STUTTGART: VILLAGE SPRAWL PROVIDES A GEOGRAPHY LESSON

FAST FACTS

| Metropolitan Area Population | 2,700,000 | Cleveland, San Diego |
| Urban Area Population | 1,250,000 | Austin, Vittoria, Tijuana, Prague |
| Urban Land Area: Square Miles | 160 | Sapporo, Chennai, Scranton, Winnipeg, Dalian |
| Urban Land Area: Square Kilometers | 415 | |
| Population per Square Mile | 7,800 | Los Angeles, Rome, Nagoya |
| Population per Square Kilometer | 3,000 | |

*Continuously built up area

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Geography Lesson for Geographers

Stuttgart is one of the most misunderstood large areas, both in its metropolitan area and urban area manifestation. Many population-ranking lists simply have it wrong. For example, the United Nations shows the Stuttgart urban agglomeration (urban area) to have a population of 2.7 million. Other lists, both well regarded and not, show similar figures. A more realistic figure would be less than one-half that, or 1,250,000.

Urban Agglomerations: The difference is a matter of terminology. The United Nations list, like some other lists of urban areas or urban agglomerations, gets metropolitan areas (or labor markets) mixed up with urban areas (or agglomerations). An urban agglomeration is an area of continuous urban development. An urban agglomeration will be surrounded by rural (non-urban) territory --- land that is not developed for urban use. A conurbation occurs when two or more urban agglomerations grow together, as in the case of the urbanization in the Essen-Dusseldorf area (Rhine-Ruhr-Wupper), Osaka-Kobe-Kyoto or Katowice-Gliwice (Upper Silesia).

Metropolitan Areas: Metropolitan areas are different from urban agglomerations. A metropolitan area is a labor market. It will virtually always be larger than the urban agglomeration. A metropolitan area includes the rural areas that surround the urban agglomeration, from which people commute into the urban agglomeration for employment. The metropolitan area will typically include smaller urban areas that also contain the residences of many residents who work in the larger agglomeration.

Stuttgart: The Urban Agglomeration and the Metropolitan Area: Few places in the world illustrate the difference between metropolitan areas and urban agglomerations better than Stuttgart. The Stuttgart urban agglomeration is the core of the metropolitan area. However, unlike most urban agglomerations, in Stuttgart, most of the metropolitan area’s residents live outside the urban area.
agglomeration. Contrast this, for example, with New York or Philadelphia, where more than 80 percent of the population of the metropolitan area lives in the core urban agglomeration, or the desert urban agglomerations of Cairo or Phoenix, where few people live outside the urban agglomeration.

**Stuttgart: A Metropolitan Area of Towns and Villages**

Most of the people in the Stuttgart metropolitan area live in the towns, such as Ludwigsburg and Leonburg and smaller villages to the outside. The Stuttgart area is situated in an area of hills similar to those in the Pittsburgh area. They provide geographical buffers between the many communities. Even if Stuttgart had intended to lay out straight streets, this would have made it difficult. Of course, this dispersion of residences outside the urban agglomeration means that metropolitan Stuttgart covers a lot of land area. In fact, Stuttgart may best typify the Thomas Sieverts concept of “cities without cities,” outlined in his book by the same name.¹

The urban agglomeration itself is not particularly dense, at 7,800 persons per square mile. This is approximately 10 percent more dense than Los Angeles and five percent above the continental European average for urban areas over 500,000 ([http://www.demographia.com/db-worldua.pdf](http://www.demographia.com/db-worldua.pdf)).

**Entering the City:** The ring of hills provides an attractive backdrop to the city. Perhaps the best way to enter is from the Stuttgart-Munich autobahn, to the south, traveling over the southern hills into the city through lush vegetation.

**The Setting:** Stuttgart itself is located in a “T-shaped” valley formed by the Neckar River and a tributary. The city (municipality) itself has a strong industrial history and is the headquarters of Daimler-Chrysler (formerly Daimler-Benz, maker of Mercedes vehicles) and Porsche. The central business district is typical for a middle sized German urban area, without the skyscrapers found in Frankfurt, Berlin or even Munich.

**Suburban Stuttgart:** Like all major European metropolitan areas, there is considerable suburbanization in and around Stuttgart. Many fairly new suburban style single-family homes can be found in the hills to the south and southeast of the urban core. Still more single-family suburban homes are located in the villages to the outside.

**Stuttgart is Cars:** Any casual observer of the complete urban form has to be impressed by the high density of cars, whether it is cars parked on sidewalks in Paris, double-parked along downtown roadways in Rome or lining suburban streets. But nowhere is it more obvious than in the suburbs of Stuttgart. Cars are to be found everywhere.

**Back to 55:** The Munich-Stuttgart autobahn is not a good road for taking advantage of largely non-existent German speed limits. From Munich to Stuttgart, the road is largely two-lanes in each direction. The volume is sufficient to justify four or more. As a result, the traffic is so heavy that conditions are often at a standstill, while more normally it is a good place for conjuring up memories of the 55 miles per hour speed limits that the 1994 “Republican Revolution” made a thing of the past in the United States. One of the most interesting freeway vistas is the Stuttgart Airport, with its main runway parallel to and beside the Munich-Stuttgart autobahn. As one drives west toward France, this obsolete road (the A-8) crosses the north-south A-81, widens out and becomes more

what would be expected of a German highway as it travels down to the Rhine River Valley and Karlsruhe.

**Less Taxing Speed:** One of the rare places in Germany where the traffic is light enough and the road straight enough to take full advantage of unlimited speed is the A-81, to the south toward Zurich. The autobahn ends a few miles before the Swiss border, and the next 35 miles is a high-quality road, though not an autobahn, freeway or motorway. An advantage of this crossing into Switzerland is that the Swiss motorway tax is not collected (40 Swiss Francs or approximately $30), because the crossing is not a motorway, though they are obligatory if motorways are used.

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**URBAN TOURS BY RENTAL CAR: ABOUT THE SERIES**

*Urban Tours by Rental Car* offers perspectives on urban development obtained by automobile tours through urban areas. Rental cars are not the favored method for visiting cities, especially those outside one's own country. Instead, tourists and urban planners favor packaged tours or local public transport systems. Both are splendid ways for seeing the city as it used to be --- the very reason for most tourist visits. The historical core areas contain monuments, prime government and religious edifices and quaint neighborhoods that are often centuries old. This is particularly important to tourists from the newer urban areas of the American, Canadian or Australian West, where history extends not far before World War II. It is further understandable that few tourists travel thousands of miles to see the newer suburban areas that look very much like home. But most tourists do not profess to be students of the urban area.

For the urban planner interested in understanding the whole urban area, it is not enough to study the core alone, regardless of its architectural attractiveness, romanticism, history or affirmation of an individually preferred life style. No one, regardless of the depth of their education can develop reliable conceptions from an unrepresentative sample, and urban cores are the very essence of unrepresentative samples. Both public transport and packaged tours miss the larger part --- the expanse of sprawling residential and business development that rings virtually all major urban areas. They may be of little interest to many urban planners, but they should be.

Stripping away regional architectural facades, one might as well be in the suburbs of Phoenix, Portland, Perth or Paris. Here, the automobile is king, because no public transport system has been developed that can effectively serve destinations outside the core (at least at a price any society can afford). While public transport market shares are higher in European suburban areas than in the New World, much of the difference is attributable to lower incomes and less automobile access. Indeed, public transport's principal weakness, lack of automobile competitiveness, is itself a contributing factor to the rising motorization occurring from the suburbs of Copenhagen and Nagoya to the suburbs of Lagos and Mumbai. To oversimplify this phenomenon as being a "love affair with the automobile" is the equivalent of saying that Singaporeans or Brazilians have a love affair with air conditioning. Human beings prefer comfort to discomfort and they prefer free time to time over which they have no control.

It is no wonder that tourists return to the United States thinking that all Paris looks like the second arrondissement (less than one percent does) and that urban planners think all of Milan looks like the architectural treasures that surround the Cathedral. In fact, the sprawling suburbs of Europe, Japan, Canada and Connecticut resemble one another in many ways. For any seeking to study the urban area in its entirety --- not just the favored haunts of core-dwelling elites --- there is no alternative to "getting behind the wheel." Thus, "urban tours by rental car."

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http://www.rentalcartours.net  
http://www.demographia.com  
http://www.publicpurpose.com