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 while writing this paper.

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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

to consider the perspective of other individuals in order to challenge the traditional way of think4 0 Td [sn lon lo

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.

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

1.4 Smart Growth Policy

Several key pieces of legislation were the impetus for smart growth in the United States:

2. Profile of Malta, New York

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 "Techneurial 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

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).

water necessary per day (Halligan, 2016; GlobalFoundries, 2017). In order to process the waste

Saratoga County sewer system and spends an additional $30,000 a day to transport waste off

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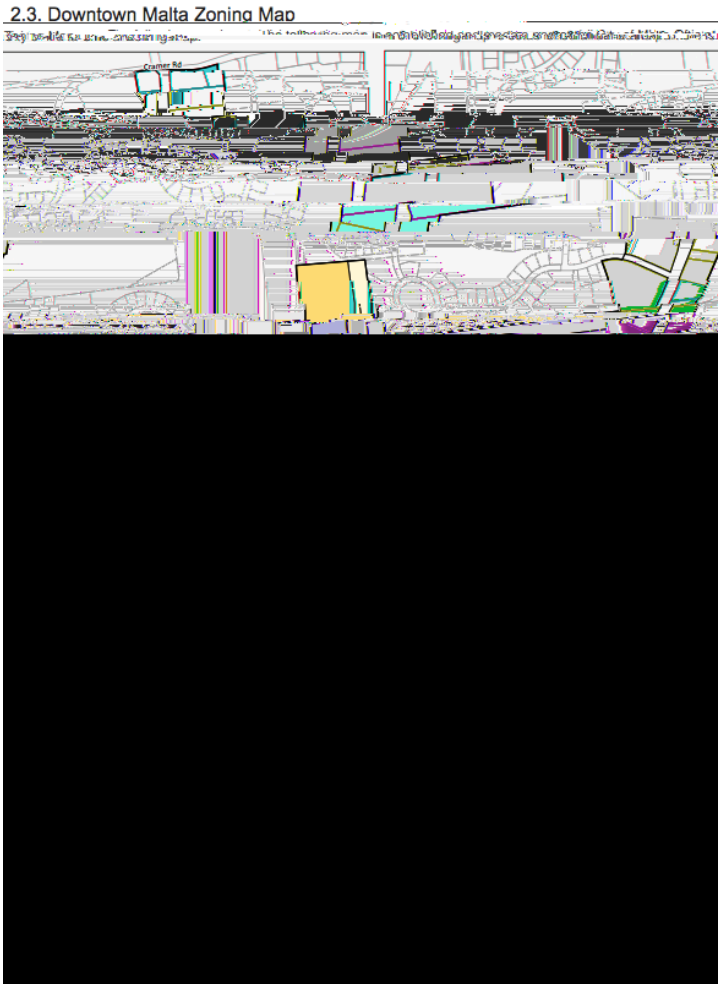


Figure 1. Form-Based Code. This figure depicts the form-based code plan adopted by the town of Malta in 2013.

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:

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

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.

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-

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

Table 1
Likert scale categories for Question 5 as referred to in results

Combined variable	Original variables

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).

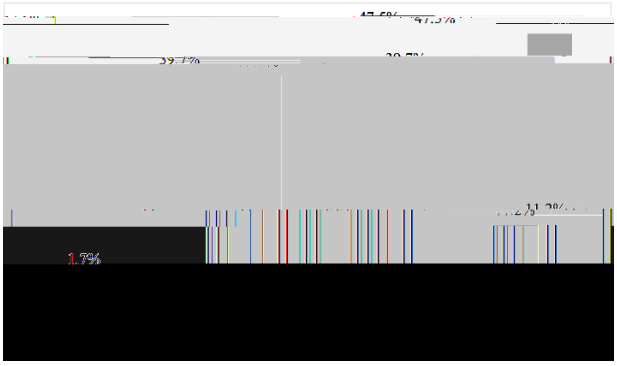


Figure 5. Age distribution of survey respondents. This bar graph shows the age groups of survey respondents, according to Question 13 (n=179).

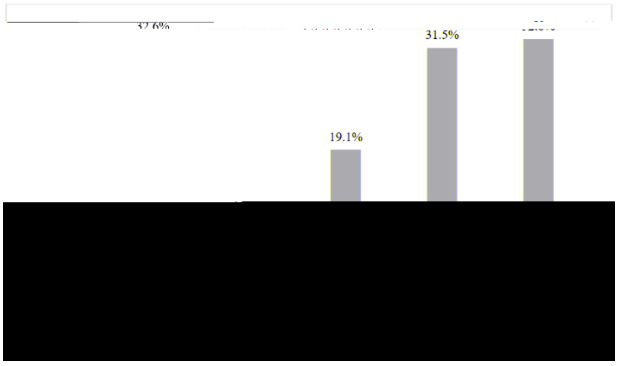


Figure 6. Percentage of income levels among participants. This bar graph shows the income levels of Malta residents who took the survey (n=179).

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 respondent2.4(cen)8(t)2.9(ag)8(e o)-4(f)94(ce (w)13.1(n)(s)-1(,FT .. .)-11.9(g)8(e o)-4.1(f)9.7( )]TJ -4(r)-7( )]TJ 0.08 Tw -3.25 53-2

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 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 whi

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

Table 5
Results from Question 3.1-3.4

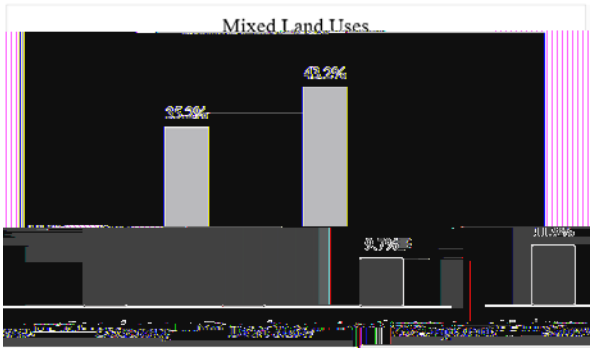
Question	A	B	C	Don't Know
Which option do you think people are more likely to walk or bike on?	5.1%	**43.2%**	38.6%	13.1%
Which option do you think people would drive faster on?	**76.7%**	4.0%	5.1%	5.1%
Which type of street do you think Malta needs more of?	6.9%	**44.8%**	25.9%	22.4%
Which street would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

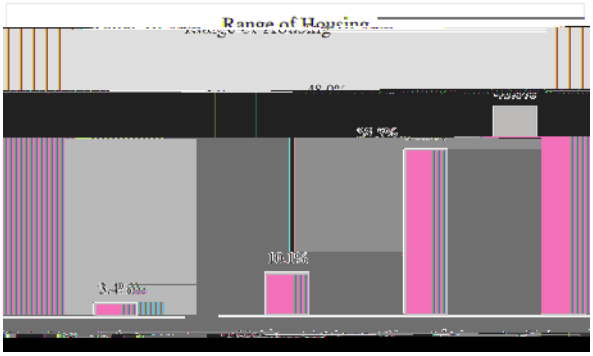
Note: Table shows percent of respondents who selected each option for questions 3.1 through 3.4. Bolded percentages indicate option with the highest percent of respondents (n=179).

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).


Mixed Land Uses


Range of Housing

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).

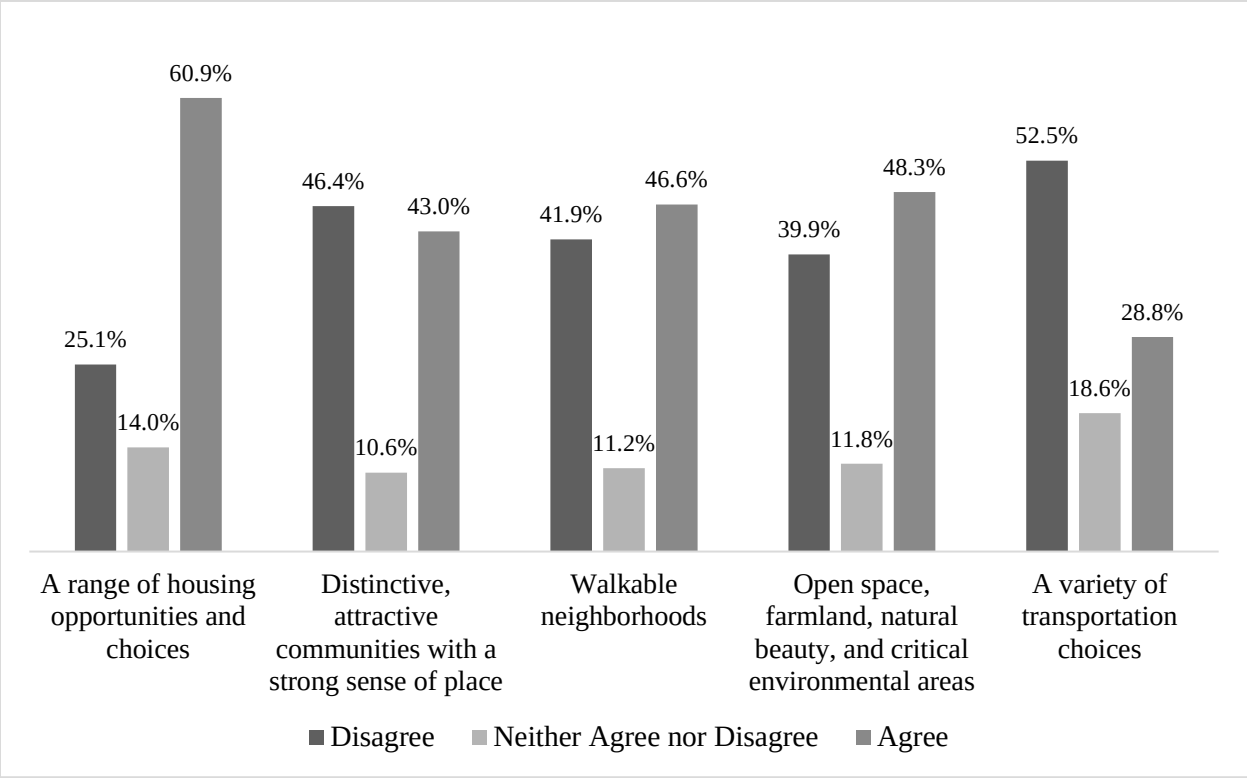


Figure 18. Perceptions of Malta's achievement of smart growth principles. This bar graph shows whether or not residents agreed that Malta achieved six smart growth principles (n=179).

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

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.

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 (F-2(-dg)7u r

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 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,

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		

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

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

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

Anthony Tozzi

We interviewed Anthony Tozzi, the Building and Planning Coordinator for the town of

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

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

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

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,

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).

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 fa

Community support of connected sidewalk networks has been another factor in making Malta more pedestrian-

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

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--

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 princi/o1h.oi/inas7c7(pl)-2(e)t t r,

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 Liau, 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 Liau, 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-

areas in Malta: Participant A stated that they lived directly behind Ellsworth Commons but were

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 n 2ng3 TD [(de)u72(e)4(s)-(uni)33 0(y)22( )4(f)3(or)w(t)-22(3(he)-16(y4(l)-2(l)4(pl0)2(l)-2

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

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.

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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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)	❍	❍	❍	❍
Which option do you think people would drive faster on? (2)	❍	❍	❍	❍
Which type of street do you think Malta needs more of? (3)	❍	❍	❍	❍
Which street would you prefer to drive on? (4)	❍	❍	❍	❍

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)

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)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Distinctive, attractive communities with a strong sense of place (2)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Walkable neighborhoods (3)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Open space, farmland, natural beauty, and critical environmental areas (4)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
A variety of transportation choices (5)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

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)

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,

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.

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

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' impactscbec11(t)-b(nl)-22(y Tm)-6(w)2(1(3(s7(e)4(una1(t)-2(r)3(a)4(f))-10(but)-12d)-22(y Tm

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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, persound thev grow4(

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

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

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

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-

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:

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

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

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 communio>>BDC 0.0tikfoatry ha(t)8(n)2tivlta ryaalt-4 H once

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

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. Ho

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 ma1(i)not1(i)no e6(n)2(uv2(i))5(io2(n)2(ah t)-2(o G)2(lwt2 >>BDCy)2(u)3((n)ah t)-2(o Gnd)-2 y)20((t to)2i

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,

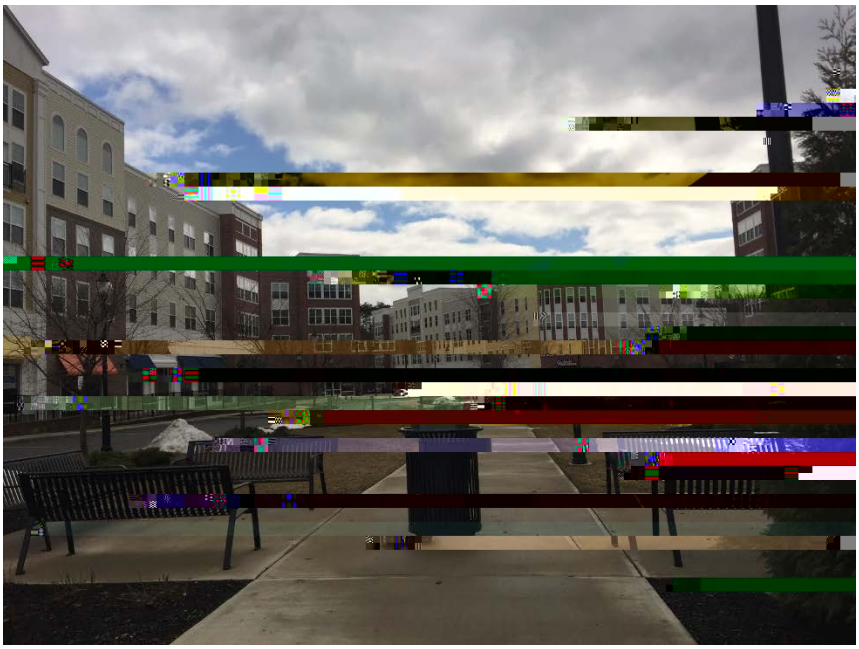
since the construction of Ellsworth Commons, Swingruber has noticed a change in the way that he is viewed in the community, sensing unpopularity he

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.