

The Missing Links to Smart Growth: A Case Study of Communication and Cooperation in Malta, New York

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*We have not witnessed any wrongdoing, nor have we personally
violated any conditions of the Skidmore College Honor Code
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1. Introduction

1.1 Introduction to Smart Growth

As a result of population growth worldwide, there is a drastic increase in demand for methods of community planning that value quality of life, promote economic growth, and strive for environmental sustainability. Since the mid-twentieth century, the United States has accommodated population growth by adding residential areas onto the fringes of already existing cities and concentrating commercial areas in clusters accessible by car. The rise of cars in the US has prompted investments in infrastructure that promote steady traffic flows and ample parking opportunities, catering to the auto-dependent population but also creating areas that are less accessible to pedestrians (Hutch 2002). Widely referred to as suburban, this type of sprawl around urban areas is being called into question by research that suggests its use of space is inefficient and detrimental to human and environmental health (Rome, 2001).

While suburban sprawl is largely the result of plans that lack consideration of surrounding areas or long-term effects of development, an alternative method seeks to remedy these problems. Smart growth, a type of planning that challenges conventional practices, focuses on encouraging an area's economic growth in addition to improved sense of community, aesthetic, quality of life for residents and visitors, and environmental wellbeing. Although each smart growth principle is not groundbreaking in itself, when combined, they create a framework through which communities can aim to ensure sustainability and resiliency into the future (Edwards and Haines, 2007).

In his seminal work, Downs (2005) discusses smart growth and its obstacles, particularly those that are not obvious from the outset. His central argument is that smart growth, though widely discussed, is rarely implemented and sets out to provide some reasons for this. He begins by identifying the three groups he perceives to be the most active in promoting smart growth policies:

nongovernment environmentalists, who function primarily as lobbyists; local public officials and planners, who focus on towns' fiscal responsibilities and infrastructure needs; and innovative private real estate developers, who use smart growth as a reason to build at a higher density than surrounding areas and take advantage of multiple uses in one building. Downs also suggests that private citizens are largely uninvolved in the promotion of smart growth policies, and that this lack of involvement leads to the need for the three special interest groups who promote smart growth to spend much of their efforts persuading the broader public to support the principles of smart growth.

Downs (2005) identifies six primary principles of smart growth: limited outward extension of new development, higher residential densities, more mixed land-use and pedestrian friendly areas, ensuring development costs are paid by consumers, emphasizing public transit, and revitalizing existing neighborhoods. He explains that these principles are neither widely opposed nor disputed. However, he suggests that the implementation of these principles often results in secondary effects that are more divisive. These include redistributing the benefits and costs of development to property owners who may previously have had either higher or lower property values, shifting power and authority from local to regional levels, increasing residential density, raising housing prices because of reduced supply of land available for residential development, failing to reduce traffic congestion, increasing restrictions on new development, restricting profits for owners of outlying land because of potential outward growth limitations that reduce the allowable uses on the land, and replacing the idea of developing one project at a time with larger scale and more rigorously planned regional development. Essentially, these are the policies or aspects of a community that would need to be in place in order for smart growth to be implemented effectively.

Given these aforementioned obstacles, Downs ranks the principles of smart growth according to their likelihood of being implemented in a typical community. He suggests that the principles least likely to be implemented are those that constrain outward expansion of development and those that increase density of housing areas. The principles most likely to be implemented are those that transfer costs of development onto its consumers and those that adopt diverse regulations on street layouts, design, and aesthetic. Finally, Downs suggests creating smart growth within a metropolitan area is more difficult than in a suburban area, given the obstacles he identified, and in order for smart growth to be a feasible option, the role of state government would have to be strengthened.

Downs provides a clear picture of many of the facets of smart growth and the stakeholders involved in its implementation or prevention. His study focuses largely on smart growth at a regional level, but considers the role of local government as an essential piece of the movement. However, Downs draws his conclusions primarily from analysis of past literature on smart growth. Although this qualitative analysis is effective in identifying general features of a problem that have been identified, it lacks a quantitative and focused analysis of a particular instance in which all of these facets are present. In essence, it is a theoretical framework for how communities may respond to the proposed or attempted implementation of smart growth policies.

1.2 Growth in the United States

In order for smart growth principles to be implemented effectively, it requires cooperation and leadership from town and city planners to envision and work towards a sustainable future. Harvey (1970) theorizes that there is a disconnect between the conceptual idea of a successful city and the actual planning and implementation of one. He identifies that planners reference maps to

inform their decisions and consequently overlook the existing and potential social activities that occur in an environment. Molotch (1976, p.311) agrees by stating that planning maps need to take into consideration competing land interests that can work strategically together towards a common goal. Thus, planners need their vision to reflect the collection of different sociological ideas within a geographic space and how the interactions of these individuals can dictate the perception of the spatial configurations of a city. This concept is similarly supported by Molotch (1976) who explains that urban communities are not individual identities, but are a nest of different interests that fit together to benefit the whole. O'Toole (2007) develops this idea by blaming the flaw of planners' perceptions and views of the future as a central reason planning fails. He explains that planners' predictions are no different than the community's by emphasizing the shortcomings of planning based on limited understanding of how to effectively manage and mitigate the current problems facing urban development (O'Toole, 2007). Harvey (1970) adds on that planners need to consider the perspective of other individuals in order to challenge the traditional way of thinking about the functionality and design of a city. O'Toole additionally states that planners are especially good at producing two things: "shortages of goods that people want, and surpluses of goods they don't" (2007). Furthermore, planners are finding it difficult to keep current with the community and market trends, as their demands are constantly evolving.

Molotch (1976) introduced the concept of cities as a "growth machine," in which cities have a consistent motivation for growth and expansion of their economic and political system. This idea further explains that the urban environment is a micro-political economy driven by the desire for city growth. This political economy is led by local elites who use the political structure to advance their personal agendas of growth and their own acquisition of power. These political elites are namely business people who Molotch argues are not representative of the local

population of which they serve, and are concentrating the benefits of economic growth for a small percentage of the population (Molotch, 1976, p. 318). Molotch explains that much of the political debate by these local elites surrounding local municipalities is focused on “symbolic politics.” These are characterized by the more salient issues that capture the attention of the press and the community, and consequently ignore the other local issues that actually have an impact on the development, growth, and well-being of a community (Molotch, 1976, p. 313). Molotch concludes that the only foreseeable end to the exponential growth of cities is when a city establishes a holding-capacity or density cap as well as when the local business elites lose their economic incentive to stay involved in local politics (Molotch, 1976, p. 329).

1.3 Smart Growth in the United States

The transportation sector is essential to the sustainable growth and development of towns and cities. Benfield and Replogle (2002) argue that smart growth cannot occur unless adequate attention is paid to improving transportation systems and reducing the city’s reliance on mass highways. They explain that the United States’ reliance on fossil fuels creates a system of expanded highways, increased development sprawl, higher carbon dioxide emissions, and an unhealthy population. However, efforts to change our transportation system have failed due to high costs of establishing an effective public transportation system and lack of incentives for communities to change their transportation habits (Benfield and Replogle, 2002). The authors also expanded their argument to include that it will be crucial to slow down the speed of traffic, invest in raised sidewalks, and invest in public transportation systems that encourage compact, clustered development.

Benfield and Replogle (2002) expand their argument to include that these transportation systems should place a priority on increasing the connectivity between workforce housing and primary employment centers as well as areas of high residential development and school systems. As explored in Hutch (2002 p. 353), there is a deeply-rooted association between underserved communities and a lack of investment by the government in these urban centers. Historically, underserved and minority populations were concentrated in urban areas that lacked the attention of government spending that would develop sustainable transportation and growth patterns. For areas experiencing a rapid amount of growth, there is a higher availability of jobs, however, a lack of a strong movement towards increasing affordable housing within these areas prevents lower-income individuals from pursuing these jobs (Hutch 2002, p. 368). Hutch proposes that these current social barriers can be overcome through the implementation of smart growth principles with a key focus on environmental justice and a shift in economic decisions. If the principles of smart growth are implemented in these urban areas, Hutch argues that low income and disadvantaged communities will have better access to housing, employment, and transportation through implementing smart growth principles. The ability to simultaneously address civil rights and environmental well-being are crucial components to successful implementation of smart growth in a diversity of regions (Hutch, 2002, p. 368).

Additionally, there is a divide between advocates of urban sprawl and proponents of smart growth. Through concentrating on the distance between areas of residential density and areas of commercial and retail space, Turner (2006) attempts to understand the economics benefits and drawbacks of both forms of growth using an economic game theory to model optimum locations for the retail and residential areas. Turner's conclusion states that the stable equilibrium for smart growth is reached when the local retailers are in close proximity to high-density living.

A key component of smart growth is the participation of the community in land use decisions, in order to best have their values represented. Nabatchi (2012) discusses the idea of public values, theorizing that there often exists a “public values pluralism,” when several equally fundamental, but different, sets of public values are represented in a community (Nabatchi, 2005, p. 700). She discussed public values pluralism as a challenge for public administration; public administration is largely focused on decided between sets of values. When multiple sets of values compete with each other in a community, it becomes difficult for administrators to identify their priorities. Nabatchi suggests that administrators need to be able to identify, understand, and reconcile the community’s various values, but that many mechanisms which seek to aid that process reach only the “privileged values,” and are not necessarily inclusive of an entire community (Nabatchi, 2005, p. 700). She suggests deliberative communication between administrators and the community, a process that intentionally includes diverse voices for the purpose of problem solving, as a potential solution to the lack of understanding of community values.

Currently, there is resistance to the implementation of smart growth principles, mostly due to misinterpreted community understandings as well as traditional values of a suburban, single-family home lifestyle. For many people, urbanization has a negative connotation due to its reputation as a hotspot of pollution, infectious disease, heat islands, and large environmental footprint on a concentrated area. On the contrary, suburban areas have an increased amount of impervious surfaces that prevent rainwater from infiltrating into the soil and require larger infrastructure and energy intensive resources (Grimmond, 2007; Tang et. al, 2005). Meyer (2013) explains that it is unnecessary to group communities into urban and then separate rural communities because it creates an unrealistic dichotomy in perspectives on the inherent qualities

of one type of development or another, and that urban-ness should be considered a spectrum of development rather than a single category.

Krueger and Gibbs (2008) provide further insight into the current status of smart growth within the United States by conducting a case study of smart growth within Boston, MA. In their main argument, smart growth is characterized by its market-based approach to achieving the tripartite goals of economy, environment, and community, valued in sustainable development practices (Krueger and Gibbs, 2008, p. 1265). They also pair this with the determination to repair a disjointed regulatory system of most development projects. Krueger and Gibbs identify that a major barrier to smart growth more many communities is the dramatic decrease in federal funding to implement sustainable development initiatives in many communities. The authors argue that smart growth has “revolutionized the way American cities and regions approach development policy” (Kreuger and Gibbs, 2008, p. 1266). Using semi-structured interviews and archival analysis, the researchers conducted a case study of the regulatory structures within Boston, MA that oversee development and growth patterns. A major argument of the study is that much research has been conducted on the actual definition of smart growth, which a much lower emphasis on the “broader context of change” that smart growth fits within. Notably, the paper identifies that a barrier to smart growth’s implementation is a resistance and inability to accept and seek change to traditional growth patterns. Through political modernization and increased regional planning, Kreuger and Gibbs are optimistic that smart growth can successfully be implemented to plan sustainable cities (Kreuger and Gibbs, 2002, p. 1272).

1.4 Smart Growth Policy

Several key pieces of legislation were the impetus for smart growth in the United States: the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) of 1966 and the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) of 1969 (Hevesi, 2004, p. 15). NHPA requires federal agencies to consider impacts of actions on historic sites, while NEPA encouraged federal agencies to consider environmental impact and citizen involvement concerning major projects. These acts activated the New York State's commitment to historic and environmental protection and eventually led to the State Environmental Quality Review Act (SEQR), which requires federal agencies to take environmental, social, and economic impacts into account when during decision-making processes (Hevesi, 2004, p. 15). Later in the 1990s, the United States government realized that sustainable transportation options were overlooked in their policies and enacted the 1991 Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act, which called for the government to develop an “economically efficient and environmentally sound” system of transportation with particular attention to serving communities of the elderly, disabled, or of lower economic income (Benfield and Replogle, 2002; Hutch, 2002). These policies add a legal component to the implementation of smart growth policies, a step towards ensuring smart growth becomes the standard in future community planning.

Today, local governments and organizations like Smart Growth America are taking the initiative to instigate and improve smart growth throughout the United States. Below is a description of a number of successful smart growth projects around the country.

2. Profile of Malta, New York

Malta is located thirty miles north of Albany on Interstate 87. Founded in the late seventeenth century, Malta began as a small, rural community with an economy based primarily on agriculture (Sylvester, 1878). After the invention and commercialization of the automobile, the United States Highway System plan of 1925 commissioned Route 9, which now passes directly through the center of Malta (Weingroff, 2015). Route 9 shifted development towards a more car-centric community with increased economic growth as new road systems, services stations, restaurants, and motels were built. According to the Malta municipal website, the character of the town only began to change recently to increased suburbanization “resulting from easier access to the urban centers of the Capital District and the North Country” (Town of Malta, 2016). Improved transportation routes in the midst of the twentieth century—Route 9, Route 67, and Interstate 87 all pass through the center of Malta—connecting Malta to major urban areas like Albany served as the catalyst for suburbanization. This phenomenon was not unique to Malta; it was occurring all over the country. Jackson (1985) explains the nature of suburbia by saying:

Suburbia symbolizes the fullest, most unadulterated embodiment of contemporary culture; it is a manifestation of such fundamental characteristics of American society as conspicuous consumption, a reliance upon the private automobile, upward mobility, the separation of the family into nuclear units, the widening division between work and leisure, and a tendency toward racial and economic exclusiveness (p. 4).

In many ways, Malta epitomizes Jackson’s description of suburbia, prompting our research into how Malta could fit into the framework of smart growth set forth by Downs (2005), especially considering the preexisting factors that shape the town into what is it now.

Today, Malta is an upper-middle class sprawling suburban community, with groups of housing developments distributed throughout the town characterized by single-family homes and cul-de-sacs. Malta has areas of commercial development that include strip malls and freestanding businesses, although it lacks a distinctive downtown. At 31.4 square miles, it has a population of 14,765 people, there are 6,318 households (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). The race distribution of Malta is 93.5% white, 2.5 percent Hispanic or Latinx, 1.3 percent Asian, 1.2 percent black or African American, and 0.3 percent American Indian and Alaska Native. The average family size is 2.91 people, and of the 3,947 families, 44.7 percent have children under the age of 18 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). The American Community Survey estimate for median income in 2015 is \$82,080.00 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015). Private cars are the central mode of transportation, and walkability is limited between housing developments and commercial areas. Of the estimated 12,343 people employed in 2015, 84.2 percent of them drove to work alone, while only 1 percent took public transportation and 0.5 percent walked (U.S. Census Bureau 2015).

Several factors have shaped Malta's unique character. The town slogan for Malta is "A Family Town," propagating among residents the shared sentiment that Malta is the ideal place to raise a family. Additionally, Malta lacks a town tax. According to the town website, certain municipalities impose a general tax to help pay for municipal costs like highway maintenance, parks and facilities maintenance, services like garbage collection, and infrastructure like sewer and water (Town of Malta, 2016). These general taxes typically supplement county property taxes and school district taxes. Malta differentiates itself from this standard, because it does not impose a general tax on residents. Residents must still pay a property tax to the county and a property tax to fund the school, since the school district is located in Ballston Spa. Additionally, instead of having its own police force, Malta has a contract with the state police, and instead of having its own fire

department, they have volunteer firepersons (T. Fabozzi, personal communication, February 18, 2017). Funding comes from a minimal lighting district, library, and fire protection tax. While additional taxes could help fund more municipal services, keeping Malta tax-free has often been the root of political campaigns, since Malta is a predominantly Republican town and fiscal conservatism appeals to the majority (S. Marruso, personal communication, February 13, 2017).

Major industries in Malta include a State Farm Operations Center, a branch of State Farm insurance; Saratoga Technology and Energy Park, a New York State Energy Research and Development Authority-owned center for offices, research and development, and manufacturing of clean energy (NYSERDA, 2016), and GlobalFoundries, a semiconductor microchip fabrication plant. Of these, GlobalFoundries has had the greatest influence over Malta's development over the past ten years and will continue to shape growth for years to come.

2.1 GlobalFoundries

GlobalFoundries Inc. established a \$4.2 billion microchip manufacturing location in Malta, NY in 2010 in the Luther Forest Technology Campus. The plant serves as the symbolic center of the eastern "Technurial Valley" as it was not only the largest economic development project in North America of its time, the location was also the first rocket fuel testing site for the rocket to take an American to the moon (GlobalFoundries, 2017t). The Vice President of GlobalFoundries, Norm Armour, explained that they decided to invest in New York state because it has a historical association with new technologies and that the company believes, "that spirit of innovation and leadership is once again coming home to New York" (Empire State Development, 2010b). New York State similarly praised the project and provided \$1.2 billion in subsidies for the project, with an additional \$15.8 million investment towards an expansion of the location in Malta. New York

State valued GlobalFoundries as a good investment because it promised to create 1,400 new jobs and 5,000 new, indirect jobs in the area (Empire State Development, 2010b). Remarkably, in 2016, GlobalFoundries employed 3,048 full-time employees, contributing a combined \$365 million in payroll to the Saratoga County and Capital Region (GlobalFoundries, 2017). Although construction for GlobalFoundries began during the global economic recession, the plant was outlier in its economic success that has continued today.

GlobalFoundries produces nanotechnologies, a rare and difficult production, that require high inputs of natural resource. Consequently, the manufacturing plant has a significant environmental impact in the town of Malta, NY. The facility uses a tremendous amount of water, electricity, transportation, and space each day that has led to a variety of infrastructure upgrades in Malta. Greg Connors, a member of the government relations team for GlobalFoundries, expressed his concern over the fact that the supply of power, gas, and water is a major factor affecting the development and expansion at the Luther Technology Forest (Halligan, 2016). Already, a \$70 million, 30-mile water line was added to accommodate the four million gallons of water necessary per day (Halligan, 2016; GlobalFoundries, 2017). In order to process the waste water from the fabrication process, GlobalFoundries invested in a \$30 million upgrade to the Saratoga County sewer system and spends an additional \$30,000 a day to transport waste off campus that cannot go into the sewer system (G. Connors, personal communication, March 22, 2017). In addition, the facility uses 120 MW of power and 474,000 cubic feet or 4,741.3 therms of Natural gas per hour from National Grid (GlobalFoundries, 2017). The initial construction of the fab also required improvements to Route 67 and Route 9 to enable additional traffic flow and strength the roads (Halligan, 2016).

Despite the siting of GlobalFoundries hidden in Luther Forest, the company is clearly invested in the economic development of Malta and maintaining its strong relationship with the town. In addition to providing \$365 million in payroll into the local economy, GlobalFoundries has led to \$15 billion of public and private investment in Saratoga County (GlobalFoundries, 2017). A component of this are the direct investments that GlobalFoundries is making to the community through their two foundations: The GlobalFoundries-Town of Malta Foundation and the GlobalFoundries Town of Stillwater Foundations. Since 2011, the Foundations have contributed to 35 local organizations including to Ballston Spa High School, Malta Avenue Elementary Parent Teacher Association, Malta League of the Arts, Malta Seniors, Malta Sunrise Rotary, Town of Malta Department of Parks, Recreation, and Human Services, etc. (Rulison 2016).

2.2 Smart Growth in Malta

The town of Malta has been both anticipating its growth and implementing a variety of development projects over the course of the last twenty years. This development has gained the attention of the Environmental Studies and Sciences department at Skidmore College, resulting in two senior capstone projects regarding the town's development. Since the first proposal of GlobalFoundries in 1997, developers have heavily invested in Malta, hoping to market housing to GlobalFoundries workers. Albany Partners LLC understood the opportunity and proposed two major developments, Steeplechase and Ellsworth Commons. This first development, Steeplechase, was the focus of Skidmore student Sophia Marruso's (formerly Sophia Wiley) Environmental Studies Capstone in 2008. She investigated the presence and absence of smart growth principles in the design of Steeplechase. Marruso identified that Steeplechase did not meet smart growth principles because it failed to incorporate mixed land uses, contain affordable units, and based on

its distance from the downtown area, it lacked connectivity. However, it was the first attempt in the town of creating higher density, multi-family homes within the town and its construction led to the designation of the Malta Nature Preserve, therefore making Steeplechase Malta's first attempt at incorporating smart growth principles (Marruso, 2008).

Another Skidmore College capstone, conducted by Andrew Noone and Nicholas Liu-Sontag in 2011, investigated Malta resident's participation level in the planning process. The capstone hypothesizes that efforts of smart growth failed in Malta, NY because public participation and deliberation was weak and voters did not receive adequate education. Liu and Noone (2011) argue that a high level of public participation, voter turnout, and active engagement are required to make smart choices about development. They also argue that public participation is important because it improves policy outcomes, promotes inclusion, and because it is at the root of democracy. The researchers observed that although town meetings are open to the public, they serve more as an opportunity for witnessing the political process rather than direct participation. Noone and Liu-Sontag concluded that by helping citizens understand various types of development patterns and opportunities to participate in planning decisions, Malta may be able to effectively implement smart growth.

During the 1960's and 1970's, Malta experienced suburban development due to the construction of I-87. In 1989, the original zoning law was adopted in 1989 and fully amended in 2005 (Zoning Ordinance, 1989, amended 2005). Zoning set aside specific uses by lot and determined whether certain areas could be developed residentially or commercially. This conventional form of planning set a low-density standard for housing that has set the trajectory for the sprawling housing developments currently seen in Malta. Since the 2005 amendment to the zoning ordinance, Malta has undergone a number of zoning changes due to the town's exponential

growth because of GlobalFoundries. Changes have included the rezoning of Route 67 and Route 9 from residential to commercial and the establishment of form-based code. A newspaper article from the *Times Union* covered the current administration's rezoning of Route 67 and Route 9 from residential to commercial under Supervisor Vincent DeLucia and explained that the intention was to make Malta more business-friendly (Liberatore, 2016). Form-based code was introduced to enable Malta to establish a downtown.

Rarely do towns have the unique opportunity to anticipate fast population growth and for developers to have a guaranteed demand for a specific type of housing and commercial development. As a consequence of this, Malta has explored a few different options for the best planning strategy to create a town that both honors the long term residents of Malta, NY as well as provides the services and commercial opportunities required to sustain the population that GlobalFoundries brought to the town of Malta. In 2005, the town decided to update their 2000 Master Plan to accommodate for the rapid changes and growth already experienced from 2000-2004, including the approval of the Luther Forest Technology Campus. This approval included Planned Development District #46 that permitted the construction of GlobalFoundries in the tech campus. Within this comprehensive plan, Malta identified the town's goals and objectives, the comprehensive vision and plan, its implementation, a growth analysis, and an inventory and analysis. The vision of Malta was defined as a place, "where people can raise a family and take pride in their community-its beauty, appearance, businesses, services and natural resources" (Town of Malta, 2005). The Plan established a maximum build out of 22,787 people, but identified that in order to meet the needs of this expanded population improvements to the transportation, development of downtown and other commercial areas, and the preservation of recreation and open space areas needed to be identified as a priority for the town (Town of Malta, 2005).

By 2010, GlobalFoundries had become an integral part of the Malta community, however, the town still lacked the central downtown area that was appropriate for a town with such a large industry. The developer and construction firm Albany Partners LLC proposed Ellsworth Commons as the primary set of buildings along Route 9, which had potential to serve as the center for commercial development within the town. As described by the developer Neil Swingruber, Ellsworth Commons fit precisely into the guidelines set forward by standard C1 zoning and Malta town legislation for what the appropriate building dimensions were for the space (N. Swingruber, personal communication, May 1, 2017).

Once Ellsworth was built, the town identified a need to update their zoning code to better reflect the innovative community that was living in Malta as a result of GlobalFoundries. The result was the adoption of the 2013, Malta Downtown Master Plan Implementation: Downtown Form-Based Code. The plan was developed primarily by Code Studio and funded by a grant from the Capital District Transportation Committee (S. Marruso, personal communication, February 1, 2017). It focused on reinventing a downtown corridor along Route 9 in Malta. The primary difference between typical zoning processes and form-based code is that tradition zoning focuses on the specific uses of the buildings, while form-based code (Figure 1) emphasizes the “relationship between building facades and the public realm, the form and mass of buildings in relation to one another, and the scale and types of streets and blocks” (Code Studio, 2013, p. 1)

2.3. Downtown Malta Zoning Map

The following map is established and made a part of the City of Malta Official Zoning Map.

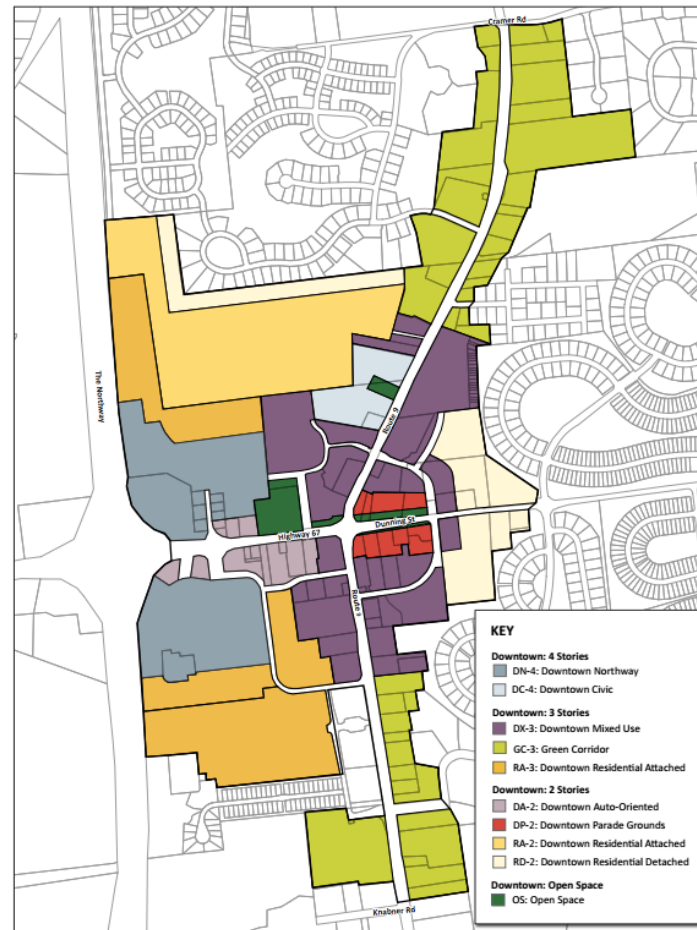


Figure 1. Form-Based Code. This figure depicts the form-based code plan adopted by the town of Malta in 2013.

Through the use of form-based code, the town aimed to enhance the quality of development within the town, reduce the bulk of buildings along Route 9, provide cohesion among buildings in the downtown area, increase the range of housing opportunities, encourage mixed-use developments, improve traffic and pedestrian safety, and establish a thriving downtown economy for Malta (Town of Malta, 2013).

Malta's zoning code, though specific in its requirements, also provides a clear framework through which developers can be granted exceptions to existing requirements. One such exception process is known as a Planned Development District (PDD), defined as an area that provides:

A means for the development of entirely new residential, commercial, or industrial subdivisions, parks or estates in which certain economies of scale or creative architectural or planning concepts may be used by the developer without departing from the spirit and intent of this chapter [on Zoning], while substantially benefitting the Town in a manner not otherwise available through development under the Town's existing zoning (Zoning Ordinance 1989, amended 2005).

This type of development must be approved by a majority of the Town Board before being passed on to the Planning Board for final approval, including a public hearing process. In terms of administration of these developments, each PDD is considered a single parcel of land that must adhere to the regulations set during the approval process. Although these regulations generally coincide with many of the regulations set for the town as a whole, this is not necessarily the case. Regulations can be changed with approval from the Planning Board.

3. Analytical Framework: Evaluating Smart Growth

Given Malta's unique situation and makeup of stakeholders, this study prioritizes the identification of prominent opinions within the community and the differences between them, in relation to past literature on smart growth. Edwards and Haines (2007) propose a mechanism for evaluating the effectiveness of comprehensive planning at the local level in implementing smart growth. Using Wisconsin as a case study, they analyze 30 comprehensive plans at the town, village, and city level to identify whether the plans incorporate the six primary goals of smart growth. The authors differentiate between smart growth goals and smart growth policies. Goals identify smart growth principles as ideal scenarios for certain areas, whereas policies outline concrete steps that can be taken to achieve those goals. Additionally, if goals or policies are

present, the authors define them as either comprehensive or narrow. A goal or policy is comprehensive if it applies to the entire area of the municipality or city, and narrow if it applies to only a certain section within the larger area. Malta relies on comprehensive plans to guide its development, but not for specific policy requirements. Based on this study, we identified a need for further analysis of Malta's comprehensive plan and other documents to assess their rigor in governing development according to smart growth principles.

Yang (2008) addresses the importance of community perceptions and satisfaction in smart growth planning through a case study of two metropolitan areas which exemplify two vastly different types of growth. The study is based on a survey of community satisfaction with quality of life in areas of Portland, Oregon and Charlotte, North Carolina, as well as the geographical area of the survey respondent. Yang specifically studies whether the density at neighborhood and block levels, the mix of land use and housing structures, and the street network connectivity impacts residents' level of satisfaction with their respective community. In this study, he questions assumptions made by other smart growth researchers that higher density leads to higher quality of life, and sets out to find an empirical basis for those claims. The results of the survey indicate that in Charlotte, an area known for suburban sprawl and low density housing, communities with higher density and mix of land use and housing options had lower community satisfaction, while Portland communities with high density and mix of land use and housing resulted in higher satisfaction levels. Both cities showed that in areas where housing was primarily low density, single-family homes, community satisfaction was high compared to other areas. Yang concludes that his result suggests high importance of context and community perceptions in the implementation of smart growth policies, and that decision makers should take into consideration how communities in different areas may view components of growth differently. This study suggests that case-based

research is necessary to understand how communities experience growth, because each community is made up of different components within their own specific context. It also emphasizes the point that community members often have different preferences for residential areas and other areas.

Liau, Farber, and Ewing (2015) develop a stated preference survey to evaluate public demand for high density housing. Under the assumption that consumers, or residents of a community, are heterogeneous and prefer different types of housing scenarios based on their personal utility preferences, the authors ask questions about distance from destinations, walkability, affordability, and the range of housing options in the area. The survey also includes demographic questions about age, income level, and other household characteristics, based on past research that suggests that these characteristics can influence an individual's attitude towards ideal housing scenarios. From these stated preferences, the authors develop a measure of their willingness-to-pay for certain types of housing. Results of the survey show a higher preference for suburban style housing development among larger families with school-age children, and those with higher incomes. Within the framework of smart growth, a weakness of this study is that it does not take into account physical and aesthetic aspects of buildings, relying only on survey respondents' interpretations of distance and connectivity. This study provides a clear framework for using surveys as a research method for identifying community viewpoints and values, which will be an essential piece of our research.

3.1 Research Goals

While research on smart growth and development is thorough and diverse, many of the prominent articles focus on the theoretical framework driving the principles and various interpretations of defining the term. While many different definitions exist, the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) and Smart Growth America (SGA), a nonprofit advocating for the

implementation of smart growth, maintain similar definitions in which we strongly believed. According to the EPA, smart growth consists of the following ten principles: mixed land uses; compact building design; a range of housing opportunities and choices; walkable neighborhoods; distinctive, attractive communities with a strong sense of place; preservation of open space, farmland, natural beauty, and critical environmental areas; strengthening and directing of development toward existing communities; providing a variety of transportation choices; making development decisions predictable, fair, and cost-effective; and encouraging community and stakeholder collaboration in development decisions (EPA, 2016; SGA, 2017).

The goal of our research is to create a case study of what smart growth implementation entails. Malta's well-documented growth period and its many consistent policy players made it an ideal study location. We use the definitions of Smart Growth America and the EPA to guide our investigation into the disconnection between smart growth principles and their successful implementation using Malta, NY as a case study.

4. Participant Observation

4.1 Methodology

Part of our research included participant observation to gain firsthand experience in the planning process and understanding patterns of growth and development in Malta. To being researching smart growth and planning, we attended the 2017 Saratoga County Zoning and Planning Conference on January 25, 2017. We also attended a planning board meeting on April 18, 2017. Finally, we collected data on our experiences walking and driving through Malta over the course of our fifteen visits from October through May.

4.2 Results

4.2.1 2017 Saratoga Planning and Zoning Conference

We attended workshops entitled, “Planning and Zoning Case Law Update,” “NY Route 67 Public + Private Perspectives,” “Benefits of Green Infrastructure,” “Zoning Board Overview,” “Neighborhood Opposition: A Case study in Making Difficult Decisions,” “Solar Energy Regulations,” and “Form-based Code: How Can it Work, How is it Working, and How Should it Work?” The conference provided us with a first-look of how the different planning processes are conducted, the quantity of studies that need to be conducted before a municipality can implement a change, and finally that planning and zoning board members are largely members of the public who are of a certain age that has the available time to be properly trained and sit on the committees. Throughout the conference, many broad issues were presented and limited clear recommendations were set forth.

4.2.2 Planning Board Meeting

To understand how a planning board meeting progressed, we attended a planning board meeting. It began with fifteen attendees, four of which were part of the public. As applicants made their cases and requests to the planning board, they left the meeting. All members of the planning board were present, including Anthony Tozzi, Sean Doty, Mark Schachner, William Smith, David Wallingford, Jean Loewenstein, Roger Lane, Dave Bowman, Kyle Kordich, John Viola, and two alternates, Joseph Lopez and Leonard Smith. Six proposals were made to the board: a site plan extension request, a special use permit proposal, a proposal to change lot lines, a conceptual proposal for a housing development, a PDD amendment.

4.3 Walking through Town

In order to identify areas that were most striking that community members may be interested in sharing opinions about, we drove through Malta several times and walked through the downtown area and some of the subdivisions. Both as pedestrians and drivers, we found it challenging to navigate through the streets of Malta. The roundabouts were frequent and as drivers not accustomed to them, we struggled to understand the signage and the right-of-way rules. We encountered difficulties turning off of Route 9, especially when making left turns. Despite the turning lane in the center of the road, it was difficult to judge the timing of other cars in the two lanes we had to cross after the turning lane.

As pedestrians, we walked through the central area of the downtown. Although there were sidewalks in much of this area running parallel to Route 9, when they were intersected by driveways or connecting roads, there was a noticeable lack of crosswalks. In the Ellsworth Commons area, there is no crossing area to get from one side of Route 9 to the other, making it difficult to travel to Ellsworth Commons as pedestrians. Additionally, as we walked through the town, we noticed that there were very few other pedestrians, and felt that our presence in the public street space made us conspicuous. A few of the times we visited the town, we observed a small group of people walking down Route 9 in the shoulder of the road, and a few other times we encountered other pedestrians using the sidewalks. On days when weather was mild, it was not uncommon to see cyclists on Route 9.

5. Survey

5.1 Survey Methodology

We conducted a survey of Malta residents to collect data on their opinions on development and land use decisions in the town (Appendix A). The survey was developed using Qualtrics Survey Software and included 16 questions in total, the first three of which are visual preference questions. The visual preference section used images that depict various levels of smart growth and was inspired by a similar visual preference survey conducted by Smart Growth America (Smart Growth America, 2004). The images we presented were in sets of three, categorized as “Housing,” “Shopping,” and “Transportation.” Survey results were analyzed in Statistical Packaging for the Social Sciences, or SPSS. Ultimately, 270 people took the survey, but respondents who indicated that they did not rent or own a home in Malta were excluded, which left us with data from 205 responses.

The survey was conducted online and distributed to the public via Facebook, email, in flyers posted in several locations around Malta, and in person. It was active for 22 days, from April 4th until April 26th. The survey was set up in four sections: the visual preference section, development and smart growth in Malta, town politics and character, and demographics. These category labels were not visible to survey respondents. The visual preference section was designed to attain stated preference from respondents. To obtain the most objective data, the phrase “smart growth” was never used.

In the first section, respondents were shown three pictures each of housing, shopping, and transportation and asked to answer questions according to personal preferences (Figure 2; Figure 3; Figure 4). For each visual preference category, the image in option A always included the fewest smart growth principles, B included some, and C included the most. For question one on housing,

option A showed a picture of a low-density housing scenario, with a single-family home on a large parcel of land and a visible garage and driveway. Option B showed a picture of a mid-density housing scenario, with connected multi-family townhomes. Option C showed a picture of a high-density and mixed-use housing scenario, with apartments over retail. In reference to these three pictures, the survey asked respondents to respond to five sub-questions.



Figure 2. Visual preference images from housing section of survey. This image shows three housing scenarios shown to survey respondents for questions 1.1 through 1.5.

For the second question on commercial development, option A was a picture of a free-standing drive-thru business along a two-lane road with shoulders. Option B was a picture of a strip mall with a row of cars parked in front of connected chain-stores. Option C was a picture of a compact downtown with a large sidewalk, outdoor seating in front of businesses, green space, and benches. Respondents were asked to respond to five sub-questions in relation to these pictures.



Figure 3. Visual preference images for commercial section of the survey. This image shows three commercial scenarios shown to survey respondents for questions 2.1-2.5.

In the third question, option A was a picture of a four-lane road with a turning lane and shoulders with no sidewalks or bike lanes. Option B was a picture of a four-lane road with a landscaped median and sidewalks. Option C was a picture of a two-lane one-way street with a bike lane, on-street parking, and a sidewalk. Again, respondents were asked to respond to five sub-questions in relation to the images.

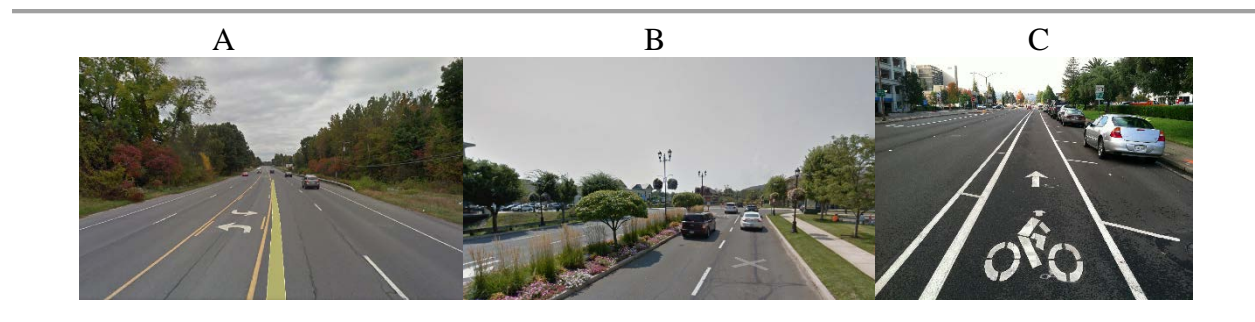


Figure 4. Visual preference images from housing section of survey. This image shows three housing scenarios shown to survey respondents for questions 3.1 through 3.5.

The second section focused on general questions about respondents' opinions on development and smart growth in Malta. Question four asked whether residents believe development is on the right direction or wrong track for traffic, shopping, housing, and quality of life. Question five asked respondents to rank the importance of six smart growth principles on a Likert scale. Likert scales categories were combined to facilitate analysis (Table 1). Question six asked respondents if they agree or disagree that Malta had achieved each of the six smart growth principles according to a Likert scale, which we combine into three categories for analysis purposes (Table 2).

Table 1

Likert scale categories for Question 5 as referred to in results

Combined variable	Original variables
Not at all important	Not at all important
Somewhat important	Slightly important, Moderately important
Extremely important	Very important, Extremely important

Table 2

Likert scale categories for Question 6 as referred to in results

Combined variable	Original variables
Strongly Agree	Strongly Agree, Agree
Neither agree nor disagree	Neither agree nor disagree
Strongly Disagree	Disagree, Strongly Disagree

The third section included questions related to town politics and the character of Malta. Question seven asked how closely respondents to rank how closely they follow Malta's land use and planning decisions. Question eight asked respondents to state their level of agreement with the statement "I feel that the Malta town board listens to people like me in making its planning decisions." Question nine asked if respondents agreed with the statement that Malta was a family town.

Finally, section four asked about demographic information, including whether respondents owned or rented a home in Malta, how many years they lived in Malta, how many people lived in their home, age, gender, and income.

5.2 Survey Results

5.2.1 Demographics

After excluding non-Malta residents from our respondents, our sample included 205 people. Not all respondents answered every question, resulting in a smaller sample size for some questions. Out of 179 respondents who reported their age, 3 were 18-25 years old, 71 were 26-45 years old, 85 were 46-65 years old, and 20 were over 65 (Figure 5). Our survey was taken by 78 males, 97 females, and 2 participants of another gender. For income, one individual earned less than \$20,000, 10 earned \$20,000-\$39,000, 19 earned \$40,000-\$69,000, 34 earned \$70,000-\$99,999, and 57 earned more than \$100,000. 58 survey participants preferred not to answer (Figure 6).

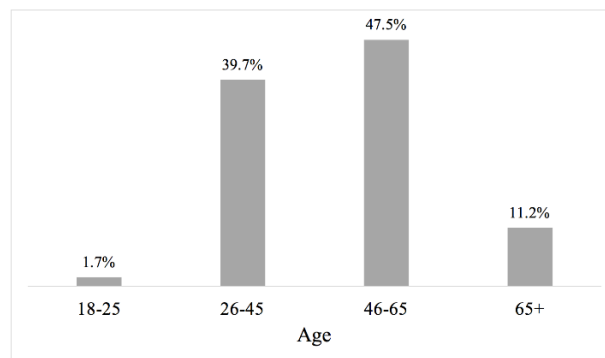


Figure 5. Age distribution of survey respondents. This bar graph shows the age groups of survey respondents, according to Question 13 (n=179).

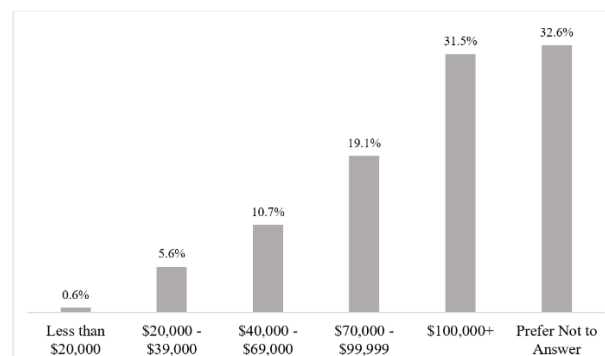


Figure 6. Percentage of income levels among participants. This bar graph shows the income levels of Malta residents who took the survey (n=179).

Among our survey participants, 89.4 percent owned homes in Malta and 10.6 percent rented homes in Malta (n=179) (Figure 7). 41.3 percent of respondents have lived in Malta fewer than 10 years, 25.4 percent have lived in Malta 11-20 years, 15.3 percent for 21-30 years, 10.1 percent for 31-40 years, 5.6 percent for 41-50 years, and 5.1 percent for more than 50 years (n=177) (Figure 8).

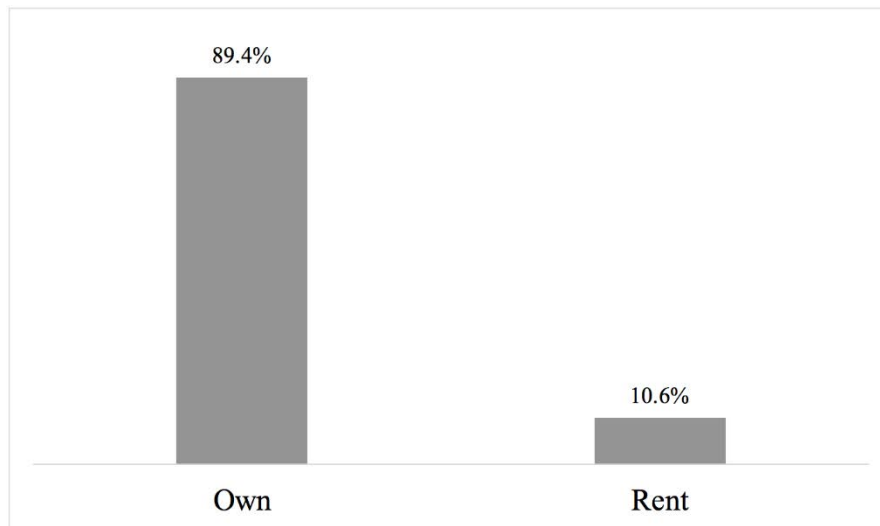


Figure 7. Percentage of respondents who rent or own a home in Malta. This bar graph shows the percentage of respondents who own or rent a home in Malta (n=179).

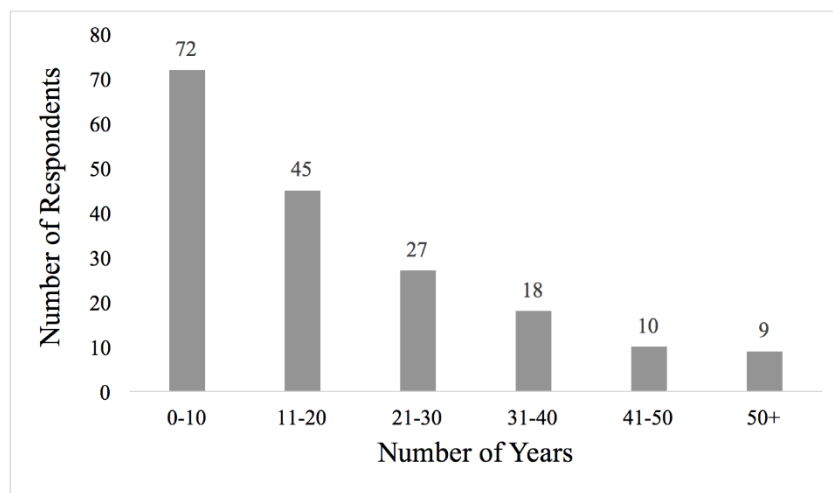


Figure 8. Number of years survey respondents have lived in Malta. This bar graph shows a breakdown of how long survey respondents have lived in Malta (n=177).

5.2.2 Visual Preference Section

We asked survey respondents a series of questions on their perceptions of various housing scenarios based on a set of three photos (Figure 2). Question 1.1 asked respondents to select the image in which they were more likely to feel a sense of community. Of the respondents, 55.3 percent selected option A, 31.3 percent selected option B, 3.9 percent selected option C, and 9.5 percent selected “Don’t Know” (n=179). Question 1.2 asked respondents to select the image in which they believed they would use their car less. Of the respondents, 5.6 percent selected option A, 19.8 percent selected option B, 51.4 percent selected option C, and 23.2 percent selected “Don’t Know” (n=179). Question 1.3 asked respondents to select which image they believe shows the more affordable housing option. Of the respondents, 15.7 percent selected option A, 33.1 percent selected option B, 42.1 percent selected option C, and 9.0 percent selected “Don’t know” (n=178). Question 1.4 asked respondents to select which option they believed Malta needs more of. Out of the respondents, 45.5 percent selected option A, 19.1 percent selected option B, 4.5 percent selected option C, and 30.9 percent answered “Don’t know” (n=178). Finally, Question 1.5 asked respondents to select the image that shows the housing option in which they would most like to live. Out of the respondents, 71.9 percent selected option A, 16.3 percent selected option B, 3.9 percent selected option C, and 7.9 percent selected “Don’t know” (n=178) (Table 3).

Table 3
Results from Question 1.1-1.5

Question	A	B	C	Don't Know
Where are you more likely to feel a sense of community?	55.3%	31.3%	3.9%	9.5%
Where would you use your car less?	5.6%	19.8%	51.4%	23.2%
Which housing do you think is more affordable?	15.7%	33.1%	42.1%	9.0%
Which housing do you think Malta needs more of?	45.5%	19.1%	4.5%	30.9%
Which housing would you personally prefer to live in?	71.9%	16.3%	3.9%	7.9%

Note: Table shows percent of respondents who selected each option for questions 1.1 through 1.5. Bolded percentages indicate option with the highest percent of respondents (n=179).

Of the respondents between age 18 and 25, one reported that they would prefer to see more of housing option A in Malta, one reported they would prefer to see more of option B, and the third reported they did not know which housing option they would prefer to see more of (n=178). In the 25-46 age group, 47.9 percent of respondents reported that they would prefer to see more of housing option A, while 9.9 percent would prefer to see more of option B, 2.8 percent would prefer to see more of option C, and 39.4 percent did not know. Respondents in the 46-65 age group showed similar preferences; 46.4 reported that they would prefer to see more of housing option A in Malta, 23.8 would prefer to see more of option B, 4.8 would prefer to see more of option C, and 25 percent didn't know. Of respondents age 65 and older, 35 percent would prefer to see more of housing option A, 30 percent would prefer to see more of housing option B, 10 percent would prefer to see more of option C, and 25 percent didn't know which housing option they would prefer to see more of (Figure 9).

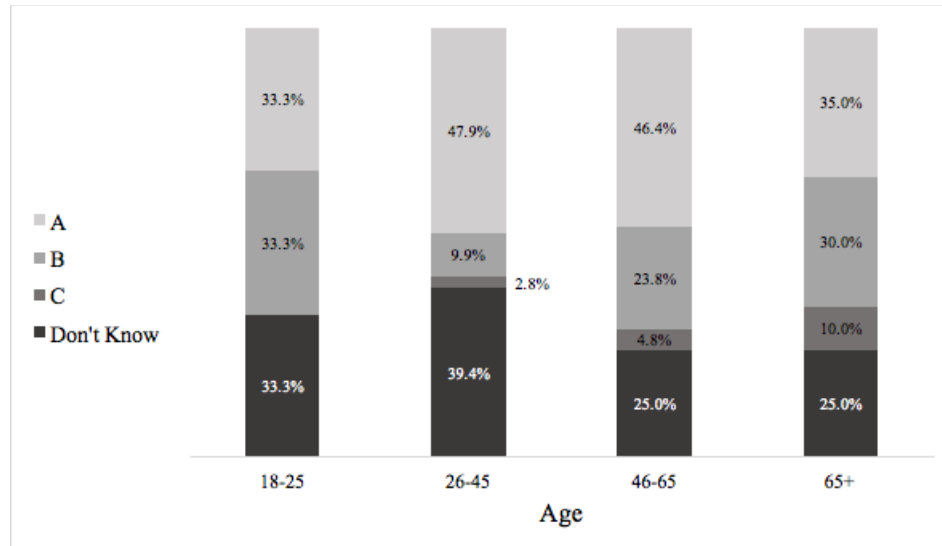


Figure 9. Housing preferences according to age group. This bar graph shows the distribution of housing options residents would prefer to see more of in Malta according to their age (n=179).

We then asked survey respondents a series of questions on their perceptions of various commercial scenarios based on a set of three photos (Figure 3). Question 2.1 asked which option would they would prefer to go shopping at. 11.2 percent of our respondents answered A, 16.9 percent answered option B, 62.9 percent answered C, and 9.0 percent answered “Don’t Know” (n=178). Question 2.2 asked which option they were more likely to spend 30 minutes or less at. 29.5 percent answered option A, 52.8 percent answered option B, 12.5 percent answered option C, and 5.1 percent answered “Don’t Know” (n=176). Question 2.3 asked which option they were more likely to spend more than two hours at. 4.0 percent selected option A, 6.8 percent selected option B, 75.7 percent selected option C, and 13.6 percent selected “Don’t Know” (n=177). Question 2.4 asked which option they felt had a distinctive sense of place. 9.1 percent answered option A, 5.7 percent answered option B, 69.3 percent answered option C, and 15.9 percent answered “Don’t know” (n=176). Finally, Question 2.5 asked which option they would personally prefer to see more of in Malta. 10.2 percent answered option A, 10.2 percent answered option B, 56.8 percent answered option C, and 22.7 percent answered “Don’t Know” (n=176) (Table 4).

Table 4
Results from Question 2.1-2.5

Question	A	B	C	Don't Know
Which option would you prefer to go shopping at?	11.2%	16.9%	62.9%	9.0%
Which option would you be more likely to spend 30 minutes or less at?	29.5%	52.8%	12.5%	5.1%
Which option would be more likely to spend 2 hours or more at?	4.0%	6.8%	75.7%	13.6%
Which option do you think has a distinctive sense of place?	9.1%	5.7%	69.3%	15.9%
Which option would you personally prefer to see more of in Malta?	10.2%	10.2%	56.8%	22.6%

Note: Table shows percent of respondents who selected each option for questions 2.1 through 2.5. Bolded percentages indicate option with the highest percent of respondents (n=179).

Of the respondents between age 18 and 25, 66.7 percent would prefer to see more of shopping option C and 33.3 percent did not know. For those between age 26 through 45, 9.9 percent would prefer to see more of option A, 9.9 percent for option B, 49.3 percent for option C, and 31 percent did not know which shopping option they would like to see more of. For our participants aged 46 through 65, 9.6 percent would like to see more of option A for commercial development, 12 percent would prefer option B, 62.7 percent would prefer option C, and 15.7 percent did not know which option they preferred for commercial. Finally, for those who are above the age of 65, 15.8 percent would prefer to see more of commercial option A in Malta, 5.3 percent would prefer to see more of option B, and 57.9 percent for option C, and 21.1 percent did not know which commercial development they would prefer to see in Malta (n=179) (Figure 10).

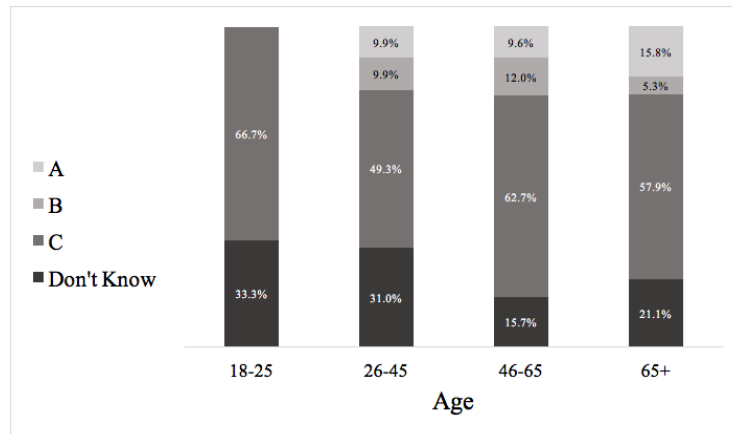


Figure 10. Shopping preferences according to age group. This bar graph shows the distribution of shopping options residents would prefer to see more of in Malta according to their age (n=179).

Next, we asked survey respondents a series of questions on their perceptions of various streetscapes based on a set of three photos (Figure 4). Question 3.1 asked which street they thought people are more likely to walk or bike on. 5.1 percent respondents selected option A, 43.2 percent selected option B, 38.6 percent selected option C, and 13.1 percent selected “Don’t Know” (n=176). Question 3.2 asked which street they thought people would drive faster on. 76.7 percent selected option A, 4.0 percent selected option B, 5.1 percent selected option C, and 14.2 percent selected “Don’t Know” (n=176). Question 3.3 asked which street they thought Malta needed more of. 6.9 percent said option A, 44.8 percent said option B, 25.9 percent said option C, and 22.4 percent said “Don’t Know” (n=176). Question 3.4 asked which street they would prefer to drive on. 23.9 percent said option A, 46.6 percent said option B, 15.3 percent said option C, and 14.2 percent said “Don’t Know” (n=174) (Table 5).

Table 5
Results from Question 3.1-3.4

Question	A	B	C	Don't Know
Which option do you think people are more likely to walk or bike on?	5.1%	43.2%	38.6%	13.1%
Which option do you think people would drive faster on?	76.7%	4.0%	5.1%	5.1%
Which type of street do you think Malta needs more of?	6.9%	44.8%	25.9%	22.4%
Which street would you prefer to drive on?	23.9%	46.6%	15.3%	14.2%

Note: Table shows percent of respondents who selected each option for questions 3.1 through 3.4. Bolded percentages indicate option with the highest percent of respondents (n=179).

5.2.3 General Survey Responses

Question 4 sought to show how residents felt about current development trends by asking if Malta residents felt that the town's development was on the wrong track or right direction for four categories: traffic, shopping, housing, and quality of life. For traffic, 40.9 percent answered "Wrong Track," 47.2 percent answered "Right Direction," and 11.9 percent answered "Don't Know" (n=176). For shopping, 49.4 percent answered "Wrong Track," 40.9 percent answered "Right Direction," and 9.7 percent answered "Don't Know" (n=176). For housing, 55.7 percent answered "Wrong Track," 33.5 percent answered "Right Direction," and 10.8 percent answered "Don't Know" (n=176). For quality of life, 42.6 percent answered "Wrong Track," 47.7 percent answered "Right Direction," and 9.7 percent answered "Don't Know" (n=176) (Figure 11).

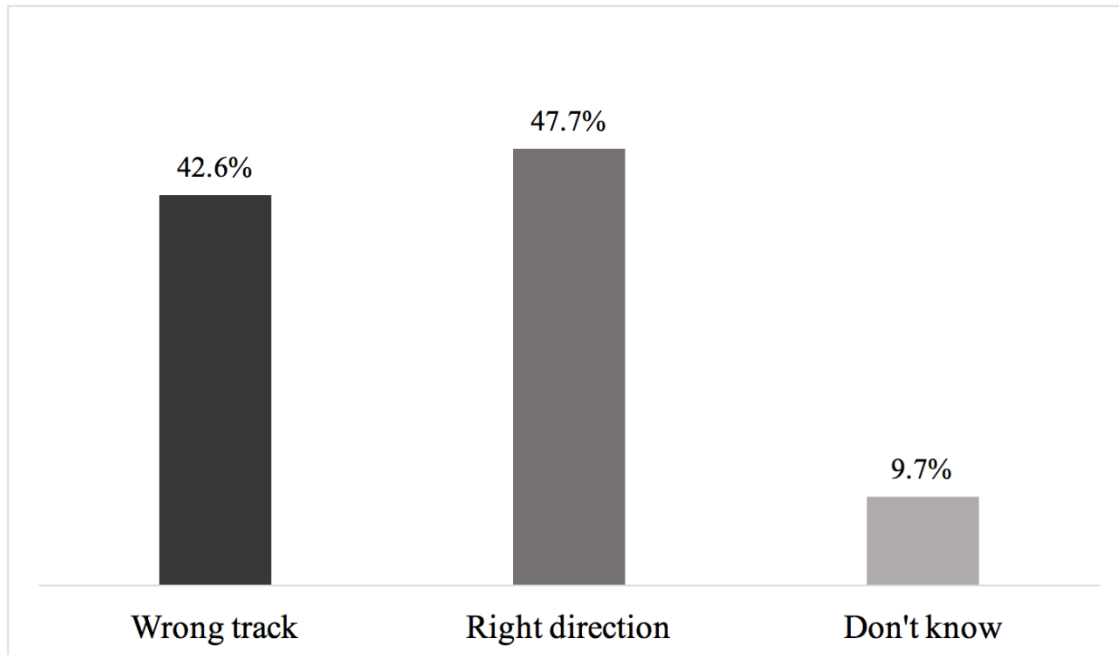


Figure 11. Wrong track versus right direction for quality of life. This bar graph indicates the percentage of respondents who felt that quality of life in Malta was either on the wrong track or in the right direction (n=176).

We also asked in our survey about our participants' relationship with land use and planning decisions in Malta in order to gauge public participation. 6.1 percent of respondents did not follow these decisions closely at all, 17.3 percent not too closely, 44.1 percent fairly closely, and 31.8 percent very closely. When asked if participants felt that the Malta town board listens to the people in making its planning decisions, 25.1 percent said that they strongly disagree, 19 percent disagree, 27.4 percent were not sure, 8.4 percent agreed and 20.1 percent strongly agreed.

We asked our participants a series of questions about the importance of a variety of smart growth principles. We inquired about the importance of mixed land use (Figure 12), a range of housing opportunities and choices (Figure 13), distinctive, attractive communities with a strong sense of place (Figure 14), walkable neighborhoods (Figure 15), open space, farmland, natural beauty, and critical environmental areas (Figure 16), and a variety of transportation choices (Figure 17). With the exception of transportation choices in Malta, all of the other categories had the largest percentage of respondents' report that each issue was extremely important to Malta.

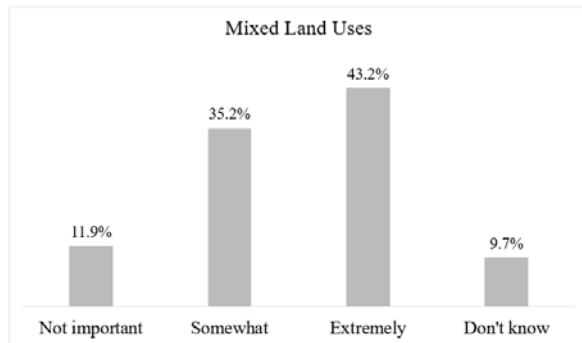


Figure 12. The importance of mixed land use. This bar graph shows the importance of mixed land use in Malta according to responses to a question that used a Likert scale (n=179).



Figure 13. The importance of a range of housing opportunities and choices. This bar graph shows the importance of a range of housing opportunities and choices in Malta according to responses to a question that used a Likert scale (n=179).

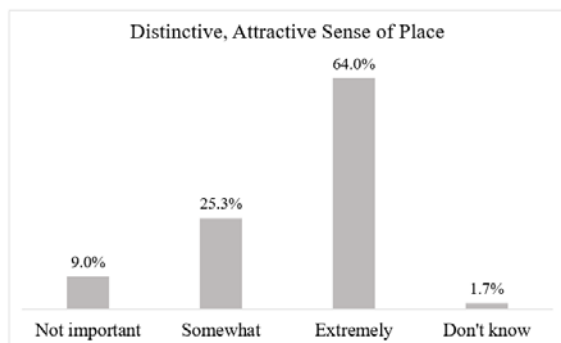


Figure 14. The importance of distinctive, attractive communities with a strong sense of place. This bar graph shows the importance of distinctive, attractive communities in Malta according to responses to a question that used a Likert scale (n=178).

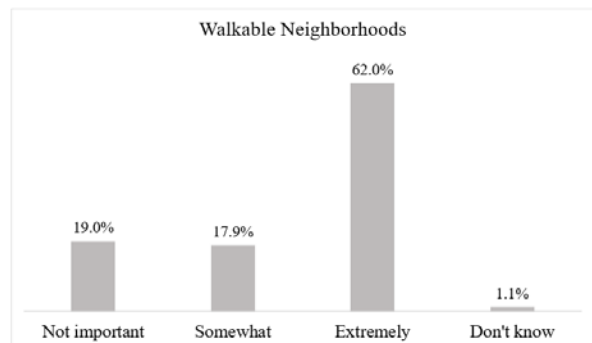


Figure 15. The importance of walkable neighborhoods. This bar graph shows the importance of walkable neighborhoods in Malta according to responses to a question that used a Likert scale (n=179).

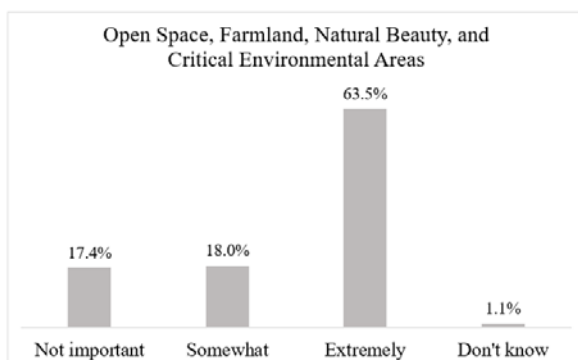


Figure 16. The importance of open space, farmland, natural beauty, and critical environmental areas. This bar graph shows the importance of open space, farmland, natural beauty, and critical environmental areas in Malta according to responses to a question that used a Likert scale (n=178).

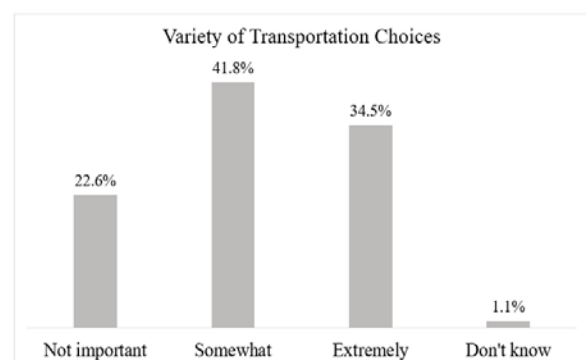


Figure 17. The importance of a variety of transportation choices. This bar graph shows the importance of a variety of transportation choices in Malta according to responses to a question that used a Likert scale (n=177).

We asked our participants a series of questions about the whether or not they agreed that Malta had achieved elements of smart growth. We inquired about whether or not Malta has achieved a range of housing opportunities and choices, a distinctive, attractive communities with a strong sense of place, walkable neighborhoods, open space, farmland, natural beauty, and critical environmental areas, and a variety of transportation choices (Figure 18).

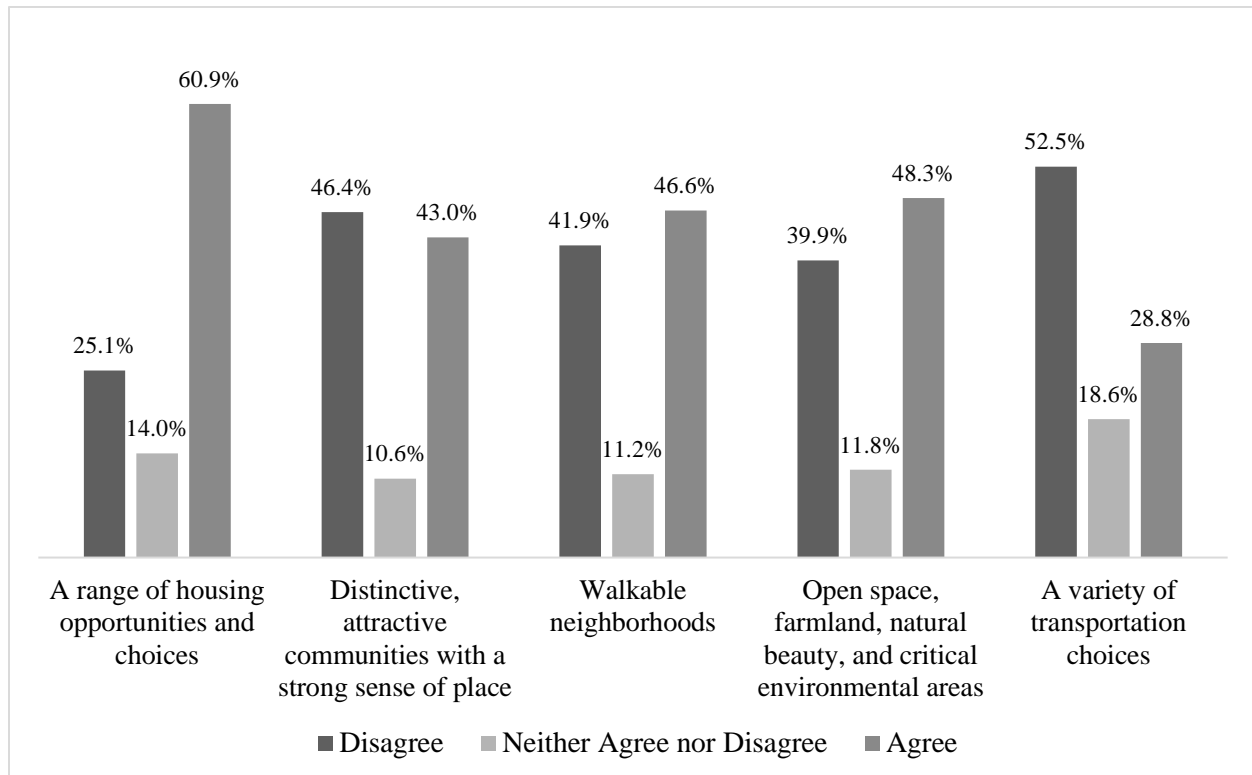


Figure 18. Perceptions of Malta's achievement of smart growth principles. This bar graph shows whether or not residents agreed that Malta achieved six smart growth principles (n=179).

5.2.4 Comparisons

In this section, we employ a cross tabulation analysis to compare multiple variables. The first cross tabulation compared housing preferences with commercial and transportation preferences to show how Malta residents' choices reflected smart growth principles. We found that of the 71.9 percent of respondents who would prefer to live in housing option A, 62.2 percent would prefer to go shopping at commercial option C. We also found that of the 45.5 percent of

people who think Malta needs more of housing option A, 60.3 percent think Malta needs more of transportation option B and 66.3 percent think Malta needs more of commercial option C.

Then, we used the information on the number of years respondents have lived in Malta, we combined all respondents into two categories: those who have lived in Malta for 20 years or less, and those who have lived in Malta for more than 20 years. We chose this differentiation because GlobalFoundries was introduced as a potential development project in Malta approximately 20 years ago, meaning that any residents who moved to Malta 20 years ago or less could feasibly have been aware of the potential for upcoming population growth due in Malta to GlobalFoundries. In total, 66 percent of respondents had lived in Malta for 20 years or less, and 34 percent had lived in Malta for more than 20 years. Out of the 66 percent who have lived in Malta 20 years or less, 45 percent reported that they believe Malta needs more of housing option A in Question 1.4. Of the respondents who had lived in Malta for more than 20 years, 51 percent reported that they think Malta needs more of housing option A.

Additionally, of those respondents who reported that their annual income is \$100,000 or higher, 82.5 percent reported that they would prefer to live in housing option A, 9.5 percent would prefer to live in option B, and 6.3 percent would prefer to live in option C (Question 1.5).

In order to gauge whether or not the current development in Malta is meeting the type of development the community is requesting, we compared the answers of our questions. We began by wanting to understand residents' perceptions of what they viewed as more affordable housing and whether or not the community wanted to see more of that housing option within Malta. Our combined results showed that of the 42.1 percent of the people who think option C is the more affordable housing option, only 8.0 percent think that Malta needs more of housing option C. To understand if Malta housing is meeting the community's expectations, we found that of the 45.5

percent of people who think that Malta needs more of housing option A, 72.5 percent think that housing in Malta is on the wrong track.

To understand if there was a connection between the value of walkable neighborhoods as a theoretical question and its implementation in the visual image, we compared respondents' values of walkable neighborhoods with which transportation option they would prefer to see more of. We found that of the 62 percent who think that walkable neighborhoods are extremely important, 52.8 percent would prefer to see more of transportation option B. Additionally for the 43.2 percent of the respondents who think that people are more likely to walk or bike on option B, 76 percent think that Malta needs more of transportation option B and only 6.7 percent think that Malta needs more of transportation option B.

For commercial development, we found that of the 40.9 percent of respondents who think that shopping is on the wrong track, 68.6 percent would prefer to see more of option C in Malta and 74.4 percent would prefer to shop at option C. Additionally, we found that of the 56.8 percent that would prefer to see more of option C in Malta, 27.3 percent think that shopping is in the right direction.

5.2.5 Open ended responses from our survey participants

In addition to the quantitative data that we collected in our survey, we permitted space at the conclusion of our survey to allow respondents to leave any further comments about development and land-use decisions in Malta. Only a portion of our respondents commented with further thoughts. Many of the answers pertained to dissatisfaction with the current residential, commercial, and transportation options, while expressing satisfaction with the new town board and supervisor.

The comments on residential development advocated for more single-family homes and lower-density housing. This belief largely stems from many respondents' perception of Malta as a quiet, bedroom community. One respondent expressed concern over the fact that the developers are pursuing high density housing in order to "maximize their profit, sadly at the cost of losing that small town feel" (Survey respondent). Another respondent argued that the high-density housing is leading to a lower quality of life and preserving an unnecessary quantity of green space. A respondent on the opposing side, expressed concern with the loss of green space to accommodate for all the new apartment housing.

The level of commercial development similarly conflicts with the ideological belief that Malta should remain a rural town. A common concern for our respondents was that Malta is experiencing too rapid commercial development for a rural community. Some respondents expressed concern that they moved to Malta because it does not have the commercial development of nearby towns, while another respondent stated that they moved to Malta because of the promise of commercial development. For others, they sought a very specific type of commercial development. One such opinion is that, "commercial property development is years behind the times...[we] should not have to go to Wilton or Clifton Park to receive commercial civilization" (Survey respondent). While our survey respondents did express an interest in having more smart growth commercial development (Figure 3), many are dissatisfied with the lack of parking availability and the amount of vacant retail spaces available, which is negatively impacting the aesthetic of the town. One respondent explained in reference to Ellsworth Commons, "it has ruined the look and feel of any type of "Main Street" the town would hope to achieve" (Survey respondent).

The survey comments confirmed our identification of transportation as a major barrier to smart growth in Malta. The main reasons cited for this were the roundabouts, the danger of bicyclists and pedestrians sharing the roadway, and the amount of traffic congestion throughout the towns. Some respondents were resistant to the implementation of more bike-friendly streetscapes because in their opinion, bikers fail to abide by the rules of the road and “are a nuisance and a danger to drivers” (Survey respondent). Finally, some expressed concern over the fact that traffic congestion has not improved, even with the implementation of roundabouts to improve traffic flow.

Finally, within our open comments section of our survey, many expressed concern as well as satisfaction with the new administration. The dissatisfaction stems from respondents’ frustration with an apparent connection between the developers and the town legislators. However, many respondents voiced their praise of the new town board and the new supervisor who they believe are setting the town on an improved path. Supervisor DeLucia was described as a, “breath of fresh air.” Overall, the satisfaction with the town’s recent developments is varied, but many are eager and willing to provide insight into their perspective.

6. Focus Group

6.1 Focus Group Methodology

We chose to conduct a focus group in order to gain a better perspective on the results from the survey. To find participants for the focus group, we sent an email to all survey participants who had included their email address in the optional request at the end of the survey. We held the focus group at 6:15pm on Wednesday, April 19, 2017 in the Malta Community Center, with five participants. We began by introducing ourselves and giving a summary of our project, including

what we had already completed out of our data collection. We guided the discussion using the pictures shown in the visual preference section (Figure 2; Figure 3; Figure4) of our survey and asking the group to respond to them.

6.2 Focus Group Results

We began our focus group by placing the three options for housing development (Figure 2) in front of our participants and asked them to explain why which development they felt had the greatest sense of community. Four of our participants immediately answered A and Participant D noted that they believed the greatest sense of community for them is in townhouses. All of these opinions are directly based off of each person's experience within each type of community. For Participants A, B, and C, they all noted that this type of community that they grew up in, currently live in, and consequently feel the greatest sense of community in option C. When describing their childhood, Participant B explained that within the community of shown in option C, they "knew that if [they were] on the other side of the neighborhood, and [they] fell off my bike, that [they] could just go up to my neighbor's house and be completely fine." For Participant D, option B represented more of a community because it represented the type of housing that they have lived in as well as best suited their lifestyle.

When we asked our participants which housing option they would prefer to see more of in Malta, there was consensus that there was already too much of option C, creating an "eyesore" within the community (Participant A). However, when confronted with the question of which housing option was the most affordable, particularly for millennials, option C was cited. There was consensus over the fact that housing prices in Malta are surprisingly high for many individuals to afford, even if they have well-paying jobs, such as at GlobalFoundries.

When we asked participants about their opinion of commercial development in Malta, the first topic that arose was the community's dislike of Ellsworth Commons (Figure 3). Participant A described it as a "failure," and Participant B admitted they did not even know what was at Ellsworth. Participant B criticized Ellsworth Commons because people did not feel obliged to hang out there and enjoy the space itself, saying "if you want to go there, you have to park in that parking lot, walk around for maybe five minutes, and then call it a day, because there is nothing there" (Participant B, personal communication, April 19, 2017). Participant D explained that the failure of Ellsworth was a design flaw on the developer's part, because parking should have been put in front of the complex, rather than constructing the buildings around the parking. Participant D also pointed out that half of the commercial property that is available for rent "is due to the fact that the park is where you should be parking, and there are no parking places there" (Participant D, personal communication, April 19, 2017). Participant D mentioned that they'd never seen a human being in the park between the two buildings by the entrance to Ellsworth.

Participant A lamented that they saw a lot of strip malls that were empty, and Participant B brought attention to the fact that the town is building more. Participant A criticized the town for continually building shopping complexes that do not become occupied by business. They went on to say that they love walking around areas like the shopping area shown in picture C for commercial development in the survey and that a place like option C is what they are looking for in the next place they are moving to. Participant E made a point that the distinction between options A and B versus option C is that options A and B are "used," while option C is "lived in." After this comment, the whole group agreed with Participant E's statement. One outlier of the group, Participant D, said that they wanted Malta to have more commercial competition, saying they

“deserved more than two gas stations” (Participant D, personal communication, April 19, 2017). Overall, the group agreed that they did not want commercial sprawl comprised of large box stores.

Upon viewing the three pictures that were shown in the transportation section of the survey, the focus group covered a few different topics related to transportation (Figure 4). Participant C reported using public transportation to get from Malta to Albany, prompting a discussion on public transportation options available to the Malta community. The group also highlighted a few different scenarios that they saw as potentially viable for the roadways going through the town. Participant E suggested that the Northway should be used for expediting travel, while Route 9 should be slowed down and built out to be accessible to pedestrians and cyclists, stating specifically that “you are not going to build a community unless you are going to bring it down to the human level” (Participant E, personal communication, April 19th, 2017). Participant A brought up that some parts of Route 9 had undergone a speed limit reduction, and approval for on-street parking, but that there were still safety issues with traffic on the road.

The group also discussed transportation from a pedestrian standpoint. Participant D reported walking a lot and being confused about the lack of sidewalks in many places. The group agreed that crossing the street was challenging, even with one stoplight with a crosswalk. Participant A reported that they ride a bicycle around Malta, and discussed the difficulty of navigating the roundabouts without a car. Throughout the discussion on transportation, participants largely agreed with statements made by the group.

7. Semi-Structured Interviews

7.1 Semi-Structured Interviews Methodology

We conducted eleven semi-structured interviews with different stakeholders of interest (Table 5). Each interview was approximately one hour long, and all were conducted in-person, except for the interview with Beth Osborne of Smart Growth America, which was conducted over the phone. Additionally, we recorded and transcribed the audio for each interview, except for the interview with Greg Connors of GlobalFoundries because of the company's confidentiality policy.

Although the structure of each interview was slightly different, the goal of each was to gain a sense of perspective on the interviewee's opinions on growth and development in Malta, especially in regards to some of the smart growth principles. In some interviews, we were open about using the term "smart growth" in reference to the project. However, for interviews in which we felt using the term might bias the interviewee's perspective, we refrained from using it. Each interview began with an introduction in which we identified ourselves as Environmental Studies students at Skidmore College, and gave a summary of our goals for the research project. We personalized our interview questions based on the experiences and background information for each of our interviewees.

The following section will provide a brief summary of each interview and identify key quotes and concepts from each interviewee. The comprehensive summaries of each interview can be viewed in Appendix B.

Table 6

Semi-structured interviews

Interviewee	Title	Date of Interview
Sophia Marruso	Senior Planner and Stormwater Management Officer, Malta, NY	February 1, 2017
Beth Osborne*	Senior Policy Advisor, Smart Growth America	February 14, 2017
Todd Fabozzi	Director of Sustainability, Capital District Regional Planning Committee	February 18, 2017
Vincent DeLucia	Town Supervisor, Malta, NY	February 22, 2017
Anthony Tozzi	Building and Planning Coordinator, Malta, NY	February 22, 2017
Paul Sausville	Former Town Supervisor, Malta, NY	March 2, 2017
Greg Connors**	Director of Government Relations, GlobalFoundries	March 22, 2017
Peter Klotz	Former Planning Board Chairman, Malta, NY	March 26, 2017
William Smith	Current Planning Board Chairman, Malta, NY	April 5, 2017
Tim Dunn	Elected Councilperson, Malta, NY	April 18, 2017
Neil Swingruber	Principal at the Neilson Group LLC, Malta, NY	May 1, 2017

Note. One asterisk (*) indicates an interview conducted over the phone.

Two asterisks (**) indicates an interview that was not recorded or transcribed.

7.2 Semi-Structured Results

Vincent DeLucia

We interviewed Town Supervisor Vincent DeLucia, with his secretary Roseanne Clavin present during the interview. DeLucia began by stating that he “envision[s] that the growth in Malta is going to continue and that Malta is going to become a very popular place” (V. DeLucia, personal communication, February 22, 2017). DeLucia explains that Malta is proud of its 500 acres of parks and recreation, the opportunity to have single-family residences, and the numerous family functions and facilities that are funded by the town, the community center, and the GlobalFoundries Foundation. DeLucia’s administration is determined to maintain the no town tax policy by creating a more “business-friendly environment” that will raise the commercial assets

for the town (V. DeLucia, personal communication, February 22, 2017). He has already begun this process with the rezoning of Routes 67 and 9 from residential to commercial areas in hopes that the town can maintain a better balance between commercial, residential, rural, and agricultural areas (V. DeLucia, personal communication, February 22, 2017).

In regards to Ellsworth Commons, DeLucia explained that while the development was the “best laid plans” and that the “previous town board and supervisor... had their hearts in the right place,” Ellsworth has unfortunately resulted in too many empty storefronts (V. DeLucia, personal communication, February 22, 2017). DeLucia’s proposal for increasing commercial development is the introduction of on-street parking, which he has successfully convinced the DOT of. However, citing safety concerns, DeLucia has yet to move forward with this plan.

Paul Sausville

We had the opportunity to interview former Town Supervisor Paul Sausville, who served from 2005 to 2015. During his interview, Sausville stated that in his opinion, he “had a front row seat in the decline” of Malta and that although “Malta had a good start...we’ve lost our way” (P. Sausville, personal communication, March 2, 2017). He understands that Malta will not return to the quiet agricultural town it once was, but that the town should continue seeking a quiet, suburban environment. He wants fewer large commercial projects such as Ellsworth Commons, which he described in simple terms: “I hate it. It’s awful” (P. Sausville, personal communication, March 2, 2017). To him, these developments do not lend themselves to the suburban, family town identity of Malta that he worked to establish (P. Sausville, personal communication, March 2, 2017).

In Sausville’s vision of a suburban community in Malta, the town planners begin designing to the auto-dependent nature of the town. Having a car-centric community enables commercial developments like the Shops at Malta to be set back from the view of the road and not offend

anyone driving by with its design. Additionally, Sausville's vision of suburbia includes minimal commercial development that is well-controlled to preserve the surrounding natural space. This commercial development would meet the basic needs of the town's families. Sausville proposed the idea of "high benefit, low impact commercial businesses" (P. Sausville, personal communication, March 2, 2017). He explained that these are types of businesses that have high economic and social benefits and low impacts on the environment and traffic conditions. Additionally, Sausville had a firm stance that many of the "leaders are driven by economic development interests," rather than in incorporating the local, organic demand for growth (P. Sausville, personal communication, March 2, 2017). Through these recommendations, Sausville is confident that Malta can once again become a family-oriented town where BBQs and active community discussions are prominent in the neighborhoods (P. Sausville, personal communication, March 2, 2017).

Tim Dunn

Tim Dunn, elected Town Councilperson and chair of the Malta Economic Development Committee, spoke to us about the main talking points of his campaign for office related to development: Ellsworth Commons, GlobalFoundries, and apartments. He suggested that Ellsworth Commons and GlobalFoundries could be better integrated into the community, although they are sometimes sources of contention. Dunn sympathizes with residents that there is too much apartment style development, but stated that he is not anti-growth: "In Malta, we had seen construction without growth. We had seen expansion without new economic opportunities. And ultimately, I think... we've seen the wrong kind of [growth]" (T. Dunn, personal communication, April 18, 2017). Dunn stated that former town supervisor Paul Sausville had encouraged PDDs to the detriment of the town: "It becomes a complete administrative nightmare for our planning and

development department to be able to manage all these different PDDs” (T. Dunn, personal communication, April 18, 2017).

Dunn’s main concern was that the residential and commercial construction are not aligned with what the community demands. He also stated that when analyzing Malta’s weaknesses with a group of prominent business leaders in the town, a primary and almost universally agreed upon weakness was “the town of Malta is a terrible place to do business” (T. Dunn, personal communication, April 18, 2017). Looking ahead, Dunn suggested that it will be important for Malta to raise the value of their commercial property assessment to reap more of the Saratoga County sales tax, and avoid spending any more of the town’s budget and reserves unless absolutely necessary.

William Smith

Smith’s first point was that the community often does not agree with what the planning board is doing, but they are governed by what has already been put into law. He gave us a lot of background on the logistics of the planning board and context of the town’s history. He told us that the state mandates that town boards, planning boards, and zoning boards have a minimum of five members and a maximum of seven.

We asked about his opinion on form-based code and found that he did not “particularly care for it” (W. Smith, personal communication, April 5, 2017). Smith told us that form-based code was not implemented by the planning board, but by the town and planning department. His primary complaint was that it took a lot of the planning board’s authority from the development of the downtown and that it no longer has any say. Before form-based code, their input was binding and strongly dictated how projects were implemented in the town.

Smith discussed how he felt that fire and pedestrian safety were major concerns for him and Malta's development. Smith's point was that before form-based code, the planning board could give recommendations to remedy problems like these, but with the new form of zoning, their input did not hold as much weight.

Another safety concern he had was the danger of I-87. In the past, they experienced trucks overturn and a forty-car pileup during the winter. Bypasses that move drivers to Route 9 have not necessarily been the best option for the safety of the town, as two rollovers have occurred due to trucks having limited experience with roundabouts.

Additionally, Smith identified pedestrian traffic as a safety hazard. His argument was that once the town implements sidewalks all over Malta, there is no guarantee that pedestrians will not continue to walk in the road. He said that the town lacks the equipment and workforce to maintain sidewalks in the winter. His overall opinion was that as Malta continued to grow and build, they produced more of their own problems (W. Smith, personal communication, April 5, 2017).

Smith's last point was that the Malta community was reactive, rather than proactive. Residents receive letters in the mail to notify them if projects are going to abut their property. Smith said abutting property is "within a reasonable distance side-to-side, across the street, in front, or behind a property" (W. Smith, personal communication, April 5, 2017). Often, these letters go unacknowledged by the recipient, so they are not proactive in protesting developments that they may be opposed to. Smith found that they often only react when the process of construction begins.

Peter Klotz

When prompted to discuss his vision for the future of Malta, Peter Klotz, former chairman of the Malta Planning Board and former elected Town Councilperson, discussed Malta's potential

for balanced development of a downtown area while maintaining the rural nature of surrounding areas, which would decrease the need for spending on extended utilities infrastructure. Klotz went on to discuss the idea of urbanization as a concept with different connotations for different groups of people: “To me, urbanization is not a negative word... But to others, they hear the word ‘urbanization,’ and they imagine all kinds of things from huge cities that have all kinds of urban blight, urban problems, and all that (P. Klotz, personal communication, March 26, 2017).

On the topic of Ellsworth Commons, Klotz suggested that uncertainty between the community vision and the town vision created confusion for potential investors in the commercial areas of the development, leading to some of the problems it currently faces with lack of successful retail. Additionally, he explained that when gas prices increased, the community had been more supportive of development projects that involved restaurants and stores within walking distance of residential areas, but those views were lost when gas prices decreased again. Over time, communities tend to experience shifts in viewpoints between those who support the conventional suburban sprawl layout of a town and those who value more walkable, compact neighborhoods. In regard to the community’s views on GlobalFoundries, Klotz brought up the cyclical nature of the tech industry, and the idea that there may be changes in demand for GlobalFoundries products and the resulting changes in employment needs that scare the community away from supporting them.

Finally, he explained that while Malta has clearly defined where commercial and residential development should be concentrated, these areas are not necessarily aligned with the goals of neighboring towns. He mentioned that in the town of Ballston Spa, intense commercial and industrial development encroaches towards the border between the towns, potentially devaluing residential developments on the Malta side of the border because of their proximity.

Anthony Tozzi

We interviewed Anthony Tozzi, the Building and Planning Coordinator for the town of Malta. Tozzi maintains a practical vision for the future of Malta in which the planning for the town is able to go back to earlier development patterns where things [were] much more efficient, where folks actually talk to their neighbors” (A. Tozzi, personal communication, February 22, 2017). He hopes that eventually the town center will thrive, that neighborhoods will gain a stronger sense of community, and the connectivity of the downtown corridor will improve. However, he believes that this might take at least twenty years, evident in the fact that Ellsworth Commons may take another twenty years to become a retail center.

Tozzi explained that while right now, the town and the DOT have a good partnership, “the relationship that Malta has had with the DOT has been up and down for a long time” (A. Tozzi, personal communication, February 22, 2017). With transportation and streetscape improvements to decrease the speed of traffic, Tozzi believes that the downtown corridor can become much more of a success. In addition to traffic adjustments, Tozzi explains that a thriving downtown corridor will only exist if the community perception of a growing Malta becomes more supportive and open to change. Overall, Tozzi is optimistic about the positive influence of form-based code, because it has provided Malta with a revived vision for Malta’s future possibilities.

Sophia Marruso

Marruso explained that the planning board was more of a “regulating force for executing the town vision” as it reviewed special-use permits, site plans, and subdivision applications (S. Marruso, personal communication, February 1, 2017).

Marruso was a big proponent of form-based code because it is “much more predictable,” making it less of a financial risk for a developer to invest in a space. To Marruso, approving form-

based code was the town's "biggest shift in commitment to smart growth" (S. Marruso, personal communication, February 1, 2017). Marruso's only criticism of form-based code is that the town board administration changes every two to four years, which can inhibit consistency in visions and plans for Malta. She suggests that the way to maintain longevity with a plan is if the community supports it.

Marruso told us that certain challenges to implementing smart growth have been "limiting perceptions," which have limited development. These include sentiments against high-density, multi-family, and low-income housing. Using this as her argument, Marruso said that policymakers—often informed by a number of select, vocal community members—want half smart growth. They want the commercial benefits of a compact, aesthetically-pleasing downtown, but they want to keep their middle-class single-family housing (S. Marruso, personal communication, February 1, 2017).

Marruso was a big supporter of changing Route 9 to make it more pedestrian-friendly. Since the New York State Department of Transportation (DOT) has full jurisdiction over the state highways, Marruso suggested that a major challenge has been to improve Malta's street aesthetic, unless the DOT approves the changes and procures significant funding. However, she believed that Route 9 could be a viable option for a downtown if certain changes were made, like road diets. She pointed out that the state highway also runs through the center of Saratoga Springs, which is well-known for its thriving downtown.

In addition, a concern Marruso identified for Malta is the short-term nature of the tech industry. She pointed out that GlobalFoundries took over IBM plants, because they are constantly buying each other out. She said that although Malta residents supported the revenue and

employment that GlobalFoundries would bring, they were nervous about the plant's permanency, questioning if the technology they were producing would be relevant in twenty years.

When we asked about affordable housing, Marruso criticized that the cost was based on Saratoga County's median income. Since median income is particularly high for the county [ACS estimated \$71,496 in 2015 (U.S. Census Bureau)], rent for affordable housing might cost \$1,800 per month. She condemned the fact that if someone is making \$12 per hour, \$1,800 per month is not affordable. Her main criticism was that policymakers in Malta did not consider affordable housing as a priority, and it remained a taboo subject.

Todd Fabozzi

The smart growth principles Fabozzi thought should be prioritized included creating a core area that is compact and connected, develops a sense of place, is maneuverable on foot and by bike, and is accessible by various forms of transportation (T. Fabozzi, personal communication, February 18, 2016). Fabozzi indicated that the planning Malta has been experiencing recently has been a mixture of smart growth and conventional growth. He pointed out that housing is still being developed in a suburban sprawl pattern, but the planning board created Ellsworth Commons as an attempt to create a core area that is compact and connected.

Additionally, Fabozzi brought up the notion that many Malta residents had grown up in suburbia and therefore have the "suburban mindset," which limits them in their views (T. Fabozzi, personal communication, February 18, 2017). However, he did indicate that there is the potential for a generational turnover, since the younger generation will have different desires for development than the generations preceding them.

Fabozzi mentioned that transitioning from a rural to a suburban to an urban place creates demand for certain services as population growth occurs. Fabozzi stated that Malta cannot

develop without local property taxes and that they are setting themselves up for an impossible feat (T. Fabozzi, personal communication, February 18, 2017).

Fabozzi went on to criticize the town's attempt to create a downtown on Route 9, labeling it as a mistake in design. He suggested that a better idea would have been to create a perpendicular street off of Route 9 as the main street where Ellsworth would be located. This would have enabled better connectivity with some residential areas in close proximity to Ellsworth Commons, like the Luther Forest housing development. Fabozzi suggested that this lack of connectivity is the result of community pushback, rather than a lack of planning from developers. Fabozzi suggested that the "biggest missed opportunity in Malta" was the potential for creating the street network for a new village near Route 67, where the hospital was recently built (T. Fabozzi, personal communication, February 18, 2017). This could have accommodated four to five thousand additional people, absorbing future growth for the next twenty years, instead of continuing to build suburban sprawl.

Finally, Fabozzi summed up his definition of smart growth as a type of development that considers how existing infrastructure can be improved before building anything new. Utilization of existing infrastructure helps planners to understand existing cities' and villages' ability to absorb future population growth, which in turn can promote better public spaces, accessibility to those spaces, and enhanced connectivity that foster more biking, walking, and other more sustainable forms of transportation (T. Fabozzi, personal communication, February 18, 2017). To Fabozzi, smart growth is "design that brings out an experience of a place that makes it a kind of place people want to be in" (T. Fabozzi, personal communication, February 18, 2017). Finally, he mentioned that smart growth focuses on the natural environment by protecting ecologically-sensitive areas to promote better environmental health.

Neil Swingruber

In our research, we identified a need to gain the developer's perspective. We chose Neil Swingruber, a principle at the Neilson Group LLC and a former partner with Albany Partners who developed both Steeplechase and Ellsworth Commons. Swingruber was able to provide us with an understanding of growth and market trends from the perspective of the developer. Swingruber explained that a large part of the developer's process is to understand the needs of the market by investigating the visions of the town board, planning board, and general community viewpoints. By honoring the town's vision and the town's identity, Swingruber believes that all parties benefit. He notes that a common criticism of developers is that they have no values other than personal economic gain. However, Swingruber counters this by stating that, "while he does have a promise to satisfy his investors, there is no reason for a "developer to build something that is considered out of step with local ambitions" because it does not set up any stakeholder for success (N. Swingruber, personal communication, May 1, 2017). Swingruber stressed his belief in the cooperation and communication between residents, their elected officials, and developers, citing his belief that "the developer owes it to every person who wants to take the time to come to a public meeting and give their opinion" (N. Swingruber, personal communication, May 1, 2017).

In attempt to further uncover the disconnect between the plan and the implementation of Ellsworth Commons, Swingruber explained that there was an ideological difference between the developers and the vision of the elected officials. The largest different in opinion was the quantity of retail that the town was requesting in contrast to the much smaller retain space that the developer felt comfortable building. As a result of this oversaturation of commercial property in an undeveloped market, Ellsworth has experienced a longer return on investment. Additionally, the developers of Ellsworth have been the focus of many of the complaints surrounding Ellsworth,

enabling, in Swingruber's opinion, the legislators to avoid blame for the current status of Ellsworth. However, Swingruber believes that the legislators should be held more accountable by residents due to the fact that he simply followed the guidelines laid out by the town's development laws (N. Swingruber, personal communication, May 1, 2017).

Greg Connors

Greg Connors, Director of Government Relations at GlobalFoundries, suggested that because the Malta community and administration was unaware of what it meant to welcome a semiconductor manufacturing plant into the town, the company initially struggled to find a local workforce that satisfied their employment needs. He mentioned that now there is a mixture of local and international employees, who are integrated as members of the Malta community, and have had a positive impact on the town.

Connors also mentioned a downside to GlobalFoundries, that it created a lot of car traffic in the roads leading to the campus, because it lacks connectivity to most residential areas. Additionally, Connors suggested that Malta should diversify its business district to avoid relying solely on GlobalFoundries for economic growth (G. Connors, personal communication, March 22, 2017).

Beth Osborne

Beth Osborne, Senior Policy Advisor at Smart Growth America, identified common problems that communities face when attempting to implement smart growth. Specifically, she discussed that towns seeking to implement smart growth often do so but allowing for mixed use of buildings, which she stated does not necessarily lead to a mixed use community. She also stated that lack of focus on maintaining control over development is a major weakness for many communities.

As solutions for these challenges, Osborne suggested that public outreach to communities and developers can help town governments to understand community's goals and needs. She also stated that land use codes should steer developers towards the type of growth the community wants, and that form-based zoning can help to do this.

On the topic of transportation, Osborne stated that transportation engineers view streets as traffic routes meant to move cars through an area, and are unaware of the impact a road can have on development patterns. She also identified a major misconception among suburban communities: the idea that their town could continue to exist without experiencing development. She suggested that town governments use public outreach to educate communities that development is inevitable in order to gain support for increased regulations and discussions on development (B. Osborne, personal communication, February 14, 2017).

8. Discussion

The results of our various methods of data collection reveal several key barriers that prevent smart growth principles from being implemented in the town of Malta, NY. We divide these barriers into four separate categories: pre-existing transportation constraints, the disconnect between a development's planning and implementation, limitations of community perceptions, and lack of communication and cooperation between stakeholders. In the following discussion section, we incorporate findings from our participant observations, survey, focus group, and interviews to draw conclusions about how Malta has managed growth in relation to existing literature.

8.1 Pre-Existing Transportation Constraints

Our interviews and focus groups revealed that a significant challenge to implementing smart growth principles in Malta has been the town's pre-existing transportation constraints. Sophia Marruso explained that the town lacks any jurisdiction over Route 9 because it is a state highway and therefore controlled by the Department of Transportation (DOT) (S. Marruso, personal communication, February 1, 2017). This prevents Malta from having the ability to implement changes to foster better connectivity, walkability, and safety. Benfield and Replogle (2002) make the argument that transportation must be prioritized in order for smart growth to occur and to reduce populations' reliance on mass highways. However, as Malta lacks authority over Route 9, the DOT's decisions have largely prevented the town from adopting smart growth principles of a compact, connected downtown. Beth Osborne, Senior Policy Advisor for Smart Growth America, supports this idea when she suggests that smart growth is often limited by transportation engineers who tend to design roads to move cars as quickly and efficiently as possible. The DOT has done just that through the construction of fifteen roundabouts along Route 9 and 67, meant to keep traffic flowing. Roseanne Clavin, Secretary to Supervisor DeLucia, indicated that although the DOT wanted to improve traffic flow, the roundabouts make it impossible for pedestrians to safely cross the street (R. Clavin, personal communication, February 22, 2017). Former Supervisor Paul Sausville also criticized the fact that prioritizing Malta as a traffic corridor will prevent successful residential and commercial growth along Routes 9 and 67 (P. Sausville, personal communication, March 2, 2017).

Roundabouts pose another safety problem for the downtown corridor. A *Times Union* article stated that roundabouts "serve a purpose at the right locations," but they do not belong in neighborhoods or town centers (Churchill, 2017). Todd Fabozzi, Director of Sustainability at the Capital District Regional Planning Commission, explained that due to the nature of the

roundabouts, drivers enter the traffic with their attention focused to their left to watch oncoming traffic. This means that pedestrians attempting to cross the street from the right risk getting hit, since drivers are not watching out for them (T. Fabozzi, personal communication, February 18, 2017).

Aside from the economic development along the state highways, the conditions of Route 9 and 67 generated another concern for pedestrian and driver safety. Marruso pointed out that a lack of connected sidewalks in the downtown corridor meant that people—sometimes with children—would walk on the shoulder of Route 9, next to five-lanes of traffic. This notion was reinforced by a statement made by focus group Participant D, who stated that they are often forced to walk on the street because there are many locations in Malta that lack sidewalks. Participant E echoed this by describing Route 9 as a hostile environment for pedestrians, because it is not built to accommodate them. Planning Board chairman William Smith countered this common desire for more connected sidewalks by stating that people will not necessarily use them, they create more problems such as increased need for sidewalk maintenance, and they add a public safety risk (W. Smith, personal communication, April 5, 2017).

However, to remedy the safety problems associated with the highways, Fabozzi suggested enhancing connectivity. He encourages Malta to examine the policies of communities with similar circumstances that have succeeded in creating thriving downtown areas on busy roads. He pointed to Saratoga Springs as a successful case study of how the area surrounding Route 9 could be transformed into a compact downtown. Fabozzi indicated that certain “archetypes of design” could be used in Malta to mimic the historical factors that shaped Saratoga Springs. These include criteria for street width, presence of sidewalks, building height, and street design, all things Marruso had mentioned would benefit Route 9.

Community support of connected sidewalk networks has been another factor in making Malta more pedestrian-friendly. Peter Klotz, former chairman of the Town Planning Board, was a proponent of increasing the amount of sidewalks in Malta to enhance connectivity and walkability. Klotz talked about the influence of cars and gas prices on residents' perceptions of this connectivity. The community was supportive of development that brought restaurants and stores within walking distance of residential areas when gas prices increased. However, as gas prices decreased, this support was lost. Klotz said that these views were not necessarily a reflection of everyone in the town and that communities may shift viewpoints between those who support conventional suburban sprawl and those who value more walkable, compact neighborhoods.

In our focus group, views represented the sentiment of support for more walkable, bikeable neighborhoods. Participant E insinuated that I-87 should be used to expedite travel, while Route 9 should be reconstructed to slow down drivers. This supports the claims of Benfield and Replogle (2002) that actual changes to the transportation system must be made to avoid expansion of highways. Implementing changes to existing roads prevents a positive feedback loop. An increase in highways would increase driving that would then increase sprawled development. Focus group Participant D also emphasized the need to bring development to the human level, rather than to the automobile. Participant A echoed this sentiment by pointing out that some parts of Route 9 had undergone a speed limit reduction and approval for on-street parking. Benfield and Replogle (2002) suggest that projects that view transportation holistically—with cars, pedestrians, cyclists, elderly, and the disabled considered equally—could help tackle the problems associated with a primarily automobile-oriented community like Malta.

Marruso suggested that the only way for Malta to amend the aforementioned problems of changing its street aesthetic, addressing its lack of a downtown, and improving safety is for the

DOT to both approve changes and procure significant funding, which has been a challenge for Malta. The relationship between the town and the DOT was explained by Tony Tozzi, who said that while dynamics had been “up and down for a long time,” they had good relations at present (A. Tozzi, personal communication, February 22, 2017).

To gain a portion of control over Route 9 and Route 67, Supervisor DeLucia called for the rezoning of the two highways from residential to commercial in order to make them more business-friendly (Liberatore, 2016). His hope was that creating a commercial corridor in an area where residential development had previously been unsuccessful would both increase the amount of the town’s taxable evaluation and preserve open space. Additionally, Councilperson Tim Dunn pointed out that residents were suffering the consequences of living alongside the two state highways. They were struggling to sell their houses and to exit their driveways safely because of the amount of traffic. Former Supervisor Sausville agreed, saying that since the DOT prioritized Malta as a traffic corridor, viable residential was not feasible. Rezoning from residential to commercial will allow people to sell their homes and allow the town to remove itself from its reputation as “unfriendly to business” (Churchill, 2014). The administration is optimistic that this rezoning will encourage a more compact downtown, which Downs (2005) will help prevent problems associated with sprawl like the expansion of roads, sewers, water systems, and other infrastructures.

Ultimately, Malta will need to make significant changes to Route 9 in order to implement smart growth more effectively. Marruso suggested changes that could benefit the transportation sector such as road diets and on-street parking. Road diets—which entail changes such as narrowing roads and adding medians, boulevards, or bike lanes—alter the feel of a street to

promote safer driving, since drivers who anticipate pedestrian traffic are more likely to pay closer attention to their surroundings.

In order to slow down traffic and encourage people to linger in the downtown area, Supervisor DeLucia was successful in obtaining permission from the DOT to implement on-street parking along Route 9. However, he has not moved forward with the construction, pointing to the speeding five-lanes of traffic as his main concern. Focus group Participant A explained that the point of creating the form-based code was to build a walkable, family-oriented downtown area. They questioned what came with a walkable downtown: “Is it bike lanes? Is it sidewalks? Is it boulevards? Is it on-street parking? All those different things, which in theory, slow down traffic” (Participant A, personal communication, April 19, 2017). This brings up the “chicken or the egg” dilemma, as pointed out by Participant D, which questions whether slowing down traffic or implementing on-street parking should come first. Overall, Malta has arrived at a standstill since it understands roadblocks, barriers, and possible solutions to amend the problems associated with Route 9, but is not taking clear steps to proceed with implementation.

8.2 The Disconnect Between a Development’s Planning and Implementation

Based on the high level of importance that survey respondents place on most of the smart growth principles and the near half-and-half divide among those who think Malta has actually achieved those principles, it is clear that Malta has not been overwhelmingly successful in implementing smart growth. According to Downs (2005), it is common for communities to talk about smart growth more than they actually implement it. Through our initial observations of the town, we identified Ellsworth Commons as a potential example of this failure to implement smart growth principles. From our direct observations of the initial rendering for Ellsworth Commons,

we noticed that the plan included pedestrian-friendly sidewalks, storefronts at street level, public space with greenery, and on-street parking. The actual development includes sidewalks raised from street level with tall fences separating storefronts from parking areas, a small public space with benches that surround a trash bin, and a lack of on-street parking in favor of a parking garage and many open-air parking spaces (Appendix C). In our interview with Ellsworth Commons developer Neil Swingruber, he stated that those aesthetic changes were considered minor and just part of the process of construction. Although he originally envisioned a smaller amount of residential and commercial space, the planning board requested that it be built at a larger scale to meet their zoning requirements. He also suggested that the scale of commercial development built had overestimated the demand in the town (N. Swingruber, personal communication, May 1, 2017).

Harvey (1970) and Downs (2005) both discuss the disconnect between planning for smart growth and implementing smart growth. Both authors focus on the broad principles of smart growth in a community, rather than in a single development. In Ellsworth Commons, these minor changes from the plan to the construction coincided with a lack of expected pedestrian and business traffic. This may be the result of a lack of understanding among the developers and the planning board of the impact of minor amendments like the ones seen at Ellsworth Commons. Harvey (1970) specifically mentions the importance of considering the social features of an area when planning for development. Although it is true that Ellsworth met the requirements of Malta's legislation, that legislation did not necessarily account for the space's potential for social activity.

8.3 Limitations of community perceptions

Because GlobalFoundries was first discussed as a development option for Malta twenty years ago in 1997, we hypothesized that Malta residents who moved to the town twenty years ago or less may be more inclined to prefer higher density housing options. In an interview, Peter Klotz,

former Planning Board Chairman and Town Councilperson, suggested that GlobalFoundries employees may be employed by the company only temporarily, due to the cyclical nature of demand for GlobalFoundries' products, meaning that they may require housing with short term lease agreements. Since new residents of Malta who moved in after the first announcement of GlobalFoundries could have been aware of the upcoming need for more short term housing options, primarily higher-density, apartment style housing, we believed there was a higher probability that they would have a preference for that style of housing when choosing a new place of residence. We also believed that residents of Malta who had lived in the town for more than twenty years chose to live there with no knowledge of the upcoming entrance of GlobalFoundries.

Based on this reasoning, we expected that when asked which type of housing residents think Malta needs more of, those who had lived in Malta for twenty years or less would select option B or C, the higher density residential styles, and those who had lived in Malta for more than twenty years would select option A, the single-family home. However, the results were not as expected, and showed no notable difference between the choices for Malta residents based on the amount of time they had lived there. Both groups showed a preference for housing option A.

One reason for this may be explained by a study conducted by Liao, Farber, and Ewing (2015), in which they find that individuals with high incomes tend to prefer low-density, single-family style housing more often than those with low incomes. GlobalFoundries, as part of an industry with demand for highly skilled labor, pays employees relatively high salaries. As individuals with higher income, they may have a high preference for low-density housing, as Liao, Farber, and Ewing (2015) suggest. This preference may also have influenced the views of any non-GlobalFoundries employees who have lived in Malta for twenty years or less and anticipated an increase in low-density housing because of the preference for that housing type among high-

income individuals. Alternatively, it is possible that the time at which a resident moved to Malta in relation to the announcement of GlobalFoundries has no correlation with their preference for housing type.

In general, we found that Malta residents want the benefits smart growth for commercial and transportation, but not housing. The survey showed that respondents preferred to live in single-family homes and thought there needed to be more of them in Malta. They also thought that the housing option A had the strongest sense of community, even though they believed the apartments (option C) were more affordable. Residents value many aspects of compact and attractive commercial growth, and want to see more of that type of growth in Malta. Respondents also value roads that are more pedestrian-friendly. Additionally, most respondents ranked all of the smart growth principles we asked about as extremely important, with the exception of “a variety of transportation options.” Results were divided in half regarding whether respondents believed Malta had achieved each of the principles mentioned.

Despite a clear stated preference in their valuation of smart growth principles, results suggest that while the community shows a preference for commercial and transportation options that include smart growth principles, they prefer the housing option that includes the least amount of smart growth principles: the single-family home. Yang (2008) suggests that although those who promote smart growth often claim that higher density housing improves quality of life, this belief may not be shared by members of the communities experiencing the high density living firsthand. His research also concludes that individuals who live in areas largely populated by single-family homes have better quality of life in those single-family homes than they would in higher density areas.

In order to understand if our survey participants felt as though Malta's development aligned with their values, we compared a series of questions from our survey. We found that while Malta residents generally understood that housing option C was more affordable, only a very small percentage would prefer to see more affordable housing within the town. This corresponded well with how Marruso summed up the community's perception of affordable housing. She explained that it was a taboo subject and a low priority for the town of Malta (S. Marruso, personal communication, February 1, 2017). While Malta boasts a high median income, the corresponding high average rent poses a problem for many younger individuals who are considering moving to Malta. Focus group Participant B explained their personal struggle regarding how Malta was too expensive to afford for many millennials, even with a decently paid job. The town's disinterest in creating a range of housing opportunities contradicts this essential principle of smart growth (EPA, 2016). As explained by Hutch (2002), a lack of affordable housing is especially problematic in areas with high levels of growth. In these areas, there are many job opportunities, but since housing prices tend to be high, it is difficult for lower-income individuals to live in close proximity to their jobs. Our survey respondents answered a strong preference for wanting to live in and preferring to see more of housing option A in Malta, indicating that there is no vocal demand for expanding the availability of affordable housing.

We found that despite the clear vision that many Malta residents hold for the future of housing development in Malta, there is a disconnect between these wishes and the types of developments that are currently being built throughout Malta. Among Malta residents, 45.5 percent of residents wish to see more of housing option A. Of these respondents, 71.9 percent would prefer to live in housing option A. However, this does not correspond to the trajectory of housing in Malta, which explains the result that 55.7 percent of respondents believe that housing options in

Malta are on the wrong track. The survey comments and our focus group helped us more thoroughly understand why they felt housing was not headed in the right direction. Survey comments noted that there is too much apartment growth and not enough single-family homes in Malta. Downs (2005) explains that “most Americans are accustomed to sprawl and its consequences, but they are not at all sure what would happen to them under smart growth” (Downs, 2005, p. 369). Many residents of Malta grew up in suburban single-family homes, and as a result want their children to grow up in a similar type of environment. Housing options B and C presented unfamiliar choices to survey respondents, leaving them uncertain about the level of community present in each. For Sausville, options B and C contradict the high value he places on maintaining typical suburban town (P. Sausville, personal communication, March 2, 2017). Sausville and 55.3 percent of our survey respondents agree that single-family homes offer a stronger sense of community and high density housing is considered undesirable.

We found that while Malta residents preferred single-family homes, there was a genuine interest in improving the walkability and bikeability of Malta’s roads among residents, elected officials, and town planners. There was strong consensus that transportation option B represented the ideal vision for streets in Malta. Option B included many of the best street improvements that Marruso mentioned would help slow traffic to ensure safety for pedestrians and bikers. These street improvements include boulevards and median construction, pedestrian linkages, and connected sidewalks (S. Marruso, February 1, 2017). Benfield and Replogle (2002) advocate for these infrastructural improvements, explaining that altering a streetscape slows down traffic and makes it safer for pedestrians and cars. William Smith opposes these alterations to the streetscape with the view that sidewalks will only create greater infrastructure and safety problems. It is not a priority of his to create roads that are friendly to pedestrians and bikers: “once you put the

sidewalks in, how do you protect [pedestrians] from not walking in the road?” (W. Smith, personal communication, April 5, 2017). Overall, the Malta community understands that streetscapes can incorporate principles of smart growth, including promoting a variety of transportation choices, creating walkable neighborhoods, and fostering distinctive, attractive communities.

These principles can also apply to commercial areas. When asked which type of commercial development residents would prefer to see more of in Malta, 68.6 percent would prefer to see more of option C. Option C most prominently exemplified the smart growth principles of an attractive community with a strong sense of place, compact design, and a walkable neighborhood. However, when Malta attempted to implement commercial option C via Ellsworth Commons, many stakeholders saw it as an unwelcome urban environment. Fabozzi explained that for some, Ellsworth Commons represents a section of Albany that suddenly arrived in the center of a previously rural area to give it a more “urban flavor” (T. Fabozzi, personal communication, February 18, 2018). We noticed that many individuals in the interviews and focus group identified downtown Saratoga Springs as a positive example of development and Clifton Park and Wilton as examples of overdeveloped areas. In his interview, Sausville asked us to consider the historical factors behind the success of Saratoga Springs. Although he is a supporter of the commercial development that has evolved overtime in Saratoga, he believes that development in Malta does not have the history, benefit of time, and unique streetscape characteristics that enabled Saratoga to be so special. Instead, he explains that Malta should continue to stay a family town for people to raise families (P. Sausville, personal communication, March 2, 2017). The fear of a rapid transition from a rural community to an urban one, in which there is little connection to the town’s roots, is aligns with the theory behind Molotch’s (1976) concept of cities as a growth machine. Within his concept of a growth machine, cities exponentially expand, driven by the financial and

political incentives of business entrepreneurs. The fear of urbanization is also reflected in the community's perception of developers, who Swingruber explained are often alienated for supposedly holding little value for the identity of the community and instead prioritizing profits. In reality, however, Swingruber explained that as a member of the Malta community, he has a vested interest in upholding the town's identity and vision. Swingruber continued on to explain that the community often places the blame of the shortfalls of Ellsworth on the developer. However, he wishes that the community understood that as a developer, he simply followed the legislation and guidelines already established by the town (N. Swingruber, personal communication, May 1, 2017).

8.4 Communication and Cooperation

Downs suggests that one of the smart growth principles least likely to be implemented is raising density in new growth and existing neighborhoods (Downs, 2005, p. 375). He identifies that the major obstacle to this principle's implementation is community members who pressure town officials to stop increases in density. However, Malta town officials did permit a drastic increase in density of the downtown area when they approved Ellsworth Commons for construction, contrasting Downs' theory. In our interview with Smith, he explained his views on the community's involvement in Ellsworth Commons, stating that the community was reactive rather than proactive in their reception to the project. Although residents of the surrounding areas were notified by a certified letter of the proposed development, the backlash began only after construction actually started (W. Smith, personal communication, April 5, 2017). This suggests a failure in communication between the town administration--most notably the planning board--and the community members. This idea was reinforced in the focus group discussion on commercial

areas in Malta: Participant A stated that they lived directly behind Ellsworth Commons but were not notified of the upcoming project before construction began. If they had been notified beforehand, Participant A reported, they would have voiced their opposition to the project sooner, rather than after the development began.

Neil Swingruber, the developer of Ellsworth Commons, also spoke about this lack of communication between the community members and the administration throughout the planning process. Swingruber's firm identified a need in the market for high-density housing within Malta. His plan complied with all the legislation on zoning and building codes that had been passed by the town government before the Ellsworth Project began. However, once Ellsworth was built, the community began to express their opinion that they preferred to remain a quiet, single-family home community. Swingruber expressed dismay at the idea that the community may not have been aware of the legislation that was supposed to represent their values and needs in the town (N. Swingruber, personal communication, May 1, 2017). It is clear from these different perspectives that the values of the community are not in alignment with the values represented by the town's administration, leaving it up to the developer to face backlash from this divide. As Nabatchi (2012) states, public administration often lacks a complete understanding of community values and an ability to represent all of them, creating situations in which the administration is forced to choose which of the community's values they want to represent. In the case of Ellsworth Commons, the zoning code governed development based on what were supposedly the community's values, but it failed to represent them accurately as expressed by many community members since construction.

When Downs (2005) suggests that higher-density development is likely to be prevented by community members pressuring administrators to deny projects, he frames the community in a negative light because this hinders smart growth development. However, the events that have

transpired in Malta and research by Nabatchi (2012) suggest that in fact, it is more valuable for community members to vocalize their opposition to developments that do not align with their values. By voicing their opinions sooner, Malta community members could have been able to change the outcomes of decisions about specifics of the Ellsworth Commons project.

A more effective process through which the public could participate in land use and development decisions has the potential to limit backlash after a project is implemented. Swingruber stated that as a developer, it is extremely beneficial to listen to what the community has to say throughout the planning process in order to avoid creating controversy and backlash from the community (N. Swingruber, personal communication, May 1, 2017). If community values are incorporated throughout the planning process, projects are more likely to satisfy those values.

When Downs (2005) identifies barriers to smart growth, he discusses local planners and public officials as a single entity. We find here that within the planners and public officials in Malta, three different viewpoints are represented. This creates opportunities for disagreement and misunderstanding, which can delay the smart growth process. In Malta, the town board recently experienced a change of leadership, while the planning board has remained stable for a while. It is possible that the views between these two boards are not aligned because the planning board was appointed by the previous administration, which held vastly different views on development than the current board. Similarly, the professional planners working in Malta have been employed through changes to the planning board and town board. Although this makes it more likely that they will develop their own system of values and priorities separate from the town board, it makes compromise and agreement more challenging. As previously discussed, Nabatchi (2012) theorizes why some of the challenges in understanding community values exist, and some potential

solutions, including a process that allows community members to express their values clearly to public administrators.

We have identified several different views and values held by different actors in the town. There are five main groups of stakeholders: town planners, town board members, planning board members, developers, and community members. The town planners express strong values that align with smart growth principles. They use smart growth terminology and have worked to implement the form-based code, which has been a concrete step towards guiding Malta on a path to smart growth. The planners seem to be frustrated with the current state of development in the town, and are somewhat critical of the administration for focusing on commercial development more than other aspects of development. The town board members are interested in pleasing their constituents and maintaining Malta's no town tax policy. Along those lines, they seem to prioritize policies that will work to increase Malta's share of the county sales tax by raising commercial property value assessments. They want to ensure that costs of development do not fall to the town. The planning board is largely concerned with safety for pedestrians, leading them to oppose changes to the street network. They are not as supportive of the form-based code as the town's planners and board members, since it removes a lot of their involvement in planning and land use decisions. The developers attempt to take into account the community's values but struggle to balance what the community actually says, what the town's legislation requires, while avoiding financial risk. They are satisfied with form-based code, because it provides very clear guidelines for what aspects of a development need to be in place in order for it to be approved and eliminates need for developers to go through several phases of planning in order to identify the town's desires. The community strongly values their current low-density, single-family home style of residential areas. They are not opposed to having more commercial areas, as long as they are concentrated in

one place. They feel that the town's administration is not doing enough to address their concerns before approving development projects. Ultimately, they are concerned with maintaining the character of Malta as they know it.

9. Conclusion

In this study, we addressed common smart growth principles and the obstacles to their implementation using a case study of Malta, New York. We used participant observation, a visual preference survey, a focus group, semi-structured interviews, and a rigorous review of the existing literature to identify how Malta fits into the framework already established by other researchers. We found that different groups within Malta value smart growth differently. Specific to community members, we found that they strongly value low-density, single-family home style housing options, although they acknowledge that smart growth principles are beneficial to community development, particularly for commercial and transportation options as we expected. The major barrier to smart growth in Malta is the lack of communication and understanding between different stakeholders, and the lack of proactive participation during the decision making process by the community members.

Ultimately, we expect that Malta will continue to face the barriers we have identified: pre-existing transportation constraints, the disconnect between a development's planning and implementation, limitations of community perceptions, and lack of communication and cooperation between stakeholders. For Malta to attain smart growth, numerous changes would need to be made by each stakeholder group. Although Malta has developed largely through suburban sprawl and lacks a compact downtown, Malta still has potential to shift development towards more sustainable practices. Despite numerous attempts at development that follows smart

growth principles, the disconnect between the various stakeholders' visions is apparent. This has resulted in a community divided in their values. On its current trajectory, Malta has the potential to passively develop its remaining open space areas into suburban sprawl, adversely impacting community and environmental wellbeing.

However, strong prospects for smart growth remain. In the best case scenario, the administration would address the major disconnects and implement structural and systemic changes in the housing, commercial, and transportation sectors to distinguish Malta as a model of smart growth. Additionally, the community could increase their public participation and better communicate their needs to the administration and the developers.

9.1 Limitations & Future Outlook

We have identified several shortcomings of our survey, which we will discuss to address flaws in our methodology, questions, and results. First, we had a small sample size of the population of Malta, which does not encompass all views represented in the town (n=205 out of a population of 14,765). Because of our method of distribution of our survey, we may have experienced the phenomenon of “selection bias,” preventing us from achieving complete randomization. This could have been because we distributed our survey via social media, influencing demographics, or because those who chose to take the survey may be representative of a small minority who already had an interest in the topic.

Additionally, despite our goal to remain as objective as possible, we acknowledge that our visual preference assessment section had inherent biases, because we selected the pictures to represent increasing levels of smart growth. For housing, the picture for option B was meant to show a mid-density development townhouse scenario. We believe that the selection of this picture

may have biased respondents because of the brightly-colored housing, compared to option A and option C, which depicted neutral housing colors. For commercial, the picture for option A was meant to represent free-standing businesses easily accessed by car. The selection of this picture may have biased respondents, because it represents a commercial area that previously existed in Malta. We changed the coloring of the awning of the business shown in the picture, although it is possible that certain respondents may have been able to recognize it. Furthermore, for option B, we may have gotten more objective data had we avoided using widely-recognized retail chain stores. For transportation, the picture for option A was selected to show a four-lane road with a turning lane and shoulders with no sidewalks or bike lanes. Again, this picture may have biased respondents because it is a picture of a road that exists in Malta. The picture for option B may have also biased respondents because of the aesthetically-pleasing landscaped median in the center of the road, not seen in the picture for option C.

When we asked respondents to rate the importance of various smart growth principles, we did not provide them with a definition for them. This could have caused understanding problems for respondents who may not have been familiar with concepts such as “mixed land use” or “critical environmental areas.” The potential for misconceptions and misunderstandings is common in the body of smart growth research.

As far as results, we ended up not using two questions we asked about commercial development because we determined that they would not reveal any pertinent information. One question was Q2.2, “Which option would you be more likely to spend 30 minutes or less at?” and the other was Q2.3, “Which option would you be more likely to spend 2 hours or more at?” We realized the results would not directly correlate to the community’s perspectives of smart growth principles. Finally, in the demographics section, we noticed a gap in income categories. Answer

choice three was \$20,000 to \$39,000; answer choice four was \$40,000 to \$69,000; and answer choice five was \$70,000 to \$99,999. This left gaps for those earning \$39,000 to \$39,999 and \$69,000 to \$69,999.

We also identified a number of weaknesses for our interviews. Although the questions we asked of each interviewee were similar, not all interviews were able to cover all the topics we identified as important. We lacked representation from a wide variety of ages, races, and genders among our interviewers, but we believe that this can be attributed to the homogeneous demographics represented in Malta. Additionally, we were only able to interview a few individuals from each of our stakeholder categories. Additionally, we only held one focus group, but in order to gain a better understanding of the community's views it would have been ideal to hold more than one.

Because our data lacked representation from a wider demographic of Malta residents, future studies should better incorporate younger voices, female voices, and minority voices. We also encourage future studies to include interviews and the perspectives of planners on the regional level, state level, and state legislators to get perspectives outside of Malta. Future assessments should also include Geographic Information Systems to track development changes and the incorporation of rephotography, the use of photography to track historical developments. Smart growth research is largely based on theory, definitions, and broad conclusions about the implementation of smart growth. However, we wanted to apply this predominantly theoretical research to a case study to identify which theories are true in practice. Malta, New York represents a unique case study in which a town anticipated its rapid population growth and attempted to implement smart growth principles, but ultimately fell short of its goals. This study aims to provide a close look at the process through which this occurred, and the different facets of the town and

community that had an impact on Malta's trajectory. Our study takes into account specific information about the town and its history, as well as numerous opinions from stakeholders and experts, using existing literature as a foundation for our methods. By incorporating as many different viewpoints as possible, our study captures Malta's diverse mixture of values, challenges, and visions for the future.

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Appendix A

Malta Development Survey

We are Skidmore College students conducting research on your perceptions of development and land-use decisions in Malta. The survey takes about 3 minutes to complete. All responses will be kept anonymous. If you would like to be entered into a raffle for a \$25 gift card to Malta Diner, please enter your email at the end.

Q1 Below are three different types of housing. In the questions below, please indicate:



	A (1)	B (2)	C (3)	Don't know (4)
Where are you more likely to feel a sense of community? (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Where would you use your car less? (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Which housing do you think is more affordable? (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Which housing do you think Malta needs more of? (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Which housing would you personally most like to live in? (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q2 Below are three different types of commercial development. In the questions below, please indicate:



	A (1)	B (2)	C (3)	Don't know (4)
Which option would you prefer to go shopping at? (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Which option would you be more likely to spend 30 minutes or less at? (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Which option would you be more likely to spend 2 hours or more at? (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Which option do think has a distinctive sense of place? (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Which option would you personally prefer to see more of in Malta? (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q3 Below are three different types of streets. In the questions below, please indicate:



	A (1)	B (2)	C (3)	Don't know (4)
Which option do you think people are more likely to walk or bike on? (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Which option do you think people would drive faster on? (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Which type of street do you think Malta needs more of? (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Which street would you prefer to drive on? (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q4 For the each of the following, would you say that development in Malta is on the wrong track, or is Malta going in the right direction?

	Wrong track (1)	Right direction (2)	Don't know (3)
Traffic (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Shopping (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Housing (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Quality of life (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q5 How important are the following in Malta?

	Not at all important (1)	Slightly important (2)	Moderately important (3)	Very important (4)	Extremely important (5)	Don't know (6)
Mixed land uses (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
A range of housing opportunities and choices (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Distinctive, attractive communities with a strong sense of place (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Walkable neighborhoods (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Open space, farmland, natural beauty, and critical environmental areas (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
A variety of transportation choices (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q6 Do you think Malta has achieved the following?

	Strongly disagree (1)	Somewhat disagree (2)	Neither agree nor disagree (3)	Somewhat agree (4)	Strongly agree (5)
A range of housing opportunities and choices (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Distinctive, attractive communities with a strong sense of place (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Walkable neighborhoods (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Open space, farmland, natural beauty, and critical environmental areas (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
A variety of transportation choices (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q7 How closely have you been following land use and planning decisions in Malta?

- ☐ Not at all closely (1)
- ☐ Not too closely (2)
- ☐ Fairly closely (3)
- ☐ Very closely (4)

Q8 I feel that the Malta town board listens to people like me in making its planning decisions.

- ☐ Strongly disagree (1)
- ☐ Disagree (2)
- ☐ Not sure (3)
- ☐ Agree (4)
- ☐ Strongly agree (5)

Q9 Malta is a family town.

- ☐ Strongly disagree (1)
- ☐ Disagree (2)
- ☐ Not sure (3)
- ☐ Agree (4)
- ☐ Strongly agree (5)

Q10 Do you own or rent a home in Malta?

- ☐ Own (1)
- ☐ Rent (2)
- ☐ Neither (3)

Q11 How many years have you lived in Malta?

Q12 How many people live in your home, including you?

Q13 What is your age?

- ☐ 18-25 (1)
- ☐ 26-45 (2)
- ☐ 46-65 (3)
- ☐ 65+ (4)

Q14 What is your gender?

- ☐ Male (1)
- ☐ Female (2)
- ☐ Other (3)

Q15 What is your income level?

- ☐ Prefer not to answer (1)
- ☐ Under \$20,000 (2)
- ☐ \$20,000-\$39,000 (3)
- ☐ \$40,000-\$69,000 (4)
- ☐ \$70,000-\$99,999 (5)
- ☐ \$100,000 or more (6)

If you have other comments you would like to make, please leave them below or email us at skidmorecapstone@gmail.com. If you would like us to contact you, please leave us your name and contact information.

Thank you so much for taking the time to take our survey! Your responses are valuable to our research. If you would like to be entered into a raffle for a \$25 gift card to the Malta Diner, please enter your email below. This information will be kept separate from your survey responses. Email:

Appendix B

Extended Summaries: Interviews

Sophia Marruso

Our first interview was with Sophia Marruso, Senior Town Planner and Stormwater Management Officer for the town of Malta. Marruso is a graduate of Skidmore College, and completed a project entitled, “Projects and Perspectives that are Shaping Smart Growth in Malta, NY” for her Environmental Studies senior capstone. We chose to interview her for her knowledge of the subject and perspective as a former capstone student.

To give us background information, Sophia began her interview by describing the zoning changes Malta has undergone since 2006, when the town updated the Comprehensive Plan and Generic Environmental Impact Statement. At that time, stakeholders were attempting to create a unified vision for development on a comprehensive scale that considered residential and commercial change, taking a “bigger step towards allowing for more mixed use, more commercial development” (S. Marruso, personal communication, February 1, 2017). This update was soon followed by the construction of GlobalFoundries and form-based code, both of which significantly changed how the town managed growth. Marruso explained that the planning board was more of a “regulating force for executing the town vision,” as it reviewed special-use permits, site plans, and subdivision applications (S. Marruso, personal communication, February 1, 2017). With form-based code—made possible by a grant from the Capital District Transportation Committee—came a more “urban feel” for development, which the town had not experienced before, given its historically rural and agricultural character (S. Marruso, personal communication, February 1, 2017).

Another component of form-based code, Marruso stated, is that it is administrative-based, which removes the need for proposals to be approved by the planning, zoning, or town board. It also shifts the focus away from the use that occupies a building and instead identifies clear metrics to create a certain physical form or aesthetic that shapes how a person interacts with the built environment. She described form-based code as “much more predictable,” making it less of a financial risk for a developer to invest in a space. She also noted that the planning board still has the chance to give their opinion and contribute to a public hearing process through which projects are presented to the public. To Marruso, the approval of form-based code was Malta’s “biggest shift in commitment to smart growth” (S. Marruso, personal communication, February 1, 2017). Marruso’s praise of form-based code is that with conventional zoning, the town board administration changes every two to four years, which can inhibit consistency in visions and plans for Malta. Form-based code will help address that problem by eliminating the need for individual planning board approvals. She also suggested that the way to maintain longevity with a plan is to garner community support.

Marruso talked about Malta’s former rural character and how that has influenced certain elected officials’ viewpoints on their visions for Malta. She told us that certain challenges to implementing smart growth have included “limiting perceptions,” which have limited development. These include sentiments against high-density, multi-family, and low-income housing. Using this as her argument, Marruso said that policymakers—often informed by a number of select, vocal community members—want half smart growth. They want the commercial benefits of a compact, aesthetically-pleasing downtown, but they want to keep their middle-class, single-family housing (S. Marruso, personal communication, February 1, 2017).

Marruso then explained that despite Malta's rural and agricultural identity, it experienced suburban development during the 1960's and 1970's with the construction of Interstate-87. In addition to I-87, both Route 9 and Route 67 run through the center of town. She attributed the town's inability to implement certain infrastructure like boulevards, medians, and pedestrian linkages to these three roadways, especially because the New York State Department of Transportation (DOT) has full jurisdiction over them. Because of that, Marruso suggested that a major challenge has been to improve Malta's street aesthetic, unless the DOT approves the changes and procures significant funding. However, she indicated that Route 9 could be a viable option for a downtown, pointing out that the state highway also runs through the center of Saratoga Springs, which is well-known for its thriving downtown. She said that a major difference between Saratoga Springs and Malta is the historical factors, which gave Saratoga a "whole different paradigm for development" (S. Marruso, personal communication, February 1, 2017).

One of the factors that could help shape Route 9 into something close to that of Saratoga Springs would be the implementation of on-street parking. Marruso pointed to Ellsworth Commons, which was approved before form-based code, and said that people find the lack of on-street parking as a deterrent to visiting the complex.

Another change Marruso suggested would benefit Route 9 would be the implementation of a "road diet," which is the process of making a road narrower and changing it in a way that makes drivers feel less comfortable. She admitted that although this concept seems counterintuitive, drivers are more likely to drive carefully if they feel less comfortable, whether that discomfort is because of narrower lanes, on-street parking, more sidewalks, or a reduced range of vision (S. Marruso, personal communication, February 1, 2017). If drivers anticipate pedestrians, they are much more likely to drive cautiously. Marruso also believed that all of these changes could "foster

a better pedestrian environment,” which would ultimately steer commercial and residential development towards smart growth (S. Marruso, personal communication, February 1, 2017).

Another challenge Marruso identified was a lack of funding for new projects. She told us that many of the projects they would like to implement through form-based code cost a lot of money, and something that makes Malta unique is that it does not have a town tax. Malta receives government money from the state or from the county from sales tax and property assessments, but because they lack a town tax, they are limited in their infrastructure. For example, Marruso said, there is no town-wide infrastructure for things like sewer water, which they get from Clifton Park via a sewer extension.

In addition, a concern Marruso identified for Malta is the short-term nature of the tech industry. She pointed out that GlobalFoundries took over IBM plants, because they are constantly buying each other out. She said that although Malta residents supported the revenue and employment that GlobalFoundries would bring, they were nervous about the plant’s permanency, questioning if the technology they were producing would be relevant in twenty years.

Marruso then characterized the town planners by describing the title as a misnomer. She says in actuality, planners are “reactors” because they “react” to whatever proposals are put in front of them (S. Marruso, personal communication, February 1, 2017). Planners rarely have the freedom to create new zoning and legislation or revolutionize development. Rather, their responsibility is to determine whether applications for development comply with zoning ordinances, or in the case of form-based code, if they meet the criteria.

Marruso also brought up her research on community support for multi-family housing, which some residents had been openly opposed to. She described the disappearance of the American dream, saying that the concept of “graduating from college, getting married, and buying

a \$400,000 house and working for the same place for 25 years is gone” (S. Marruso, personal communication, February 1, 2017). She uses this statement to provide evidence for the idea that the multi-family housing is appropriate for a lot of demographics, because a wide range of people have been moving to Malta recently, including recent graduates, married couples without children, single parents with children, individuals, and retirees.

When we asked about affordable housing, Marruso complained that the cost was based on Saratoga County’s median income. Since median income is particularly high for the county [ACS estimated \$71,496 in 2015 (U.S. Census Bureau)], rent for affordable housing might cost \$1,800 per month. She condemned the fact that if someone is making \$12 per hour, \$1,800 per month is not affordable. Her main criticism was that policymakers in Malta did not consider affordable housing as a priority, and it remained a taboo subject.

Beth Osborne

In order to gain a better understanding of the smart growth movement at the national level, we conducted an interview with Beth Osborne, Senior Policy Advisor at Smart Growth America, a nonprofit focused on helping communities implement smart growth policies in communities across the country. Osborne identified common problems that communities encounter when attempting to implement smart growth. Specifically, she discussed that towns seeking to implement smart growth often do so by allowing for the mixed use of buildings, which she stated allows for multiple uses in one building, but not necessarily a mixture of uses throughout a community. Additionally, she told us that this type of zoning does not steer developers in the direction of mixed-use developments, which can be crucial to implementing smart growth. Osborne also mentioned the process through which developers may receive exceptions and special permits. She suggested that this is especially problematic when town governments are not focused on maintaining their control of development.

When asked about potential solutions for the previously identified problems, Osborne suggested that public outreach to communities and developers can help town governments—especially those that experience rapid turnover in administration—to understand the community’s goals and needs. She also stated that land use code should steer developers towards the type of growth the community wants: “for smart growth development, you need to be much more worried about the form and less concerned about the use” (B. Osborne, personal communication, February 14, 2017). She suggested that form-based zoning can remove development projects’ vulnerability to changes in administration. Additionally, Osborne discussed how education on the meaning of land use decisions in the context of the community could greatly benefit the public, giving the example that the word “density” may not mean the same thing to everyone.

On the topic of transportation and road networks, Osborne suggested that there is a disconnect between the transportation system engineers and the drivers who use them. Road designers mainly view streets as traffic routes meant to move cars quickly but are unaware of roads’ impacts on development patterns. She identified that a major misconception among suburban sprawl communities is the idea that any town has the potential to continue existing without experiencing development. Osborne suggested that in order to garner community interest in smart growth, town officials should point out to their communities that development will come no matter what.

Todd Fabozzi

We also conducted an interview with Todd Fabozzi, Director of Sustainability for the Capital District Regional Planning Committee and member of the Saratoga Springs Planning Board. We were interested in his perspective as an urbanist, social ecologist, and as a professional

planner. Fabozzi's interview was beneficial to us by providing us with a concrete foundation of the principles of conventional and smart growth planning in relation to Malta.

Fabozzi began by telling us that Malta had been using conventional methods of planning, governed by a zoning map, which identified uses for certain areas. The zoning made a distinction between residential and commercial development, set a low-density standard for housing, and created an area of commercial development along the highway. Fabozzi said that although he described this form of planning as "old-fashioned," it was developed during the 1960's and 1970's and was considered a novel form of planning at the time. Planning at this time moved away from the physical design of towns with integrated street networks and focused more on uses of particular lots. However, he said that form-based code was Malta's attempt to bring the kind of planning back that considered the town's layout or framework, which he felt would move Malta away from the "scattershot pattern of growth" seen in most places around the town (T. Fabozzi, personal communication, February 18, 2016).

The smart growth principles Fabozzi thought should be prioritized included creating a core area that is compact and connected, develops a sense of place, is maneuverable on foot and by bike, and is accessible by various forms of transportation (T. Fabozzi, personal communication, February 18, 2016). Fabozzi indicated that the planning Malta has been experiencing recently has been a mixture of smart growth and conventional growth. He pointed out that housing is still being developed in a suburban sprawl pattern, but the planning board created Ellsworth Commons as an attempt to create a core area that is compact and connected. Ellsworth Commons created backlash from the community because of the urban feel it brought with it, which did not fit their perception of Malta's character. Fabozzi said that this resistance is common, since people are often averse to change.

Another point Fabozzi made about smart growth was that every stakeholder has a different interpretation of what the principles mean and that they lack a shared language and understanding of each terms. There is a disconnect between people's visions of smart growth, even if the same words are used.

Fabozzi then brought up Malta's identity as a family town, represented in its slogan. His point was that the contemporary definition of a family is becoming broader, and some of the more conservative community members of Malta may have a difficult time adjusting to that. He said that there will always be a diversity of views, since there is already a split over growth in general but that there is a "traditional, conservative view, and urbanism comes with a kind of diversity that the town may not be used to" (T. Fabozzi, personal communication, February 18, 2016).

In reference to town politics, Fabozzi explained that members are appointed to the planning board to represent the community and remove political bias from decision-making in regards to development. The planning board helps to prevent developers and elected officials from exerting too much influence over planning and ensures that the community is involved in the process to a certain extent. However, Fabozzi suggested that people are appointed on the board through nepotism, which may influence planning board members to make decisions that appease the people who appointed them to the board.

Additionally, Fabozzi brought up the notion that many Malta residents had grown up in suburbia and therefore have the "suburban mindset," which limits them in their views (T. Fabozzi, personal communication, February 18, 2017). However, he did indicate that there is the potential for a generational turnover, since the younger generation will have different desires for development than the generations preceding them.

As far as Malta's sense of identity, Fabozzi talked about people's resistance to being compared to surrounding communities like Clifton Park and Saratoga Springs. He affirmed that Malta will not be able to mimic Saratoga's history, but there are "archetypes of design that fit anywhere" (T. Fabozzi, personal communication, February 18, 2017). These include criteria for street width, whether or not there should be sidewalks, building height, and street design. He pointed to Broadway in Saratoga Springs as a successful case of how Route 9 could be transformed into a compact downtown. He recommended that Malta examine more than just Route 9 itself and look at the surrounding areas to see how connectivity could be improved.

Fabozzi mentioned that urbanization will pose a new set of challenges for Malta as it grows. He said that transitioning from a rural to a suburban to an urban place creates demand for certain services as population growth occurs. Fabozzi stated that Malta cannot develop without local property taxes and that they are setting themselves up for an impossible feat (T. Fabozzi, personal communication, February 18, 2017). He explained that up to this point, Malta has been able to fund development using Saratoga County sales tax, which comes from retail and commercial development outside of Malta. This puts a limitation on capital, as Fabozzi claimed that this funding will not be sufficient to cover the demand for new services and infrastructure as the town continues to grow.

Fabozzi went on to criticize the town's attempt to create a downtown on Route 9, labeling it as a mistake in design. He suggested that a better idea would have been to create a perpendicular street off of Route 9 as a link to a main road where Ellsworth Commons could have been located. This would have enabled better connectivity with some residential areas in close proximity to Ellsworth Commons, like the Luther Forest housing development. When the Luther Forest development was first proposed, the plan incorporated a connection between the neighborhood

and the downtown area, but the community fought against it because they preferred to have a buffer around the development. Fabozzi suggested that this lack of connectivity is the result of community pushback, rather than a lack of planning from developers.

Alternatively, Fabozzi suggested that the “biggest missed opportunity in Malta” was the potential for creating the street network for a new village near Route 67, where the hospital was recently built (T. Fabozzi, personal communication, February 18, 2017). Fabozzi argued that this open space could have had streets, public spaces, parks, and a core area in the middle that formed a new village. This could have accommodated four to five thousand additional people, absorbing future growth for the next twenty years, instead of continuing to build suburban sprawl.

Finally, Fabozzi summed up his definition of smart growth as a type of development that considers how existing infrastructure can be improved before building anything new. Utilization of existing infrastructure helps planners to understand existing cities’ and villages’ ability to absorb future population growth, which in turn can promote better public spaces, accessibility to those spaces, and enhanced connectivity that foster more biking, walking, and other more sustainable forms of transportation (T. Fabozzi, personal communication, February 18, 2017). To Fabozzi, smart growth is “design that brings out an experience of a place that makes it a kind of place people want to be in,” encouraging a community’s social wellbeing (T. Fabozzi, personal communication, February 18, 2017). Finally, he mentioned that smart growth focuses on the natural environment by protecting ecologically-sensitive areas to promote better environmental health.

Vincent DeLucia

We interviewed Town Supervisor Vincent DeLucia because of his unique position as the forefront of leadership in the town. His political platform was drastically different from the

previous town supervisor, making him an especially interesting interview subject. DeLucia's secretary, Roseanne Clavin, was present during the interview and contributed her perspective throughout. DeLucia is a lifelong resident of Malta, NY with a clear tie to the town's history as a small, rural area. DeLucia began his interview by stating that he, "envision[s] that the growth in Malta is going to continue and that Malta is going to become a very popular place" (V. DeLucia, personal communication, February 22, 2017). He explains that many individuals choose to move to Malta because it has beautiful rural areas, job opportunities at GlobalFoundries, it offers an attractive lifestyle, and no town tax. DeLucia explains that Malta is proud of its 500 acres of parks and recreation, the opportunity to have single-family residences, and the numerous family functions and facilities that are funded by the town, the community center, and the GlobalFoundries Foundation.

DeLucia discussed with us that because Malta will continue to grow, it will be crucial for the town to adopt appropriate policies to sustain this growth. He noted that many other towns and cities in New York state are losing residents to other locations where jobs are more readily available. However, GlobalFoundries continues to promote economic and population growth within Malta. In order to continue this positive trajectory, DeLucia stated that he works hard to maintain the no town tax policy. DeLucia's proposal for managing growth is to promote commercial development within the town as well as encourage Planned Development Districts (PDDs). In order to encourage commercial growth, DeLucia explained that he works with the town board in order to create a more "business-friendly" environment. He hopes it will attract the restaurants and shops that the residents of Malta desire while ensuring that they "are going to be very careful about the type of business that are coming in. [They] don't want the smokestack industries and the big box stores" (V. DeLucia, personal communication, February 22, 2017).

DeLucia and Clavin both emphasized that PDDs encourage commercial development in Malta and provide unique community benefits. Clavin explained further that with PDDs, the “town board can make exceptions to zoning under certain conditions [and the] town benefits from agreements such as the gazebo or road infrastructure” (R. Clavin, personal communication, February 22, 2017). DeLucia prioritized promoting commercial development and encouraging PDDs, because Malta receives its revenue from a portion of county sales taxes.

When asked about the development of Ellsworth Commons, DeLucia explained that although the proposal was the “best laid plan,” there were unavoidable barriers that have led to Ellsworth’s many empty storefronts. DeLucia stated, “I think the previous town board and supervisor who were involved with [Ellsworth Commons] had their hearts in the right place, trying to do the right thing” (V. DeLucia, personal communication, February 22, 2017). However, the existing infrastructure of the Malta Town Complex on the opposite side of Route 9, the lack of other surrounding four-story buildings, and the public’s “bitter taste” towards the establishment of Ellsworth made it difficult for Ellsworth to thrive.

One proposal that DeLucia mentioned for improving business at Ellsworth Commons was the introduction of on-street parking. He explained that the on-street parking spaces were initially part of the development’s plans, but they were not originally approved by the DOT, which oversees decisions regarding Route 9. Upon taking office, DeLucia successfully convinced the DOT to allow on-street parking. However, citing safety concerns, DeLucia has yet to move forward with plan. First, he wants Ellsworth Commons to reduce the area of the sidewalks and grass to leave more space for cars to parallel park without opening their doors into the speeding five-lanes of traffic.

DeLucia's administration has also focused much of their attention towards understanding traffic flow and adjusting the zoning of Routes 67 and 9. In reference to the DOT's intention to promote the flow of traffic through Malta, DeLucia cited that numerous studies on traffic circles. The studies found that traffic circles move "the volume [of cars] much more quickly and much more smoothly," with lower risks of severe accidents (V. DeLucia, personal communication, February 22, 2017). Clavin added that while the DOT does want to keep traffic flowing, traffic flow makes it impossible for people to safely cross the street (R. Clavin, personal communication, February 22, 2017). This is an issue with the recent rezoning of sections of Routes 67 and 9 from residential areas to commercial areas. These high traffic areas are affecting homeowners' ability to sell and are inhibiting new residential development. DeLucia hopes that by creating a commercial corridor, "we will not only increase the amount of our taxable evaluation of the commercial corridors, but [we] will also be able to preserve the country" (V. DeLucia, personal communication, February 22, 2017). This vision aligns well with DeLucia's vision of smart growth, in which there is a balance between multi-family, residential, commercial, rural, and agricultural areas (V. DeLucia, personal communication, February 22, 2017).

Anthony Tozzi

We interviewed Anthony "Tony" Tozzi, the Building and Planning Coordinator for the town of Malta. Prior to planning in Malta, Tozzi had worked as a planner in the cities of Troy, Schenectady, and Saratoga Springs and brought his experiences from these larger populations to Malta. Tozzi reported that he approaches the future of development in Malta with a practical vision of how the town will evolve. The foundation of this vision is based on his belief that planning for the town needs to "go back to earlier development patterns where things [were] much more efficient, where folks actually talk to their neighbors" (A. Tozzi, personal communication,

February 22, 2017). In regard to promoting a town where there is communication between neighbors, Tozzi is skeptical of this concept in the digital age, but he does hope that a thriving town center will eventually evolve and neighborhoods will have a strong sense of community, even if it takes 50 years. Tozzi often spoke of the other towns in which he had previously worked, and admired their connectivity. Tozzi gave an example of Malta's lack of connectivity: in order to buy a cup of coffee from the coffee shop across the street, he has to cross a drainage ditch and five-lanes of high-speed traffic without a pedestrian crosswalk, risking an accident.

Tozzi began working in the Planning Department in Malta after the implementation of Ellsworth Commons and spoke candidly about the development. He further explained that the quality of retail development included in Ellsworth was twenty years ahead of its time. Tozzi referenced late former town planner Heather Mallozzi, who had stated, "I think we bit off more than we can chew...I think maybe it's too much for Malta," in reference to the city planners (A. Tozzi, personal communication, February 22, 2017). However, Tozzi seemed hopeful that there would be continued interest in development projects in Malta that will eventually occupy the retail space.

Throughout his interview, Tozzi provided valuable insights into the town's relationship with the DOT. He explained that "the relationship that Malta has had with the DOT has been up and down for a long time" (A. Tozzi, personal communication, February 22, 2017). Tozzi explained that while the town has a good relationship with the DOT, particularly under Supervisor DeLucia's administration, the department is limited financially in making transportation and street improvements that Tozzi believes will be crucial to improving the success of the downtown corridor. Tozzi explained that he agreed with the DOT in regard to the fact that the town and the state need to form a plan together "to turn Route 9 from what it is now to what the town wants it

to be” (A. Tozzi, personal communication, February 22, 2017). In Tozzi’s viewpoint, the economics and the community perception of a growing Malta need to shift to be more accepting of the town’s changes in addition to transportation improvements.

Tozzi explained that the largest economic barrier the town faces is a “self-imposed financial challenge,” or the lack of no town tax (A. Tozzi, personal communication, February 22, 2017). Without the tax, Tozzi argued that Malta is unable to afford the services and infrastructure that are necessary to streamline processes such as highway maintenance and trash collection. As Malta grows, the town will need to seriously consider a tax as an option. Tozzi argued that since many Malta residents grew up in a suburban environment or were attracted to the town because of the lack of a town tax, this would be a difficult transition to make. Additionally, Tozzi believed that it is unrealistic for the town to build only single-family homes. Instead, it needs to adopt a compromise between developing multi-family and apartment style homes and the possibility of implementing a downtown corridor density cap. Finally, Tozzi was optimistic about the positive influence of form-based code, because it has provided Malta with a revived vision for Malta’s future possibilities.

Paul Sausville

Arguably one of the most prominent players in shaping development in Malta, NY, we had the opportunity to interview former Town Supervisor Paul Sausville. He served from 2005 to 2015 and was commonly referenced in our archival research and in our interviews as a major influencer of recent development decisions. Upon meeting Sausville, it was clear that he had a specific vision for the future of the town—one that is controversial with other key players in Malta. During his interview, Sausville stated that he “had a front row seat in the decline” of Malta (P. Sausville, personal communication, March 2, 2017). He understands that Malta will not return to the quiet

agricultural town it once was, considering GlobalFoundries' role in the town. However, he believed that Malta should delay the construction of apartments and projects like Ellsworth Commons until there is the demand. He described his view of Ellsworth Commons in simple terms: "I hate it. It's awful" (P. Sausville, personal communication, March 2, 2017). To him, these developments do not lend themselves to the suburban, family town identity of Malta that he worked to establish (P. Sausville, personal communication, March 2, 2017).

Sausville is a major advocate of what a suburban community can offer Malta but is dissatisfied with the current model of suburbia. Sausville explained his belief that "the planners [of the world] have failed us in the sense that they haven't really defined what a suburban town ought to be...there is no model of my opinion as to what we really want suburbia to look like" (P. Sausville, personal communication, March 2, 2017). Sausville's proposed version of suburbia has many different aspects.

In Sausville's vision of suburbia, alternative transportation and compact design are not viable options. He believes that Malta will always be "dependent on automobiles coming and going" and emphasized the need to design to that (P. Sausville, personal communication, March 2, 2017). Having a car-centric community enables commercial developments like the Shops at Malta to be set back from the view of the road and not offend anyone driving by with its design. Additionally, Sausville's vision of suburbia includes minimal commercial development that is well-controlled to preserve the surrounding natural space. To ensure this, Sausville supports PDDs in which projects are carefully considered to best serve the needs of the town's population. Additionally, in his ideal suburban community of Malta, Sausville envisions a small town center that meets the very basic needs of the town's families, such as a barbershop and grocery store. In

reference to the trajectory of the town, Sausville explained that “Malta had a good start, but we’ve lost our way” (P. Sausville, personal communication, March 2, 2017).

Another major ideological difference between Sausville and other elected officials of Malta is his vision for the types of commercial development permitted. Sausville proposed the idea of “high benefit, low impact commercial businesses” (P. Sausville, personal communication, March 2, 2017). He explained that these are types of businesses that have high economic and social benefits and low impacts on the environment and traffic conditions. He argues that it does not make sense to promote “more traffic generators so you can have more money to solve traffic problems” (P. Sausville, personal communication, March 2, 2017). Additionally, Sausville had a firm stance that many of the “leaders are driven by economic development interests,” rather than in incorporating the local, organic demand for growth (P. Sausville, personal communication, March 2, 2017). As a consequence, Sausville is attempting to encourage town officials to take into consideration the will and wishes of the people; to separate their economic and political incentives from making informed choices; and to think about which population they serve. Through these recommendations, Sausville is confident that Malta can once again become a family-oriented town where BBQs and active community discussions are prominent in the neighborhoods (P. Sausville, personal communication, March 2, 2017).

Peter Klotz

We conducted an interview with Peter Klotz, former chairman of the Malta Planning Board and former elected Town Councilperson. When prompted to discuss his vision for the future of Malta, Klotz discussed Malta’s potential for balanced development of a downtown area while maintaining the rural nature of surrounding areas. He suggested that the health, safety, and welfare

of a community should be the focus of zoning regulations, stating that “in the town of Malta, [...] some parts of the town would allow for quite a bit of development and other parts of the town would be more rural, more open, less developed” (P. Klotz, personal communication, March 26, 2017). He brought up the idea that with this type of compact development, infrastructure such as water, sewer, power lines, and traffic can also be concentrated, limiting the need for increased spending on utilities.

Klotz went on to discuss the idea of urbanization as a concept with different connotations for different groups of people:

To me, urbanization is not a negative word. It’s a descriptive word that describes certain planning concepts. But to others, they hear the word ‘urbanization,’ and they imagine all kinds of things from huge cities that have all kinds of urban blight, urban problems, and all that (P. Klotz, personal communication, March 26, 2017).

He suggests that these views are held by a lot of community members in Malta, making discussions about future development challenging. In reference to Ellsworth Commons, he brought up that some community influentials had spoken out against the project after it was built, influencing other community members to voice similarly negative opinions. Klotz suggested that this uncertainty between the community vision and the town vision created confusion for potential investors in the commercial areas of the development, leading to some of the problems it currently faces with lack of successful retail.

On the topic of walkability, Klotz mentioned the influence of cars and gas prices on the community’s willingness to support the development of connected sidewalk networks. He explained that when gas prices increased, the community was more supportive of development projects that involved restaurants and stores within walking distance of residential areas, but those

views were lost when gas prices decreased again. He also suggested that these views are not necessarily the opinions of the entire community and that over time, communities tend to experience shifts in viewpoints between those who support the conventional suburban sprawl layout of a town and those who value more walkable, compact neighborhoods.

We asked Klotz what kind of impact the influx of GlobalFoundries employees has had on the makeup of the Malta community. In response, Klotz brought up the cyclical nature of the tech industry, and the idea that there may be changes in demand for GlobalFoundries products that scare the community away from supporting them. He also stated that along with the changes in demand for products, GlobalFoundries may go through different labor force needs, requiring more employees at some points and fewer at others. However, he suggests that these changes in demand are not necessarily negative and that the community should become more familiar with the needs of an industry like GlobalFoundries in order to support it more effectively. Similarly, he suggests that although GlobalFoundries generally has a positive impact on the town, there is a need to diversify the types of industries represented in Malta. He uses Schenectady, New York as an example of a town that relied on a single industry for economic growth and was left in economic devastation because of it.

Another major point that Klotz brought up is the idea of regional planning. He explained that while Malta has clearly defined where commercial and residential development should be concentrated, these areas are not necessarily aligned with the goals of neighboring towns. He mentioned that in the town of Ballston Spa, intense commercial and industrial development encroaches towards the border between the towns, potentially devaluing residential developments on the Malta side of the border because of their proximity.

Finally, Klotz stressed the importance of community involvement. He stated that Malta is not unique in its problems, and compared to other towns, it has more opportunity for successful growth. He suggested that land stewardship as well as community participation are key to growth.

William Smith

Next, we spoke to William Smith in order to get a perspective from someone on the planning board. Considering his position as chairman of the planning board, we wanted to know his opinion on development in Malta, understand his role in planning, and further expand our conception of the dynamics of the Malta planning board.

Smith's first point was that the community often does not agree with what the planning board is doing, although the board is governed by law implemented by their elected officials. He gave us comprehensive background on the logistics of the planning board and context of the town's history.

We asked about his opinion on form-based code and found that he did not "particularly care for it" (W. Smith, personal communication, April 5, 2017). Smith told us that form-based code was not implemented by the planning board, but by the town and planning department. His primary criticism was that it took a lot of the planning board's authority from the development of the downtown and that his board no longer had any authority. Before form-based code, their input was binding and strongly dictated how projects were implemented in the town.

Smith discussed how he felt that fire and pedestrian safety were major concerns for him and Malta's development. A problem with large commercial developments is that they must be designed to accommodate firetrucks, since they are not permitted to back up. He mentioned that the town's engineer is charged with telling the planning board and the town if there is any problem with the state building code with the assistance of code enforcement officers. For example, a

problem the town's engineer brought to the board's attention was a drive-thru that was located across a pedestrian walkway coming out of a parking lot that led to a restaurant. The concern was with people walking across the drive-thru lane to get to the restaurant. Smith's point was that before form-based code, the planning board could give recommendations to remedy problems like these, but with the new form of zoning, their input did not hold as much weight.

A problem he identified for Ellsworth Commons was that there is ample room for four or five cars along Route 9, but on-street parking would reduce the visibility of a driver leaving Ellsworth. He said that a big priority for the planning board when considering new projects is sight distance, especially for developments along Route 9.

Additionally, Smith identified pedestrian traffic as a safety hazard. His argument was that once the town implements sidewalks all over Malta, there is no guarantee that pedestrians will not continue to walk in the road. He said that the town lacks the equipment and workforce to maintain sidewalks in the winter. His overall opinion was that if Malta continued to build more sidewalks, they would only produce more problems (W. Smith, personal communication, April 5, 2017).

Smith's last point was that the Malta community was reactive, rather than proactive. He said that despite the fact that residents receive letters in the mail to notify them if projects are going to abut their property, these letters often go unacknowledged by their recipients. Only when construction has begun does the public voice their opposition.

Tim Dunn

We interviewed Timothy Dunn, current Town Councilperson and Chair of the Malta Economic Development Committee. We were interested in his perspective as a newcomer to elected office and his reputation among the community as a strong supporter of development. Dunn

has a background in business development and has worked with firms across New York State, including semiconductor-manufacturing firms.

He spoke to us about his campaign for office with current Supervisor Vincent DeLucia and brought up the main points they focused on when discussing the town's development: Ellsworth Commons, GlobalFoundries, and apartments. He suggested that both Ellsworth Commons and GlobalFoundries can be integrated into the community if the town finds ways to work with them, even though they are sources of contention for the town. In reference to the community's concern over apartment-style development, he reported that he sympathized with community members in their worries that the town is becoming overdeveloped. As a councilperson, Dunn stated that he is not anti-growth but rather is focused on the specific type of growth. He states, "in Malta, we had seen construction without growth. We had seen expansion without new economic opportunities. And ultimately, I think....we've seen the wrong kind of [growth]" (T. Dunn, personal communication, April 18, 2017). Dunn was concerned that residential growth precedes the corresponding commercial growth and demand for expansion, mentioning that the town board is currently considering implementing a restriction on multi-family developments.

In reference to Ellsworth Commons, Dunn suggested that part of the problem was the developer's lack of experience building for commercial use. He stated that the scale of the project was too large and that the combination of its size and changes imposed on the developer by the planning board made the project prone to failure.

Dunn brought up the practice of using PDDs for new developments, stating that former town supervisor Paul Sausville encouraged the use of PDDs to the detriment of the town. Since each PDD must be approved individually, there are many different standards among them for roads and types of land use: "It becomes a complete administrative nightmare for our planning and

development department to be able to manage all these different PDDs” (T. Dunn, personal communication, April 18, 2017). However, Dunn remains in support of pulling public benefits out of private development projects, especially in regard to infrastructure development.

Additionally, Dunn explained that Malta’s annual town budget increased by \$250,000, for which the town had to use some of its reserved budget. Related to this, Dunn suggested that it would be important for Malta to increase the value of its property assessments in the future, particularly its commercial properties in order to reap more of the Saratoga County sales tax. In conjunction with whom he referred to as “highly-regarded business leaders in the community,” Dunn has worked on conducting an analysis of Malta’s strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats, known as a SWOT analysis, a common practice in business strategizing (T. Dunn, personal communication, April 18, 2017). Dunn stated that during the SWOT analysis, there was a common, almost universally agreed upon weakness identified in Malta: “the town of Malta is a terrible place to do business” (T. Dunn, personal communication, April 18, 2017). He also explained that one of his current projects as the chair of the Economic Development Committee is to create a catalogue of the developable parcels of land in the downtown corridor, with the goal that it will encourage potential developers to use the parcels of land zoned for commercial development.

When asked about the impact GlobalFoundries brought to the town, Dunn criticized the actions of the previous town leadership, as well as the regional and state actors. He explained that the first discussions about bringing a semiconductor plant to the town happened in 1997, and GlobalFoundries first announced their construction in 2007. He believes that this length of time between the project’s inception and its actual implementation should have given the town enough time to plan effectively for the impending growth. He commended GlobalFoundries for their investments in the town that exceeded requirements and for their continued success as a major

industry leader despite the global recession in 2008. During GlobalFoundries' construction and development, Dunn suggested the town should have begun encouraging other industries to enter Malta in order to diversify the economy.

Dunn also brought up a few other examples of towns that had experienced the tech industry similarly to Malta. He spoke about Hillsboro, Oregon as a town that successfully integrated the industry into their economic growth strategy. He told us that Malta's leadership visited Hillsboro in order to observe some of what they had implemented. However, he explained that the regional government framework they had implemented in the Hillsboro area was a major reason why the town was able to succeed, which would not be possible in Malta.

When prompted to talk about the community's participation in land use decisions, Dunn reported that communication is lacking: "I think we do a terrible job communicating with the town" (T. Dunn, personal communication, April 18, 2017). Dunn explained that there is a disconnect between the administration's philosophy and the community's perception of their actions. He also stated that while he feels like he makes all possible efforts to reach out to the community, there is more to be done on the parts of other members of the administration. Dunn seemed to support increased community participation and was optimistic that the town could promote economic growth while fulfilling the needs of the community.

Greg Connors

We interviewed Greg Connors, Director of Government Relations at GlobalFoundries and former Town Supervisor of Stillwater, NY. Due to the confidential nature of GlobalFoundries as a Homeland Security site, we were not able to record the interview and instead took notes. However, Connors was able to share with us a lot of factual information about GlobalFoundries, as well as his perspective on the company's relationship to the town.

Connors began with some background information on the semiconductor industry and GlobalFoundries as a business, explaining that it brought several million dollars of investment to the town, as well as a largely international, highly-educated workforce. He suggested that the community was initially unaware of what it meant to welcome a semiconductor manufacturing plant into their town, and the company struggled to find a local workforce with the sufficient education.

Connors also spoke about the accessibility to GlobalFoundries from residential areas, explaining that the campus is outside of walkable distance to most housing areas, leading to high volumes of traffic on the roads leading to the campus. Although Ellsworth Commons provides a shuttle for some employees back and forth to GlobalFoundries, most employees rely on cars or bicycles to get to work. Referring to GlobalFoundries' employees as members of the community, Connors suggested that they are largely integrated into the town's social sphere and that the influx of a workforce with diverse backgrounds has had a positive impact on Malta.

Finally, Connors stressed the need for Malta to diversify its business district, rather than relying solely on GlobalFoundries for economic growth. He highlighted GlobalFoundries efforts to maintain environmental wellbeing in the town and ultimately stated that the future of Malta is bright because of the active nature of the town board and the community (G. Connors, personal communication, March 22, 2017).

Neil Swingruber

We identified a need in our research to gain the perspective of a developer in Malta. Past interviewees had identified Neil Swingruber of the Neilson Group LLC (formerly Albany Partners) as the primary developer in Malta, who would be able to provide us insight into the development process of Steeplechase and Ellsworth Commons. Throughout the interview, Swingruber

discussed which market elements are valued by developers, what the process was for building in Malta, how Ellsworth is perceived, and the cooperation and communication between the developer and the town's legislators.

Swingruber was able to provide us with a base understanding of what factors led to the construction of Steeplechase and Ellsworth. As a developer, Swingruber explained that his firm wanted to find an area that was near a state capital, had a strong medical care system, and was near an institution of higher learning. Once they identified that Malta met all of those requirements, Swingruber and his marketing team took the time to understand the needs, priorities, and opportunities present in Malta. Most prominently, Swingruber noticed that the average age of developments in Malta was at least 15 years, and there was limited availability of higher density housing, giving the new development of Steeplechase an edge on the local market, even if the plans for GlobalFoundries fell through. Swingruber notes that a project's success largely relies on whether the developer takes the time to understand and listen to everyone's voices in the community in terms of what they want from a new development. He explains that "the people are what are unique in every market." These unique perspectives and opinions are what shapes the type of development that best fit the community (N. Swingruber, personal communication, May 1, 2017).

As a resident of Malta, Swingruber is fully invested in and cares about the success of the town. However, Swingruber feels that the common community perception is that developers lack personal values and are only involved in projects to make a profit. He counters this criticism by stating that while he does have a promise to satisfy his investors, there is no reason for a "developer to build something that is considered out of step with local ambitions" because it does not set up any stakeholder for success (N. Swingruber, personal communication, May 1, 2017). However,

since the construction of Ellsworth Commons, Swingruber has noticed a change in the way that he is viewed in the community, sensing unpopularity and inquisition about “what are you doing to our town?” (N. Swingruber, personal communication, May 1, 2017).

Swingruber explained that the construction of Ellsworth was a difficult process because many individuals were not involved in development decisions prior to the construction of Ellsworth and only voiced their opinion after Ellsworth had been constructed. In order to avoid this in the future, he recommends to citizens that “the more informed you are...the less surprised you are going to be when you see the results. The less involvement you have, you are going to be shocked” (N. Swingruber, personal communication, May 1, 2017). Again, Swingruber stressed his belief in the cooperation and communication between residents, their elected officials, and developers, citing his belief that “the developer owes it to every person who wants to take the time to come to a public meeting and give their opinion” (N. Swingruber, personal communication, May 1, 2017).

In addition to the clash between developers and the community, Swingruber also identified an ideological difference between the elected officials’ vision and his proposed idea as a developer. The largest difference was in the amount of commercial space that the town requested in the development of Ellsworth Commons. As a primarily residential developer, Swingruber was resistant to building 70,000 square feet of development and said it was simply too much. However, the town legislation required that the development plans follow the outlined ratio of commercial to residential. As a result of this oversaturation of commercial property in an undeveloped market, Ellsworth has experienced a longer return on investment. Additionally, the developers of Ellsworth have been the focus of many of the complaints surrounding Ellsworth, enabling, in Swingruber’s opinion, the legislators to avoid blame for the current status of Ellsworth. However, Swingruber

believes that the legislators should be held more accountable by residents due to the fact that he simply followed the guidelines laid out by the town's development laws.

Appendix C

Ellsworth Commons Plan versus Reality



This picture depicts the developer's rendering for Ellsworth Commons prior to being built.



This picture depicts the reality of Ellsworth Commons.