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Measuring Sprawl

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Abstract

Suburban sprawl is one of the most avidly followed urban issues in the United States today. However, despite the level of attention that is afforded sprawl, there remains relatively little understanding of its determinants and its constitution. Previous attempts to measure sprawl have focused largely on costing out its impacts rather than quantifying its characteristics. Also, the characterization of sprawl is often confused with general suburbanization and remains, in many cases, without clear empirical foundation. This paucity of understanding casts doubts about the effectiveness of growth management and smart growth policies and inhibits the ability of planners to inform public policy in a reasoned way. This paper contributes to the debate about sprawl by offering a toolkit for characterizing its attributes in a quantifiable manner.

1. Introduction

Suburban sprawl has several characteristics that make it, arguably, one of the most pressing concerns facing American cities (see Peiser 1989; Ewing 1994, 1997; Gordon and Richardson 1997a, b for a balanced debate about the various issues of contention surrounding the sprawl problem). Sprawl is a relatively wasteful method of urbanization, characterized by uniform low densities. It is often uncoordinated and extends along the fringes of metropolitan areas with incredible speed. Commonly, sprawl invades upon prime agricultural and resource land in the process. Land is often developed in a fragmented and piecemeal fashion, with much of the intervening space left vacant or in uses with little functionality (Ewing 1997). Sprawled areas of the city are generally over-reliant on the automobile for access to resources and community facilities. Aesthetically, these areas are often regarded as displeasing, commonly applied to urban landscapes with a blandness of design that robs vast swathes of the city of their appeal. While the character of sprawl varies across the United States, much of these characteristics (and their associated problems) share common traits.

It could be argued that sprawl violates just about every premise of sustainability that a city could be judged by. Disputably, sprawl has several negative impacts on urban travel patterns. Urban sprawl also places unnecessary strains on urban service and infrastructure provision. Sprawl has been accused of encroaching on environmentally sensitive areas and is blamed for consuming resource lands and farmland. Suburban sprawl has also been attributed responsibility for pollution and ecological disturbance. Because sprawl occurs on the urban fringe and is piecemeal in its development, sites within sprawling areas tend to be located at distances from the urban core and also from each other; consequently, journeys for residents of these areas become unnecessarily long and there may be associated social and environmental consequences. In addition, it may have negative influences on urban energy efficiency, psychological and social costs to residential populations, and contribute to central city decline (see Ewing 1994, 1997).

Concerns about unchecked suburbanization have always featured prominently, but are increasingly growing as the sustainability of America's urban future—and the future of urbanized areas in other nations—increasingly comes under question. In the United States, the threat of sprawl has prompted cities and states to introduce growth management legislation in an effort to curb the rapid expansion of sprawl on the

fringes of their metropolitan expanses. Equally indicative of the magnitude of concern surrounding sprawl is the increasing attention to “Smart Growth.” In a series of initiatives, the national and local governments have begun to lay the foundation for a broad policy designed to transform the morphology of urban growth.

In academic terms sprawl is a highly contentious issue—neither its determinants nor its characteristics are fully understood. In recent years researchers have traded conceptual explorations of the sprawl phenomenon: its causes, characteristics, costs, and potential controls. Without robust empirical metrics to inform the debate, however, much of this argument remains conceptual, even speculative. The lack of understanding and consensus does little to contribute to practical, real world problem solving. On the contrary, it casts doubts upon the appropriateness and potential effectiveness of proposed policy mechanisms that are designed to counter sprawl, such as smart growth and growth management. We need robust tools that can inform the sprawl debate in a reasonable manner and serve as a foundation of consensus around which we can begin a discussion of the issues.

This paper seeks to contribute to a deeper understanding of sprawling urban growth by exploring a range of techniques—a toolkit—that might be used to quantify sprawl. The paper is organized in four sections. The next section explores several approaches to measuring sprawl in an empirical manner using surfaces, gradients, fractal measurements, architectural primitives, image processing, geometric measurements, ecological approaches, and accessibility calculations. In the third section, some important considerations regarding the operationalization of the proposed tools are discussed and imposing barriers are explored. The fourth section draws the paper to a close with some conclusions and suggestions for further work.

2. Measuring sprawl

Theoretical debates about sprawl have generated a wealth of discussion around the issue. Recalling Ewing's (1997) comments, however, we still lack a *working* definition. Sprawl is a practical, real world concern. Arguably, there is a sense of urgency attached to the sprawl problem and in many ways it is time for the theoretical debate to inform practice in more useful ways; after all, growth management legislation is sweeping through the country at paces not unlike those at which sprawl is brushing the landscape. Without a solid empirical basis for assessing the potential outcomes of what are, in many cases, quite radical legislative measures, cities are in danger of failing in their bid to control sprawl, as well as running the risk of prompting knock-on effects with unforeseen consequences. With these considerations in mind, we explore a set of methodologies that offer promise in helping us to measure sprawl. Then we consider some of the issues that must be addressed if these measures are to be put to use in practical contexts.

2.1. Measuring density

While density is almost universally regarded as one of the essential components of sprawl, the semantics of the term is hotly debated (Peiser 1989; Gordon and Richardson 1997a, b). Before we can evaluate potential techniques for quantifying sprawl densities, there are a number of important considerations in determining how the relationship between density and sprawl should be evaluated. These include the best variable to use in representing density, the density level at which a city might be regarded as sprawling, the scale at which density should be measured, and the extent of space over which density should be characterized.

We know that sprawl occupies lower-than-average densities of urbanization, but many are uncertain as to what activity that density should be attributed (Peiser 1989; Gordon and Richardson 1997a). A number of variables have been used to represent density, most commonly density of housing units, population, and/or employment. While each of these variables has the capacity to capture the density characteristics of sprawl in a given city, it is unclear as to which variables work best. The Lower Mainland Regional Planning Board of British Columbia characterized low-density

sprawl as areas of the city with *population densities* of 0.3 to 0.5 people per acre. At these densities, they argued, parts of the city are less than adequate for efficient service provision and too high for true agricultural development (Ledermann 1967). In their work, *The Costs of Sprawl* (1974), the Real Estate Research Corporation (RERC) referred to low-density sprawl as a *housing density* of 1,360 units per square mile (quoted in Gordon & Richardson, 1997, p.99).

The scale at which density is studied is also an important consideration. Depending on the scale of observation—the metropolitan area, a district within a city, a neighborhood—measurements of urban density will look quite different. The geography over which densities should be measured is also contentious. Should an analyst use the total area of a city in her density calculation (gross density), or should she omit areas upon which people would not normally reside such as water, deserts, parks, wetlands, cemeteries, industrialized areas, disposal sites, etc. (net density) (Gordon and Richardson 1997a)? Excluded areas can, in aggregate, amount to a sizeable share of the metropolitan area. The issue becomes further complicated when we consider that the exclusion of areas such as open water and industrial areas—because of their role in influencing housing costs—might bias measurements of density (Gordon and Richardson 1997a). On the other hand, such bias is probably unavoidable and the negative and positive effects of omitted land uses may balance on the whole anyway (Zielinski 1979). In summary, we know that density is essential to sprawl, but there is little agreement about the appropriate specification of its measurement.

One of the most common approaches to quantifying density is using a density gradient. The idea of measuring how the density of urban activity declines along a gradient with growing distance from a designated center has been around for some time. These gradients are often fitted with parameters that assume activity density at any distance from a center to be a function of central densities and some rate of density attenuation with distance from that core. The rate of attenuation is parameterized differently depending on the specification of the function. Essentially, this allows us to tailor a density calculation to different city ‘shapes’ (Figure 1). Density gradients are potentially useful indices of sprawl for several reasons: they permit comparisons over time and between cities, they incorporate crucial elements of urban land use, and they overcome some traditional constraints in the measurement of

urban densities. If a population density gradient falls over a specified period, for example, we may say that the urban area has sprawled—in relative terms—over that time. Likewise, the gradient measure allows us to make comparisons between cities and to gauge the relative degree of sprawl between them. A city with a small population (or perhaps employment or household) density gradient can be said to be more sprawling in its relative density than a city with a comparatively larger gradient. Density gradients are not immune to the issues of specification that we have discussed, but they do have some advantageous properties that make them potentially useful for measuring sprawl.

Density gradients have the convenient property of encapsulating some key ideas in urban economics, notably input substitutions in housing (factor substitutions) and match well with theoretical ideas about the trade-off between consumer preferences regarding housing prices and costs of commuting to centers of activity (Mills and Tan 1980). Arguably, factor substitutions are influential in driving sprawl: they influence the likelihood of households to locate on the urban fringe. As we will discuss later, sprawl is a dynamic phenomenon. Because density gradients use distance from an activity center in their calculation, their evaluation is generally independent of dynamics in the structure of cities, such as shifts in the location of the urban periphery and changes in its boundary over time.

A variety of models have been developed in recent years to characterize urban densities. The main techniques for measuring density are the equilibrium function, the inverse power function, and the negative exponential function. Innovation in this area usually focuses on the parameters fitted to the distance decay component of the calculation. Equilibrium functions (Amson 1972, 1973) have been formalized in a theoretical setting, but have yet to be proven in a practical manner. Quadratic gamma functions (a classification to which the negative exponential and inverse power functions belong) have a better track record.

The mathematical structure of the inverse power function, popularized by Smeed (1963), most commonly takes on the form:

$$D(x) = D_0 x^{-\alpha} \tag{i}$$

If we are to apply this formula to the measurement of sprawl, the key components here are D (the activity variable, e.g., population, households, or employment; this is expressed for a given location x , with a city center denoted as D_0) and α , the distance decay parameter. The value of $-\alpha$ is best interpreted by analyzing the first derivative of the above function. We can interpret $-\alpha$ as an elasticity: the ratio of the percentage change in density $\left[\frac{dD(x)}{D(x)} \right]$ to the percentage change in distance from an urban center $\left(\frac{dx}{x} \right)$. As you move from a city center to a periphery, density decays at a rate of $-\alpha$. In our case this represents the attenuation of density across space and allows us to compare gradients between time points, and this could offer an indication of the relative degree of sprawl in a city or between cities. The first derivative of $D(x)$ can be found by:

$$\frac{dD(x)}{dx} = -\frac{\alpha}{x} D(x) = -\alpha D_0^{-\alpha-1} \quad (\text{ii}),$$

$$\text{yielding: } \frac{\frac{dD(x)}{D(x)}}{\frac{dx}{x}} = -\alpha \quad (\text{iii})$$

In analysis, the density gradient parameter of the above functions is usually obtained by fitting the logarithmic form of the equations to direct observations of surface densities in thin concentric rings around a CBD (Zielinski 1979). However, this method has been shown to be highly sensitive to the arbitrary choice of ring thickness (Bussière 1968; Muth 1969) and the location of the city center. Another way to fit data to a population density function is to select a random sample of zonal population from the city, usually by census tract. However, Alperovich and Deutsch (1992) have argued that the way in which census tracts are bounded, with ease of data collection by census staff as a primary concern, may introduce a level of bias and that taints their ability to serve as robust population sampling areas.

The negative exponential function was first introduced by Bleicher (1892), but was popularized in a contemporary sense by Clark (1951). In its most general form, the function is based on the premise that population density declines *monotonically* (change is the same in all directions) with distance from a city center (Batty and Kwang 1992)—and this is also the case with the inverse power function—according to the equation:

$$D(x) = D_0 \exp(-\lambda x) \quad (\text{iv})$$

In the negative exponential model, $-\lambda$ replaces $-\alpha$; in the last example, distance decay was formulated as an inverse power, but here it appears as a negative exponential. While essentially performing the same role, these formulations yield radically different ‘fits’ of density attenuation. Again, the value of $-\lambda$ can be calculated by taking the first derivative of the above function such that:

$$\frac{dD(x)}{dx} = -\lambda D_0 \exp(-\lambda x) = -\lambda D_0(x) \quad (\text{v}),$$

$$\text{and thus: } \frac{dD(x)}{D(x)} = -\lambda dx \quad (\text{vi})$$

That is, $-\lambda$, is the percentage change in density for a small change in distance from an urban center; this could be interpreted as the density gradient of sprawl.

Recent trends appear to reinforce—or at least infer—the applicability of the gradient approach to the relative quantification of urban activity, and suggest that the measurement could serve as an indicator of sprawl. The majority of urbanized areas in comparatively well-developed countries have exhibited a steady and continuous flattening of their density gradients with time since the nineteenth century. For example, London’s population density gradient in 1801 was 0.78, but by 1961 that gradient had leveled out to 0.09 (Mills and Tan 1980). In the United States, density gradients dropped by an average of 0.012 points per year from 1920 to 1963 (Mills

1972)—a period in which many American cities began to suburbanize and ultimately sprawled.

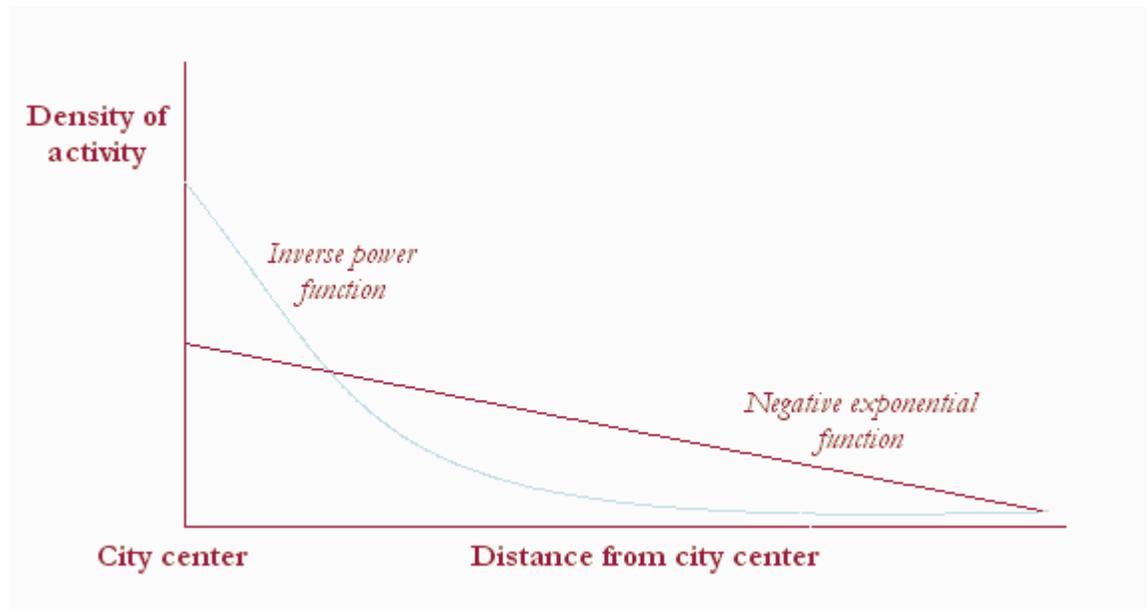


Figure 1. The shape of density gradient functions (after Batty and Kwang 1992).

There is real no answer to the question of which function is more appropriate to the measurement of sprawl. Both functions do a poor job of estimating central densities. The inverse power function has a tendency to over-predict in areas close to the CBD, while the negative exponential function generally does a poor job of predicting central densities (Batty and Kwang 1992). Taking these considerations into account, it would seem that the inverse power function could best be used to model peripheral urban densities, while the negative exponential function is perhaps best employed in estimating intra-urban densities. This would seem to favor the inverse power function for measuring sprawl. However, the negative exponential function has the advantage of capturing properties of self-similarity (Batty and Kwang 1992), which, as we will see later, also has desirable functionality for measuring suburban sprawl. Nevertheless, regardless of how the gradient function is ‘fitted’, variable choice, scale, and geography remain are still important considerations that must be borne in mind.

2.2. Surfaces of sprawl

The density gradient approach to measuring sprawl has several important advantages, as we have already seen. Nevertheless, gradients remain a linear solution to what is a two- and often three-dimensional problem. Sprawl does not occur in cross-sections and unless density gradients are calculated for many cross sections of a city, the *spatial* configuration of sprawl is essentially neglected. Perhaps a better course is to approach the problem from a two-dimensional standpoint, looking at how urban activity and the patterns of sprawl vary *continuously* over the entire spatial range of the city. Densities of urban attributes that are important to the sprawl problem; such as households, population, and employment; can be collected on a zonal basis (and zonal values can be assigned to a centroid point) and then converted into ‘surfaces’ of a quasi-continuous nature. There are some well-developed techniques in image processing and spatial analysis that enable these sorts of analyses to be performed. One such approach makes use of kernel density estimators.

A kernel density estimator (KDE) interpolates, or estimates, a quasi-continuous surface (because of the constraints of geographic information systems, these surfaces are really grids, although of a very fine resolution) from a set of sample data points. The KDE is a form of moving window, or filter, that smoothes point data values and ‘smears’ them across a space. In essence, the KDE operates much like the neighborhood of a cellular automaton or a finite state machine (Sipper 1997). The kernel moves sequentially around a representation of a city landscape (a data layer in a geographic information system, for example). The kernel acts as a tile overlaid on several grid squares that fall within its bounds. Within the tile, the kernel looks to a specified neighborhood of cells and takes stock of all of the values of cells that fall within that window. The values are then summed and averaged, before being assigned as a mean value to the central cell of the tile. In this sense, as the kernel moves iteratively across the data layer, values are smoothed and smeared, to create an artificial ‘surface’, interpolated from data points. As with the density gradient, there are a number of functions that can be fitted to the KDE, for example, the inverse distance weight, spline, kriging, and trend. The details of these functions are not of immediate relevance to this paper, however. Also, the size of the kernel may be varied. Importantly, the greater the size of the kernel, the more action-at-a-distance is represented.

There are a few reasons why surface smoothing may, in some cases, be desirable for the measurement of sprawl. First, spatial data for sprawl will most likely be collected in a zonal format. These data tell us that a certain level of activity has been recorded for a zone, but they tell us little about the subzonal distribution of that activity. We can infer information about individuals and single land parcels from aggregated data, but to do so runs risks of ecological fallacy. Kernel approaches allow us to make a reasoned guess at the subzonal geography of activity, based on observed activity in neighboring zones. The kernel approach also allows us to circumnavigate (or maybe ‘dodge’ is a more appropriate term) potential modifiable areal unit problems that we may encounter in measuring sprawl (see Openshaw 1983). In terms of sprawl, we may well have to work with data that aggregate entity-level activity to broad geographic zones, particularly if those data come from government sources such as the Census, or if they carry data confidentiality provisos. Also, because we are attempting to explore a multifaceted problem, we will frequently encounter data across varying scales. The surface approach can help to alleviate some of those concerns by artificially transforming data into a workable format, ‘filling-in’ the blanks that zonal geography has left, and placing data for differing zonal geographies on an even footing.

2.3. The geometry of scatter

The scattered characteristics of sprawl manifest themselves in a variety of guises: fragmentation, leapfrogging, discontinuous development, dispersal, and piecemeal development. Essentially, these amount to the same thing—tracts of developed land that sit in isolation from other undeveloped tracts (Lessinger 1962). The scattered nature of sprawl can be both costly and unsustainable. Because scatter isolates residences and opportunities, travel times in sprawled areas grow, as do associated environmental damage and energy consumption. Also, the cost of providing essential urban services and infrastructure—wastewater facilities, water pipes, telecommunications networks, garbage collection, emergency services, roads, schools, etc.—in scattered areas is much greater than would be the case in more compact neighborhoods (Ewing 1994). Harvey and Clark (1965) assert that great capital expenditures must be pumped into the provision of urban services in sprawled areas

even at the initial time of development, even when much of the land may be left vacant.

Differentiating scatter from economically efficient “discontinuous development” (Ewing 1994) can be difficult, however. The distinction involves weighing up several components of scatter: the quantity of land bypassed in the initial development wave, the length of time that land is actually withheld from development, and the ultimate use of the land (Ewing 1997). The temporal components of scatter should also be considered, as sprawl is a dynamic phenomenon—what looks like sprawling suburb today could well evolve into compact and sustainable development in later years as the pace of urban extension drives developers to fill-in previously undeveloped sites (Peiser 1989).

An examination of the geometry of scatter might be a first pass at actually measuring these characteristics so that a judgement on the presence of sprawl in a given area might be empirically based. One approach would be to use weighted centroids (Suen 1998). If the centroid of a geographic zone is the middle point of that area, then the weighted centroid is a variation that displaces the center point in the direction of concentrations of activity. We could parameterize this to reflect activities that are important to sprawl. A weighted value could be derived such that the absolute center of a zone relocates to a point where the density of a given activity is greatest. You can think of this as a ‘pulling’ of the center towards the site of greatest activity—the center point for a given area is pulled along the activity gradient in the direction of a concentration of activity. This geometric measurement may be formulated for an area of study using the following equation (Suen 1998):

$$S = \sum_{i=1}^n \frac{(H_i E_i)}{H} \quad (\text{vii})$$

where: S is the level of scatter and H_i is the number of housing units in a residential parcel i . E_i is the Euclidean distance between the center of residential parcel i and the weighted center of residential development in a larger grid cell, such that:

$$\bar{x} = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^n (w_i x_i)}{\sum_{i=1}^n w_i}, \text{ and } \bar{y} = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^n (w_i y_i)}{\sum_{i=1}^n w_i} \quad (\text{viii}),$$

where: \bar{x} is the x-coordinate of the weighted areal mean of a larger grid cell; \bar{y} is the y-coordinate equivalent; w_i is the weight assigned to a parcel center-point i , based on the quantity of development in that parcel; x_i is the x-coordinate of a parcel center-point i ; and y_i is the y-coordinate equivalent for a parcel center-point i .

The calculation of a weighted mean starts with parcels of development occupying a larger grid tile. Once the absolute center-points of the tile have been identified, the *weighted* center of the tile cell is calculated. The tile's center is shifted according to the level of activity present in the individual parcels that occupy it. The weighted center is 'pulled' away from the unweighted center in the direction of activity (Figure 2). In this sense, the weighted center represents a skewed balance point of activity in a tile. Once the weighted center of a tile is identified, the Euclidean distance between the center of a given parcel within the tile and the weighted center of development of the larger tile can be determined (Figure 3). Using those values, an 'index of scatter' can then be calculated for the tile. High index values correspond to greater scattering of development within tiles. The index could, in principal, be calculated for any given land use (e.g., employment, retailing, residential). Also we can sum values of scatter across tiles to arrive at a composite measure of scatteration for whole areas of the city. This could also be converted into a surface of scatter, for comparison with other information layers.

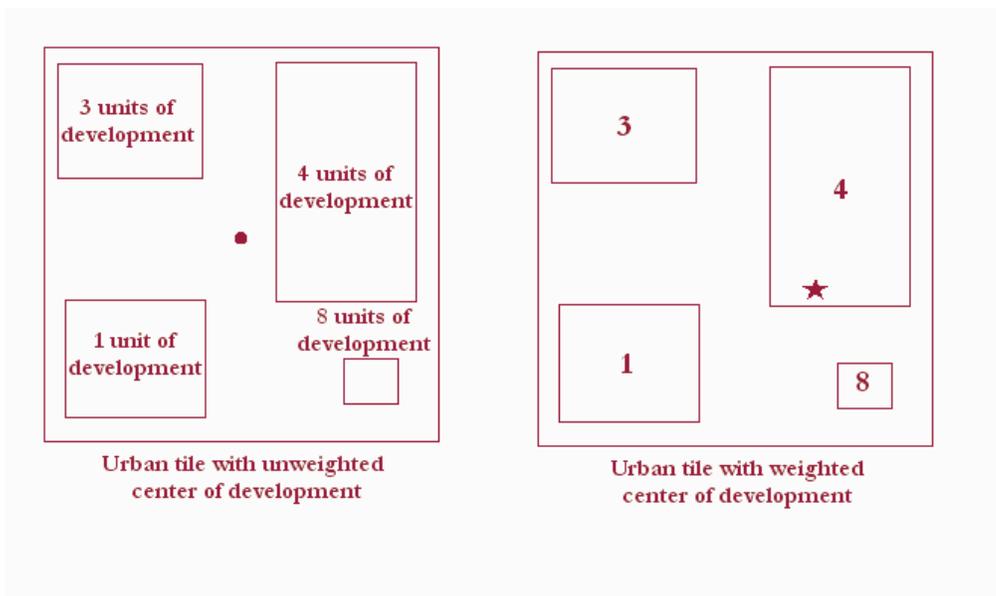


Figure 2. Diagram illustrating the relative positioning of parcel center-points, the weighting of parcels by units of development, unweighted tile centers, and weighted tile centers for a hypothetical area of study (adapted from Suen 1998).

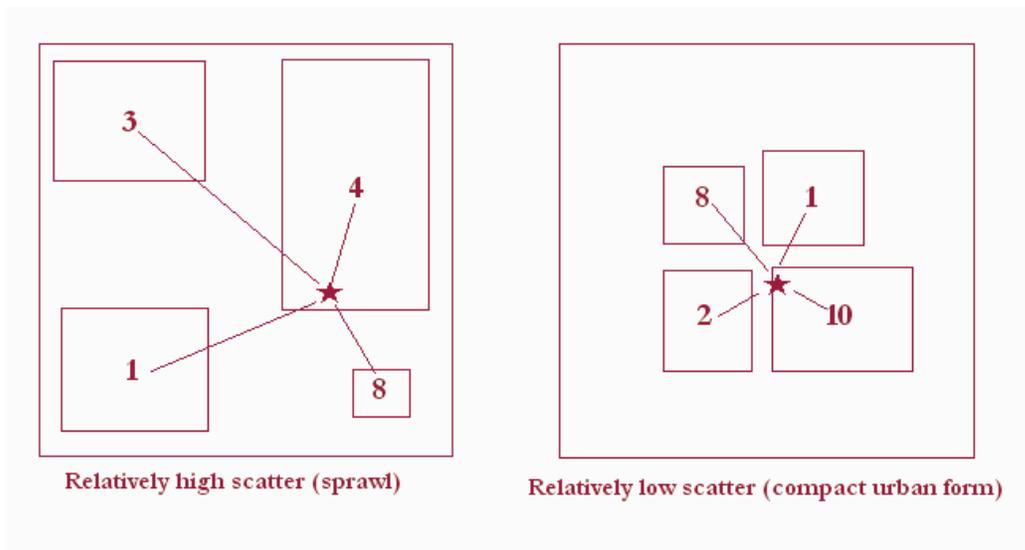


Figure 3. Diagram illustrating two cases of scatteration (adapted from Suen 1998).

2.4. Fractal dimensions of sprawl

Batty and Kwang's comments about self-similarity, in relation to density gradients, suggest another line of exploration in our search for measurements of sprawl: fractals. The fractional or fractal dimension of a city provides a measure of the extent to which a city fills its two-dimensional area (fractal measurements have several other properties

that are useful for describing cities, see Batty and Longley (1994)). If we consider the traditional integer dimensions of an urban area, we might imagine a city with a dimension of zero (a city existing on a point). A city with a dimension of one (a city existing as a line) might correspond to something like Soria Y Mata's 'La Ciudad Lineal' or Frank Lloyd Wright's 'Mile-High Skyscraper City'. A city with a dimension of two (one that fully occupies a two-dimensional plane) might also be conceived of, such as Wright's 'Broadacre City'. Indeed, we might imagine a city that fully occupies three dimensions, such as Dantzig and Saaty's 'Compact City' (Batty and Longley 1997). While the existence of one-, two-, and three-dimensional cities might easily be conceptualized in a theoretical context, in a practical setting such forms are unlikely to exist; cities are not that orderly! Most cities do not occupy a single or multiple-dimensions fully; their dimensionality does not fit neatly into whole number classifications. On the contrary, cities are more 'fuzzy'; their dimensions usually form real numbers, occupying fractions of a dimension.

Fractals hold much promise as an indicator of the level of scattering in urban development and thus as a measure of sprawl-like leapfrogging. Sprawl is about space *filling* (or at least an inefficiency or an unsustainability in space filling). Fractals offer ways in which we can measure the extent to which phenomena such as sprawl manifest themselves at levels *between* dimensions. Sprawl lies somewhere between well-developed compact built environments and the countryside, which for the most part lacks any urban development *per se* (Figure 4). Also, like fractals, sprawl is self-similar in its spatial pattern (Figure 5). Scatter is evident at an urban scale, intra-urban scale, and also at the neighborhood level. Fractals are a powerful tool for capturing those properties. In its most general form, a fractal dimension may be calculated as:

$$F = \frac{2 \ln l_{ij}}{\ln a_{ij}} \quad (\text{ix}),$$

where: F is the fractal dimension of the space under examination (usually ranging in value between 1 and 2), l is the perimeter of the space being studied at a particular length scale, and a is the two-dimensional area of the space under investigation. The

closer the value of the fractal dimension approximates two, the more compact—perhaps even sustainable—the development contained within the space may be considered. As the fractal dimension nears one, development becomes less compact and may be understood to be scattered and sprawl-like. Also, we can associate certain morphologies of development, such as sprawl, with specific signatures; these signatures can be calculated as fractals. For example, Mesev, Longley, Batty et al. (1995) have calculated signatures for density using fractal-based power functions.

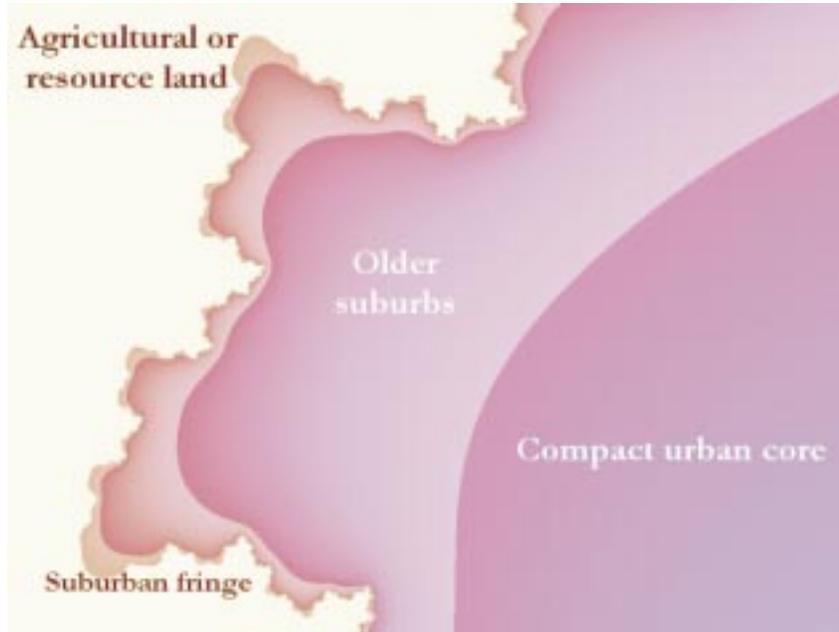


Figure 4. A fractal from the Mandelbrot Set, illustrating how fringe urbanization might be conceptualized in a fractal manner (source: author).

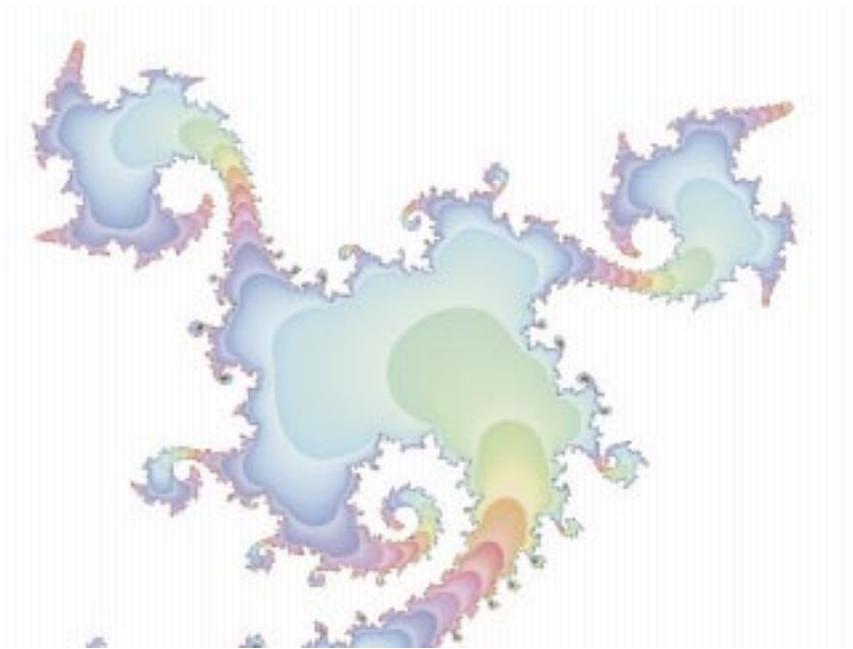


Figure 5. A fractal from the Mandelbrot Set, demonstrating self-similarity (source: author).

2.5. Measuring the built environment of sprawl

The aesthetic characteristics of sprawl—images that it conjures in the mind’s eye—are one of the less tangible qualities of the phenomenon, yet they are also amongst its key components. Sprawl is as much an aesthetic architectural and design-based problem as it is an issue of urban structure. Urban sprawl is widely regarded as a lazy and undisciplined expression of urbanization (Gordon and Richardson 1997a), almost universally met with criticism and distaste: “Urban sprawl, roller-painted across the countryside is often without form, grace, or a sense of community. Planning philosophies aimed to strike down this amorphous creature should only gladden our hearts” (Lessinger 1962, p.159). The aesthetic qualities of sprawl certainly provoke a level of eloquence in commentary, but the subjective nature of aesthetic sensitivities leave us with little room for quantification.

One of the often-vocalized criticisms of sprawl, apart from a widespread dislike of low density and scatter, is “ribbon sprawl,” generic fast-food-lined alleys of car parks and neon signs that burn phosphorously, long into the night. The phenomena of ribbon sprawl, or “retailscape” (Gordon and Richardson 1997a) is closely related to

scatter, although it is radial rather than planar in form. Ribbon sprawl generally manifests itself as strips of commercial development (normally retail outlets and related premises) that flank the sides of highways and main thoroughfares. Exit-parasitic retail development is an associated component: the clustering of retail establishments (hotels, gas stations, fast food restaurants, etc.) close to highway exit ramps (see Torrens 1998). Ribbon sprawl is composed of segments of developed land that are compact in themselves but which extend axially and leave the intervening space undeveloped (Harvey and Clark 1965). This creates walls of commercial development (often buffered by large ‘seas’ of car parking) that restrict access to much of the space around them.

Because the aesthetic concerns about sprawl are almost all design-based, we need to examine the built environment of sprawl to measure its aesthetic qualities. Ideally, to do this we would (and probably should) interview a representative sample of residents and generalize our findings on aesthetics to the urban population as a whole. However, such surveys would undoubtedly be both costly and time consuming. Alternatively, we could follow in the tradition of automated analyses of built environments (Ward, Phinn and Murray 2000 is one such recent work) and devise an automated approach to measuring aesthetics. The idea here would be to derive a “mathematical characterisation of urban patterns” (Webster 1995). There are two main routes that can be taken. Both rely on digital imagery of urban environments, usually aerial photographs or scenes captured from remote sensing platforms. *Architectural* techniques relate images to known primitives—or marker points—for the built environment. *Photogrammetric* techniques associate the spectral signature of an image with typologies and characteristics of urban land covers or uses.

Examination of the architectural configuration of the built environment relies on a set of architectural and design primitives such as those primitives presented by Steadman (Steadman, Bruhns, Holtier et al. 2000). The primitives approach could be extended by automation—digital imagery of cities could be analyzed, pixel-by-pixel, using image processing techniques that reference pixel configurations in the image with known architectural or morphological primitives, or ‘building blocks’, that an analyst understands to be associated with certain developments styles or types. Of course, this relies on the assumption that such primitives exist (Webster 1995), but work in architectural studies would seem to suggest that this may well be the case, and that

such primitives are useful in characterizing urban built form (see Steadman, Bruhns and Gakovic 2000). With reference to the interests of this paper, we may be able to discern key primitives associated with sprawl: architectural configurations, the spatial structure of phenomena such as ribbon sprawl, lot configurations, or arrangements of buildings and land parcels on the urban fringe; and perhaps we could relate these to digital imagery for automated analysis and measurement.

The photogrammetric approach is a little less straightforward, simply because there are a wide variety of techniques that we might employ. Broadly speaking, there are two main approaches, both based on pattern recognition in the digital image: techniques that deal with raw imagery and methods that are applied on transformed images (Webster 1995). Amongst the techniques that deal with raw images, perhaps the most basic approach would be to look at the standard deviation of individual pixels from average values (reflectance, corresponding to the albedo value of a given urban surface, for example) for the entire scene (Webster 1995).

Mathematically, this standard deviation can be calculated using the following equation:

$$\sigma^2 = \frac{1}{N} \sum_{i=1}^n (X_i - \bar{X})^2 \quad (x)$$

The standard deviation (σ^2) of individual pixels from the average value of the entire scene is a summation of the difference between the values of individual pixels (X_i) and the mean pixel value for the whole image (\bar{X}). (The notation N refers to the number of pixels in the image.) Using this measurement, a low variance value might be thought of as relating to a level of uniformity in the albedo, or reflective, properties of an urban environment. In this way, we might be able to compare cities, or perhaps parts of cities, in relative terms. Obviously, the reliance on albedo values as a proxy for urban form—or sprawl—is problematic. Also, because the measurement is holistic, comparing individual values to a mean for the image scene, the measurement tends to be sensitive to the spatial pattern of pixels (Webster 1995). For example, the two scenes illustrated below (Figure 6) may well yield the same standard deviation

values, despite being radically different in their spatial structure and their inference of sprawl. Nevertheless, the statistic may be a useful *starting point* for building relatively more solid measurements of the built environment of sprawl.

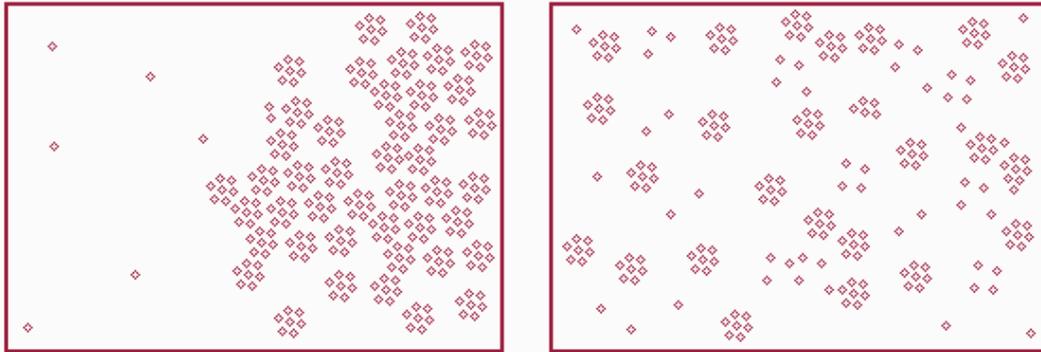


Figure 6. Two images of differing spatial character yield similar standard deviation values.

Proceeding from this approach, it is possible to generate a number of measures of the condition of an urban landscape: entropy (the ‘sameness’ of built form), homogeneity in pixel value, and relative contrast value for urban features (a proxy for building materials) (see Webster 1995 for details).

The frequency domain approach differs somewhat from the ‘raw’ imagery approach. In the frequency domain an image is transformed from Cartesian (X- and Y-coordinate) space into a space in which the axes now correspond to the *frequency* with which certain pixel values in the original image repeat themselves. One method for transforming images in this fashion is the discrete Fourier transform. Fourier transforms allow us to capture details such as wavelengths, amplitudes, phases, and orientations from digital images (Webster 1995). Some of these features have potential for offering a relative understanding of the built environment of sprawl. Certainly, the frequency approach, with its emphasis on repetition, may have uses in detecting some of the sameness of sprawl-type development.

2.6. Ecology of sprawl

In many cases, sprawl can have a profound influence upon ecological systems. It can interfere with habitats by fragmenting faunal and floral habitat ranges and deforestation can destroy habitats altogether. Urbanization, particularly sprawl can have negative influences on hydrological systems, principally by reducing the permeability of land and increasing surface runoff, with implications for the introduction of pollutants into ecosystems (Ewing 1994). There are a number of metrics that we can use to quantify these effects, particularly their spatial distribution. Many of the metrics also serve as good indices of other sprawl characteristics outside of ecology.

We can measure the effect of urban sprawl on ecology by looking at its effects on the composition and spatial distribution of habitat patches. Several ecological studies have demonstrated that the ecological conditions of any patch are related to ecological pattern at the landscape scale (Turner 1989; McDonnell, Pickett, Groffman et al. 1997). Numerous metrics in landscape ecology have been developed to quantify such pattern and its effects on disturbance regimes (O'Neill, Krummel, Gardner et al. 1988; Turner 1989; Li and Reynolds 1994; McGarigal and Marks 1995; Gustafson 1998). Based on an empirical study recently conducted by Alberti and Botsford (2000) in the Puget Sound area, we propose a set of metrics to quantify characteristics of sprawl that we hypothesize are relevant to ecological conditions. Many of these metrics can be extended to measure other characteristics of sprawl.

Landscape ecology defines landscapes as mosaics of patches. Patches represent relatively discrete areas (spatial) or periods (temporal) of relatively homogeneous environmental conditions that are perceived by or relevant to the organism or ecological phenomenon under consideration e.g., the geographical extent of a particular type of vegetation within a larger forest that contains several species of plant (McGarigal and Marks 1995). This concept can be applied in an urbanizing environment to represent discrete areas of land cover and land use classes relevant to both ecological and socio-economic processes. We can identify and measure patches of different land cover (e.g., an urban forest) and patch of land use (e.g., single family residential) with a broader urban area (e.g., a neighborhood) composed of a mosaic of such patches.

Metrics of landscape patterns aim to measure two major characteristics of the landscape: its composition and its spatial configuration (Turner 1989). Landscape *composition* refers to the presence and amount of different patch types within the landscape, without explicitly describing its spatial features. Two common metrics of landscape composition are the Shannon Diversity Index, which measures the degree of diversity in a given landscape and the Shannon Evenness Index, which measures the distribution of area among patch types. Landscape *configuration* refers to the spatial distribution of patches within the landscape. Examples of configuration metrics are patch size, edge-to-interior-ratio, nearest-neighbor, fractal dimension, and contagion. In landscape ecology these metrics are good predictors of the ecosystem's ability to support important ecosystem functions (Turner and Gardner 1991). Ecological studies have shown, for example, that patch size is positively correlated to species and habitat diversity. Edge-to-interior ratio and nearest-neighbor probabilities reflect the degree of landscape fragmentation. Fractal dimension reflects the extent of human impacts. Contagion is an important measure of contiguous habitat types (O'Neill, Krummel, Gardner et al. 1988; Turner and Gardner 1991).

These metrics allow us to measure the pattern and configuration of ecological disturbances in the natural and built environments caused by sprawl; additionally urban sprawl patterns—and important characteristics such as scatter, fragmentation, homogeneity, connectivity, etc.—can be quantified using a variety of these metrics (Alberti 2001). However as Webster (1995) points out “the choice of the metrics in measuring patterns should aim to achieve the best discrimination between categories within a particular category scheme used to describe a specific phenomenon.” For example, different pattern metrics of urban sprawl will best discriminate building density, development scatter, and habitat fragmentation. Furthermore, the choice of scale at which the metric is measured, both the resolution and the geographic extent will be relevant to the ability of a metric to represent these phenomena (Webster 1995).

Before we can select appropriate spatial metrics for measuring the ecology of sprawl we need both to specify what aspect of the sprawl phenomena we intend to measure and to investigate the limitations of each metric; this applies to all of our tools for measuring sprawl. There are countless variations of landscape patterns assuming a fixed number of classes that can arise from a number of phenomena: the degree of

evenness across the classes, the level of aggregation of each class into patches, the frequency distribution of patch size, and the spatial distribution of these patches in the landscape. A careful interpretation of spatial metrics is possible when the ability of each measure to quantify a single component of pattern is fully understood.

Sprawl results in greater landscape heterogeneity and fragmentation (compared with more compact forms of development). Several patch metrics can be applied to measure these patterns on an urban to rural gradient. The number of patches of a specific land use and land cover type is a useful index of the urban landscape heterogeneity (sameness of design and use). In addition patch density provides a measure of landscape structure that can facilitate comparisons among landscapes of varying size. Patch density in the entire landscape mosaic could serve as a good heterogeneity index. Measured as the number of patches on a per-unit-area basis for a particular patch type, patch density could serve also as a good fragmentation index (perhaps a proxy for scatter). Similarly Mean Patch Size (MPS) can serve as a fragmentation index:

$$MPS = \frac{\sum_{j=1}^n a_{ij}}{n_i} \left(\frac{1}{10000} \right) \quad (xi)$$

MPS equals the sum of the areas of all patches of the corresponding patch type, divided by the number of patches of the same type, divided by 10,000 (to convert to hectares) (McGarigal and Marks 1995). A landscape with a smaller mean patch size for the target patch type than another landscape might be considered more fragmented. Similarly, within a single landscape, a patch type with a smaller mean patch size might be considered more fragmented. Variability in patch size can be measured with Patch Size Standard Deviation.

Two important dimensions of sprawl that can be described with landscape metrics are measures of dispersion and juxtaposition. Dispersion can be measured by the Contagion (C) index (Turner 1989; Li and Reynolds 1994). Contagion is the probability that two randomly chosen adjacent cells belong to the same class. This is calculated by the product of two probabilities: the probability that a randomly chosen cell belongs to category type i, and the conditional probability that given a cell is of category type i, one of its neighboring cells will belong to category type j. Although

the Contagion index was designed to measure habitat characteristics, it can readily be applied to quantify urban phenomena by measuring parcels or patches of land with associated land use in lieu of patches. The common specification of a Contagion index takes the form (Li and Reynolds 1994):

$$C = \left[1 + \frac{\sum_{i=1}^m \sum_{j=1}^m \left[(P_i) \left(\frac{g_{ij}}{\sum_{j=1}^m g_{ij}} \right) \right] - \left[\ln(P_i) \left(\frac{g_{ij}}{\sum_{j=1}^m g_{ij}} \right) \right]}{2 \ln(m)} \right] * 100 \quad (\text{xii}),$$

where: C is the contagion, P_i is the proportional abundance of category type i , g_{ij} is the number of adjacencies between cells of category type i and all other category types, and m is the total number of category types. Contagion is based on cell adjacencies as opposed to patch adjacencies. It measures both patch dispersion and interspersion. Landscapes consisting of large patches of similar land cover or land use category have a greater number of adjacent cells. Where contagion is low, urban areas can be said to be comprised of many small and dispersed patches of various land cover or land uses categories (they are fragmented or ‘leapfrogged’). However, Contagion indices do not offer any indication of the degree of connectivity between patches or land use and in this respect they may fall short as indicator of the urban structure. Furthermore since Contagion is related to pixel aggregation both patch size and shape influence this measure. Simpler patch configurations and larger patch sizes result in higher Contagion values for landscapes of the same composition.

The Interspersion and Juxtaposition Index (IJI) is a measure of adjacencies of each patch type with other patch types (a surrogate measurement of landscape connectivity, and perhaps of accessibility).

$$IJI = \frac{-\sum_{i=1}^m \sum_{k=i+1}^m \left[\left(\frac{e_{ik}}{E} \right) - \ln \left(\frac{e_{ik}}{E} \right) \right]}{\ln(\sqrt{2}[m(m-1)])} \cdot 100 \quad (\text{xiii})$$

It can be applied to the landscape and class level. When applied to land use it measures the degree of interspersion of land uses. Contrary to Contagion, this index measures patch adjacencies, not cell adjacencies and can be more appropriate in representing the urban structure. However the interspersion index only measures interspersion and it is not affected by the size, contiguity, or dispersion of patches; thus it captures only one aspect of sprawl.

Another important aspect of sprawl is the proximity of land uses, as this has important implications for landscape homogeneity (sameness of design; homogeneity), land-use mixing, and accessibility. Again, we can use some techniques from landscape ecology to measure these characteristics. The landscape metric, Proximity, can be calculated as the sum of patch area divided by the nearest edge-to-edge distance squared between the patch and the corresponding patch type within a specified radius (McGarigal and Marks 1995):

$$PROXIM = \sum_{s=1}^n \frac{a_{ijs}}{h_{ijs}^2} \quad (\text{xiv})$$

The proximity metric could be modified to estimate the proximity of two different patch types within a specified radius. The Mean Proximity Index (MPI) for patches within a specified class measures the degree of isolation and fragmentation of the corresponding patch type (perhaps a substitute for accessibility) but it is difficult to interpret when patches occur in high density or span the entire landscape (Gustafson 1998).

One of the greatest challenges for of measuring sprawl patterns with landscape metrics is the ability to differentiate the spatial patterns of patch dispersion. Using simulated landscape patterns, it has been shown that even if pattern metrics provide useful information on the size, shape and distance relationship on a landscape, none of a selected list of pattern metrics including Contagion, MPI and fractal dimension is

able to distinguish overall landscape pattern caused by a unique spatial distribution of patches. Each of the measures presented here quantifies an important component of the landscape that needs to be considered in monitoring sprawl.

These metrics offer much promise as practical tools for quantifying the spatial heterogeneity of the urban landscape and help gauge the ecological effects of urban sprawl. Their operationalization is relatively straightforward. Identifying and quantifying patches of activity or use can be done with the parcel-level geographic information system databases now available in many metropolitan areas. A cursory approach would be to use spatial analysis techniques to rasterize a cityscape into a tessellation of grid cells based on an attribute or attributes of the landscape. That tessellation can then be filtered such that the cells that comprise it are generalized and smoothed recursively, yielding aggregated patches of cohesive activity. A suite of spatial analysis techniques are also available that will enable analysts to classify a layer of a geographic information system by attribute and dissolve polygon boundaries, leaving behind cohesive spatial units—patches—of activity. Several software packages (e.g., Fragstats, Path Analyst and the Geographic Resource Analysis Support System (GRASS)) are also available to evaluate these metrics on large data sets.

2.7. Accessibility

Sprawl impedes urban accessibility in two important ways. First, sprawl exhibits poor residential accessibility because residents are often distanced from opportunities (work, shopping, recreation). Second, sprawl can be characterized by poor destination accessibility because opportunities are themselves spatially separated from other opportunities (Ewing 1997). Examining the problem on a structural level reveals some key factors that deprive suburban environments of accessibility. The scattered nature of sprawl certainly contributes. Residents must navigate undeveloped tracts of land in order to orient themselves in sprawled areas of the city. Motorists must traverse a plurality of linearly configured commercial uses along radially scattered ribbon developments (usually on crowded arterials) on their way from one establishment to the next—the opposite of one-stop shopping (Ewing 1997). Retail ribbon sprawl is perhaps unique as a singular instance of higher densities (albeit it in limited linear

tracts) in sprawling areas; for the generic low-density residential landscape everything is dispersed, making all trips longer. Looking at the issue of accessibility from the perspective of a metropolitan area, it is also worth noting that sprawl, as a fringe phenomenon, situates areas of the city at great distance from central cities, and distances residents from the resources they offer (central transport stations and cultural amenities, for example).

The traditional methods by which accessibility might be quantified derive from transportation, economics, and regional science and may be summarized into three broad groups: cumulative opportunities measures, gravity-based measures, and utility-based measures (Handy and Niemeier 1997). Cumulative opportunities measures generally count the number of opportunities that can be visited within a given travel time. These measures therefore provide an indication of the *volume* of potential destinations or activities available to trip-makers in a given area, rather than distance to those opportunities (Handy and Niemeier 1997).

Gravity-based measures follow in the tradition of the spatial interaction model (see Torrens (2000)). A spatial interaction model is generally employed to predict the size and direction of spatial flows using independent variables that measure some structural properties of the area in question. In the context of measuring accessibility as an indicator of sprawl, the spatial pattern of trips could be calculated using structural variables such as the distribution of workers' homes, the distribution of employment locations, and the costs—in monetary terms, or perhaps in units of traveling time—of navigating the city.

Essentially, the gravity formula is conceptually based on ideas from Newtonian physics. The gravity model scheme is not at all unlike the idea of satellites orbiting around a central center of gravity, which influences the gravitational pull on each satellite with a force proportional to the mass of bodies in the system. The gravity accessibility calculation is premised on the idea that the accessibility (trip) between an origin and a destination (A_j) is the summation of several components: the capacity of an origin to generate trips (W_i), the ability of activities at a destination to attract those trips (W_j), the distance over which the trips must be traversed (d_{ij}^α), and some weighting mechanism that discourages trips over long distances (the alpha term in the distance calculation). To this formula, we can add a scaling parameter (k) that

normalizes the calculation to take account of the fact that (W_i) and (W_j) are not expressed in units of flow (Thomas and Huggett 1980). Mathematically, this can be expressed as:

$$A_{ij} = \sum_{j=1}^n k \cdot \frac{W_i W_j}{d_{ij}^\alpha} \quad (\text{xv})$$

Utility-based measures of accessibility derive from spatial choice models and decision theory. They have the advantage of being more behaviorally rooted than gravity models. Broadly speaking, utility measures determine the utility of adopting one decision from a set of available choices. In terms of accessibility, a utility measure can be devised that weighs up the utility value of trip choices available within a given distance from a location. We can use the utility value as a proxy for accessibility. Areas of a city with large utility values for transportation may be considered to be more accessible, in relative terms, than areas with comparatively low utility values. The more accessible an area is, the greater the likelihood that the development is compact and sustainable. As accessibility wavers, we may suggest that an area has sprawled.

Mathematically, utility-based measures are commonly calculated as logit models. In our case, accessibility may be calculated as the denominator of a multinomial logit model such that:

$$A_n = \ln \left[\sum_{\forall C \in C_n} \exp(V_{n(C)}) \right] \text{ (after Handy and Niemeier (1997))} \quad (\text{xvi})$$

In the above equation, A_n is the accessibility measure for an individual (or perhaps a household), n and C_n is the available choice set of opportunities that can be visited for any given person, n . In a sprawled area, opportunities would be comparatively less than in more compact urban areas. The term $V_{n(C)}$ is the observable temporal and spatial transportation components of the utility of choice C for person n (for

example, travel time and distance) (Handy and Niemeier 1997). The logsum, $\ln \sum$, indicates the desirability of the *full* choice set C . We can include variables that represent the attributes of available transport choices in the city to expand the utility calculation: the attractiveness of the destination, any barriers that might delay trips (such as fragmented development), and the socioeconomic characteristics of the individual or household making the trip (reflecting individual tastes and preferences). Of course, utilities that cannot be expressed in distance or financial terms are notoriously difficult to measure (see Torrens 2000).

Isochronic accessibility measures (also known as cumulative opportunities measures) deal with accessibility in terms of the amount of time it takes to reach a given location from any place within a city (see Lee and Goulias 1997; O'Sullivan 2000). They perform the same functions, in terms of measuring sprawl, as our other measures: they give us an idea of the relative dispersal of opportunities in a city. In this case, however, impedance is measured in terms of time, rather than distance (in a Euclidean or weighted sense). They answer questions of the form: given a time budget of X hours, how far can I get in the city? They may be expressed, for example, in the following form:

$$A_i = \sum_{n=1}^{1,0} \frac{R_n}{0.5n} \quad (\text{xvii})$$

Where A_i is the isochronic accessibility of an origin zone i , R_n is the number of destinations that can be reached within the n^{th} annulus (i.e., in this example, between $0.5n$ km and $0.5*(n-1)$ km) from the origin zone i , and $0.5n$ represents a 5 km opportunity.

As with most of the sprawl measurements that we have seen, there are a number of considerations that must be borne in mind before these measures can be put to use in quantifying levels of sprawl. Handy and Niemeier (1997) review a number of specification considerations for measuring accessibility, including the level of aggregation used in measuring accessibility (zonal aggregation, socioeconomic aggregation, and trip purpose aggregation), the definition of origins and destinations, measurement of travel impedance, and the attractiveness of opportunities. Several

limits are also proposed in calibrating these accessibility measures: the choice of a cut-off point or value for travel distance or time, representation of the travel impedance function, and whether to use revealed (actual) or preferred (ideal) behavior in calibrating utility-based measures.

However, these measures do show a great deal of promise in calculating the relative accessibility of destinations for different areas of the city. In this way, the relative level of residential accessibility (as defined by Ewing) might be measured. Equally, the level of accessibility between homes could be calculated by any of the above measures, serving as an indicator of destination accessibility. Both of these characteristics can give us an empirical idea of the relative degree of compactness and sprawl in a city, with inferences to scatter, spatial structure, and density of activity.

3. Issues of concern

We have discussed several potential measurements for quantifying suburban sprawl. Each of these measurements has advantages for capturing unique characteristics of sprawl (or even several such characteristics): density, scatter, the built environment, ecology, and accessibility. However, there are a number of important concerns that must be considered in applying these metrics to the evaluation of sprawl, including data availability, dynamics, pattern and process, scale, and agency.

3.1. Data

A lot of the tools that we have discussed so far are incredibly data-hungry. Some require quite detailed data, often at the scale of the building parcel; others require multi-spectral remotely sensed data sets. Many of these data sets (particularly parcel-level information) may simply be unavailable for a particular study area, and others (remotely sensed imagery) may be difficult to obtain without enduring great expense. This is a concern of many forms of spatial analysis and geographic research and is not limited to the study of sprawl. There is no fixed solution to the problem, save to offer a broad range of tools—as we have tried to do in this paper—with which to tackle a problem and hope that data concerns can be accommodated.

3.2. Sprawl as a dynamic phenomenon

It is notable that sprawl is commonly treated as a static phenomenon. This is a misconception; sprawling areas of the city are at the forefront of dynamic urban growth. By misinterpreting sprawl as static, planners and policy-makers risk making incorrect judgements, and researchers are neglecting elementary components of the problem. It is important that measures of sprawl recognize and treat the phenomenon as a dynamic.

“The sprawl of the 1950s is frequently the greatly admired compact urban area of the early 1960’s. An important question on sprawl maybe, “How long is required for compaction?” as opposed to whether or not compaction occurs at all...The concept of time span is important in the identification and measurement of sprawl. The application of static measures to dynamic areas can easily result in the misidentification of an area as sprawl when it is really a viable, expanding, compacting portion of the city” (Harvey and Clark 1965, p.6).

Part of the problem is that many of the measurements we have proposed are themselves static—they capture properties of sprawl in a snapshot of time. In order to examine sprawl in a truly dynamic fashion it may be necessary to employ a simulation model. These metrics could still be used, to calibrate the model against observed conditions in the real world. The essential dynamics of the problem would be captured in the simulation though. With this in mind, there are a number of approaches that might be followed.

Focusing on the urban fringe we could model land transformation as the result of dynamic interactions between socio-economic and biophysical processes. Drawing again on the ecological literature one could employ plant dispersal and competition models or transition probability models to represent the dynamic of sprawl. Waddell and Alberti (2000) have recently developed a high-resolution urban development and land cover change model for the Puget Sound region that explicitly represents human behavior and biophysical processes. The hybrid model structure represents the

dynamics inherent in land use and land cover change by combining a microsimulation of actor choices (location, housing, travel, production consumption and land development) and a Monte Carlo simulation of the land cover change on a 30 meter grid cell structure (Waddell and Alberti 2000). This represents one possible approach to capturing the dynamics of the sprawl problem.

The challenge in modeling sprawl dynamics stems from the fact that metropolitan areas exhibit some fundamental features of complex and self-organizing systems. Cellular automata (CA) models have been used successfully to simulate a wide range of environmental systems including fire spread and forest dynamic (Green 1989, 1994) as well as urban systems simulation (White 1998; O'Sullivan and Torrens 2000). Additionally, more recent development of multi-agent systems (Minar, Burkhart, Langton et al. 1996; Batty, Jiang and Thurstain-Goodwin 1998; Terna 1998; Batty 1999; Batty and Jiang 1999; Schelhorn, O'Sullivan, Haklay et al. 1999) and agent-based CA (Portugali, Benenson and Omer 1997; Portugali 2000) provide a useful framework for modeling the aggregate effects that results from numerous locally made decisions of many intelligent and adaptive agents in an interactive and dynamically adaptive environment.

3.3. Pattern versus process

The issue of using static measurements to quantify a dynamic phenomenon is essentially one of pattern versus process. Many of the measurements that we have seen thus far seek to capture some qualities that are intrinsic in the patterns that sprawl generates. This is wholly appropriate in many instances, as sprawl is in many senses a pattern-based phenomenon. However, it does neglect many of the processes that drive sprawl. To really understand how sprawl works—to better inform policies to mitigate its negative effects—it is necessary to look at both pattern and process in an interactive (and dynamic) fashion. Again, modeling is one way in which this might be achieved. Also, CA and agent-based models offer much promise in allowing both form and function to be represented and studied in a closely-coupled and adaptive manner.

3.4. Scale-dependency and sensitivity

Perhaps the choice of measurement scale is one of the most critical issues in defining appropriate indices for measuring sprawl. The choice ultimately depends upon the relevant scale at which the hypothesized socio-economic and biophysical processes that drive or are affected by sprawl operate. However the sensitivity of spatial metrics to scale should be considered before applying any spatial statistics. None of the metrics that we have discussed here (save perhaps fractal dimension) are scale-independent. There is a vast literature that examines the effect of scale both in terms of resolution and geographic extent on pattern analysis (Turner 1990). Most landscape metrics are scale dependent and are relevant to processes operating only at specific spatial scales (O'Neill 1988). Since almost all the metrics proposed here to measure sprawl are affected by scale an exploratory pattern analysis of the landscape would be critical to detect the range of scales over which spatial metrics are relatively insensitive to pixel size or spatial extent. Within the range detected the metrics value will then depend on the actual pattern and provide a useful measure for comparison across landscapes and scales. Rather than allowing scale-sensitivity to foreshadow any attempt to measure sprawl, this is simply a matter of learning to live with the inadequacies of the tools and being aware of their limitations.

3.5. Weaving agency into the equation

The tools that we describe in this paper largely shy away from one very important component of the sprawl problem: the human component. After all, sprawl is about people! We have described some tools that may help to achieve this: population density measurements that examine the distribution of people around the urban environment and measures of the built environment in which people live, work, and play. Nevertheless, these measurements remain a few steps removed from the actual agency of the sprawl problem. Weaving agency into the measurement of sprawl is a difficult problem. Again, the solution is most likely to come through simulation: through the interactive engagement of *users* with the model and the introduction of their input and ideas into the simulation. Also, emerging ideas in simulation—particularly developments with multi-agent simulations—allow for the explicit representation of agents in the model. There are some barriers to the development of

these models, however, both conceptual and technical. Importantly, it is unsure how best to represent *institutions* such as planning regimes, businesses, and the government in multi-agent systems. The agent-based simulation approach is notoriously biased towards individualism (O'Sullivan and Haklay 2000). Equally, the question of designing agents that fulfill multiple roles—head of household, employee, neighborhood activist—is a tricky one. Nevertheless, the potential for exploring the causes and manifestations of sprawl with these simulations is rich.

4. Conclusions

We have reviewed several techniques for evaluating suburban sprawl in an empirical manner. Sprawl is a multifaceted problem with several related characteristics that we can attempt to measure: density, scatter, the built environment, and accessibility. We have proposed a set of metrics for quantifying these attributes, including density gradients, surface-based approaches, geometrical techniques, fractal dimension, architectural and photogrammetric techniques, measurements of landscape composition and spatial configuration, and accessibility calculations.

Each of these techniques captures an essential component of the sprawl problem, and some can be used quite widely to measure multiple characteristics. Nevertheless, each suffers from a common set of limitations, notably data concerns, a lack of dynamism, an emphasis on pattern at the expense of process, a dependency on scale, and a weak treatment of agency. Perhaps the best way to mediate these limitations is to weave the metrics—in a *validatory* sense—into dynamic and interactive simulation environments for exploring sprawl. This is the focus of ongoing research work by the authors, but an essential first step will be to operationalize the metrics discussed in this paper in a real world context so that their applicability to the study of sprawl can be assessed in practice.

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