

6-1-2006

Footprint for an International City: Transportation and Redevelopment

Catherine L. Ross

Jessica Harbour

Follow this and additional works at: <https://readingroom.law.gsu.edu/gsulr>

 Part of the [Law Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Catherine L. Ross & Jessica Harbour, *Footprint for an International City: Transportation and Redevelopment*, 22 GA. ST. U. L. REV. (2006).

Available at: <https://readingroom.law.gsu.edu/gsulr/vol22/iss4/2>

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by the Publications at Reading Room. It has been accepted for inclusion in Georgia State University Law Review by an authorized editor of Reading Room. For more information, please contact mbutler@gsu.edu.

FOOTPRINT FOR AN INTERNATIONAL CITY: TRANSPORTATION AND REDEVELOPMENT

Catherine L. Ross and Jessica Harbour*

INTRODUCTION

The international city is a complex phenomenon in a constant state of change. The increasing globalization of the economy forced us to recognize the interdependency of our social and economic networks, in addition to transforming our cities.¹ By one estimate, there are now 300 “city-regions” with populations of 1 million or greater and at least 20 city-regions with populations of 10 million or greater.²

In many ways, the globalization of cities is not new; cities such as New York, Paris, and Cairo have served as entry points for international traffic—both social and economic—for centuries. Advances in technology and logistics, however, mean that cities are now competing against each other in different ways. International trade grew at twice the rate of the world gross domestic product and foreign investment has grown even more quickly.³ Cities are competing for both economic and human capital. Thus, for the international, or “global,” city, it is critical to develop spatial, social, and economic networks because the international city constitutes the densest concentration of activity in the global economy. Many link the transformation of many cities and metropolitan areas into international cities to their economic development or redevelopment. Additionally, the footprint of many of these cities integrates their

* Professor Ross serves as Harry West Professor in the College of Architecture at the Georgia Institute of Technology. Ms. Harbor is a doctoral student in the College of Architecture at the Georgia Institute of Technology.

1. Alan J. Scott, *Global City-Regions and the New World System*, University of California, Santa Cruz, Center for Global, International, and Regional Studies (2006), <http://www2.ucsc.edu/cgirs/publications/cpapers/scott.pdf>.

2. *Id.*

3. *Mega Projects*, FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENT, Feb. 7, 2005, http://www.fdimagazine.com/news/fullstory.php/aid/1110/Mega_projects.html.

continuing transformation with significant investment in transportation infrastructure.

This article examines the phenomenon of the emerging international city by looking at selected examples where cities link transportation with significant redevelopment activities and examining the current and future trends in the redevelopment of the international city. A critical aspect of this examination is an assessment of the sustainability of current and planned transportation, and redevelopment activity under way in international cities. Clearly, this examination must address the reality of our cities, which means viewing two distinct settlement patterns and preferences: one urban and dense, the other suburban and sprawling.

Dozens of cities will strive to become international as their populations grow and demand new services. Others will try to better position themselves in the global market, while some cities will have international status thrust upon them by unpredicted political and economic shifts. The development of the international city is a crucial undertaking affecting the quality of life and livelihoods of hundreds of millions of city residents, persons who depend on the flow of international trade, and those who benefit from the spillover effects of a thriving international commercial and social hub.

I. THE ROLE OF THE CITY

The city represents a social contract with citizens to collectively engage in the success of a geographic region. Further, it configures a spatial territory and serves as a forum for the negotiation of collective action. Cities are clusters of activity affecting the political, social, economic, and spiritual interactions of its citizens and institutions. More importantly, cities have come to represent the driving force in the creation and perpetuation of societal change. The city serves as a beacon for many private firms seeking a central location that offers a diversity of activities and interactions, as well as a concentration of

goods and services. Figure 1 outlines a conceptual model of the role of the city in the global economy.⁴

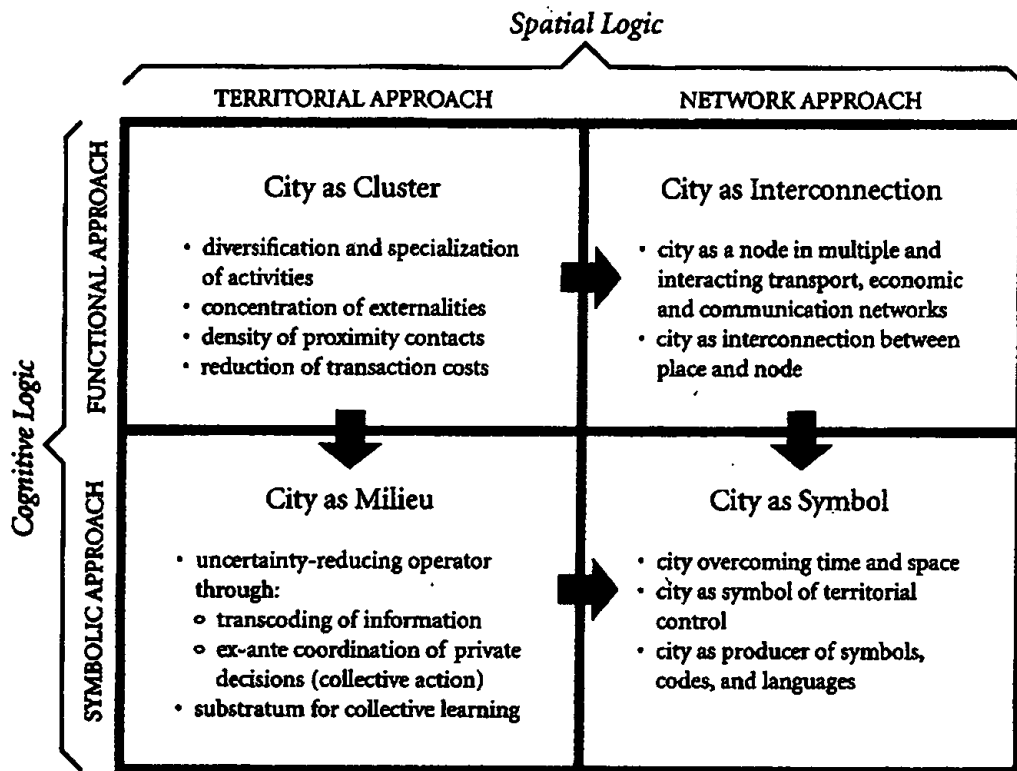


Figure 7.2. The roles of global cities: a theoretical taxonomy

Figure 1. The roles of global cities: a theoretical taxonomy.⁵

Figure 1 represents the functional approach by explaining the city’s clustering of activity, densification, and interaction between transportation, economic activity, and communication.⁶ It also expresses the city as a symbol for collective action and social and cultural identity.⁷ The spatial logic of the international city is best

4. Robert Camagni, *The Economic Role and Spatial Contradictions of Global City City-Regions: The Functional, Cognitive, and Evolutionary Context*, in GLOBAL CITY-REGIONS: TRENDS, THEORY, POLICY 104 (Allen J. Scott ed., Oxford Univ. Press 2001).

5. P.J. Hubbard, *The Politics of Flow: On Birmingham, Globalization and Competitiveness*, 17 SOUNDINGS 167-71 (2001).

6. *Id.*

7. *Id.*

understood if one conceives it in both its functional form and symbolic role.⁸

The city also serves simultaneously as an economic and logistical hub—a symbol of the social contract made with its citizens, a spatial concentration of services and activities, and a symbol of commonalities between its citizens. The international city serves all these purposes, not just for the immediate surrounding population, but for a global audience. People who have never traveled to Paris, London, Tokyo, or Shanghai have specific associations and perceptions for each city. The development of the international city thus has implications far beyond its borders.

Increasing populations, increasing urbanization of Asian countries, pressure to preserve natural resources, and the changing economic order suggest it is very important to leverage investment and infrastructure to support and encourage redevelopment in cities, while also taking advantage of existing infrastructure. Throughout various countries, there is renewed focus and interest in leveraging infrastructure investment and economic development. This renewed focus presents a challenge in identifying the footprint of the international city in regard to linking transportation and redevelopment.

II. WHAT IS AN “INTERNATIONAL CITY”?

An international city is easier to observe than to describe, but there are several characteristics that most international cities share. First, the international city functions as a hub in a global network. One scholar defined the international city as “a strategic hub in the global space economy . . . ‘lubricating’ the hypermobility of people, goods, capital and information.”⁹ To facilitate this mobility, the international city features a variety of modes of transportation, both for internal mobility and access to external locations. It is easy to reach—via air, rail, bus, and car—and easy to move from destination to destination

8. *Id.*

9. Hubbard, *supra* note 6.

within city limits. The international city has an infrastructure in place that can accommodate the demands of a rapidly changing population, whether permanent or temporary.

The reach of the international city heightens the importance of its symbolic infrastructure. In Kevin Lynch's famous formulation, the international city's symbolic infrastructure appears in the mental maps of those who have never even been on the same continent as the city in question.¹⁰ Classic symbolic infrastructure includes Paris's Eiffel Tower, Seattle's Space Needle, Washington D.C.'s White House and Washington Monument, and Moscow's Red Square. More recent additions include: the Petronas Towers in Kuala Lumpur, London's Millennium Eye, and Shanghai's Oriental Pearl Tower. Cultural institutions can also appear on mental maps: from the Louvre in Paris and the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao, Spain, to Atlanta's new Georgia Aquarium, the Tate Modern in London, England, and the Museo de Arte Latinoamericano in Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Investments in symbolic and cultural infrastructure raise issues of equality and equity—issues that the international city must regularly confront. The best-known international cities—New York, London, Berlin, and Shanghai—have long served as destinations for both domestic and foreign migrants hoping to find a better life. These migrants often have relatively low salaries and household income. Many cities, hoping to build and maintain attractive retail districts and cultural facilities, are looking to serve the well-to-do and well-established, referred to as the creative class.¹¹ The established and the growing international city will have to strike a balance between creating an attractive, enticing city and providing for lower-income migrants.

10. Sorin A. Matai, *Mental Maps Making the Invisible Visible*, <http://web.ics.purdue.edu/~smatei/MentalMaps/history.html> (last visited Apr. 16, 2006).

11. RICHARD FLORIDA, *THE RISE OF THE CREATIVE CLASS* 67-69 (2002).

III. TRANSPORTATION AND THE INTERNATIONAL CITY

Transportation infrastructure and supply determine travel and mobility patterns. The development patterns and living preferences have created a situation where the inability to meet travel demand has produced crippling congestion in most international cities. This is true of many cities in the United States, even ones that would not immediately spring to mind as international. There is increasing reliance on land-use planning as a tool to help reduce the demand for travel and congestion.

Unfortunately, the transportation infrastructure of many emerging international cities is unsustainable, especially in regard to environmental resources. First, an overdependence on cars increases particulate matter. Second, roads act as physical barriers between neighborhoods, slowing down social and economic exchanges. Third, a failure to plan for pedestrians, bicyclists, and cars raises safety concerns.

In the United States, the average distance traveled daily has steadily increased. This, in conjunction with the decentralization of employment opportunities and inadequate public-transit facilities, cripples cities. Within this context, international cities must begin to grapple with the question of urban form and a subsequent commitment to transportation investment. Cities in North America are the most effective at implementing sprawling patterns of development, although this phenomenon is beginning to occur in other cities throughout the world.

Sprawl is less of a pressing issue in Europe, where many central cities remain compact and rail still plays a significant role in travel. The European urban reality is quite different from urban areas in the United States, where many American cities grew with the car and the federal highway system. Still, the need for more integrated, farsighted transportation planning is evident worldwide. A 2001 European Union (EU) transit white paper estimates that congestion alone could cost 1% of the EU's gross domestic product in 2010.¹²

12. EUROPEAN COMMISSION, EUROPEAN TRANSPORT POLICY FOR 2010: TIME TO DECIDE 5 (2001).

In Asia, increasing urbanization has changed transportation patterns. China is already the world's third-largest car market (after the United States and Japan) and could become the largest by 2015.¹³ Even now, as Beijing is choking on "a noxious cocktail of exhaust fumes," cities such as Shanghai are banning bicycles, which are seen as a reminder of poverty rather than an environmentally clean and cheap method of transportation.¹⁴

Some cities have already made transportation a part of their redevelopment projects. Tokyo has developed the *Yurikamome*, a high-speed train that runs between the central city and a new waterfront development. Stuttgart, Germany is turning a 19th century train station into a mixed-use development and placing the rail system underground. Completion is expected by 2012, at which point Stuttgart will have 500,000 square meters available for mixed-use development next to 7,000 new homes.¹⁵ Shanghai is steadily developing its transit facilities, having roughly 18,000 buses in operation as of mid-2002.¹⁶

An ambitious and innovative project to note is the redevelopment of the M-30, a major highway that circles Madrid, Spain.¹⁷ The \$3.7 billion project, supported by the EU, will bury portions of the M-30 to create parks and natural walkways, establishing a platform that encourages redevelopment. When completed in May 2007, the M-30 will not only create new parkland, but reduce accidents by 50% and save Madrilenos the equivalent of more than seven hours of driving time each year.¹⁸

13. *Dream Machines*, ECONOMIST, June 2, 2005, at 24-26.

14. John Hilary, *Paradise Lost: The Decline of Bicycle Transportation in Asia*, INTERNATIONAL BICYCLE FUND, <http://www.ibike.org/asiadecline.htm> (last visited Apr. 16, 2006) (lamenting the rise of the car and the subsequent fall of the bicycle in Beijing and other Asian cities).

15. *Stuttgart 21*, HUMANHUB, <http://www.humanhub.nl/Stuttgart21.html> (last visited Apr. 16, 2006).

16. *Shanghai Buses to Equip 'Black Boxes' for Safety Consideration*, CHINA DAILY, Jul. 4, 2002, <http://www.china.org.cn/english/China/36168.htm> (last visited Apr. 16, 2006).

17. Road Traffic Technology, *M30 Madrid Calle 30 Project, Madrid Spain*, http://www.roadtraffic-technology.com/projects/m30_madrid/ (last visited Apr. 16, 2006).

18. Joao Lima, *Madrid Mayor Apologizes for Roadworks, Fails to Pacify Drivers*, Feb. 7, 2006, <http://www.bloomberg.com/apps/news?pid=10000085&sid=a32wYP4Aa.jM&refer=europe>.

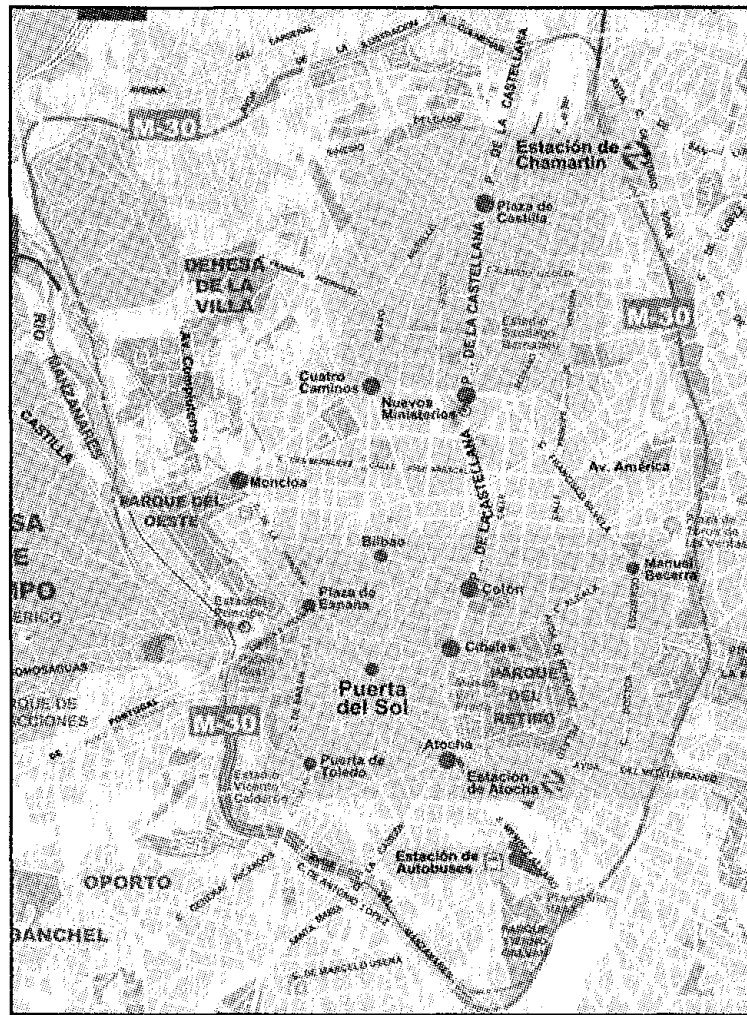


Figure 2. Madrid's M-30¹⁹

The proposed BeltLine, approved by Atlanta's City Council in November 2005, is another example of innovative thinking in transportation infrastructure. Taking advantage of a 22-mile ring of mostly unused railroad tracks around the city, the BeltLine would function as an "emerald necklace" of parks, trails, greenspace, mixed-use development, and public transit through all four quadrants of the city. Projected to be completed in 2031, the BeltLine would add improvements to 700 acres of existing parks, 33 miles of trails, 1,300 acres of green space, and 5,600 housing units for local workers.²⁰ It

19 Road Traffic Technology, *supra* note 17

20 ATLANTA DEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY, ATLANTA BELTLINE REDEVELOPMENT PLAN 1-2 (2005)

could also create up to 30,000 new jobs and access to up to 3,000 acres of under-utilized property.

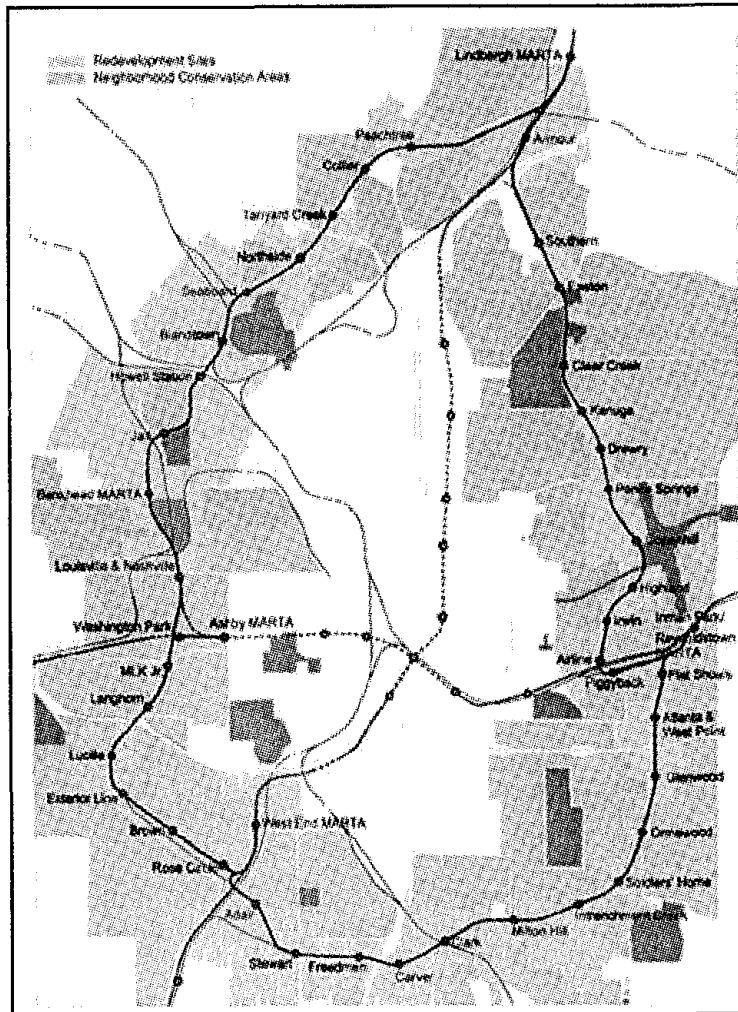


Figure 3. Atlanta's BeltLine²¹

21. *Id* at 33



Figure 6.23 Boulevard Crossing Before.



Figure 6.24 Boulevard Crossing After.

Figure 4. Boulevard BeltLine Crossing, before and after²²

22 *Id* at 55

Table 1 shows the similarities between the BeltLine and the M-30 project, despite the different development history in Atlanta and Madrid.

Table 1: Similarities between the M-30 and BeltLine projects

Atlanta's BeltLine	Madrid's M-30
Inner-ring transit corridor.	Inner-ring road.
Linear park along transit line.	Buries portion of roadway to create green space.
Cost: \$3 billion	Cost: \$3.7 billion.
Length: 22 miles	Length: 23 miles.

It is apparent that redevelopment efforts in some international cities include major investment in infrastructure, even where it already exists. The infill and re-use of urban spaces in cities is embraced with great consideration given to mobility, infrastructure, quality of life and green space.

Transportation redevelopment cannot be confined to the metropolitan area of the international city. The European Commission calls for improvements throughout Europe's rail network, including a trebling of manpower productivity, a 50% reduction in emissions, and an increase in share of passenger traffic (from 6% to 10%) by 2020.²³ Meeting such goals will require

23. EUROPEAN COMMISSION, *supra* note 12, at 27-28.

enormous effort in standardization and coordination over national borders. The chairman of the Société Nationale de Chemin de Fer (SNCF), France's national railway, has joked that "the Charleroi–Paris line needs five driving crew members: three in Belgium and two in France."²⁴ Similarly, a new high-speed train between Lyon, France and Turin (Torino), Italy stops at the French-Italian border because French train drivers are not authorized to drive on the Italian rail network, and vice versa.

The most promising—and challenging—approach to efficient transportation in the international city is to envision the international city as part of a region, with transportation plans formulated at the regional level. This approach is promising because it allows for greater connectivity between geographic regions and more sustainable transportation generally. It is challenging because it requires the city's leaders to think beyond city borders and, in some cases, to share power. The Greater London Authority, for example, plans regionally in terms of the metropolitan area's transportation infrastructure, which includes four airports (Heathrow, Gatwick, Luton, and Stansted), the Channel Tunnel, British Rail, the Underground, and a network of highways.²⁵

24. *Id.* at 28.

25. London Assembly's Planning & Spatial Development Committee, *London in Its Regional Settings*, (2004), http://www.london.gov.uk/assembly/reports/plansd/london_regional_200104.pdf.

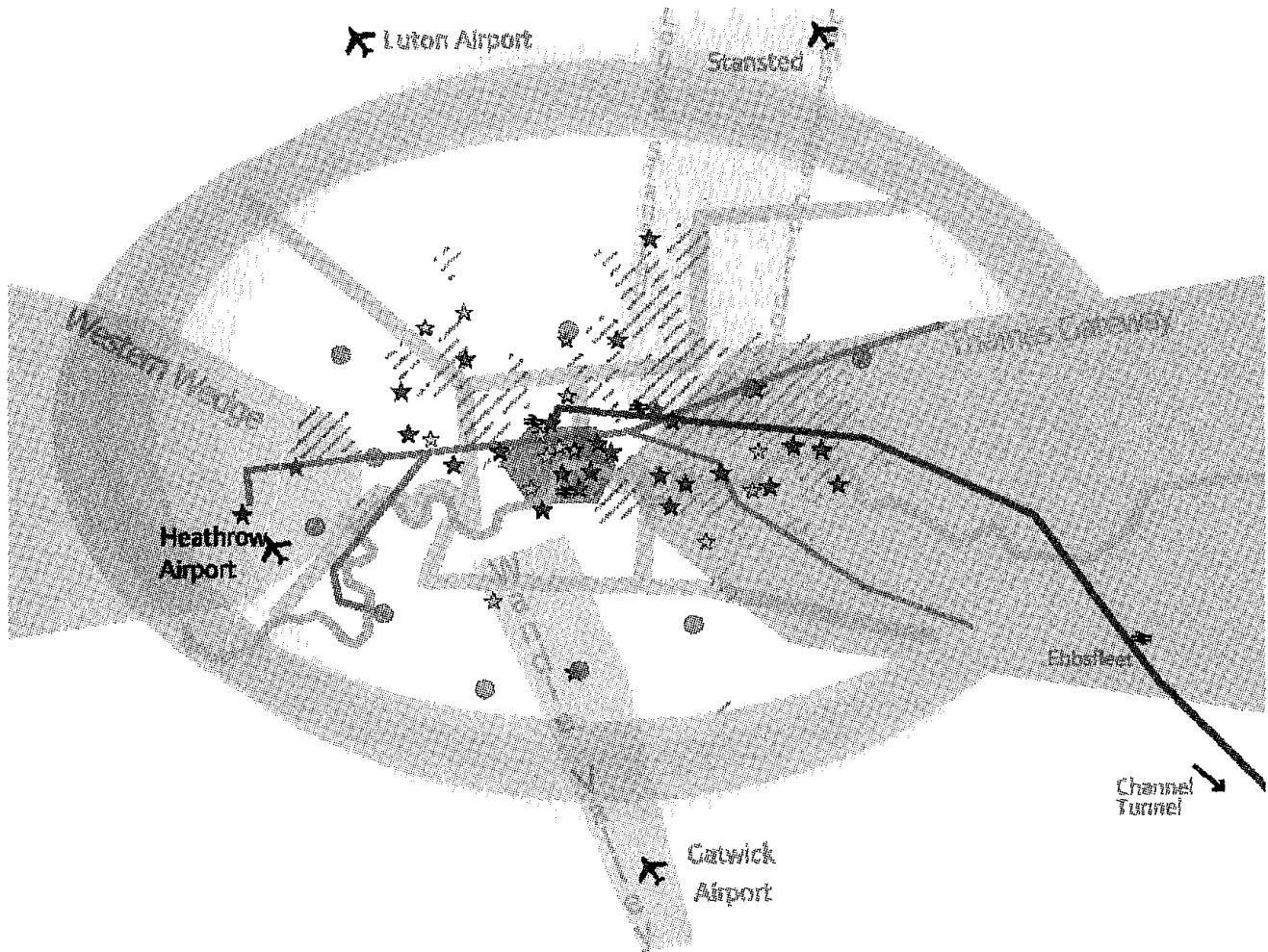


Figure 5. Greater London Transport concept²⁶

26. Robin Thompson, *London Mega City Region* (Mar. 2005) (presentation on file with author)

The Spanish government has allocated 41 billion euros for the construction of new rail infrastructure before 2007 and intends for all provincial cities to be within four hours traveling time from Madrid, and six-and-a-half hours from Barcelona.²⁷ This has led to an ambitious target of 7,200 kilometers (4,500 miles) of high-speed (350 km/hour) railway along five main corridors.²⁸

27. Railway Technology, *Ave Spain High Speed Rail Network*, <http://www.railway-technology.com/projects/Spain> (last visited Apr. 16, 2006).

28. *Id.*

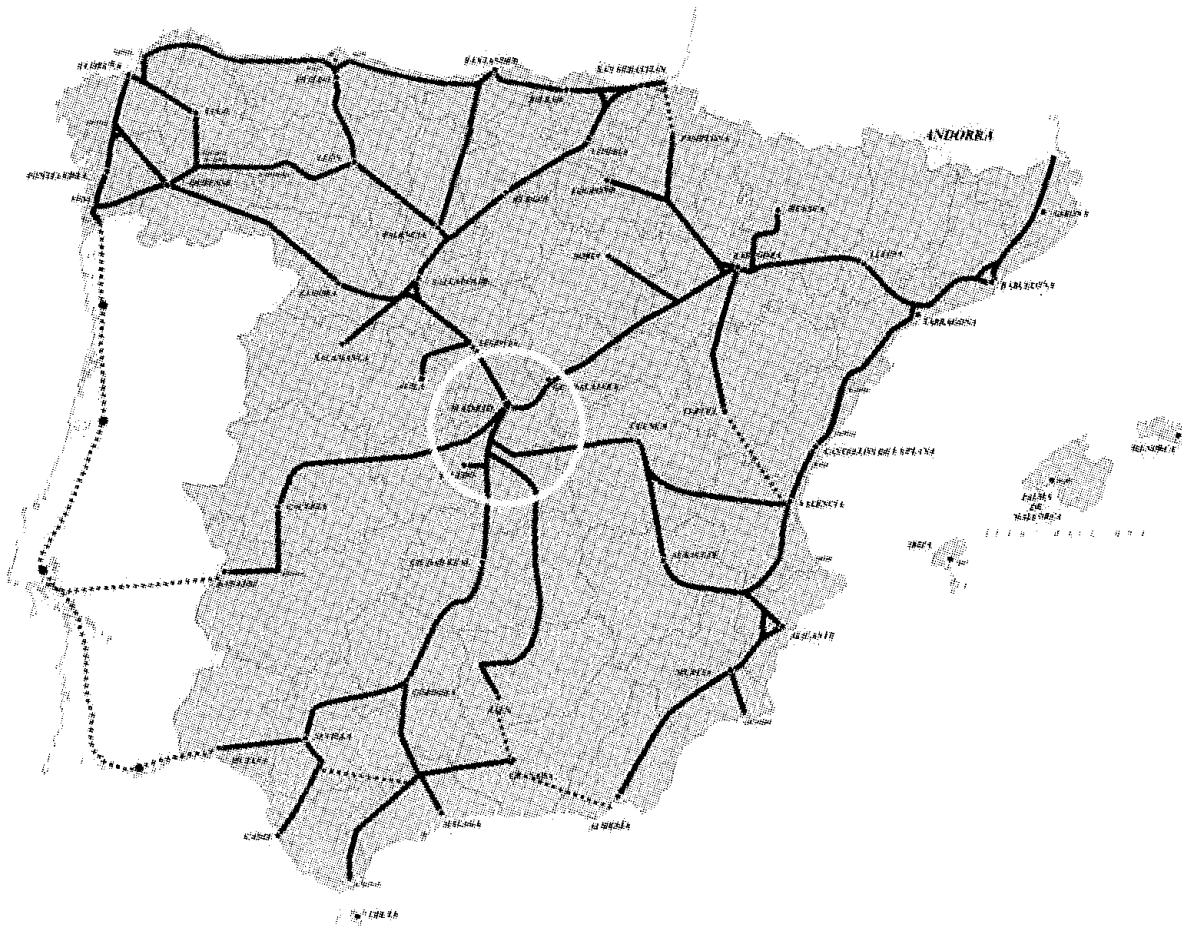


Figure 6. Spain's high-speed rail network²⁹

29 *Id*

Similarly, plans for a high-speed rail system to increase mobility to the southeastern United States will require a greater degree of regional cooperation than currently exists. A high-speed rail system, which could connect Washington, D.C. to Jacksonville, Fl., Savannah, Ga., and Birmingham, Al., was discussed during the Urban Land Institute Mayors' Forum at the first southeastern conference on regional thinking.³⁰ A high-speed rail system could expand transportation options, ease the rate of growth in traffic congestion, improve air quality (or reduce the rate of particulate emissions), and improve transportation efficiency while minimizing impacts. Figure 7 shows the proposed system, which began with links between Washington, D.C. and Charlotte, NC (grey), but expanded to link to other cities in the region (black).

30. Georgia Institute of Technology's Center for Quality Growth and Regional Development hosted this conference in January 2006.

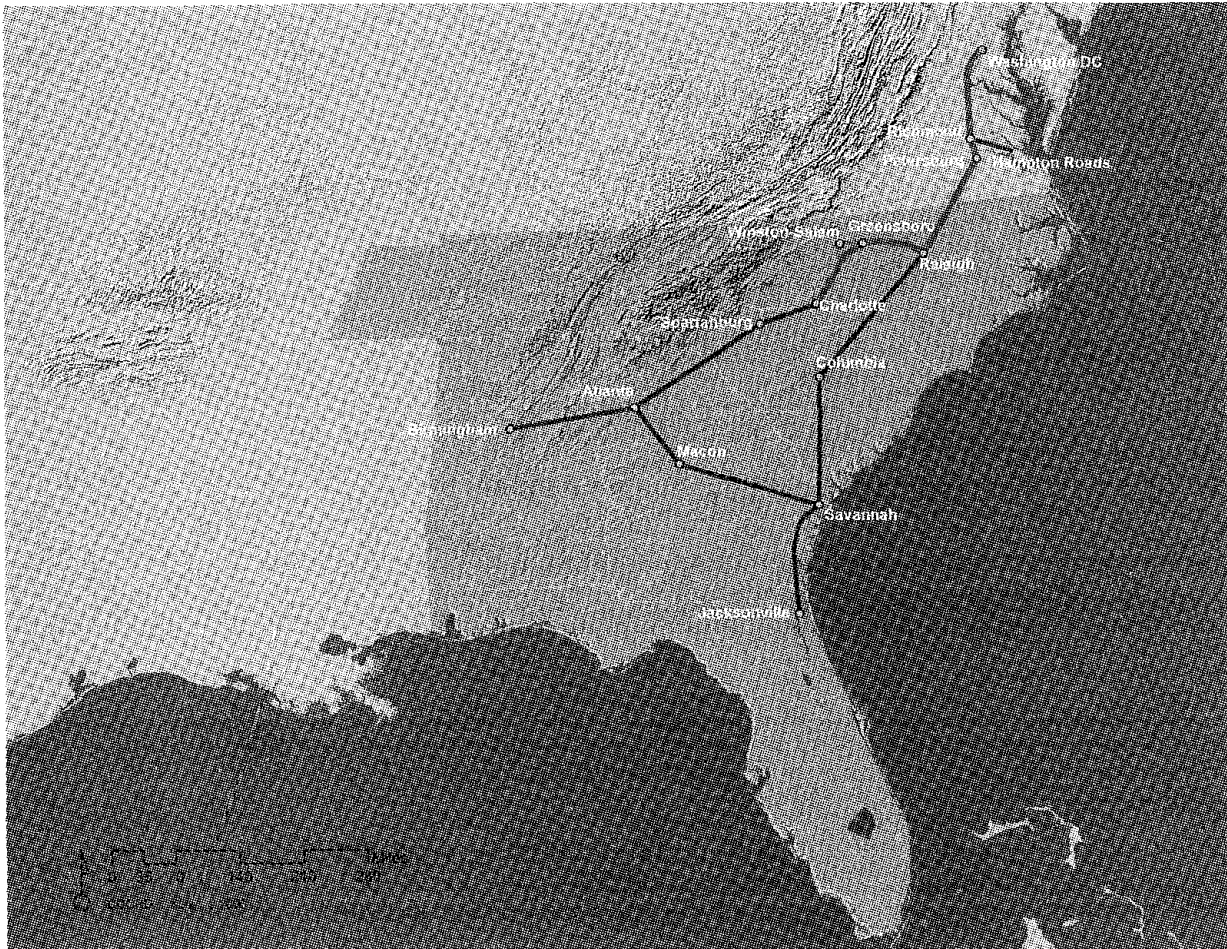


Figure 7. The proposed southeastern high-speed rail.³¹

31 Southeastern High Speed Rail, *Tier 1 Environmental Impact Statement Draft Executive Summary*, (July 10, 2001), <http://www.sehshr.org/reports/DEISes.pdf>

IV. REDEVELOPING THE INTERNATIONAL CITY

The global economy brought attention to the growing interdependency of social and economic networks. It also revolutionized the functionality of cities. Globalization is forcing the reconsideration of investment decisions and strategies regarding the functionality cities. Cities are now in direct competition with each other and are evolving to respond to their functional requirements within the context of the emerging global economy. The functional requirements of cities must now respond to international trading requirements. International trade has grown at twice the pace of the world gross domestic product. Foreign direct investment has grown even faster.³² As a result, the new functionality of cities has embraced far-flung, foreign, and constantly changing spatial networks and configurations. In addition, it is extremely clear that firms and individuals have greater mobility and flexibility in choosing their locations, further complicating our ability to analyze and explain the changing functional context of cities.

Cities are increasingly serious about how to redevelop with an international audience in mind. Steven G. Livingston of East Tennessee State University recently wrote about measuring globalization in a regional economy, applying those measurements to the Nashville metropolitan statistical area.³³ He concluded, "Nashville is more reliant upon the global economy than many of its residents would no doubt think, yet it appears in key areas to be less globally oriented than its economic profile alone would warrant."³⁴

Barcelona is one role model for international cities that has spent the last decade transforming itself into a hub of European social, cultural, and economic networks. Barcelona's latest effort is "Plan 22@," the redevelopment project aimed at transforming Poblenou, a

32. Mega Projects, *supra* note 3.

33. Steven G. Livingston, *Measuring 'Globalization' and International Competitiveness in Regional Economies, with Applications to the Nashville MSA*, in *GLOBALIZATION AND URBANIZATION: OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES* (Galen Spencer Hule ed., 2005).

34. *Id.*

former industrial district, into a center of technological development and innovation. The city hopes to add 100,000 new jobs with this transformation. A recent *European Cities Monitor* study called Barcelona “the best city [in Europe] in terms of quality of life for employees.”³⁵ This reflects a trend of redevelopment throughout the 1990s that made Barcelona one of the most dynamic and attractive cities in Europe. In part, Barcelona’s success comes from good timing: the city used the 1992 Summer Olympics as a springboard for economic development and took advantage of EU funds for redevelopment before the EU directed those funds to new members joining in 2004. Barcelona also won civic trust for its redevelopment projects over time by promoting clear, focused, and achievable redevelopment goals. Each sector targeted for redevelopment and promotion—including tourism, financial services, Catalonia’s seven universities, and even Mediterranean food and design—has its own leadership organization that works closely with the city council and public-private partnerships.³⁶

The destruction of the World Trade Center in 2001 has largely influenced New York’s approach to redevelopment. The emphasis has been on “smart buildings” designed to keep financial-services firms in the greater New York area, if not necessarily in lower Manhattan. These buildings, generously sized with footplates of at least 40,000 square meters, provide redoubled IT infrastructure as well as backup water tanks and emergency generators that can provide up to three days’ worth of fuel. Merrill Lynch has moved to one of these developments in Jersey City, New Jersey; a similar redevelopment is now available in Brooklyn.³⁷

35. Mega Projects; Ajuntament de Barcelona, *22@bcn: Planes y Proyectos*, <http://www.bcn.es/22@bcn/cast/planesyproyectos/plan22@/index.html> (last visited Apr. 16, 2006) (in Spanish).

36. Dick Lilly, *A Competitive Region in a World Economy*, REPORT ON THE GREATER SEATTLE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE AND TRADE DEVELOPMENT ALLIANCE OF GREATER SEATTLE’S NINTH INTERNATIONAL STUDY MISSION (2002), <http://www.ci.seattle.wa.us/tda/missions/barcelona/barcelonareport.htm> (last visited Apr. 16, 2006).

37. STEPHEN GRAHAM & SIMON MARVIN, *SPLINTERING URBANISM* 322 (ROUTLEDGE 2001).

The English city of Birmingham, once predominantly industrial, reshaped its economic profile following a manufacture decline.³⁸ The city of Birmingham and the West Midlands region have put together a regional planning guidance whose goals include promoting sustainable development, diversifying the regional economy, supporting the regeneration of rural areas, and creating a multi-centered regional structure. A regional approach to planning identified three potential high-technology corridors, as well as six “regeneration zones,” which house two-thirds of the region’s long-term unemployed.³⁹

Birmingham’s attention to less economically privileged areas highlights the potential spatial mismatch between the economically well-off and the lower class. As Simon Raiser and Krister Volkmann note, the “informal city” is a byproduct of the rise of service economies in international cities:

The spreading enclaves of the global economy rely on the availability of a large pool of precariously employed workers, who take care of many daily operations: the maintenance of buildings (e.g. cleaning staff, caretakers), the delivery of goods, the operation of lunch places, household assistance, taxi rides, and many other tasks that are necessary to uphold the functioning of the financial and business districts. Since many of the service workers in this poorly-paid and often informal sector lack the money for public transportation, they literally need to live next to the fancy districts . . . One of the most pressing challenges for urban areas is to develop counter-measures against the spread of the informal city. Otherwise the cities risk

38. Alan Murie, et al., *The Birmingham Case*, in METROPOLITAN GOVERNANCE AND SPATIAL PLANNING 57, 69 (William Salet, et al. eds., Spon Press 2003). Because London’s government is relatively fragmented, Birmingham, not London, is the largest municipality in the United Kingdom.

39. *Id.*

further disintegration, with unforeseeable consequences for social cohesion and the security situation.⁴⁰

The international city provides not only for future economic development, but also for the potential economic imbalances that might accompany this development.

V. EMERGING TRENDS: SHAPING THE FUTURE OF THE INTERNATIONAL CITY

It is appropriate to look forward and examine the trends that may further influence the development (or redevelopment) of the international city. We are now embarking on an era where the reach of the international city is truly global. People will not be moving between London and Paris, or even between London and New York, but rather between London, Dubai, Beijing, Mumbai, and Toronto. The rise of Asian international cities could mean unforeseen cultural and social changes, which can significantly implicate emerging trends.

The first trend facing all international cities is the changing nature and location of work. Advents in technology increased the portability of work, and therefore it is no surprise that the number of work trips has declined. Telecommuting, though still a limited phenomenon, affects how employees view work-related trips. Two other factors limiting work-related travel are security, as companies become reluctant to risk their employees on what they see as potentially dangerous travel, and an increasing corporate emphasis on establishing local ties.

Focusing on management, corporations directed more attention to the efficacy of virtual teams and renewed their focus on the behavior of expatriate employees. International cities must promote a live-work-play environment; it is not enough to offer tax breaks and hope

40. Simon Raiser & Krister Vollman, *Introduction: Spatial Changes in Global City Regions*, in *EMERGING PATTERNS OF THE GLOBAL CITY REGION: SPATIAL CHANGES IN JOHANNESBURG, MUMBAI/BOMBAY, SHANGHAI AND SÃO PAULO* 1, 8 (Simon Raiser, et al. eds. 2005).

a corporation will settle down into a pre-arranged available space. The international city must create an environment that appeals to employees and their families alike. This task is more difficult than creating economic incentives, but it should pay off in the form of enthusiastic audiences for clean, attractive, efficient, and safe cities. No matter how many alternatives exist, face-to-face communication and location remain important.

Another trend—the idea of shopping as entertainment—emerges from increased disposable income in developed and developing international cities. Shopping tourism used to apply to trips outside one's home country for the purchasing of otherwise unavailable goods—it now becomes an end in itself. A 1998 paper on the contribution of tourism to Hong Kong's economy found that in 1995, half of tourists' expenditure (which made up 6% of Hong Kong's Gross Domestic Product) was on shopping.⁴¹

In terms of how people shop, the American-style mall is rapidly giving way to mixed-use centers that include not only shops and restaurants, but also movie theaters, museums, parks, art galleries, and cafés. MetroCentre, in Gateshead (near Newcastle-upon-Tyne in Great Britain), bills itself as the largest shopping and leisure centre in Europe. Visitors can read its web page in English, Norwegian, and Dutch. It is not a coincidence that Ryanair, Europe's most prominent low-cost airline, runs flights between Newcastle and Oslo, and at the time of this writing one could book a round-trip flight between the two cities for £7 (about \$10) before taxes. Under such circumstances, it is possible to contemplate Scandinavian tourists coming to northern England for a weekend of relaxation and consumption.

A third trend is the redefinition of personal travel. The days when airline tickets were restricted to an elite few are passed; low-cost airlines opened the possibility of air travel to the masses. This trend is most evident in Europe, where the advent of Ryanair, Easyjet, and dozens of competitors made it easy for Europeans to work in one country, recreate in another, and visit family in a third. The Asian

41. Vincent C. S. Heung & Hailin Qu, *Research Note: Tourism Shopping and Its Contributions to Hong Kong*, 19 TOURISM MANAGEMENT 383-86 (1998).

low-fare market is developing quickly, while low-fare airlines have had less of an impact in Latin America and Africa. It remains to be seen whether the North American air market will transform itself in the wake of recent bankruptcies and security concerns. Nevertheless, as the price of air travel decreases, mobility will become even easier for the residents of international cities. The spread of low-cost air travel could also create new international cities. Carcassonne, France estimated that its economy received an extra \$360 million from Ryanair's delivering low-cost passengers to the city's airport.⁴²

The footprint of the international city includes the linking of transportation and redevelopment in a way that focuses on enhancing its strategic and competitive advantages. Importantly, this pairing has tremendous influence on the character of a city's redevelopment and its ultimate attractiveness, thereby structuring its competitive advantage.

42. *Low-Cost Founding Fathers; Charlemagne*, *ECONOMIST*, Jan. 29, 2005, at 53.