many of its statistical properties.

3. Ideas from **Cultural Evolution** are needed in order to account for the differences in development across cities.

Three takeaways



There is a statistical regularity present in urban systems called “**Urban Scaling**”.

$$Y \sim N^\beta$$



Every social phenomenon has a “**complexity**” that summarizes many of its statistical properties.

3. Ideas from **Cultural Evolution** are needed in order to account for the differences in development across cities.

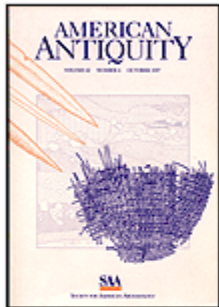
- Robbery rates do not seem to increase exponentially with population size.

Cumulative culture

- Robbery rates do not seem to increase exponentially with population size.

➡ The diversity of factors (i.e., cultural traits) does not change in proportion to population size.

[American Antiquity](#) > [Vol. 69, No. 2, Apr., 2004](#) > [Demography and Cultu...](#)



Demography and Cultural Evolution: How Adaptive Cultural Processes can Produce Maladaptive Losses: The Tasmanian Case

Joseph Henrich

American Antiquity

Vol. 69, No. 2 (Apr., 2004), pp. 197-214

Published by: [Society for American Archaeology](#)

DOI: 10.2307/4128416

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4128416>

Page Count: 18

Subjects:

[Anthropology](#)

[Archaeology](#)

See also:

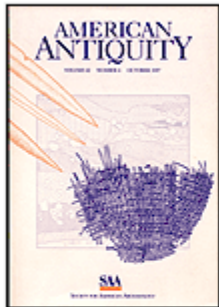
Shennan (2001),
Henrich & Boyd (2002),
Powell et al. (2009),
Kline & Boyd (2010),
Mesoudi (2011),
Lehman et al. (2011),
Aoki et al. (2011),
Kobayashi & Aoki (2012),
Derex et al. (2013),
Collard et al. (2013),
Kempe & Mesoudi (2014),

Cumulative culture

- Robbery rates do not seem to increase exponentially with population size.

➡ The diversity of factors (i.e., cultural traits) does not change in proportion to population size.

[American Antiquity](#) > [Vol. 69, No. 2, Apr., 2004](#) > [Demography and Cultu...](#)



Demography and Cultural Evolution: How Adaptive Cultural Processes can Produce Maladaptive Losses: The Tasmanian Case

Joseph Henrich

American Antiquity

Vol. 69, No. 2 (Apr., 2004), pp. 197-214

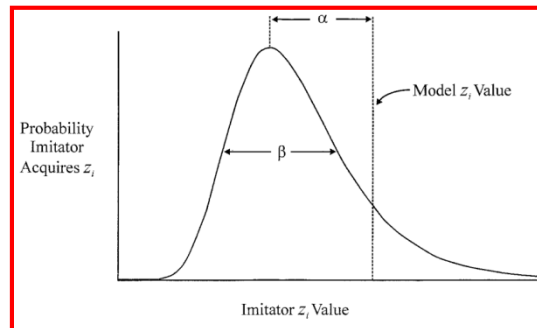
Published by: [Society for American Archaeology](#)

DOI: 10.2307/4128416

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4128416>

Page Count: 18

Subjects: [Anthropology](#) [Archaeology](#)



See also:

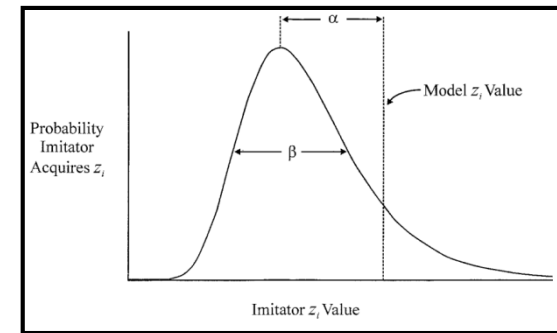
Shennan (2001),
Henrich & Boyd (2002),
Powell et al. (2009),
Kline & Boyd (2010),
Mesoudi (2011),
Lehman et al. (2011),
Aoki et al. (2011),
Kobayashi & Aoki (2012),
Derex et al. (2013),
Collard et al. (2013),
Kempe & Mesoudi (2014),

Models of economic complexity



&

Models of cultural evolution

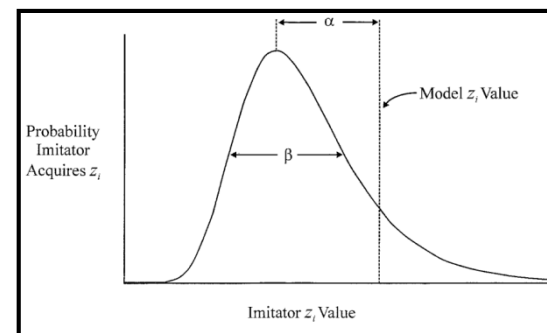


Models of economic complexity



&

Models of cultural evolution



$$\mathbb{E}[Y] = e^{-Mq} N e^{Mq} r(N)$$

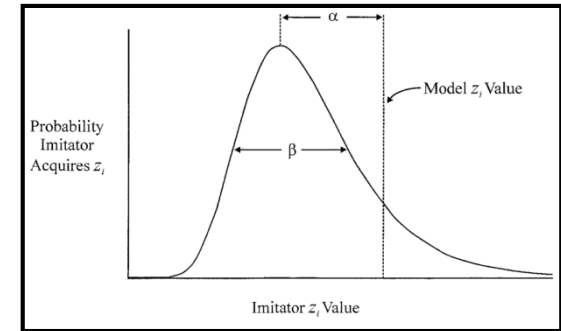
$$r(N) = a + b \ln(N)$$

Models of economic complexity



&

Models of cultural evolution



$$\mathbb{E}[Y] = e^{-Mq} N e^{Mq} r(N)$$

Urban Scaling: $\mathbb{E}[Y] = e^{-Mq(1-a)} N^{1+Mqb}$

$$= Y_0 N^\beta$$



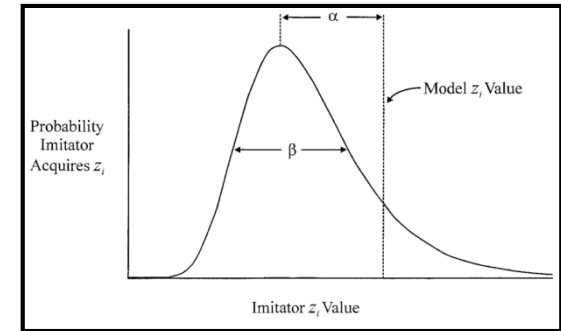
$$r(N) = a + b \ln(N)$$

Models of economic complexity



&

Models of cultural evolution

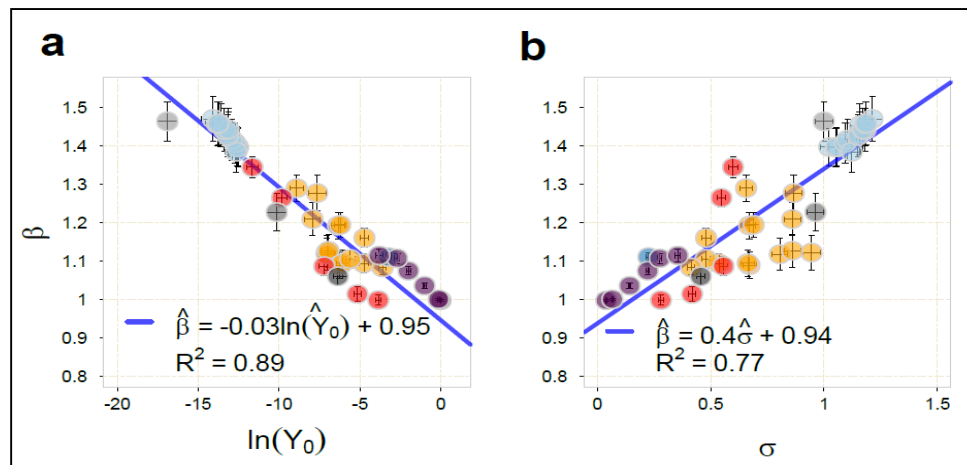


$$\mathbb{E}[Y] = e^{-Mq} N e^{Mq} r(N)$$

$$r(N) = a + b \ln(N)$$

Urban Scaling: $\mathbb{E}[Y] = e^{-Mq(1-a)} N^{1+Mqb}$

$$= Y_0 N^\beta$$



What the Theory Predicts

With the prevalence of a phenomenon in a single city, the theory predicts what the prevalence in the rest of cities is likely to be.

Procedure:

Given coefficients s_1 and s_2 and the populations of all cities n_1, n_2, \dots

For a phenomenon of interest:

Pick a random city c with known population size and prevalence:

$$(n_c, y_c)$$

Apply the equations:

$$\beta^{(\text{pred.})} = \frac{1 - s_1 \ln(y_c)}{1 - s_1 \ln(n_c)}$$

$$\ln(y_0)^{(\text{pred.})} = \frac{1 - \beta^{(\text{pred.})}}{s_1}$$

$$\sigma^{(\text{pred.})} = \frac{\beta^{(\text{pred.})} - 1}{s_2}$$

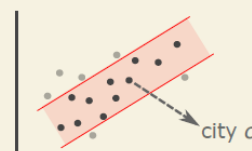
Use the populations n_1, n_2, \dots , to predict the prevalence of the phenomenon in the rest of cities within some **prediction bands**:

$$y_i^\pm = \exp \left\{ \ln(y_0)^{(\text{pred.})} + \beta^{(\text{pred.})} \ln(n_i) \pm z_0 \sigma^{(\text{pred.})} \right\}, \quad \text{for all } i = 1, 2, \dots$$

To test the predictions, we simulated the **Procedure** 50 times for each phenomenon, for a total of 2150 simulations.

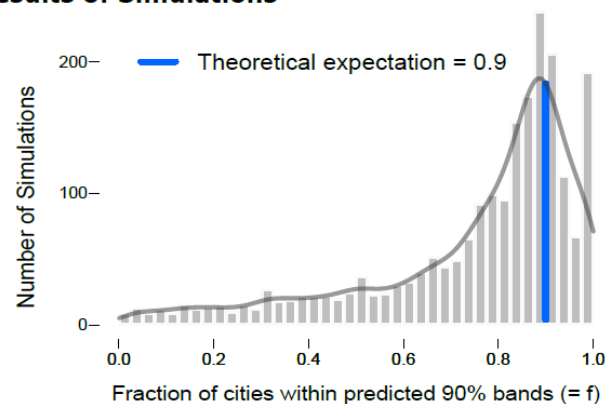
For all phenomena:

- 1 Apply the **Procedure**
- 2 Compute the fraction f of cities within the **predicted bands**



$$f = \frac{\text{...}}{\text{...} + \text{...}}$$

Results of Simulations



THANK YOU

Contact info:

Email: andres_gomez@hks.harvard.edu

Twitter: [@GomezLievano](https://twitter.com/GomezLievano)

Learning at Different Levels

- Individuals learn by going to school, by doing, by interacting.

Learning at Different Levels

- Individuals learn by going to school, by doing, by interacting.
- Cities “learn” by attracting new individuals with more diverse skills (Florida, 1995, *Futures*).

Learning at Different Levels

- Individuals ***are limited*** by the amount of knowledge that they can learn;

Learning at Different Levels

- Individuals ***are limited*** by the amount of knowledge that they can learn;
- **Societies, however, are not.**

Example

	Getting a patent requires:
1)	Having a technological problem
2)	Having a solution
3)	Presenting the idea clearly
4)	Applying for a patent
5)	Including corrections from examiners
6)	Satisfying all legal requirements

Example

Getting a patent requires:		City <i>c</i>	Person 1	Person 2	Person 3
1)	Having a technological problem		X	X	X
2)	Having a solution		X		X
3)	Presenting the idea clearly	X	X	X	
4)	Applying for a patent		X	X	X
5)	Including corrections from examiners	X	X	X	
6)	Satisfying all legal requirements	X	X		
			Person 1	Person 2	Person 3
	Gets the patent?		YES	NO	YES

Example

Getting a patent requires:		City <i>c</i>	Person 1	Person 2	Person 3
1) Having a technological problem			X	X	X
2) Having a solution			X		X
3) Presenting the idea clearly		X	X	X	
4) Applying for a patent			X	X	X
5) Including corrections from examiners		X	X	X	
6) Satisfying all legal requirements		X	X		
			Person 1	Person 2	Person 3
Gets the patent?			YES	NO	YES

Example

Getting a patent requires:		City <i>c</i>	Person 1	Person 2	Person 3
1) Having a technological problem			X	X	X
2) Having a solution			X		X
3) Presenting the idea clearly		X	X	X	
4) Applying for a patent			X	X	X
5) Including corrections from examiners		X	X	X	
6) Satisfying all legal requirements		X	X		
			Person 1	Person 2	Person 3
Gets the patent?			YES	NO	YES



City *c* has **2 inventors** (from a population of 3).

The Model

- The activity in question requires N_a substeps.
- The substeps provided by the city as a $N_a \times 1$ vector, \vec{C} , 1 for the substeps provided, 0 otherwise.
- We represent the substeps that person j needs using a $N_a \times 1$ vector, \vec{p}_j , with 1 for the missing substeps, 0 otherwise.

City c	Person 1	Person 2	Person 3			\vec{C}		\vec{p}_1	\vec{p}_2	\vec{p}_3
	X	X	X			0		0	0	0
	X		X			0		0	1	0
X	X	X				1		0	0	1
	X	X	X			0		0	0	0
X	X	X				1		0	0	1
X	X					1		0	1	1

The Model

- The activity in question requires N_a substeps.
- The substeps provided by the city as a $N_a \times 1$ vector, \vec{C} , 1 for the substeps provided, 0 otherwise.
- We represent the substeps that person j needs using a $N_a \times 1$ vector, \vec{p}_j , with 1 for the missing substeps, 0 otherwise.

City c	Person 1	Person 2	Person 3			\vec{C}		\vec{p}_1	\vec{p}_2	\vec{p}_3
	X	X	X			0		0	0	0
	X		X			0		0		0
X	X	X				1	r	0		1
	X	X	X			0		0	0	0
X	X	X				1		0		1
X	X					1		0	1	1

The Model

Table 1: Parameters of the model. The parameters M , q and r are in principle phenomenon-dependent.

Parameter	Meaning
$N > 0$	City population size susceptible of participating of a given phenomenon.
$M > 0$	Number of possible factors required for the given phenomenon.
$q \in (0, 1)$	Probability that an individual needs any given factor from the environment.
$r \in (0, 1)$	Probability that the city facilitates any one of the factors to the individual.

- The main parameters, r and q :
 - r : the average “diversity” of the city.
 - q : the average “complexity” of the activity.
- Prevalence of the activity in the city: $Y = \sum_{j=1}^N X_j$
- $E[Y] = f(N, r, q) = ?$