THE ORIGINS OF URBAN SPRAWL

by

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(Under the Direction of Steve Holloway)

ABSTRACT

The term urban sprawl and its early development in the post World War II period is fundamental in the creation of modern public perceptions about urban space. Urban sprawl is a concept that appeared at the end of World War II, along the expansion of the suburbs that occurred during this time. This research documents the first uses of the term urban sprawl that appeared in the late 1940s and early 1950s. The reasons for the use of this term, instead of suburbanization, are also investigated. Finally, a textual analysis of the term urban sprawl is done showing the differing uses of the term in the period and how different groups of people used the term for their own purposes.

INDEX WORDS: Urban Sprawl, Textual Analysis

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CHAPTER 1:

INTRODUCTION

<u>The Importance of Urban Sprawl</u>

Urban sprawl is an issue that has become increasingly important in contemporary U.S.

society. The issue is often referred to in both television and the printed media. For example, a

simple search of online archives reveals that the term urban sprawl was used in two hundred and

seventy three articles in the *New York Times* between 1996 and 2004. The issue has also entered

into the political arena as a campaign issue. Former Vice President and 2000 Presidential

Nominee Al Gore brought the issue of urban sprawl to the forefront of American politics when

he introduced proposals to combat "ill-thought-out sprawl [that has] hastily developed around

our nation's cities [and] has turned what used to be friendly, easy suburbs into lonely cul-de-

sacs" (Speakout.com, 2004). Academics have also addressed the issue of urban sprawl both

directly and in the context of a more general process of suburbanization (e.g. Bullard, Johnson

and Torres, 2000; Fishman, 1987; Jackson, 1985).

As urban sprawl has become a part of mainstream U.S. society, multiple groups have

reacted critically to the issue. Some groups critique urban sprawl from an environmentalist

framework. The Center for the Environment of Catawaba College in Salisbury, North Carolina,

for example, describes urban sprawl as "the effect of unmanaged growth that inefficiently

converts rural and natural lands to urban uses" (Catawaba College, 2004). Others define urban

sprawl as a consequence of a lack of planning, such as the National Association of Exclusive

Home Buyers, which describes it as "the unplanned expansion of development over a large area"

(NAEBA, 2004). While some authors have looked at the process of urban sprawl in a more

positive manner (e.g. Gordon and Richardson, 2000), they almost never use the term urban sprawl. It therefore appears that the term urban sprawl represents a critical understanding of urban development and that when people want to look at urban development in a more positive light, they do not use the term urban sprawl to describe the process.

A useful method to help understand this term and the process that it describes is looking at its origins and the situation surrounding its first uses. The details of its origin can provide an understanding of why the term developed when it did and what those who were using the term were trying to convey. In particular, why did the term appear when it did and what did the people who first used it mean by it – what was different about it than other words describing similar processes? Suburbanization was a term that had been in use for decades. What prompted people to begin using a new term to describe a process that was virtually the same? This question will be the focus of this research.

In an effort to help understand this problem, this research will conduct a textual analysis of the first uses of the term urban sprawl that occurred in major urban newspapers in the early post-WWII decades. By methodically examining the texts in which the first appearances of urban sprawl appear, this research will be able to provide an understanding of how the term was used. The results of this textual analysis will also provide a better understanding of what the term urban sprawl means and what separates it from suburbanization. To better understand these problems, this research will focus on three research questions.

<u>Research Questions</u>

1) What are the origins of the term urban sprawl? An understanding of the origins of the term and the historical events taking place during its first uses will provide a better understanding of who first used it and why.

2) How was the term used in its early period? A textual analysis of the early uses of the term urban sprawl will allow an in-depth understanding of the term and a better understanding of how the term differed from other terms.

3) What differentiates urban sprawl from the alternative term of suburbanization? After understanding where the term came from and how people used it, reasoning for its difference from suburbanization will be made.

<u>Thesis Design</u>

In Chapter 2, I review the work that has been done previously that relates to urban sprawl and suburbanization. This chapter will focus on selected seminal writings on suburbanization to provide a base understanding of suburbanization. Then the chapter will look at the research on urban sprawl, to begin to provide an understanding of urban sprawl and the process it describes.

Chapter 3 discusses the methodology that was used to conduct the research. The chapter begins with a discussion of the research dealing with textual analysis, which will be used to inform the research methodology. Based on these exemplars, a research methodology for this paper will be developed. The manner in which the texts for the research are obtained is explained and the process of analyzing the articles and putting them into different categories of variation is detailed.

In Chapter 4 my results are presented. The time period for the origin of the term "urban sprawl" will be shown, based on academic and newspaper articles collected for this research. Based on an understanding of this historical time period, explanations will be given for the development and first uses of the term. The results of the textual analysis will help us better understand what the term meant when it was used by different groups of people. Finally, an

understanding of the differences between this term and suburbanization will be provided and the reasons for this difference and why it is important will be discussed.

In the final chapter, I relate my findings to a broader understanding of urban sprawl and suburbanization. Specifically, I show how by looking at the first uses of the term, this research has been able to shed new light on the subject of urban sprawl. I discuss some of the limitations of the research and areas that could possibly be expanded upon in future research. Finally, I discuss the significance of the research to the general public and academia and discuss how it may be helpful in understanding urban sprawl in the future.

CHAPTER 2:

LITERATURE REVIEW

<u>Understandings of Suburbanization</u>

Urban sprawl is a concept that has been evident in major national newspapers since the early 1950s, as will be shown in this research. Therefore, the concept is a relatively modern one and one to which some people are only just being introduced. Yet the concept is quite popular and is used often in many newspapers. This chapter provides background on urban sprawl and suburbanization and provides a broad overview of sprawl-related research literature in order to ground the research in a conceptual framework.

The concept of urban sprawl has grown out of the older and more general concept of suburbanization. In many cases, urban sprawl is seen as a sub-category of suburbanization. There is link between the two concepts and the processes that each describes. Yet, while the two are similar, there are differences that separate them. There is a reason that the term urban sprawl began to be used in the decades following the end of the Second World War. A new type of urban development was taking place and this development was different than the suburbanization that was happening before the war. To understand urban sprawl, we must understand its origins in the process of suburbanization. By understanding the history of the process of suburbanization and the changes that took place, especially at the end of World War Two, our understanding of urban sprawl will be more lucid.

The general understanding of suburbanization from most academics is that major changes in transportation technology led to major changes in urban development. Kenneth Jackson's

Crabgrass Frontier (1985) makes the claim that the first suburbs of the mid-to-late nineteenth century developed due to new advances in transportation technology. The introduction of trolley lines and motorized vehicles allowed people the chance to move out of the city center and towards the outskirts of town. People had never lived out of the city center and in fact, the city outskirts were considered the location of the poorest people (Jackson, 1985). Yet, once the rich began to move there to escape the pollution and crowding of the city center, this changed. While Jackson mentions sprawl only a few times in the book, and the term urban sprawl is never specifically mentioned, his research is still important in helping us understand the origins of urban sprawl as grounded in the broader processes of war and post-war suburbanization.

Robert Fishman, in his book Bourgeois Utopias: The Rise and Fall of Suburbia (1987), also claims that suburbanization was due mainly to revolutions in transportation technology. Again, Fishman does not mention urban sprawl specifically, but his discussion is helpful in understanding the changes that were taking place in the post World War Two period. Specifically, Fishman's discussion of "techno-burbs" and their complete lack of connection with the central city is often a major point in many people's understanding of urban sprawl. The "techno-burbs" are new developments that occurred after the end of the Second World War (Fishman, 1987). They are a "decentralized environment that nevertheless possesses all the economic and technological dynamism we associate with the city" (Fishman, 1987: 184). These areas lie on the outskirts of the central city, much like suburbs, but have nearly complete industrial and commercial areas that make them viable economically. Dozens of these "techno-burbs" generally group around formerly prominent city centers into regions called "techno-cities." These "techno-cities" are connected through the interstate expressways and these expressways are the basis around which these new developments are built. Just as the early

suburban expansion was driven by technological innovation, as discussed by Jackson, this new phase of urban expansion is also driven by new transportation technology.

The development of these "techno-burbs" is taking place at the same time as the process of urban sprawl. In the creation of these new "techno-burbs," the city center and the suburban areas are disconnected from one another. People no longer have a need to enter the city center for commercial or industrial needs, as these are now provided in the "techno-burbs." This disconnect between the suburbs and the city is a part of urban sprawl that many see as a major problem. Before the end of World War Two and the boom of the 1950s and 1960s, there was little thought of an unimportant city center. The suburbs were only places were people lived.

Fishman shows that the development of commercial and industrial areas in the suburbs after the war led to a gradual degradation of the city center. This was a new type of development that was different from traditional suburbanization, which only saw the suburbs as places in which people lived – not worked and shopped. This difference was characterized by much heavier dependence on the automobile and the expressways in the development of the metropolitan area.

Urban sprawl developed out of suburbanization in the period following the end of World War Two. As a result of changes in transportation technology, new types of development began to appear at the end of World War II that were somewhat different than the typical suburban developments that had taken place before. The term urban sprawl was soon being used to describe this new type of development in both academic and mainstream writings.

Geographers have had made a major impact on our understanding of urban sprawl and post-war suburbanization. They have looked at the relationship between new developments in transportation and the suburbanization that took place post-World War Two. Richard Cervero

gives more reasons for the rapid suburbanization of America (and subsequent urban sprawl) that occurred in the 1970s and 1980s (Cervero, 1986 and 1989). Cervero focuses on transportation, much like Fishman and Jackson did in describing the post-war changes to suburbanization. As automobile use continued to skyrocket and interstates and highways expanded, the way in which American cities were built began to change. This change led to new types of urban development, much different than the suburban developments of the post-war period. These developments were automobile-centric and therefore lost almost all connection to the central city.

While Jackson, Fishman and Cervero took a more historical approach to understanding suburbanization and urban sprawl, other more theoretically critical engagements of the subject have also been written. Beginning in the late 1960's, Marxist perspectives became a very important method of understanding suburbanization and urban sprawl. Some of the more important work on suburbanization from this perspective approaches it from a political economic viewpoint (Harvey (1985a and 1985b), Walker (1981) and Smith (1981)). Harvey's work in particular looks at the importance of suburbanization in capitalism. Suburbanization and the creation of the urban form is one of the primary methods through which capitalism expands.

To understand this, we must understand the concept of overaccumulation and three circuits of capital developed by Marx (1967) and described in detail by Harvey (1985a). In the first circuit of capital – and the circuit that capitalists prefer to follow – excess profits from capitalist production are funneled back into the production process, in order to allow for more production to take place and therefore more profits to be produced. Capitalists would input their money to purchase more raw materials to be able to make more products more quickly, which means that products are produced for less cost and therefore more profits are made. However, as this process continues, a problem develops. At some point in time, perhaps due to recession, an

overproduction of commodities arises on the market and commodities can no longer be sold for profit. As profit rates fall, surplus capital can no longer be reinvested into the production cycle, as the commodities produced there can no longer be sold. This is the concept of overaccumulation, which inevitably happens as individual capitalists look to maximize profits (Harvey, 1985a).

Therefore, capitalists look to invest their surplus capital into the second circuit of capital. Since it is no longer profitable to input money directly into the production cycle, capitalists begin to invest their excess profits into the built physical environment, especially the built urban environment. By investing in new factories and new transportation routes for example, capitalists are improving the quality of their products. Capitalists also will invest their money to improve the quality of the consumers of their products and of their own laborers. Often this leads capitalists to invest in the development of new homes.

There is also a third circuit of capital in which profits are put into research and development, to develop better technology. In this circuit, money can also be put towards the education of the workforce. For the purposes of this research, the second circuit of capital is most important. Through this circuit, Marx, Harvey and other Marxist geographers provide a mechanism for which capitalism promotes and contributes to the construction of the built environment, especially the built urban environment. Marxists geographers provide us an understanding of suburbanization and urban sprawl in which the processes are seen as a mechanism through which capitalism expands.

Following the rise in importance of Marxist thought on geographers' understanding of suburbanization and urban sprawl, other manners of thought have been applied to the subject. One of the most recent is postmodern thought. Michael Dear (1998) describes the postmodern

understanding of urbanization as a confluence of dozens of separate and often contradictory processes that all are taking place in a geographic region. According to Dear (1998) these processes include Edge Cities (Garreau, 1991), privatopia, cultures of heteropolis, the city as a theme park, fortified city, interdictory space, historical geographies of restructuring, Fordist versus Post-Fordist regimes of accumulation and regulation, globalization and the politics of nature. With all of these processes taking place concurrently, postmodern urban spaces are often contradictory and balkanized. Dear coined the term "Keno Capitalism" (1998: 66) to describe the postmodern urban structure, in which industrial parks are built next to million dollar condominiums.

For this research, the idea of Garreau's Edge Cities (similar to Fishman's Techno Burbs) and Dear's incorporation of it into a postmodern understanding of urbanization is important in theoretically understanding urban sprawl and the reasons for it. Edge Cities, according to Garreau, are cities on the edge of major metropolitan areas that are slowly taking jobs and businesses from the city centers. They are dependent on the automobile and the development of the interstate system. Therefore, these cities are becoming more self-sufficient and are not required to rely on the major city centers for many of their services. Garreau describes this process as something that began taking place following the end of World War II. This provides us with a better understanding of the differences that were taking place following World War II that corresponded with the arise of the term urban sprawl in the printed media.

Suburbanization has been researched by multiple academics, including historians and geographers. Multiple explanations have been provided to help us understand what the term suburbanization means. Generally, suburbanization is a process of people moving out of the city center to the peripheral areas of the city. Before World War II, the process was more focused on

homeowners and the construction of new homes in the periphery. After World War II, this

process rapidly increased and the type of growth occurring in the peripheral areas changed. With

this understanding, the research will now focus on previous work done concerning urban sprawl.

<div align="center">Understandings of Urban Sprawl</div>

As has been shown, much theoretical work has been done on suburbanization. However

there has not been much work that theoretically tries to understand urban sprawl. However,

something can be understood about urban sprawl by understanding these treatments of

suburbanization. Urban sprawl grew out of the process of suburbanization through the

development of new types of technology and new ways of life. When engagements are made

about suburbanization, inferences can be made upon urban sprawl.

Much of the present day research on urban sprawl focuses on the problems and negative

impacts it has on society (Bullard *et al* (2000), Burchell (1998) and Downs (1994)). Most of this

research is focused on urban planning, urban design or the public policy implications of urban

sprawl. This research is normally not interested in the theory of urban sprawl or how it came to

be, but is interested in solving the problems it poses today. Some examples of this research

include Benifield, Raimi and Chen's (1999) work on calculating the costs of urban sprawl, both

environmentally and socially. Researchers focused on New Urbanism have also provided a large

pool of knowledge on urban sprawl and urban design (Duany, Plater-Zyberk and Speck, 2000;

Duany, Speck, Plater-zZyberk, 2001). Finally, a sizable amount of research has been produced

describing methods for measuring urban sprawl, especially through remote sensing technology.

Geographers have especially made a large impact on the research in this area (Yang and Lo,

2002; Lo, 2004; Sutton, 2003 to name a few).

Urban sprawl is a new form of urban development that appeared after the end of the Second World War, mostly due to new advances in transportation technology (Jackson, 1985 and Fishman, 1987). Generally, it is development on the periphery of the city center that contains not only large residential areas, but also significant commercial and industrial areas, which often replace older developments in the city center. It has grown out of the process of suburbanization and has changed the way in which the urban environment is structured. Urban sprawl is a way in which to describe the new type of urban development that is taking place in this country. Textual analysis will be used in this research in order to help understand where the term urban sprawl came from and why it developed when it did. A discussion of textual analysis and the methodologies behind it will follow.

CHAPTER 3:

METHODOLOGY

<u>Textual Analysis</u>

Textual analysis is a research methodology in which the researcher examines the texts in which a word or phrase appears in order to understand the context surrounding the term and its uses. Often, by understanding how a term is being used, a researcher can better understand the term. Fairclough has provided an approach to textual analysis he calls Text-Oriented Discourse Analysis (TODA) (Fairclough, 1992 and 1995). Other authors have also provided guidelines in how to examine texts for analysis, including Fowler (1985), Gill (1996) and Martin (2000). Textual analysis allows the researcher to examine texts in a relatively unbiased method in order to highlight slight differences in the meaning of the term and the types of people that are using the term.

For this paper, textual analysis provides a method to examine the early uses of urban sprawl and see how people are using it. Slight variations in the meaning of the term can be found with textual analysis and provide the researcher with a better understanding of why the term developed when it did and how it differed from other terms that described similar processes.

Fairclough (1992) wrote one of the earlier and more respected methods of doing textual analysis. Fairclough (1992) states that first one must define the project one is undertaking. What question or questions are you trying to answer? Then, a corpus of data must be compiled upon which the empirical analysis can be undertaken. Data can be anything from news and academic articles to interviews. Once the data, or texts, are identified and obtained, the actual analysis can

be undertaken. The actual analysis moves from the macro level by first identifying in which the general category of definition the texts belong. Next, the structure and word choices embedded within the text are examined to determine some of the reasons behind why a particular variation of the term is being used by the author and the audience.

Other authors have also developed methods of conducting textual analysis. Gill (1996) stresses the importance of analysts suspending their everyday understandings of language in order to think of language in a critical manner. Language is such an everyday occurrence that it often is used subconsciously. By critically questioning what is being said, we begin to see the outlines and effects of outside, societal effects in the language use. Practically, the researcher is to read and reread the texts until the researcher becomes "immersed" in them (Gill, 1996: 144). The coding process begins with the creation of categories based on the researcher's understanding of the texts. Finally, once the texts have been categorized, they are analyzed for certain patterns and similarities. These patterns lead to conclusions as to what kind of effect the text has on society.

Fowler (1985) provides researchers a checklist of items to follow to conduct textual analysis. The first item on the checklist is *lexical processes,* which is focused on understanding the types of terms used and the exact meaning that they have. This includes issues of word choice. Second is the concept of *transivity*, which looks at who and what is doing things in the text. *Syntax* is the third concept and this is looking at the way things are said. Often, this deals with issues of tone. The fourth concept is *modality* and it focuses on issues of obligation and permission and how they are referenced in the writing. The fifth concept in Fowler's checklist is *implicature*, which is the process of looking at what is implied, or "between the lines" in a given text. The sixth concept is *naming and personal reference*, which indicates how formally or

informally people talk to one another. These issues need to be examined, according to Fowler, to effectively conduct textual analysis.

Numerous geographers have used textual analysis techniques as research methods. Martin (2000) used textual analysis in her work on neighborhoods and place identity to look at local newspapers and show how people in power can influence society through their words and writings. Mitchell (1996) used textual analysis to look at the use of the term "violence" and how powerful people control it (in particular the Supreme Court) in order to control the types of activities that are allowed. By defining certain types of protest as violence, powerful people can stop certain groups from picketing and showing civil disobedience. He looks at numerous Supreme Court cases and gives both historical explanations and conducts textual analysis; much like will be done in this research.

Preliminary research suggested that there would be at least two distinct variations of the use urban sprawl in the historical readings, an environmental variation that is more focused on sprawl's destruction of natural landscapes and a planning variation that is more focused on a lack of planning or the inefficiency of planning that causes urban sprawl. These were evident, but they were not the only variations of term that were in the research.

<div align="center">Bias</div>

Before a full discussion of the methodology used in this project, a point needs to be made. All research is done with some bias in it. It is important for a researcher to both acknowledge his or her own biases before conducting the research and then remain cognizant of these biases as the research is being conducted. This research project therefore contains my own biases on the subject of urban sprawl. Specifically, my biases extend from the fact that I have lived in suburban and semi-suburban areas for my entire life. I feel therefore, that I have lived in

areas affected by urban sprawl for my entire life. My personal opinion of these areas is that they have had a negative impact on my life and the lives of others who have also lived there. This has affected my interpretation of urban sprawl and my interpretation of the severity of these problems, but hopefully has been kept in check enough to not corrupt the analytic conclusions of this research.

<center>Methodology</center>

As noted in Chapter 2, the first and second questions to be answered by this research deals with where and when urban sprawl originated and how it was first used. To answer these questions, I searched the archives of two major national newspapers for the first uses of the term urban sprawl, noting who is using these terms and how they are being used. The *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* were chosen because they are two of the most popular newspapers in the country and they both have easily accessible online archives that extend back through the period of interest. Preliminary research suggested that while the first uses of urban sprawl appeared in newspapers in the late 1940s, the majority of the earliest uses appeared in the mid to late 1950s. Therefore, I chose to include any article before 1960 that included the term urban sprawl into the texts. While my data consisted primarily of texts that included the term urban sprawl, I also identified articles that include related terms such as sprawl and suburban sprawl. Articles that used the related terms in substantially similar ways were analyzed to provide a context for the primary analysis, i.e., were these terms used in substantially similar manners and were they describing the same processes?

After conducting the above steps, the article list that was used for analysis was in place. This group of texts was quite large and diverse. For the research, fifty-four articles were collected from the two newspapers. Eighteen articles that contained the term urban sprawl were

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included from the *New York Times*. The seven oldest articles that contained the term suburban sprawl were also included, for a total of twenty-five articles. Twenty-six articles that contained the term urban sprawl and the three oldest articles that contained suburban sprawl references were included from the *Washington Post*, for a total of twenty-nine articles.

Detailed content analysis was conducted on the collected texts, where the unit of analysis was the individual article. I assumed some variations existed based on preliminary research. Based on immersion into the texts, additional categories became apparent in the texts. Entire articles were read and coded into categories. In the case where the author of the article was employing one variation of urban sprawl against another that is the subject of the article, both variations were noted. This notation showed how often the term is used and which variation of the term is used. The rest were counted and categorized.

The analysis that was conducted after the categorization process was complete was based upon Fowler (1985) and Fairclough (1992). The analysis searched for the variations of the uses of urban sprawl in it early existence, and then used those variations as a tool to help understand why the term developed when it did. Fowler's (1985) checklist was followed as a rough guide in order to achieve this goal. The six terms listed in Fowler's checklist each provide a method in which to understand the variations of urban sprawl.

Lexical processes look at the types of terms used in a text. To conduct this analysis in the research, I will examine each article and look for terms that are used often or seem to be of importance to the basis of the article. Then, an examination of the term that was used and why it was used, especially when other terms are available to describe the same process (Fowler, 1985 describes this as overlexicalization), will be noted.

To actually conduct the analysis of transivity, I looked at each of the articles and searched for references as to who was in charge. I searched for who was quoted in the article, especially if they were quoted more than once. I also searched for who is seen to be the expert in the article and who is making the claims in the article. Sometimes, this was very obvious and other times there were no clear individuals or groups that were in charge. Both of these are important.

The next item in Fowler's checklist is syntax. For this research, I will look at how sentences are sequenced and how complex they are. Fowler says that both of these are important in understanding how a term is being used by a group of people in a particular variation of the term.

To look at modality in the research, the propositions and claims that are made in the texts will be examined with attention focused on obligation and permission. Do the people making these propositions and claims seem to believe what they are saying? If so, does the speaker seem to be in control of what is being said (i.e. are they saying what they believe)? Do they seem to be required to say what they are saying? All of these help us understand who may be the believers of a particular variation and who may only being using the variation for other reasons.

To conduct the analysis of implicature, I thought about the logical endpoints of the arguments and statements being made in the articles. Sometimes arguments are made that on the surface, seem to say one point but when they are thought through, another point is communicated that can be quite different. Important implications are also made when certain topics are discussed in proximity to one another. For example, if a discussion of crime is introduced in the middle of an article about the homeless, it may be implied that the homeless are a cause of crime, even if that is not specifically said.

In the final item on Fowler's checklist; address, naming and personal reference, I will look at the formality of the speech used in the writing. The formality or informality of the speech may provide a clue as to how people use a particular variation.

The methods by which this research was conducted have been laid out in this chapter. By collecting texts from both the early period of urban sprawl and then conducting textual analysis upon them, the variations of urban sprawl that makes up these articles became apparent. The historical period included articles from the late 1940s until the end of 1959. The results of the research in that time period follow.

CHAPTER 4:

CATEGORIZATION AND ANALYSIS

<u>The Origins of Urban Sprawl</u>

On August 14, 1945, President Harry Truman announced to the country that Japan had unconditionally surrendered to Allied forces in the Pacific. The Second World War was finally over. After nearly four years of war, the citizens of the United States were able to begin to return to a normal life. The return to normal life was not a simple process, however. During the war years, the United States economy had been almost solely focused on military production. Many non-military sectors of the economy had stagnated, including housing construction. For example, only 114,000 new homes were built in the United States in 1944 (Jackson, 1985). The shortfall in wartime housing was followed by rapid population growth in the decade following the war. This surge in housing demand led to a boom in housing construction. This post-war housing boom resulted in new residential settlement patterns and soon began to be called urban sprawl (Anonymous, "The Decentralized City," 1948, and Laas, "The Suburbs Are Strangling the City," 1950). During this time, the first uses of the term urban sprawl appeared, both in academic writing and in the printed media.

Many of the earliest uses of urban sprawl in academic writing appear in articles dealing with planning and population growth. This is evident in the research of this thesis in the historical articles that were reviewed from major newspapers. This is also evident in academic articles of the time period. For example, one of the earliest uses of the term "urban sprawl" was in an article in the <u>Geographical Journal</u> in 1947 by E.W. Gilbert entitled "The Industrialization

of Oxford." Gilbert gives a general description of the city and area surrounding Oxford, England and then in his conclusion, states three reasons why an understanding of what had taken place in Oxford was important to the rest of the country. The first reason he gives, and the most important to this paper, is that

> Oxford's recent history is an example of what occurred in many other towns in this country between the wars. Urban sprawl, ribbon development, overcrowded streets, danger on the roads, destruction of beauty are the price paid in Oxford and in many places in England for lack of planning (Gilbert, 1947: 21).

The author later shows a picture of row houses on curved streets next to agricultural fields with the caption "Urban sprawl at Cowley" underneath it (Gilbert, 1947: 23).

We can notice from the use of the term in this article that, according to the author, urban sprawl was attributable to a lack of planning and uncontrolled growth. The term urban sprawl in this article also has a negative connotation associated with it. Some people may believe that the problems of urban sprawl have not become evident until more recently, but in fact, from the very first uses of the term, urban sprawl has almost always had a negative connotation associated with it.

Another early use of the term "urban sprawl" in academic literature comes from an article in the <u>American Political Science Review</u> in 1947 by Coleman Woodbury entitled "Britain Begins to Rebuild Her Cities." In this article, the author describes reconstruction of cities in Britain and then says Britons have "seen more and more of [Britain] despoiled by the black towns of industrial revolution, by the mediocrities of urban sprawl and by the grim graveyards of the depressed areas" (Woodbury, 1947: 920). It is again evident in this article that urban sprawl is viewed as a negative thing happening upon the landscape.

Another example of an early use of the term "urban sprawl" was in the <u>American Economic Review</u> in 1956 in an article written by Donald J. Bogue that was entitled "The Spread of Cities." In this article, the author is describing how towns and cities have grown in the period between the two world wars and the period since the end of the Second World War. In particular, the author says "to follow their markets, and to gain advantages from less congested location, many commercial and industrial establishments have also located in peripheral areas" (Bogue, 1956: 285). He goes on to say that "agricultural land wastefully [being] used to permit 'urban sprawl' is something that could soon become a major problem." From here, we get the first understandings that urban sprawl may be something more than just residential suburbanization. In all of these early academic articles, the negative connotation associated with this new type of urban development is apparent.

Following the two articles published in 1947 mentioned above, there were fifteen articles published from 1954 until 1960 that dealt with urban sprawl in one way or another according to the author's analysis of the JSTOR periodical database (JSTOR, 2005). This shows that by the mid-1950s, urban sprawl had entered into the vocabulary of the academic circles and many people understood what was meant by it.

This is also roughly the same time period when the term saw increased use in major newspapers. The earliest use of the term urban sprawl from the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times* occurred on November 17, 1948 in the *New York Times*. This article is a letter to the editor in which the author discusses the problems associated with regional planning in the New York metropolitan area and quotes the president of the Regional Plan Association as saying "the problems produced by urban sprawl or middle-aged spread of our large cities" (Anonymous, "The Decentralized City," 1948). Here again we see that even from its inception, urban sprawl

was a pejorative used to describe the problems of urban growth and design in the post-war period.

Another early use of urban sprawl also occurred in the *New York Times*, on June 18, 1950. In this article, entitled "The Suburbs are Strangling the City," the author discusses how New York is spending more and more money on services for people that do not live within the city limits and therefore cannot be taxed by the city. The author states, "If population shifts are planned for and intelligently balanced… urban sprawl can be prevented, but not urban growth." Again, the negativity associated with urban sprawl is apparent.

Following these early uses of urban sprawl, there were forty-nine articles collected from the *Washington Post* and *New York Times* from before 1960 that included the term urban sprawl. By 1960, the term seemed to have entered into the vocabulary of the general public, as it was being used heavily in the printed media. **For the origins of urban sprawl, the term appeared in the post-World War II period, around the same time period as post-war suburbanization.** The earliest uses of the term appear in 1947 and 1948. By 1960, the term was being used extensively in both academic and printed media.

To help answer the question of why the term appeared at this time, we must understand what was taking place. Historically, there was tremendous growth taking place during this period. Growth rates increased during and after World War Two. In an era known as the "Baby Boom", birth rates reached twenty-two births per one thousand people in 1943, the highest in two decades. (Jackson, 1985) Following a brief drop off during 1944 and 1945, when most servicemen where away fighting in the war, the rates began to climb once again reaching nearly twenty-five births per one thousand people in 1956, the highest it had ever been since the 1920's (National Office of Vital Statistics, 1966). The population of the United States increased from

1930 to 1940 by only 7.3%, according to the US Census (US Census Bureau, 2005). From 1940 to 1950, it increased by 14.5% and from 1950 to 1960 it increased by 18.5%, the most it has increased since the beginning of the twentieth century. Housing rates were also increasing at a similar rate. For example, in 1950 nearly 1.7 million new homes were built, the most that had ever been built in one year up to that point (Jackson, 1985).

Numerous policies were put into place by the federal government during this time that helped spur this growth. The Federal Highway Act of 1916 and the Interstate Highway Act of 1956 both provided the methods for a deconcentration of people in city centers. This, in addition to the spread of cheap automobiles allowed the middle-classes to leave the city centers and move to the suburbs. The Federal Home Loan Bank Act of 1932 and the development of the Home Owners Loan Corporation in 1933 and the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) of 1934 broke down many of the barriers that existed for middle-class families for purchasing a new home. These included increasing the amount of capital available for home loans and improving the standards of the housing industry to allow the industry to provide growth and jobs for the country. The GI Bill of 1944 supplemented many of these acts by helping the millions of soldiers returning from the war.

One of the results of FHA policies on the housing market was the introduction of standardized models and lot sizes, standardized construction methods and fully furnished models (Jackson, 1985). This allowed builders to build many more homes than they did before (which were often on a customer by customer basis) and allowed them to offer them very cheaply as assembly-line techniques decreased overall costs to the builders. According to Jackson, "quite simply, it often became cheaper to buy than to rent" (Jackson, 1985: 205). This meant that the number of people able to afford purchasing a new home increased.

The term urban sprawl began to appear in the late 1940s, following the end of World War II. This was a time of tremendous growth in the population and the housing market. The type of urban development that had been taking place before and during the war was quickly replaced by a new type of development was much quicker and available to many more people. Homes were much cheaper and available to middle-class families that before were forced to rent apartments and small homes in the city center. With the increase in personally owned automobiles, people were able to move out of the city center to the mass-produced housing developments on the city fringes and afford their own single-family homes. The term urban sprawl was used to describe this new type of development. How people used the term will be discussed in the next section.

<u>Textual Analysis of Urban Sprawl</u>

Resulting from the textual analysis, five variations of the term urban sprawl were used in the articles gathered for this research project. These five variations were divided into two related categories. The first category generally saw sprawl as an uncontrolled process that had the prospect of being controlled while the second category saw sprawl as simply an uncontrollable process. The controllable category contends that urban sprawl can be stopped if the right planning policies are implemented. Articles would often refer to "haphazard building development" (Fowler, "Post War Houses", 1957) or the lack of "regional economic factors… in planning" (Anonymous, "Regional attacks," 1959). The authors of these articles give the impression that it was only due to a lack of proper planning that urban sprawl existed at all. Planners often thought that they could solve this problem and only because of local ineptitude in planning was urban sprawl able to propagate: "We know what urban sprawl looks like, We also know that the praiseworthy but usually unrelated attempts of individual municipalities to do

something about their blighted areas can lead to vacant lands and frustration" (Anonymous, "Regional attacks," 1959).

In opposition to the idea of urban sprawl as a controllable process, there is the idea that urban sprawl is an uncontrollable process. In this category, urban sprawl is seen as a process that cannot be slowed or stopped and in many ways is ruining the nation. Both categories that were found will now be discussed, along with the variations and nuances of each. Below is a representation of each of the variations of the term urban sprawl found in the articles.
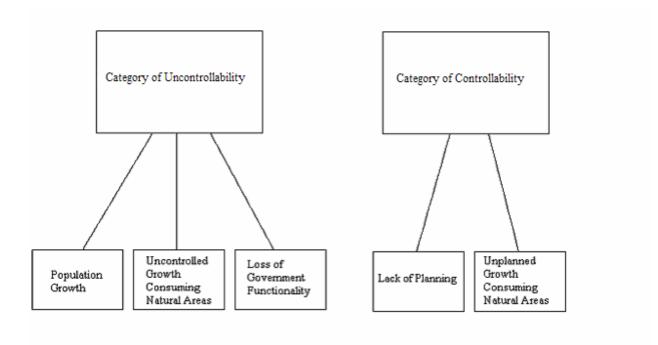

Figure 4.1: Categories of Variation.

Looking at the empirics of the articles and the numbers of articles associated with each category, there were a total of fifty-four articles. Eighteen of those were included in the lack of planning variation, and five in the unplanned growth variation, for a total of twenty-three in the category of controllability. There were fourteen articles associated with the population growth variation of urban sprawl, four with the uncontrolled growth and nine with the loss of

government functionality, for a total of twenty-seven articles associated with the category of uncontrollability. The remaining articles were not coded, mostly due to the fact that they did not fit in to one of the above categories. See Appendix A for more information.

Category of Controllability

The controllability category was comprised of two variations of the term urban sprawl. Some articles convey the idea that urban sprawl resulted only from the lack of effective planning while others discussed urban sprawl as unplanned growth that was consuming natural areas. The first variation says that sprawl is only the result of a lack of planning. According to this idea, by planning better and more efficiently, urban sprawl can be controlled and solved. Some of the earliest uses of urban sprawl are associated with this variation. Some examples of this variation from the texts include: "urban sprawl is born of ignorance and short sight" (Anonymous, "City Planners," 1956), describing urban sprawl as "the undisciplined growth of cities" (Harrison, "New stress," 1958) and "urban sprawl can be avoided if architects join with city planners and conservationists in devising a building philosophy for the future" (Eisen, "Architect's Meeting," 1957).

Second, some of the texts treat urban sprawl as a controllable process by portraying it as unplanned growth that is consuming natural areas. The texts in this variation of the controllable category of urban sprawl are especially interested in the loss of farmland and the impact that may have on society. This variation is not especially concerned with environmental issues, but rather focuses on the impact of urban sprawl on agriculture. Often, the reasons behind this consumption of land are associated with a lack of planning. Therefore, if planning guidelines are put into place, urban sprawl could be controlled and the problems of the consumption of land would no longer exist. Some examples of this from the texts include: "urban sprawl [is]

gobbling up farm lands and open spaces at an astonishing rate" (Anonymous, "Age of Less

Space," 1958) and "urban sprawl threatened to devour a million acres of rural land each year,

converting it haphazardly into neon-lit, chromium-plated landscapes" (Fowler, "Post War

Houses," 1957).

The controllability category said that with better and more coordinated planning, the

problems of urban sprawl could be addressed. Using Fowler's (1985) checklist that was

mentioned above, we can explore the term urban sprawl and how it was used. Fowler's checklist

item of transivity looks at who exactly is doing things in the articles. In other words, it is

interested in who is in control in the articles. Not surprisingly, planning officials almost always

are the powerful people in these articles. For example: "'Urban sprawl is born of ignorance and

short sight,' [says] the report from [a] British Columbia … planning board" (Anonymous, "City

Planners," 1956), "the unregulated clutter in our environs that goes by the name of 'urban

sprawl'" (Anonymous, "The Living City," 1958) from a book review of a book by Frank Lloyd

Wright and

> "This impact is also discernable in rural areas and the suburban fringes where injudicious
>
> location of interchanges in areas inadequately protected by planning, zoning and
>
> subdivision control is reaping a tragic harvest of land pollution and urban sprawl,"

which was written by a "former chief of planning and engineering of the Urban Renewal

Administration" (Feiss, "Planning Communities," 1958).

Another important item in Fowler's checklist is the concept of implicature, which looks

at what is being implied in the articles, but not being specifically said. Similarly to the concepts

in the transivity item, what is being implied in these articles is that urban sprawl is threatening to

destroy much of the countryside. "It is obvious that highways, new industries and urban sprawl

are gobbling up farm lands and open spaces at an astonishing rate" (Anonymous, "Age of Less Space," 1958). What is not said but is implied is that only through the proper planning and government intervention can this problem be solved. By portraying urban sprawl as a problem that is arising, planning officials can convince the public that only through excellent planning can the problem be addressed. The negativity associated with urban sprawl is evident in all of the examples for these two checklist items.

Another important item in Fowler's checklist looks at address, naming and personal reference. Throughout the articles gathered for this research, the term urban sprawl is constantly being mentioned in relation to doctors, presidents and officials – basically experts. "The president of the Regional Plan Association" (Anonymous, "The Decentralized City," 1947), "State Board Commissioner" (Anonymous, "Regional Attack on City Slum," 1959), "Professor Harold M. Mayer of the University of Chicago" (Barnes, "Do Our Cities Have A Future," 1958) and "director of the National Park Service," (MacKenzie, "Tragic Civil War Heritage," 1958) are all examples of this discussion of the process by experts. The fact that so many experts are describing urban sprawl as a negative process leads many in the general public to also view the term as a pejorative.

Lexical processes are an item of Fowler's checklist that looks at the choices of words used in the text. Some of the most striking word choices throughout the articles chosen for this text are the negative words used to describe urban sprawl. "Haphazard building development," (Anonymous, "City Planners Score," 1956), "socially inconvenient and born of ignorance of short sight," (Herron, "Urban Sprawl is a Threat to All," 1956) and "victim of a creeping and uncontrolled urban sprawl," (Stern, "Tawes Hails Planning in Montgomery County," 1958) are just a few examples of the negative word choices used in relation to urban sprawl.

Fowler's checklist item of syntax basically says that complex sentences often are used to mystify a term. Often, this can be done through deletion, use of the passive voice and increasing the length of sentences. For this research, there are no real examples of the syntax of urban sprawl being obviously complex. This likely is due to the fact that all of the texts used for this research are from newspaper articles, which often have simple syntax on purpose.

The last checklist item looks at modality. Modality looks at issues of obligation, permission and deference. Generally, it is looking for examples of subordination and reverence to another person or thing. The main examples of this item are deference to the experts of planners, officials and professors who are constantly being quoted throughout the texts. Some examples include, "a policy… by neighborhood redevelopment and to control urban sprawl through regional planning" by the Commissioner of Housing (Stichman, "To Improve City Living, 1958) and the "vice president of the Bank of America, National Trust and Savings Association… reported that the urban sprawl problem was being approached in various ways." (Heffernan, "I.B.A. Study Urged on Urban Change", 1959) Experts are considered to have the answers to urban sprawl.

The controllability category was made up of two main variations that were evident in the historical time period. The first said that urban sprawl was simply the result of a lack of planning and the other stated that it was unplanned growth consuming natural areas. Each of these variations focused on the idea that urban sprawl was a solvable problem, if the right planning was put into place. In opposition to the thought that urban sprawl is a controllable process, the other variations found in the historical time period saw urban sprawl as an uncontrollable process.

Category of Uncontrollability

In contrast to the first category, which treats sprawl as a possibly controllable issue, this category of urban sprawl portrays it as an uncontrollable process. The three variations of this category evident in the texts saw urban sprawl as either the result of excessive population growth, being uncontrolled growth that was consuming natural areas or the loss of government functionality. The idea that the United States was experiencing excessive growth was the driving force behind these three variations. A varied group of people, including historical conservationists and government officials used this variation, often to bring attention and sympathy to issues they thought important.

The first of these three focuses on population growth. Planning was thought to be virtually useless against such massive population movements. This variation is the most pessimistic of the five variations encountered in the historical period. Some examples of this from the texts include: "urban sprawl - the explosion of suburban homes, factories, stores and other urban-type facilities" and "urban sprawl ultimately could mean only traffic-glutted highways, mass transit troubles and potential breakdown in communication (Eisen, "400 Experts," 1957 and Knowles, "Capital Awaits," 1959). Very often, articles that included this variation used numerous statistics including population growth numbers that showed huge percentage increases over the past decade or so.

The second of these variations is the idea that urban sprawl is uncontrolled growth consuming open, natural areas. This is obviously quite similar to the second variation from the controllability category. The major difference between the two is that the first sees the consumption of land as the result of improper planning while this one sees it as the result of excessive, uncontrollable growth. Most examples of this variation sound similar to the

controllable version: "urban sprawl, the vast appetite of cities and their expressways which is consuming some of the best agricultural lands" (Anonymous, "Do Our Cities," 1958). However, there are clues in these articles that place them in the uncontrollable category, including ideas of inevitability and the vastness of the problem.

The final variation identified in the historical articles was the idea that urban sprawl is associated with a loss of government functionality. This went along with the uncontrollability of the process. Basically, due to the excessive population growth, governments were seen as not being able to keep up and accommodate new areas. Therefore, governments were seen as being highly ineffective and in many cases useless when confronted with all of the problems associated with urban sprawl. A use of this variation from the texts includes: "experts examining urban sprawl had generally agreed … that the needs of the metropolitan areas had far outstripped government function and finance" (Heffernan, "I.B.A. Study," 1959).

In looking at who were using these variations of urban sprawl, the first groups are historical conservationists who see urban sprawl as a disease that is threatening many kinds of historical areas. These people employ this variation in order to provide sympathy for particular areas that they want to be protected. For example, some articles discuss how urban sprawl is threatening to destroy much of the remaining artifacts from several Civil War battlegrounds in the Washington, DC area. According to the subject of the article, people who visit these sites, "which are threatened by urban sprawl … may find 'little left to identify'" (MacKenzie, "Tragic Civil War," 1958). These battlegrounds are "beginning to feel the squeeze of commercialism and suburbia" (White, "Battle Park Needs," 1959). Following Fowler's checklist, what is implied in this reading is that urban sprawl is marching forward and only by helping to save these particular areas, can history be saved. The users of the variation want people to view these

battlegrounds as something worth putting effort to save these areas from the advancement of urban sprawl.

Another group of people that use a variation of urban sprawl as an uncontrollable process are government officials who are worried about the failures of the government to confront problems like urban sprawl. In general, these people are discussing urban sprawl as a process that is overtaking the rural areas of the country. In order to protect these areas and their "way of life," these governments must be given more power and ability to do as they must. For example, one article (McBee, "Fairfax Officials," 1959) discusses a conference in which the importance of local government in the face of urban sprawl is being discussed. A participant in the conference confronts these officials with the question of why they believe that local government has a right to exist.   Basically, the answer given is that it is a good unit of government. All of these issues are then blamed upon the "problems of urban sprawl" (McBee, "Fairfax Officials," 1959). Fowler's checklist item of transivity shows us that these government officials are not in charge of these changes, and this makes them nervous that their bureaucracies may be rendered obsolete with this new growth.

The address, naming and personal reference checklist of Fowler for this section was the same as in the controllability category. Experts were seen describing the process as a negativity, and therefore most people followed along with this understanding. The checklist of lexical processes also is the same, as many negative words are used in relation to urban sprawl. Modality looks at deference within the texts, and the examples of it are from experts being deferred to for having the answers to urban sprawl. Finally, there are no real examples of syntax within this category. This is likely due to the often simple construction of newspaper articles, which are often written to be easily understood and comprehended.

Urban sprawl was a phenomenon that first appeared in the years following the end of the Second World War. The first appearances of the term occurred in the late 1940s. By the late 1950s, the term was being widely used in newspapers in Washington D.C. and New York. Two categories of the variations of urban sprawl existed during this time, each trying to explain and understand the process in a particular way. These categories differed in their understanding of the controllability of urban sprawl. One saw urban sprawl as a process that could easily be solved and controlled through planning. The other looked at urban sprawl as an uncontrollable process that was like a disease, consuming the country.

Differentiation with Suburbanization

As has been shown in answering the first research question, the term urban sprawl developed in the post-World War II period and was a negative reaction to the type of development that was taking place. As has been shown in answering the second question of this research, the term urban sprawl has always been a pejorative, from its very first uses. While different groups of people employed slightly different variations of the term, they all used the term negatively. Therefore, **the main differentiation between the term urban sprawl and suburbanization is the negativity associated with urban sprawl.** Suburbanization seems to be a much more neutral term that does not have a positive or negative connotation associated with it.

To understand why there was the negativity surrounding the urban development taking place following the end of World War Two, we must look back at the answers to the two previous questions. First, the development of the post-war period was different than the development that had taken place before or during the war. Suburban development before the war was often focused on the wealthy and their attempts to escape the pollution and over-

crowdedness of the city center. Some of the more famous suburban developments of the

nineteenth century (Llewellyn Park of New Jersey, Riverside of Chicago and Riverside of New

York) "were all blatantly elitist, with their large plots, generous open spaces, and expensive

homes," according to Jackson (1985:86). These "romantic suburbs" were meant as an escape

from the stress of the city (Jackson, 1985). In contrast, the suburban developments of the post-

war period were not for the wealthy, but for the middle-classes. To make sure that these people

could afford these homes, these new developments had small plots, little open space and cheap

homes due to streamlined construction procedures. The type of suburban development taking

place following World War II was different than what was taking place before.

Also, the volume of growth that was taking place in the post-war period, especially

compared to what had occurred during the Depression and the war were unprecedented. From

1936 to 1945, there were nearly 3.5 million new homes built in the country according to Jackson

(1985: 326). In contrast, from 1946 to 1955, there were almost 14 million new homes built.

This quadrupling of the number of new homes built meant that many of the customs and

practices surrounding urban developments were being overwhelmed and made obsolete.

Governments were unable to keep up with the services needed to be provided. Rural and

undeveloped land that had been idyllic for decades was quickly consumed by this growth. Plans

for growth that had created by officials were rendered useless as the growth outpaced them.

Urban sprawl was a pejorative that developed in the post-World War II period because

many people - including planners, local government officials and conservationists – saw the

growth that was occurring and felt is was unorganized and unplanned and was leading to

problems which were quickly becoming out-of-control. While planners thought that the problem

could be solved by better planning and others thought that the problem was uncontrollable, they

all believed that what was occurring was a negative thing that needed to be controlled much more.

Even the term urban sprawl represented this feeling. While suburbanization often meant a development out of the city center and the problems associated with the city center, urban sprawl conveys the impression the problems of the city (the urban) are expanding (sprawling) into the suburbs.

The reason for the appearance of the term urban sprawl in the post-war period is due to the new types of development and the intensity of development that was taking place. People used the term the urban sprawl to describe this development and the idea that it was progressing uncontrollably and something needed to be done quickly to curtail it.

CHAPTER 5:

CONLUSION

<u>Conclusions</u>

At the beginning of this research, I set out to learn about the origins of urban sprawl. I hoped to identify when the term came into use, the different variations of the term used and understand the reasoning for the difference between this term and suburbanization. To answer this question, I developed this research project. Newspaper articles from major newspapers were chosen as the actual text that was to be examined as part of a textual analysis. Once this was done, the articles were chosen and read. From these articles, the origins of urban sprawl became evident.

The most important finding of this research was that the term urban sprawl developed in the post-World War II period of the late 1940s and that the reason for its development during this time was that new types of development were taking place. People thought that this new development was having a negative impact on the urban environment. This research in the end was successful in its goals. The origins of urban sprawl were noted and an understanding of why the term developed when it did and what separated it from the term suburbanization were discussed. More research could be produced based on the results of this work.

<u>Limitations and Future Considerations</u>

At the end of this research, there are areas that it is apparent could benefit from greater investigation, so that the problem can be better understood. By researching these areas more in-depth in future research, a greater understanding of urban sprawl can be evident.

The first of these research areas concerns the use of the terms 'suburban sprawl' versus 'urban sprawl'. In this research, a few articles with this phrase from each newspaper were included in the texts to provide context for the research. It appears from this research that there is a relationship between suburban sprawl and urban sprawl and it is complex. The question for future research would be to understand the context of these terms. Who is using these terms and when are they using them? What does it mean when one group uses urban sprawl and another group uses suburban sprawl to describe the same phenomenon? What difference exists in what is being described by these terms or is there a difference at all? By understanding these two terms and their complex relationship with one another, important relations – especially between the suburbs and the urban centers – could be evident.

Another future consideration for research that could strengthen the results of this paper would be to look at urban sprawl from the historical period researched in this paper to the present. The time period of this research was chosen in order to examine the origins of the term. However, there is a fifty year difference between this time period and the present. Urban sprawl and the way people use it and think about it has likely evolved and changed since this time. There are likely other variations of the term that appeared and disappeared between the time of the research and the present day. To examine this problem, a more thorough and in-depth look at urban sprawl through textual analysis could be made of the time between the late 1950s and the present. This would be a long and complex process, but could lead to some very important information. By understanding the entire lifespan of urban sprawl – not just its beginning – a better understanding of how it is being used over time and in the present day will be available. Also conducting this more in-depth research could produce a chronology of changing public perception of urban sprawl and the changing importance of particular variations.

Both of these considerations for future research could be conducted in order to strengthen the results of this research. By understanding the relationship between urban sprawl and suburban sprawl, important relations between the suburbs and the urban centers could be apparent. Also, by filling in the time period between the research and the present day, a better understanding of the evolution of urban sprawl would be available.

<div align="center">Significance</div>

One of the most significant contributions of this research is to provide a geographic perspective on the issue of urban sprawl and textual analysis. As was stated in the literature review, geographers have done much work on suburbanization. However, they have done little work on urban sprawl or the textual analysis of urban sprawl. This work can help fill this gap in the literature. By approaching urban sprawl from a specifically geographic perspective, hopefully new insights as to the relationship between the term and the physical built environment have been attained. Also, by using textual analysis, the manner in which the term has been used by different types of people has hopefully been shown.

Urban sprawl is a phenomenon that is affecting many people in this country everyday. While saying exactly what urban sprawl is may not be easy, it is obvious that something is happening at the edge of metropolitan areas that is changing the lives of the residents who live there. By understanding how urban sprawl was discussed at its inception and the historical context surrounding its inception, a better understanding of urban sprawl is available. There are other geographical processes that are discussed in different ways by different people. For example, globalization is a process that is "both material and discursive at one and the same time" (Leyshon, 1997). This acceptance of globalization as a process that is both material and discursive (or textual) has lead to much research on both of these aspects. Much work has been

done on both the material consequences of globalization (see Ohmae, 1990, 1995 and Bryan and Farrell, 1996) and the textual impacts of globalizations (see Gibson-Graham, 1996 and Leyshon, 1997). In urban sprawl, there is no similar parallel. Much of the work done on urban sprawl is done from a materialistic perspective. In fact, the textual role of urban sprawl is just as important, as it is within globalization research. Hopefully, this research has provided at least some insight to this aspect of urban sprawl. In the future, more research on the textual nature of urban sprawl and the impact of different understandings of the term has on people can be conducted to illuminate this issue more.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Historical Categorization

1. Urban sprawl as an uncontrollable process
        A. Excessive population growth (planning is useless)
        B. Consumption of land
        C. Loss of government functionality

2. Urban sprawl as a controllable process
        A. Lack of planning
        B. Unplanned growth consuming open areas

The articles are listed below in chronological order, for reference.

New York Times

1. 2A	1948		
2. 2A	1950		
19. 1C	1955	19&20 same	
20. 1C	1956		
3. 2A			
21. 1A	1957		
22. 1A			
4. 2B			
23. 1A			
5. N/A	1958		
6. 2A			
7. 1C		7&8 same	
8. 1C			
9. 2A			
10. 1C			
11. 2A			
24. 2A	1959		
25. 1A			
12. 1A			
13. 1A			
14. 1A			
15. 2A			
16. 1B			
17. N/A			
18. 1C			

Washington Post

27. 1B	1953		
28. 1C	1956		
1. 2A			
2. 2A	1957		
29. 1B			
3. 1A			
4. 2A	1958		
5. 2B			
6. 2A			
7. 2B			
8. 1A			
9. 1A			
10. 1B			
11. 2A			
12. 1A	1959		
13. 2A			
14. 1C			14&15 same
15. 1C			
16. 2A			
17. N/A			
18. 2B			
19. 2A			
20. 1A			
21. 2A			
22. 2B			
23. 2A			
24. 1B			
25. 1A			
26. 1A			

Appendix B: Historical Text References

The final entry on the reference refers to a code given to each article that was used throughout the research. This number corresponds to the numbers below each newspaper title in Appendices A and B. The codes were applied chronologically from the oldest text to the most recent for all of the articles that included the term 'urban sprawl'. Then the articles that included the term 'suburban sprawl' were coded at the end, also in chronological order. For the New York Times, NYT1 – NYT18 were all of the articles from the time period that included the term 'urban sprawl'. NYT19 - NYT25 were some of the articles that included the term 'suburban sprawl'. For the Washington Post, WP1 - WP26 were all of the articles from the time period that included the term 'urban sprawl'. WP27 – WP29 were some of the articles that included the term 'suburban sprawl'.

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