4. Environmental Determinism versus Self Selection

There is a long-running debate in urban planning about the degree to which the physical environment determines human behavior. The theory of environmental or architectural determinism ascribes great importance to the physical environment as a shaper of behavior. The counter view is that social and economic factors are the main or even exclusive determinants of behavior.

To outsiders, this debate may seem simplistic. Any extreme view would be. Yet, we all bring paradigms to the study of travel behavior, paradigms that affect our interpretation of the facts. Depending on one's point of view, the documented relationship between the built environment and travel might just as well be due to 1) individuals who want to walk or use transit selecting pedestrian- or transit-friendly environments (self selection) as it is to 2) pedestrian- and transit-friendly environments causing individuals to use these modes of travel more than they would otherwise (environmental determinism).

For many of the studies reviewed in Chapter 3, we can discount self selection because the unit of geographic analysis is the region or county. Travel preferences likely fall far down the list of factors—after job access, climate, cost-of-living, and family ties—that people consider when choosing a region or county in which to live. For those moving from one neighborhood to another, however, a desire to walk or use transit could be a factor in their decision, a possibility to which we now turn our attention.

4.1 The Empirical Literature on Self Selection

Does residential choice come first, and travel choice or some other outcome follow (environmental determinism)? Or do people's propensities for travel and physical activity determine their choice of residential environment (self selection)? Between environment and attitude, which drives behavior?

More than anything else recently, the possibility of self-selection bias has engendered doubt about the travel benefits of compact urban development patterns. According to a Transportation Research Board/Institute of Medicine report (2005), "If researchers do not properly account for the choice of neighborhood, their empirical results will be biased in the sense that features of the built environment may appear to influence activity more than they in fact do. (Indeed, this single potential source of statistical bias casts doubt on the majority of studies on the topic to date.)"

Self selection occurs if the choice of residence depends in a significant way on attitudes about, or preferences for, one mode of transportation over another. In the language of research, such attitudes will confound the relationship between residential environment and travel choices. Most of the "evidence" for or against self selection is circumstantial.

Many studies have cited associations between attitudes and travel choices as evidence of self selection. Favorable attitudes about walking correlate with walking; favorable attitudes about the environment correlate with transit use. It would be surprising, indeed, if travelers who are favorably disposed toward a given mode did not use that mode more frequently than others, regardless of where they live. But this does not mean that attitudes account for the observed relationship between the built environment and travel. For self selection to occur, attitudes must also influence residential choices.

Planning researchers frequently ask new residents whether transit accessibility, walkability, or access to specific destinations were factors in their location decisions. Access considerations usually fall well down the list of location factors, after housing price and quality, neighborhood amenities, and school quality.

Typical of such surveys is one by Dill (2004). Fairview Village is a mixed-use, new urbanist neighborhood in suburban Portland, Oregon, with interconnected streets and attractive streetscapes (see the photograph and site plan below). Residents were asked to rate the importance of location factors in choosing their new home. The highest-rated factors were neighborhood safety, neighborhood style, and house price. Among access variables, "quick access to the freeway" was ranked highest at number eight. Pedestrian access ranked lower. "Having stores within walking distance" was 12th in importance, and "having a library within walking distance" was 14th. Still, pedestrian access was rated as more important in Fairview Village than in two nearby subdivisions matched for income, home value, home size, and year built. Apparently, self selection is present but weak. Whatever the underlying cause, attitude, or environment, walk trips are much more frequent in Fairview Village, and VMT per adult is 20 percent lower than in otherwise comparable suburban subdivisions (see Figure 4-1).

Fairview Village City Hall and nearby housing.

Fairview Village site plan.
Source: Rose 2004

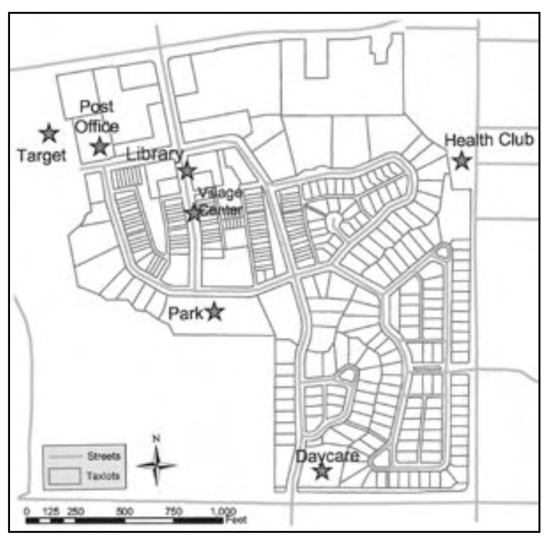
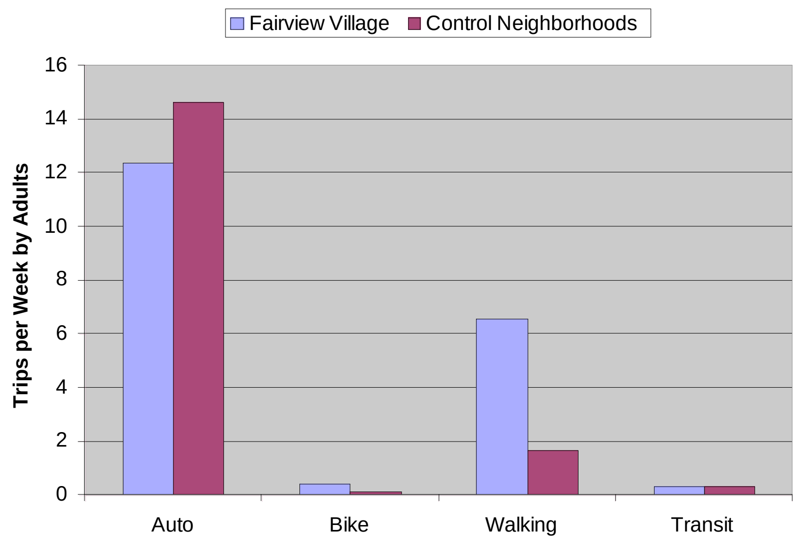


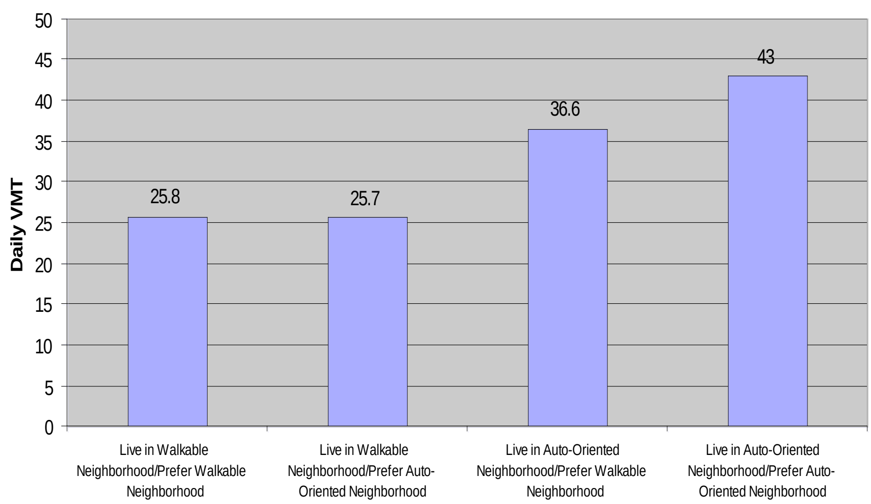
Figure 4-1 Number of Trips by Mode and by Neighborhood*
Source: Based on data in Dill 2004.

*By adults, per week.



The strongest survey-based evidence of self selection is Lund's (2006) study of people who had recently moved to transit-oriented developments (TODs) on rail lines in California. For TOD residents, transit access ranked third among location factors in San Francisco and fifth in Los Angeles and San Diego (where, amazingly, it ranked lower than highway access). One-third of all respondents mentioned transit access as one of the top three reasons for locating in a TOD. These residents were much more likely to use transit than those not citing transit access as a location factor. Yet, because the survey did not collect comparable data on prior travel mode, we cannot draw any inference regarding the strength of attitudes versus environment or on the effect of transit-oriented development on net regional transit use.

Figure 4-2 Average VMT by Neighborhood Type and Residential Preference
Source: Frank et al. forthcoming.



The strongest survey-based evidence of environmental determinism is Frank et al.'s (forthcoming) in-depth study of 8,000 households in Atlanta, which indicates that the built environment and availability of alternatives can lead anyone, regardless of preference, to drive less. Just comparing those who stated a preference for walkable environments, VMT was 40 percent lower among those who actually lived in a walkable neighborhood than among those who lived in an auto-oriented neighborhood (see Figure 4-2). Roughly one in three current residents of automobile-oriented neighborhoods would prefer to live in a walkable environment but were unable to find one, given current development patterns. This alone indicates a ready-made market for compact development.

At least 28 studies using different research designs have attempted to test and control for residential self selection (Mokhtarian and Cao forthcoming; Cao, Mokhtarian, and Handy 2006). Nearly all of them found "resounding" evidence of statistically significant associations between the built environment and travel behavior, independent of self-selection influences: "Virtually every quantitative study reviewed for this work, after controlling for self-selection through one of the various ways discussed above, found a statistically significant influence of one or more built environment measures on the travel behavior variable of interest (Cao, Mokhtarian, and Handy 2006).

Mokhtarian and colleagues find research designs used in studies to date all wanting in some respect. Still to be determined through future research are the absolute and relative magnitudes of this influence. What all of this tells us is that the built environment and self selection *both* influence travel choices; we just do not yet know enough to calculate their relative impacts.

4.2 The Built Environment May Matter in any Case

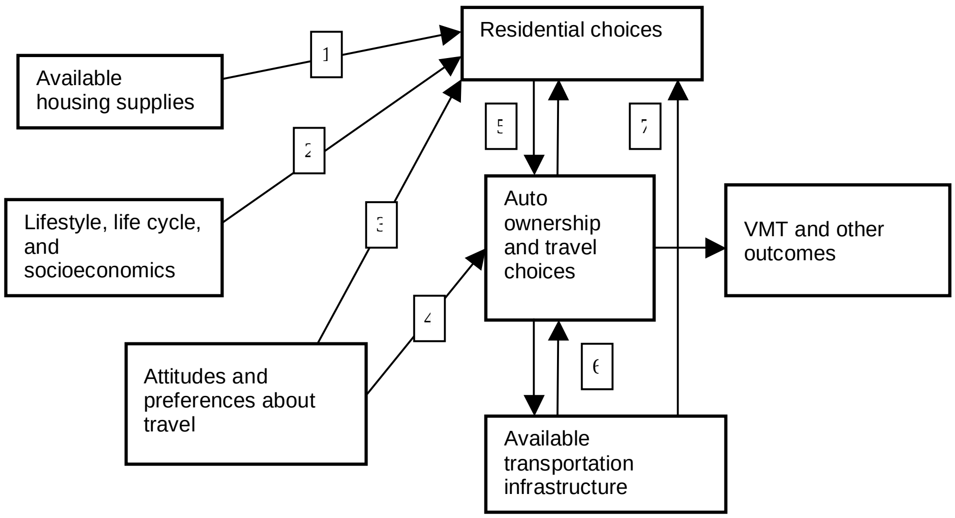
The fact that people to some extent "self select" into neighborhoods matching their attitudes is itself a demonstration of the importance of the built environment in travel behavior. If there were no such influence, people who prefer to travel by transit or nonmotorized modes might as well settle in sprawling areas, where they have no alternative to the automobile.

Whether the association between the built environment and travel is due to environmental determinism or self selection may have little practical import. Where people live ultimately depends on housing supply and demand. As Lund, Willson, and Cervero (forthcoming) note, ". . . if people are simply moving from one transit-accessible location to another (and they use transit regularly at both locations), then there is theoretically no overall increase in ridership levels. If, however, the resident was unable to take advantage of transit service at their prior residence, then moves to a TOD (transit-oriented development) and begins to use the transit service, the TOD is fulfilling a latent demand for transit accessibility and the net effect on ridership is positive)."

The conceptual model in Figure 4-3 indicates why self selection may be less important than the recent focus in the literature suggests. Attitudes about travel have direct effects on travel choices (link 4). Attitudes also may have indirect effects through the mediator, residential choice (link 3). This is the theory of self selection. If link 3 is strong relative to link 4, self selection may be the main mechanism through which the built environment affects travel and health outcomes. If link 3 is weak, residential choices may still affect travel directly through link 4. This is the theory of environmental determinism.

Note that strong self selection may actually enhance the effect of the built environment on travel, not render it insignificant, as some of the literature implies. Whether it does or not depends on housing supply (link 1) relative to demand (links 2 and 3). Housing supply may affect travel regionally if certain types of residential environments are undersupplied. We will refer to this as the theory of latent demand. As shown in Figure 4-4, the ability to self select (link 3) is moderated by housing supplies.

Figure 4-3 Mechanisms by which Attitudes and Preferences Might Affect Travel Choices and VMT



Think of travel outcomes in two dimensions (as in Figure 4-4). One dimension relates to the relative strength of self selection versus environmental determinism. The other depends on the supply of walkable or transit-served places relative to demand across a region. Of course, these dichotomies are false. Both dimensions are continuous, and reality almost certainly lies somewhere along a continuum.

But for three of the four extreme scenarios, the development of new walkable, transit-oriented places should lead to net increases in walking and transit use across the region. Even if self selection is the dominant mechanism through which the built environment influences travel, developers meeting latent demand for walkable, transit-oriented environments will be contributing to reduced VMT. Indeed, the only way that these developers will not have a positive impact is if such places already are adequately supplied.

This does not appear to be the case. There is ample evidence that the demand for walkable, transit-oriented environments far exceeds the current supply. In a study of residential preferences in Boston and Atlanta, Levine, Inam, and Tong (2005) find a huge unmet demand for pedestrian- and transit-friendly environments, particularly among Atlanta residents (see Figure 4-5). It causes these researchers to conclude:

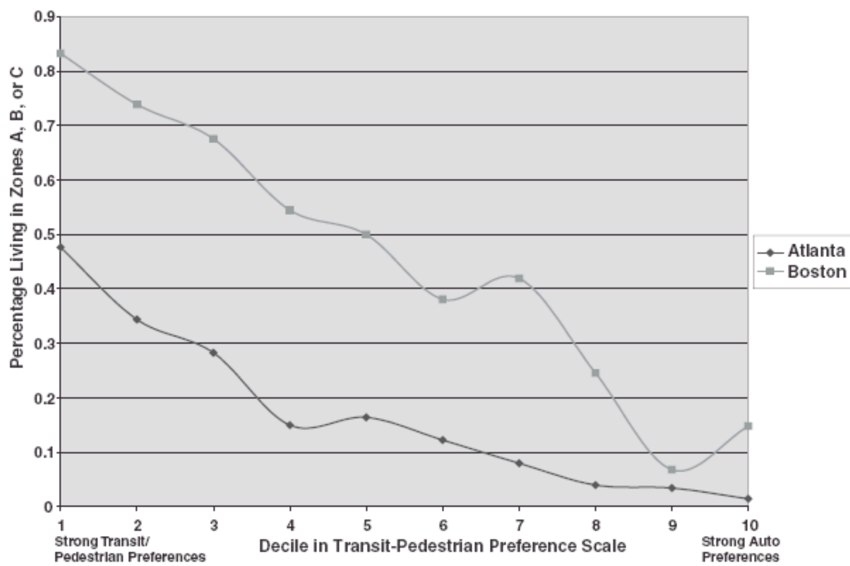
> . . . given the gap depicted in Figure [4.5], it seems unlikely that new transit-oriented housing in Atlanta would fill up with average Atlantans; rather, it would tend to be occupied by people with distinct preferences for such housing who previously lacked the ability to satisfy those preferences in the Atlanta environment. Self-selection in this case would be a real effect, but it would hardly negate the impact of urban form on travel behavior. This is because in the absence of such development, those households would be unlikely to reside in a pedestrian neighborhood and would have little choice but to adopt auto-oriented travel patterns.

For more data on the growing and unmet demand for compact development, see Belden Russonello & Stewart (2003), Myers and Gearin (2001), Center for Transit-Oriented Development (2004), Levine and Frank (2007), Logan (2007), and Nelson (2006).

Figure 4-4 Effect of New Walkable, Transit-Oriented Developments on Regional VMT

	Self Selection Dominates	Environmental Determinism Dominates
Walkable, transit-oriented places undersupplied at present	VMT decreases	VMT decreases
Walkable, transit-oriented place adequately supplied at present	VMT stays the same	VMT decreases

Figure 4-5 Relationship of Transit-Pedestrian Preference to Residence in Transit- and Pedestrian-Friendly Zones
Source: Levine, Inam, and Tong 2005



Thus, it is clear that both self selection and environmental determinism may account for VMT reductions with compact development. A recent study in the San Francisco Bay Area suggests that more than 40 percent of the ridership bonus associated with TOD is a product of residential self selection (Cervero and Duncan 2003). Whatever the source, regional transit ridership is higher than it would be otherwise, and regional VMT is lower.

5. Induced Traffic and Induced Development

Figure 4.3 illustrates two additional links with potential impacts on regional VMT. Link 6 represents a phenomenon called induced traffic, link 7 a related phenomenon called induced development.

Tony Downs of the Brookings Institution first explained the phenomenon of induced traffic in his 1962 “Law of Peak-Hour Traffic Congestion.” As he explained more recently,

> … traffic flows in any region’s overall transportation networks form almost automatically self-adjusting relationships among different routes, times, and modes. For example, a major commuting expressway might be so heavily congested each morning that traffic crawls for at least thirty minutes. If that expressway’s capacity were doubled overnight, the next day’s traffic would flow rapidly because the same number of drivers would have twice as much road space. But soon word would spread that this particular highway was no longer congested. Drivers who had once used that road before and after the peak hour to avoid congestion would shift back into the peak period. Other drivers who had been using alternative routes would shift onto this more convenient expressway. Even some commuters who had been using the subway or trains would start driving on this road during peak periods. Within a short time, this triple convergence onto the expanded road during peak hours would make the road as congested as it was before its expansion (Downs 2004).

Controversy exists over whether and to what extent the addition of highway capacity induces new traffic and promotes urban development in proximity to the added highway capacity. The notion of induced traffic challenges the view that the expansion of existing roads or the building of new roads will necessarily relieve highway congestion.

The concept of induced development challenges the view that highway investments are a response to growth and development, as opposed to a cause of them. In the highway “wars” that ensue between environmental and development interests, opposing sides have very different positions on the nature and magnitude of induced traffic and induced development. In this brief review, we will attempt to sort out facts from debating points.

5.1 Case Study: Widening Interstate 270

Interstate 270, which angles to the northwest from the Washington, D.C., beltway in Montgomery County, Maryland, was widened in the late 1980s and early 1990s. In 1999, the *Washington Post* ran a story comparing actual traffic volumes on I-270 to pre-construction projections (*Washington Post* 1999). The article declared the widening a failure based on the amount of induced traffic, which effectively used up the added capacity. By the year 2000, traffic volume for certain sections of I-270 already exceeded forecasts for 2010.

This was a time of growing interest in the phenomena of induced traffic and induced development. The Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission and the Metropolitan Washington Council of Governments responded with a study that suggested that highway-induced development was mainly responsible for the high and premature levels of congestion on I-270 (NCRTPB/MWCOG 2001). Also blamed was the failure to build all transportation facilities in the adopted regional transportation plan. Some projects had been delayed and others dropped.

On the subject of induced development, the study concluded that "higher observed traffic volumes relative to the 1984 forecast appear to be due in large part to shifts in population, employment, and travel to the I-270 corridor from other areas in the region, rather than to entirely new travel." For the region as a whole, population growth was 5 percent lower than had been forecasted in 1984, while employment growth was 9 percent higher. The two together suggested small (if any) net impacts of I-270 on regional growth.

However, population and employment had clearly shifted to the I-270 corridor, at the expense of other areas. Specifically, population and employment in the I-270 corridor were, respectively, 23 and 45 percent higher than forecasted in 1984. For all of Montgomery County, they were 7 and 21 percent higher than forecasted. Meanwhile, population and employment were 9 and 23 percent lower than forecasted in Prince George's County, and 29 and 3 percent lower than forecasted in the District of Columbia. These shifts in development are illustrated in Figures 5-1 and 5-2.

Figure 5-1 Difference between Actual and Forecasted Households by Subarea (2000)
Source: NCRTPB/MWCOG 2001.

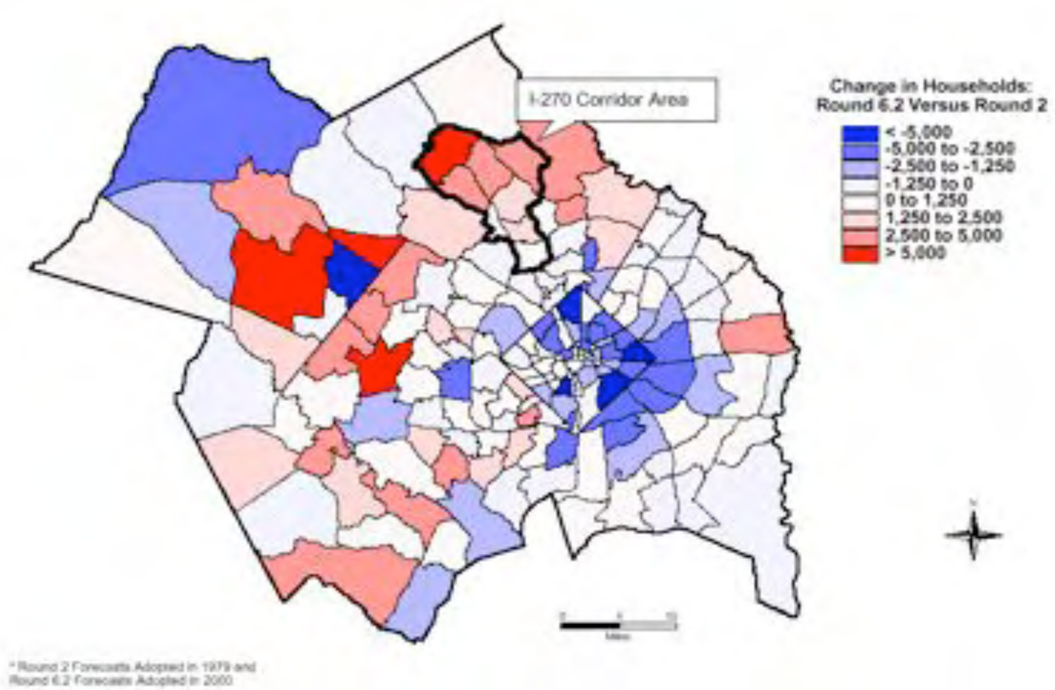
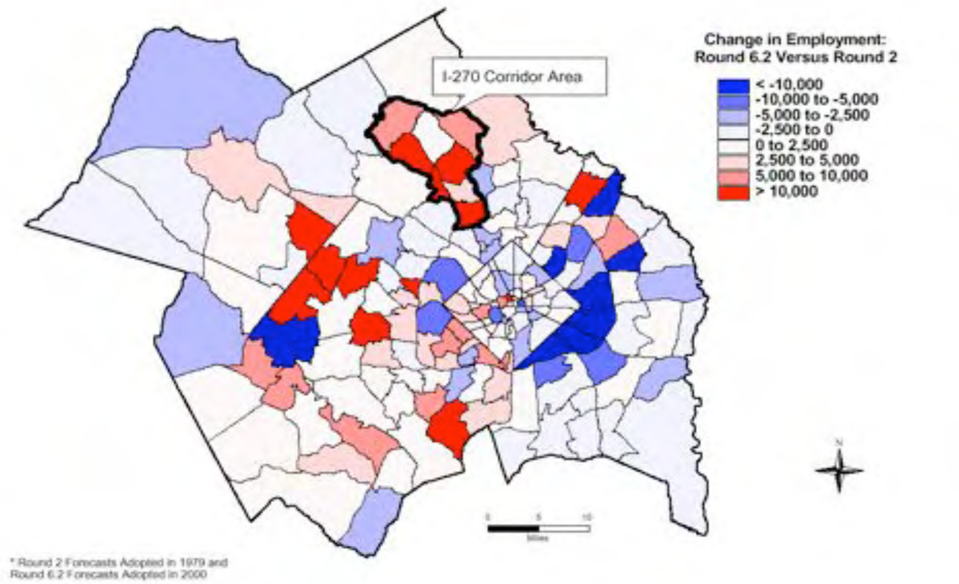


Figure 5-2 Difference between Actual and Forecasted Employment by Subarea (2000)
Source: NCRTPB/MWCOG 2001.



The experience with the I-270 widening mirrors the literature on highway-induced traffic and highway-induced development.

5.2 The Magnitude of Induced Traffic

Cervero (2002) compares elasticity values across studies in a meta-analysis. Again, an elasticity is the percentage change in one variable that accompanies a 1 percent change in another variable. An elasticity of VMT with respect to lane miles of 0.5 implies that every 1 percent increase in lane miles is accompanied by a 0.5 percent increase in VMT. At the facility level, a 100 percent increase in lane miles is what we would get if a facility were widened from two to four lanes.

In his meta-analysis, Cervero (2002) extracts the average elasticities shown in Figure 5-3.

Figure 5-3 Elasticities of VMT with Respect to Capacity
Source: Cervero 2002.

	Facility-Specific Studies	Areawide Studies
Short-term	0	0.4
Medium-term	0.265	NA
Long-term	0.63	0.73

Based on the meta-analysis, Cervero (2002) concludes that ". . . the preponderance of research suggests that induced-demand effects are significant, with an appreciable share of added capacity being absorbed by increases in traffic, with a few notable exceptions." The average long-term elasticity of 0.73 suggests that for every 1 percent increase in areawide highway capacity, VMT increases by 0.73. The actual increase in a given corridor or metropolitan area depends on the level of congestion. Adding capacity in an area with no congestion has no effect; adding capacity in an area with severe congestion has huge effects. This is apparent from Figure 5-4, which shows the VMT increase per lane-mile of capacity added in California metropolitan areas. The induced traffic effect is greatest in the congested San Francisco, Los Angeles, and San Diego metro areas (see Figure 5-4).

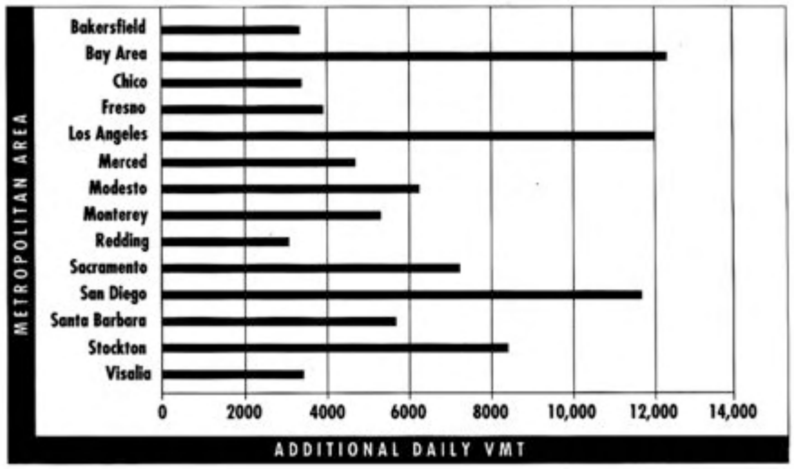


Figure 5-4 Estimated Additional VMT from an Additional Lane-Mile, California *Metropolitan Areas Source: Hansen and Huang 1997.*

5.3 The Role of Induced Development

Induced traffic and induced development are related. One can think of induced development as a cause of induced traffic, not immediately but over the longer term. To better understand induced traffic and its connection to induced development, it is necessary to explore the behavioral consequences of additions to roadway infrastructure capacity.

In the short term, a variety of behavioral changes can contribute to increased traffic without any induced development. These include route switches, mode switches, and changes in destination. In addition, new trips may be taken that would not have occurred without the addition in infrastructure capacity.

In the longer run, increases in highway capacity may lower travel times so that residents and businesses are drawn to locate in the area surrounding the expanded highway capacity. The question is always whether the new development that occurs in proximity to the highway was induced to locate there as a consequence of the expansion or whether it would have occurred anyway, regardless of the highway. Indeed, the highway investment may be a response to new or anticipated development, rather than vice versa. If the development itself would not have occurred otherwise, the development and the traffic it generates can be considered induced.

Definitionally, a gray area exists if the development that occurs near a highway would have occurred somewhere else in the region in the absence of the investment. Some would call this induced development, others redistributed development. We use the term induced development liberally, to mean any development that would not have occurred at a given location without a highway investment.

5.4 Historical Changes in Induced Development

Clearly, the impacts of highway investments are less today than they once were. Construction of the Interstate Highway System, in particular, has tied virtually every place in the country to everywhere else. Most studies finding sizable highway impacts (for example, Mohring 1961 and Czamanski 1966) date back to the first round of interstate highway construction, which created huge positive externalities for areas gaining access to the network. By the early 1970s, the Interstate Highway System was largely complete. Incremental additions or improvements to the network have since produced comparatively small improvements in interregional accessibility.

How great are highway impacts on economic and land development in the post-interstate era? This is a subject of great debate. In a well-known point-counterpoint, Giuliano (1995) minimized the importance of highway investments for three reasons: “The transportation system in most U.S. metropolitan areas is highly developed, and therefore the relative impact of even major investments will be minor. The built environment has a very long life. . . . Even in rapidly growing metropolitan areas, the vast proportion of buildings that will exist 10 to 20 years from now are already built. . . . Transport costs make up a relatively small proportion of household expenditures.”

Cervero and Landis (1995) countered that “although new transportation investments no longer shape urban form by themselves, they still play an important role in channeling growth and determining the spatial extent of metropolitan regions by acting in combination with policies such as supportive zoning and government-assisted land assembly.” They then challenged Giuliano’s empirical evidence, and presented evidence of their own.

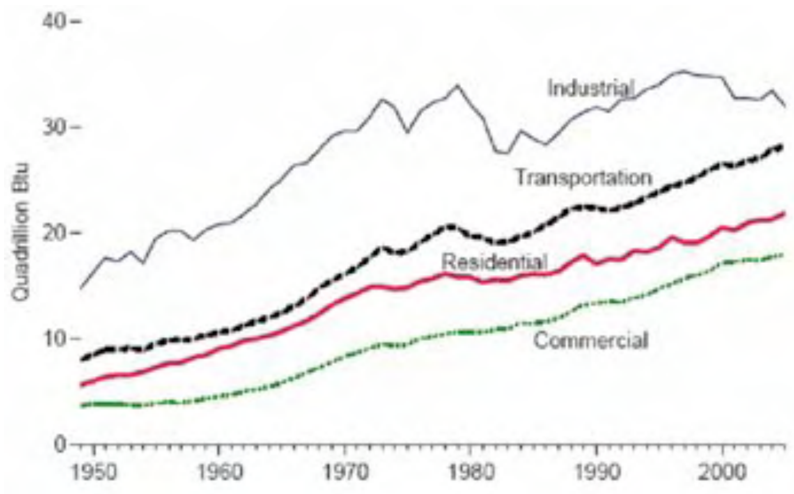
5.5 What Is Known about Induced Development

Who is right? Giuliano probably is right about aggregate impacts, while Cervero and Landis probably are right about localized impacts. The induced development literature has been reviewed by Huang (1994), Boarnet (1997), Boarnet and Haughwout (2000), Ryan (1999), and Bhatta and Drennan (2003). A recent review by Ewing (2007) concludes:

- Major highway investments have small net effects on economic growth and development within metropolitan areas. Instead, they mostly move development around the region to take advantage of improved accessibility. Induced development is very close to a zero-sum game.
- Highway investment patterns tend to favor suburbs over central cities, and thereby contribute to decentralization and low-density development.
- Major highway investments may actually hurt regional productivity, if they induce inefficient (read "low-density") development patterns.
- Corridors receiving major highway investments experience land appreciation, and therefore are likely to be developed at higher densities than developable lands outside the corridors.
- Highways may be necessary to induce development, but they are not sufficient to do so. To the extent that current planning and zoning caps hold, impacts within a corridor will be moderated.
- Counties receiving major highway investments attract population and employment growth to a greater degree than they would otherwise.
- Nearby counties may experience more or less growth than they would otherwise, depending on the strength of spillover effects.
- Nonresidential development is more strongly attracted to major highways than is residential development, particularly in the immediate vicinity of facilities.
- The induced development impacts of interstate-quality highways are wider and deeper than those of lesser highways and streets.
- It takes many years after construction for development to adjust to a new land use/transportation equilibrium.
- The induced development impacts of major highways extend out at least one mile, and probably farther.
- The relationship between highway capacity and growth is a two-way relationship, in that growth induces highway expansion as well as the reverse.

6. The Residential Sector

Figure 6-1 Total U.S. Energy Use by End-Use Sector, 1949 to 2005



With regard to development impacts on energy use and emissions, the transportation sector has gotten most of the attention (Ewing 1994; Kessler and Schroeer 1995; Burchell et al. 1998; Bento et al. 2003; EPA 2003; Frank and Engelke 2005; Frank et al. 2006). This is understandable. The transportation sector is the second-biggest energy user in the United States, and is catching up with the industrial sector (see Figure 6-1). It is the sector that is most reliant on oil as an energy source. However, as a long-term threat to the planet, energy use by the residential sector also is significant. In 2004, the U.S. residential sector produced more than one- fifth of total energy-related CO_2 emissions (EIA 2004).

As with the transportation sector, the United States has relied almost exclusively on technological advances to address the problem of limited energy supplies and constantly increasing energy demands of the residential sector (Siderius 2004). Evidence exists that per capita energy use and associated emissions will continue to rise, and that advances in technology alone will be insufficient to achieve sustainable growth in energy use (Kunkle et al. 2004; Lebot et al. 2004; Siderius 2004). Therefore, demand-side measures will be required to keep supply and demand in reasonable balance.

Also like the transportation sector, residential energy use and related emissions have a relationship to urban development patterns. Impacts are felt through changes in housing stock, urban heat islands (UHIs), and transmission and distribution losses (see Figure 6-2). The first two effects have been quantified (see Rong and Ewing 2007). After controlling for household characteristics, residential energy use varies with house type and size, which in turn vary with the degree of urban sprawl. These relationships, taken together, allow us to estimate the effects of urban sprawl on residential energy use, indirectly, through the mediators of house type and size. The average household living in a compact county, one standard deviation above the mean sprawl index, would be expected to consume 17,900 fewer BTUs of primary energy annually[27] than the same household living in a sprawling county, one standard deviation below the mean index.

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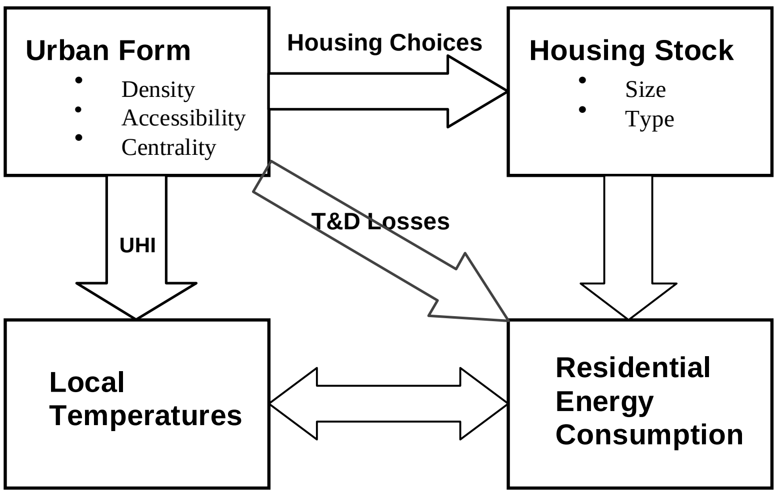
[27] Primary energy is energy contained in raw fuels, which is transformed in energy conversion processes to more convenient forms of energy, such as electrical energy and cleaner fuels. In energy statistics, these more convenient forms are called secondary energy.

Figure 6-2 Causal Paths between Urban Development Patterns and Residential Energy Consumption

Source: Rong and Ewing 2007.



UHI effects are strongest in compact areas, leading to an increase in cooling degree-days and a reduction in heating degree-days. Degree-days, in turn, directly affect space heating and cooling energy use. These relationships, taken together, allow us to estimate the effects of urban sprawl on residential energy use indirectly, through the mediating effect of UHIs. Nationwide, as a result of UHIs, an average household in a compact county, one standard deviation above the mean sprawl index, would be expected to consume 1,400 fewer BTUs of primary energy annually than an average household in a sprawling county, one standard deviation below the mean index.

Throughout most of the nation, the two effects, housing and UHI, are in the same direction, though.the housing effect is much stronger than the UHI effect. The total average savings of 19,300 BTUs amounts to 20 percent of the average primary energy use per household in the United States