

EXURBIA
AN EXAMINATION OF URBAN SPRAWL
NEAR MADISON, WISCONSIN

BY
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ABSTRACT

EXURBIA...AN EXAMINATION OF URBAN SPRAWL
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This thesis examines the problem of exurban development outside the city limits of Madison, Wisconsin. The reasons and rationale of rural land conversion to single family building sites were examined from the point of view of the exurban home buyer with attention to the process of development and sales.

First, exurban growth is defined and arguments both for and against such urban growth patterns are put forth.

Next, the study area of Cherry Wood Glen in the Town of Middleton was examined in detail. A physical description as well as a discussion of the legal controls and political climate are provided. A survey was undertaken to learn why people located in Cherry Wood and to learn what their expectations were for the future.

Finally, after an analysis of the survey results, an examination of constraints and the political climate surrounding the Cherry Wood area was undertaken. In conclusion, a number of problem areas were discussed and possible courses of action identified.

Briefly, the findings of the study were: Current legal regulations and political policies do little to deter exurban growth patterns. The developer of such exurban subdivisions is economically successful and believes he is meeting the demands of the consumer. The consumer of

exurban developments has few options open to him/her in the luxury new home market. His choice is guided by that which the developer of lots and new homes makes available. That which the developer makes available is outside the city limits of Madison. The appeal of the exurban development rests primarily on its environmental and aesthetic qualities rather than its location per se. One of the more viable solutions to curtailing the rural land conversion process rests with the town in which such developments are occurring.

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CHAPTER ONE
PARAMETERS AND PERSPECTIVES OF EXURBAN GROWTH

INTRODUCTION

This thesis will deal with the question of exurban development outside the city limits of Madison, Wisconsin. Exurban development will be defined as development on previously rural land on or near an urban center but not contiguous to any existing development. Exurban development, as contrasted to a more compact form of regional growth pattern, creates environmental and service problems, relies on septic tanks, is energy consumptive because of location far from urban services, is often considered a misutilization of a valuable resource such as farm and forest land and is more costly to the public in the long term because of the ultimate demand for public services. However, as numerous as the arguments may be against exurban development, there are an increasing number of people seeking such living accommodations. There is a certain segment of the population that not only favors such developments, but actively supports their construction.

This thesis argues that the economic advantages which accrue to the developer and the consumer plus the attractiveness of the country setting outside the city limits of Madison encourage exurban development. Further, these economic advantages together with the administrative and legal constraints at the state, city, county and township level encourage the conversion of rural land to single unit building sites. However, by changing the political policies and legal constraints such as subdivision laws surrounding the land conversion process, exurban growth patterns could be altered, and these alterations, while affecting

the basic location decision of those seeking an exurban location, would not necessarily have a major effect on life styles. This research will analyze the motives and desires of consumers seeking homes in an exurban development near Madison. It will also examine the political, legal and economic policies and related constraints which have influenced the rural landowners and the developers to participate in the rural land conversion process. This research effort hopes to provide some insight into why country living has become so attractive, to weigh the positive and negative effects, and to determine how that information might be used to change the policies and legal constraints surrounding the utilization of the land resource.

REVIEW OF PREVIOUS RESEARCH AND THEORY

For the purpose of this research effort, a broad spectrum of literature was surveyed including federal and Wisconsin land use regulations. Attention was also given to public interest as applied to the planning process in a democratic society and decision making theory as applied in economics and politics. Because the basic thrust of the thesis revolves around one development area in the Town of Middleton, extensive research was done related to land use controls and the attitudes of those directly involved in the study area. Since the thesis was aimed at determining what factors contribute to residents choosing exurban areas in which to live and the processes of rural land conversion, special attention was paid to the literature in those areas.

A search of the literature revealed much research on the problems attending urban sprawl, but little research in areas regarding the motives and preferences of people for living in such areas.

Marion Clawson's book, Suburban Land Conversion in the United States (1971), deals meticulously with the process of land conversion on the urban fringe and is applicable in this research effort. He concludes that better coordinated government action in the areas of public improvements, planning and zoning in conformity with good planning coupled with economic incentives including "deprofitization" and tax incentives could modify the suburban development process.

There are numerous works which deal with the land conversion process on a national scale, but few which deal specifically with land conversion in Wisconsin. The most complete study in Wisconsin appears to be Wisconsin Natural Resources Policy Issues: An Economic Perspective (1973), which points out that farm land is being converted to single family

building sites especially in the southern part of Wisconsin and explores the plight of the farmer who is being "tax squeezed" off the land as the city moves toward the country.

There has been little specific research into the area of human preferences for living in exurban areas. On the other hand, much research has been done into the nature of the suburban resident. Herbert Gan's book, The Levittowners (1967), is a definitive study in the suburban resident's sociological background and preferences for suburban living. The Levittowners further deals with the development of a suburb into a community, it does not, however, examine how the suburb came into existence or the preferences of the residents for this suburb. A more current study by Michael Levin and Sandy Sachs, People and Planning: Facts and Figures, the Village of Pine Run, a P.U.D. in New Jersey (1974), is an excellent example of a study done in evaluating the likes and dislikes of residents occupying an existing development. The study however, is aimed largely at evaluating the design components of the P.U.D. and makes no attempt to address policy or legal constraints involved in the development process.

Reading was done in the area of public interest as a general concept and as specifically applied and utilized in the planning process. The public interest is an elusive concept, difficult to define, but important because it is believed to exist. Research was also undertaken into decision making theory as it relates to public interest and also at this theory is utilized by governmental institutions in taking action. While not a definitive book on the subject, Graham Allison's Essence of Decision, Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis (1971) summarizes and applies the most widely held theories in this area and was utilized to a large extent in this research effort.

SCOPE OF THE PROBLEM

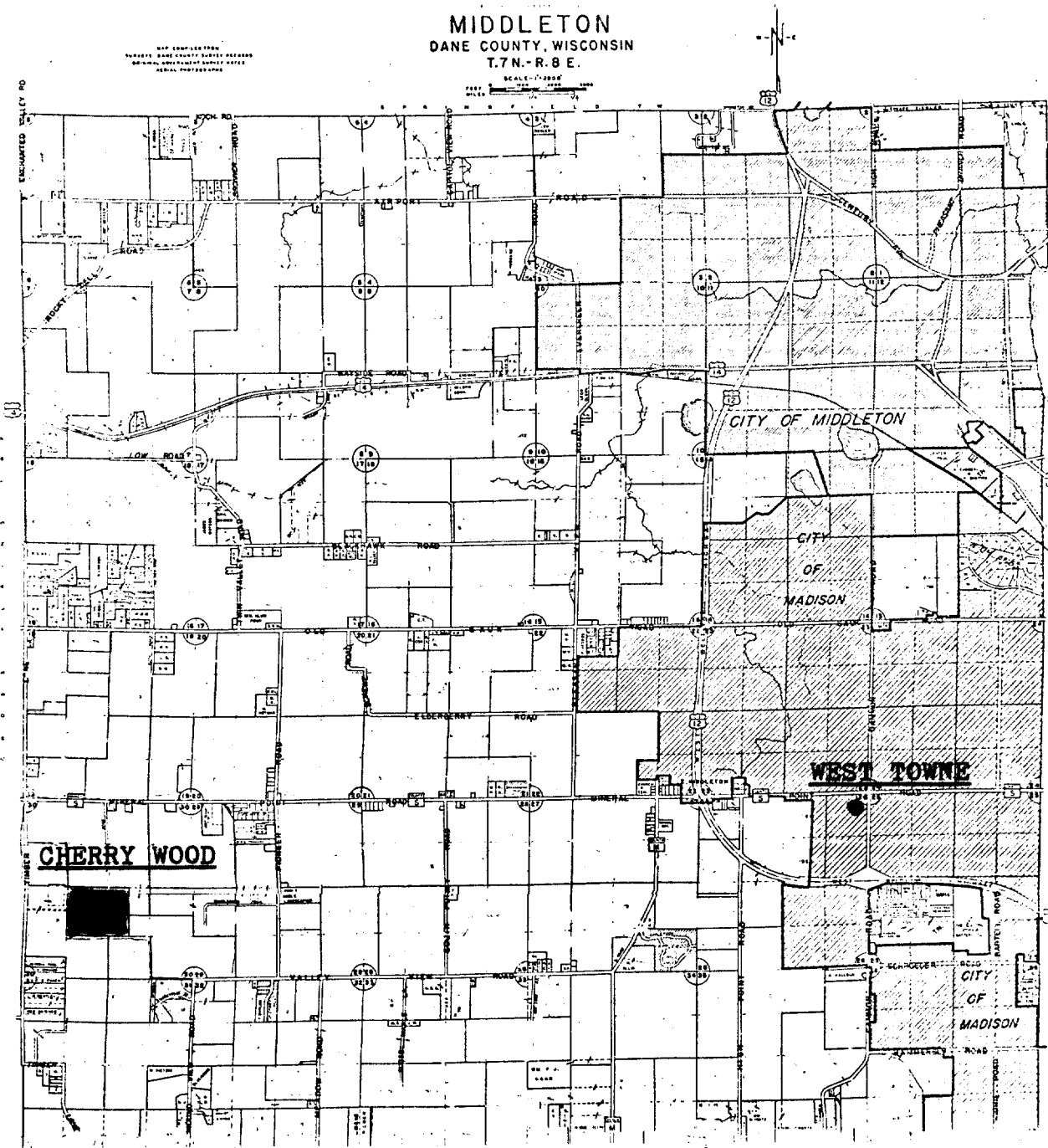
Exurban is a term which implies a particular pattern of growth and utilization of land outside the urban fringe. Exurban growth is characterized as occurring in the country and having skipped or leap-frogged over other predominately rural land. Exurban developments utilize relatively large parcels of land for each unit of housing; Cherry Wood (Figure 1), the area described in this paper, utilized one acre and one-half acre lots for each unit of housing, often more than two acres were used. Exurban growth is also differentiated from suburban growth. Suburban growth is at the "expanding edge of the city" (CLAWSON, 1971, p. 2), utilizes smaller lots for each unit, and generally is viewed as being part of the urban area on which it borders. Exurban growth is, as Clawson has stated, "a less clearly defined type of land use and of living, more remote from the city and less closely integrated with it." (CLAWSON, 1971, p. 55)

Exurban developments, because of their location and the leapfrogging phenomenon which accompanies them are, according to a study undertaken by the State of Wisconsin, the most expensive form of development occurring in the state at the present time. (WISCONSIN STATE PLANNING OFFICE (1975 p. 56) This cost is not expressed in environmental terms, but rather as the specific costs of supplying the necessary infrastructure: public works, schools, and necessary services. These projections were based on costs to the region and not to persons in the exurban development.

William Whyte sums up what many of the problems of exurban developments are:

"Sprawl is bad aesthetics; it is bad economics. Five acres are being made to do the work of one, and do it very poorly. This is bad for farmers, it is bad for communities, it is bad for industry, it is bad for

FIGURE 1...CHERRY WOOD



SOURCE: DANE COUNTY SURVEYOR

utilities, it is bad for railroads, it is bad for the recreation groups, it is even bad for the developer." (FORTUNE, p. 117)

Exurban growth is also linked to a desire to move to the country. This desire is not a new phenomenon. Urbanites over the years have looked to the country for living accommodations for unique reasons such as the professional solitude sought by artists, or as retirement homes and for recreational pursuits. However, in recent years there has been an upsurge of such developments, and a larger population migration of essentially urban oriented people which would tend to point to a different kind of motivation for seeking a "place in the country." It seems that what was once a few people who had a place in the country has grown to include a significant segment of the population who are seeking alternatives to a more conventional suburban type of existence. Exurban growth is no longer the product of a few individuals seeking the solitude of the country; rather it has become a way of life for an increasing number of essentially urban oriented people.

In examining the question of exurban growth it can clearly be seen that there are two sides to the coin. In general, critics of these developments assert that such developments misutilize an important land resource, are energy consumptive and are aesthetically unappealing to those who enjoy a more natural landscape. Yet exurban growth continues and it seems relevant to remember that men have throughout their history attached great importance to the possession of land.

"Man has always used land lavishly...if he has been able to afford it. It is rather important for us to remember this or else we may delude ourselves into thinking that the spread of urban areas springs from a recent and new desire of mankind. The only recent change is the growth of wealth and its wider distribution which has enabled many persons and groups to secure possession and access to larger areas of land." (WIBBERLY, p. 20)

It seems then that exurban growth in many respects represents an upward financial mobility for many persons and may be considered representative of those persons who also hope to achieve that same kind of upward mobility. Environmental questions represent one aspect of general public concern; the desires and aspirations of the general public also represent a general public concern. Therefore, it is apparent that a study of exurban growth must consider both kinds of public interests.

CONTRASTING VIEWS ON THE PROBLEM

Urban sprawl, suburbia, and urban fringe have come to have a connotation ascribed to them, which, while not well defined, is generally negative. Persons concerned with the environment are characterized as being "on the right side." Everyone wants clean air, beautiful landscapes, and certainly no one advocates pollution. Therefore, when urban sprawl conflicts with environmental concern, it appears that bad must contend with good. However, the fact that exurban development continues to grow points to the fact that the issue is not so clear cut.

"The words 'environmental problems' are often employed to describe situations that amount to disputes between metropolitan residents. 'Pollution problems' refer to disputes between neighbors; 'race problems' to disputes between minorities and majorities, and so forth. Even the perception of a problem is a matter open to dispute: How many crimes form a crime wave? How much open space is adequate? What is the proper rate of urban growth? Such 'problems' are in part, defined by the value conflicts, and the political squabbles they generate."
(EWALD, p. 251)

The Cons

The purpose of this section is to examine the problems of exurban growth as they are perceived by those who oppose it. Urban sprawl is clearly a path fraught with problems. Exurban development is costly. "It is exurban development that is most expensive -- 55% more costly than compact urban development." (WISCONSIN STATE PLANNING OFFICE, 1975, p. 11)

It is claimed that exurban developments are cost inefficient to the public at large because they occur in areas not serviced by public sewer and water and are off the well trodden path of other public services such as telephone, utilities, road services and police and fire protection. While all of these services may not be of significance at

the outset, over time their relevance, and very likely their cost, rises.

"As suburban developments expand into previously agricultural areas, the need for public services such as new roads, water supply, sewers, schools, and recreational areas increases rapidly. Not only do suburbanites require an expanded government budget to provide additional services, but also they often demand higher quality services than those that previously existed in the area." (BARROWS ET AL, 1973, p.18)

Any number of persons, primarily urban persons and environmentalists, decry the scarring of the rural landscape as bulldozers "ravage" the countryside for the creation of building sites for homes and shopping centers. Some, like Commower, feel that the conversion of prime agricultural land to residential use is an under utilization of that resource in the large scheme of life and for future generations. "In the face of rapidly increasing world population it is argued that public policy should seek to preserve agricultural land in order to assure an adequate food supply." (BARROWS ET AL, 1973, p.16) Once agricultural land is utilized for other purposes that require large investments of capital, it is unlikely that it will be returned to its agricultural use.

Further, from an environmental and conservationist view such as Capital Community Citizens, exurban developments are conspicuously energy consumptive. These developments create a reliance on automobiles and preclude efficient mass transit. Lack of sewers and the resulting reliance on septic tanks raise concerns that some of these systems have been inappropriately placed and may lead to ultimate failure of the system and the pollution of ground water thereby creating a health hazard. Another general concern is the question of discrimination by economic class. Exurban developments tend to utilize large amounts of

land for each parcel and therefore are costly. This cost precludes certain socio-economic groups from purchasing in these areas.

(CLAWSON, 1971)

Environmentalists are not the only group who object to exurban developments. Urban residents often object to sprawl especially when it stimulates some of the best taxpayers to move outside of the jurisdiction of the urban area. As inner city areas decline and the tax base is eroded, exurban areas and policies which lead to such trends come under scrutiny. Not only do urban dwellers believe that their tax base is being eroded and their city deserted, but the amenities of the city, which they still support, are available to those in the exurban area and at no appreciable cost to those outside. (CLAWSON, 1971)

Another group's perspective which enters into the question of exurban growth is that of the rural resident. Exurban growth forces farmers out of farming. The more attractive the area is for exurban type development the higher the value of the land which also results in an increased tax burden. Farming is not a highly profitable business and rising taxes often force the marginal farmer out of business. (BARROWS ET AL, 1973)

At the same time these rural residents have a significant interest in selling their land at high profits. As a result, taxes hurt the rural resident genuinely interested in farming; but others, especially those interested in a retirement "nest egg", welcome the high value of their land brought on by its development potential. Broader questions are also raised regarding windfall profits for land being developed but losses if the land is not. These questions also enter the picture when attempts are made to regulate the use of land in rural areas.

Besides raising complex questions associated with the land conversion

process, exurban development also changes the character of the rural community. The influx of people into a previously rural setting can have a major affect on the community. (LAMM) Many times new exurban dwellers are urban in their orientation and life style. Agricultural odors and noises may be offensive to the new community members and this can cause older residents to feel that they are out of step with the new community. Further, they may find that their farming practices are curtailed or legislated by the community. Exurban residents, as their community grows, also place demands upon the community which may alter its character. Services and government functions may or may not have to be immediately expanded to serve a larger population, but demands for changes in the quality of existing services may occur immediately. Services such as road maintenance and police and fire protection which may have been adequate for a rural area, may not be at all adequate as viewed by new urban residents living in the country. Not only may older community members dislike and not understand these demands, but local mill rates may also rise causing taxes to increase for everyone.

The Pros

If there are problems with exurban development there also must be advantages that are of sufficient worth to compensate for coping with the problems and the critics. Since exurban developments continue to increase despite the criticisms noted previously, it might appear that private efforts are concentrated in this area.

From a neoclassical economic position, the case for exurban development falls very neatly into a pattern of supply and demand in the free market place. Rational man seeks to maximize his/her objective function by maximizing his profits in the market place. In regard to the question

of rural land conversion, the idea of profit maximization and the concept of the utilization of land at its highest and best use as indicated by dollars in the market place, can help to explain the process. "Without any form of land control or planning the use to which a piece of land is put is finally decided by the price which is offered for it." (WIBBERLY, p. 24)

Despite controls such as zoning which society has placed upon land, this concept of highest and best use continues, for the most part, without interference. A willing buyer and a willing seller make the conversion possible. From an economic standpoint it can be argued that land on the urban fringe of a metropolitan area has less value in the market place as a farm or forest resource than as a subdivision. In many instances farmers can realize a larger gain by selling their land than they can by farming it. As a result, the costs of holding farm land becomes economically unattractive. The land is converted to a higher use and in this case that use is usually residential building sites. "Farm taxes increase rapidly and farm income increase at a slower rate, causing a tax 'squeeze' on the farmer near the urban fringe." (BARROWS ET AL, 1973, p. 47)

The land developer or speculator purchasing undeveloped land also hopes to realize a profit by creating a product which will be in demand. In this case the developer supplies either residential lots or housing units to people who have a desire for and the economic resources to obtain these commodities. The development of land intended for residential use in these exurban areas indicates that there is a demand for this commodity. For many, the economics involved in the supply and demand of a resource in a free market place is sufficient justification

for exurban developments. (MCDONOUGH)

As discussed previously some farmers are often supportive of the conversion process, especially if it is their land which is prime for conversion. If they are not willing, the farmer is encouraged by rising property taxes. Many times, and specifically in the area to be studied, the conversion process has been going on for many years. Studies being undertaken at the present time (HUTCHISON) tend to indicate that farmers in rural areas adjacent to metropolitan areas have been aware of the conversion process, and, in the face of rising taxes and high values of nearby land, have phased their farming operations down, or made little investment in the land resource to insure its continued productivity.

The rural community and town officials often view exurban growth in their community as a benefit. Increased value placed on land and building means larger amounts of revenue to the community coffers. Fragmented government and the services those governmental units provide to the community itself may or may not place additional demands on the system brought on by increased development. In many cases and specifically in the area to be studied the costs of services to the rural area may be borne to a large extent by the county or the Cities of Madison and Middleton. From the perspective of many rural residents, increased development means more revenue collected, a larger voice in the area because of the larger numbers of people without significant costs to the community itself, (BARROWS ET AL, 1975) "...most groups and organizations within the region make decisions based on their own interests and utilities." (RONDINELLI, p. 29)

Last but not least is the exurban dweller and his/her perception of

the question. From an individual viewpoint, it is the exurban dweller who supports the entire process of development. The developer guides the consumer in his choice of location but without a real economic demand coupled with a personal desire for such developments, the question would be merely academic. Because exurban developments are an increasing phenomenon, and highly profitable to those involved in their inception and in demand by a significant number of persons, it is reasonable to conclude that exurban development is a serious problem.

"But it must be repeated that it is for the people to say what amount of this control they want. How much is it worth to them? How much are they prepared to pay, in money or in discipline, order and decorum, in order to have it? ... How deeply, if at all, do the people care?" (EWALD, p.411)

CHAPTER TWO

THE STUDY AREA AND METHOD

METHOD AND RATIONAL

This research examined one exurban development in an attempt to form a clearer understanding of the sprawl phenomenon. Understanding why such a development came to be should provide insight into not only how it occurred but also how the process might be altered. It is expected that information about how to alter the process will result from displaying the points at which pressure might be brought to achieve change.

The area of Cherry Wood is located in the Town of Middleton, three miles west of Madison. It was chosen for various reasons. First, the development received a certain amount of notoriety in the Madison and Dane County area because the 1976 Parade of Homes was held at the site. Second, the development is successful when measured in terms of home and lot sales and future plans for expansion. Third, the development does not rely on the City of Madison for direct services nor does it fall within any of the political or governmental structures connected directly to Madison. The area does rely on the City of Middleton for fire protection and lies in a joint school district with the City of Middleton. Police protection is provided by Dane County. Fourth, the plans for the development indicated in no way that the development would be anything but a subdivision, therefore, only persons whose primary interests were non-rural should have been attracted. Lastly, a great amount of work has been done of the physical attributes and conversion process within the Town of Middleton.

Several methods were utilized in this research effort:

- 1) The political activities of the various participants involved

with the study area were observed. This was partly accomplished through use of available policy documents such as The Dane County Regional Plan, preliminary studies done by the City of Madison Plan Department for the City of Madison's Land Use Plan, and unpublished material from the Township of Middleton relating to the creation of a Land Use Plan. In addition, there were personal interviews with Mr. Ray Tanek, the Town of Middleton Clerk, Ms. Barbara Brower, a member of the Town of Middleton Plan Committee, Ms. Rebecca Young, a former Dane County Supervisor, Mr. Joel DeFore, the City of Middleton's only paid administrator, Mr. Marvin Wagner, the Assistant Superintendent of Joint School District #5, Ms. Lynn Ansfield, the Town of Middleton's representative on the school board and several City of Madison alderpersons including Ms. Betty Smith. Also, newspaper articles during the last year which were relevant to the study area were reviewed. In addition, information was obtained from attendance at a number of meetings which were held by the various political units including the School Board of Joint District #5, the Planning Committee for the Town of Middleton, the City Council of Middleton and workshops relating to the City of Madison's Land Use Plan.

2) A review of the local, regional and state laws and regulations which affect the study area was conducted. This included the State of Wisconsin Statutes on subdivision controls (Chapter 236, Wis. Stats.), County land controls (Chapter 59, Wis. Stats.), Village powers (Chapter 61, Wis. Stats.), Town powers (Chapter 60, Wis. Stats.), City powers and general municipal law (Chapters 62 and 66, Wis. Stats.), and the administrative powers of the Department of Administration (Chapter 16, Wis. Stats.), the Department of Local Affairs and Development (Chapter 22,

Wis. Stats.), the Department of Transportation (Chapter 80 - 86 Wis. Stats.), the Department of Natural Resources (Chapter 23, Wis. Stats.) and the Department of Health (Chapter 140, Wis. Stats). Also reviewed was the Dane County Zoning Ordinances and the Dane County Subdivision Ordinances, and the zoning regulations of the city of Madison. In addition, the language of the rules and legal regulations was examined in an effort to ascertain in what manner these rules and legal regulations were administered bureaucratically.

3) Information regarding development in this area and elsewhere was also obtained. Some information was obtained from newspaper articles, other information from personal interviews. Some of those interviewed included Mr. Peter Stien, Development Consultant, Mr. James Gold, Developer, and staff persons at several realty companies including the Stark Company and McKy-Ellis, Incorporated.

4) A written survey based on a complete sample of residents of the area was conducted to ascertain the exurban consumers's views of the particular location decision and his/her attitudes, likes and dislikes of the development itself. The residents of Cherry Wood were surveyed because it was expected that those who live in exurban developments are the best source of information as to why such living conditions are sought and whether the development met their expectations. Further, there was a concern about whether the exurban residents were fully aware of exactly what they had purchased in the way of services. The survey was designed to elicit this information. The survey was divided into several categories of question. This included general information about the respondent, such as age, income number of children and their location before moving to Cherry Wood. Also included were questions pertaining to the

reason for locating in Cherry Wood, what they liked about the area and what they disliked about the area. Also included were questions pertaining to the services which are provided in the area. There were also a number of questions relating to the provision of services and aimed at determining the respondents' willingness to pay for an improved level of service. Also included were a series of questions designed to determine what the resident's expectations were in moving to Cherry Wood; if those expectations were met, and if not, what improvements could be made in the development of Cherry Wood. Lastly, a series of questions was designed to determine how the residents viewed the future development of the area.

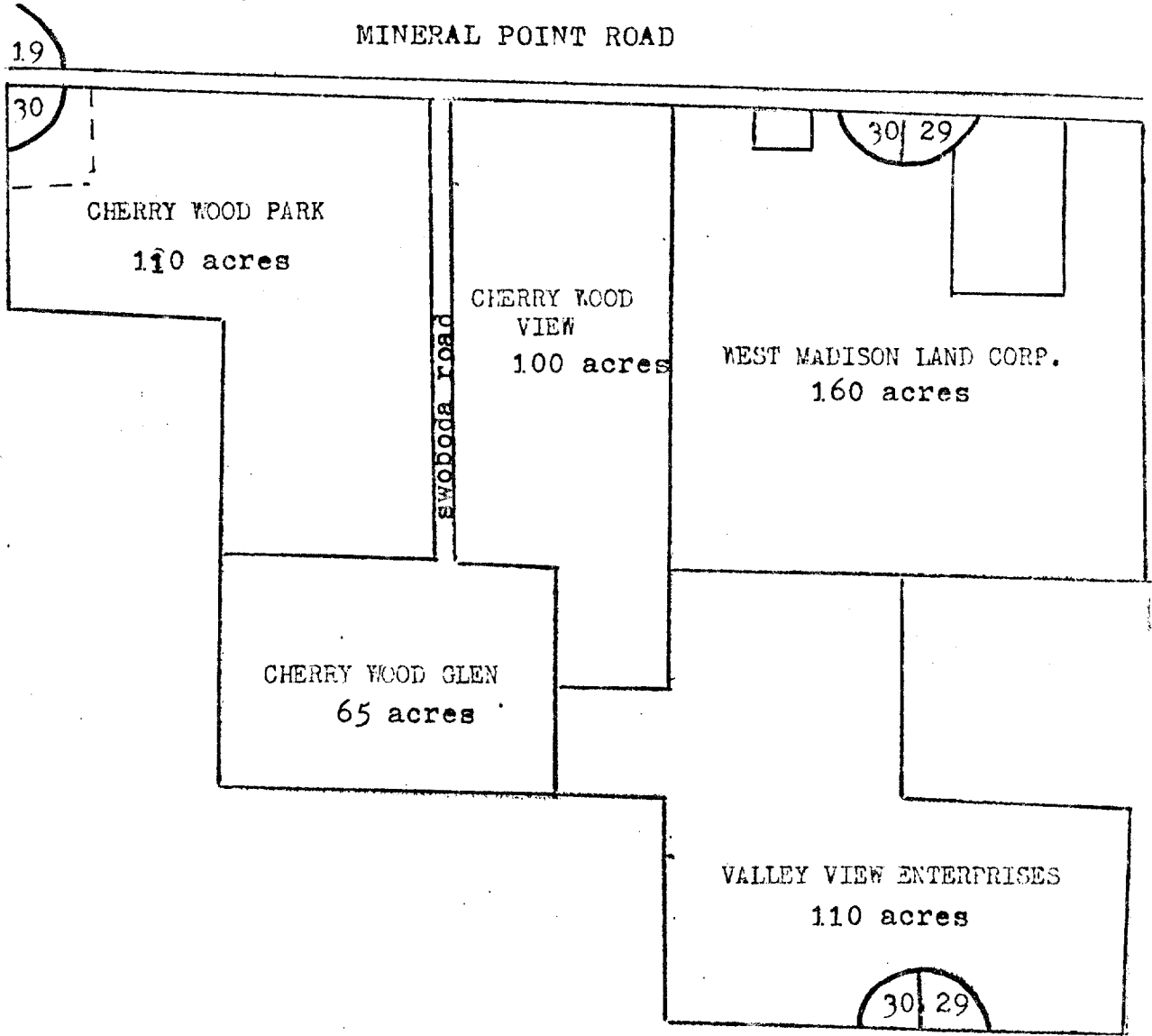
The survey method was rather informal with the expectation that the survey would be open-ended to allow the respondents to comment on anything they believed to be relevant about their decisions to locate and their expectations regarding the area. The survey was pretested and some changes made. The survey was then hand delivered to each resident of the development and each resident was given a brief explanation of the purpose of the survey. After several days the surveys were picked up and each respondent was asked if there was anything in the questionnaire they wished to discuss. If people had not completed the questionnaire, a self-addressed stamped envelope was left and they were asked to finish the survey and mail it at their convenience. There were at the time of the survey, 32 occupied homes. Twenty-seven responses were returned including one that was unanswered, providing twenty-six usable questionnaires. The questionnaire was filled out by either the husband or wife in the home and in most instances both worked on completing the survey.

Physical Attributes of the Study Area

The area examined for this research effort was the subdivision of Cherry Wood, located in the Town of Middleton. It is an excellent example of an exurban development. Located almost four miles from the Madison city limit, it is in a separate political entity. The site is picturesque, located amidst farm and forest land. Cherry Wood was originally planned in 1974 as a 57 unit plat ranging in price from \$60,000 - \$150,000. The first residents of Cherry Wood were told that the development time frame for the 57 unit plat would be five to seven years. Development, in fact, has occurred at a faster pace than was anticipated. Two years after the first ground was broken, 34 units have been completed, and another three units are near completion; 32 of these units are occupied. The remaining lots have been sold and construction is expected before summer 1977. In addition to the original 40 acre plat, an additional 25 acre parcel of land was recently acquired (fall 1976) by the same developer and is also being platted in a similar fashion with large lot sizes. This will bring Cherry Wood to a total of 65 acres and 63 dwelling units.

Concurrent with the development of Cherry Wood by the Dohm Corporation, an adjacent piece of land composed of 90 acres is being developed by another developer, Leo Janess, in a similar fashion. It is called Cherry Wood View. Cherry Wood View is platted for 65 units and although some lots have been sold, little construction has started. The Dohm Corporation appears to have optioned an additional 110 acres of adjacent farm land and submitted a preliminary plat of an additional 77 units to be known as Cherry Wood Park (Figure #2). This will result in a platted subdivision of 205 units on about 260 acres of rural land.

FIGURE #2...CHERRY WOOD GLEN, CHERRY WOOD VIEW, CHERRY WOOD PARK AND ADJACENT AREA



Scale 1" = 1000'

SOURCE: Dane County Surveyor
December, 1976



An additional 160 acres of land abutting Cherry Wood is held by the West Madison Land Development Corporation, but no effort has been made at this time to plat this parcel.

Cherry Wood, like any other community, requires infrastructure to exist. Its services and their delivery, however, are very fragmented. Cherry Wood relies on wells for water. The developer provides joint wells with six to nine homeowners sharing in water use and cost. Sewage is handled by separate septic systems with one septic field per dwelling unit. New rules applicable to septic construction will require room for two drainage fields per lot in the newly platted areas, but only one drainage field was required for construction in Cherry Wood itself. Fire protection is provided by the City of Middleton, but because there are no public water lines in the area, water is provided by using pump trucks. Police protection to the area is provided by Dane County; the township has no police force of its own. Elementary and secondary schools are provided by Joint School District #5 which is comprised largely of the City of Middleton. The township itself contains two grade schools, one within sight of the Cherry Wood area. Children are bussed to school because of distance and to assure safety. Local roads are provided by the developer and are dedicated to the town which is responsible for snow removal and routine maintenance. Major highways belong by and large to the county and are cared for by the county. Government is vested in a town board, a body of three elected officials who receive expenses and conduct their work on a part-time basis. Garbage disposal is the responsibility of each individual in the area.

It should also be noted that Cherry Wood received much publicity during the summer of 1976 as the site of the Madison "Parade of Homes."

The purpose of the "Parade" is to present examples of the most desirable aspects of the home building trades. A great deal of descriptive material was published in the local papers about Cherry Wood (WISCONSIN STATE JOURNAL, August 1, 1976) with an equal amount of criticism of the area also being printed (CAPITAL TIMES, August 2, 1976, August 5, 1976). The site itself was attacked by Madison based transportation devotees and local environmental groups (CAPITAL COMMUNITY CITIZENS) as well as City of Madison officials. They criticized Cherry Wood for its unnecessary scarring of the landscape, general pollution, disregard for erosion factors, reliance on septic tanks and the general construction of the housing units. In fact, the entire development was specifically cited for showing a total disregard for regional planning as well as Madison's master plan. An article by Whitney Gould summed up the critics' assertions. She wrote, "It's a place where the energy crisis does not exist, where land use planning is myth, where everything looks like something it isn't." (CAPITAL TIMES, August 5, 1976)

In order to understand the why and wherefore of such a development and to determine at what points the process can be modified, it is necessary to examine the forces which went into the development's creation. It is necessary to examine not only the motives of the persons involved, but also the existing policies and institutions which contributed to their actions.

LAWS AND REGULATIONS AFFECTING THE STUDY AREA

A developer that wishes to create a subdivision must comply with regulations laid down by the state and local governments.

State of Wisconsin

The State of Wisconsin has promulgated regulations which pertain directly to land which is to be subdivided into smaller parcels for development purposes. (Chapter 236, Wis. Stats.) These laws are generally incorporated into county and municipal regulations. Smaller units of government may write more stringent requirements for the division of land, but none that are less stringent than the state law.

The purpose of subdivision regulations are:

"...to regulate the subdivision of land to promote public health, safety and general welfare; to further the orderly layout and use of land; to prevent the overcrowding of land; to lessen congestion in the streets and highways; to provide for adequate light and air; to facilitate adequate provision for water, sewerage and other public requirements...."
(sec. 236.01, Wis. Stats.)

Once a preliminary plat of a subdivision is drawn, it must be approved by the local governing body. In addition to local approvals, the statutes also require several state agencies to review plats. Four agencies at the state level review subdivisions. They are the Department of Transportation (DOT), the Department of Natural Resources (DNR), the Department of Health and Social Services (H&SS) and the Department of Local Affairs and Development (DLAD). The state review is done primarily to be sure that certain criteria and standards have been met. Each agency reviews only those aspects of the subdivision over which it has jurisdiction. These agencies, except for DLAD, do not give approval to the subdivision, but rather make a non-objecting finding concerning their particular responsibility. Once DOT, H&SS, and DNR

have made non-objecting findings, and if local governments have not objected, DLAD gives the subdivision an approval. Approval from DLAD is routine if everything is in order and no agency has objected.

Dane County

Cherry Wood is located in Dane County which, pursuant to the authority granted by the state, has promulgated subdivision requirements. (Chapter 28, Dane County Ordinances) Its rules are more stringent than those of the state, and apply throughout the county although their legal effect is somewhat different. Under state law, the county exercises only "objecting" powers for cities and towns. It does not actually approve plans for these areas. However, for unincorporated areas, the county exercises approval authority and may require such things as building permits, septic tank permits, and permits affecting access to property. These permits are issued if the stated criteria for them are met. No judgment is made regarding whether the plan or general construction is appropriate.

Municipalities -- Madison and Middleton

The nearest municipalities which might have jurisdiction over the Town of Middleton are the Cities of Madison and Middleton. Madison has extraterritorial plat review authority for three miles from its farthest boundary and Middleton for one and one-half miles. For Cherry Wood the extraterritorial plat review and approval procedure was not required because of the development's distance from either city's nearest legal boundary.

Town of Middleton

Cherry Wood lies within the political jurisdiction of the Town of Middleton, an unincorporated area in Dane County. County subdivision

requirements call for the local unit of government to approve the plat in which it is located. The Town of Middleton, which is governed by a Town Board, has no rules or regulations regarding development within its boundaries other than those the county has promulgated. Therefore, it has no legal basis other than the Dane County Subdivision Ordinances for disapproving a plat. The town has recently appointed a planning committee which is involved in preparing a comprehensive plan and instituting some form of subdivision controls for the town, but until that task is accomplished the town will continue to lack any real legal basis for objecting to a plat. When a plat is submitted to the planning committee they may request that some changes be made regarding drainage patterns and erosion provisions, but that has been the extent of their input up until the present time.

In addition to the agencies and regulations which they administer, it is also important to examine the political structure and attitudes of the various units of government which surrounded the creation of Cherry Wood.

POLITICAL ATTITUDES AFFECTING THE AREA

The City of Madison

The City of Madison and the attitudes of its elected representatives do have a bearing upon the Town of Middleton. The City of Madison's extraterritorial plat review power extends three miles from its border and thus a proposed subdivision plat within that three mile limit must have Madison's approval. The City of Madison has a strong position and a long record of denying plats within its three mile extraterritorial jurisdiction. The city maintains (CITY OF MADISON, 1976, E 9-10) that there is sufficient land within its boundaries to accommodate growth until the year 2000 and that development outside Madison's existing boundaries is not necessary. There is a strong belief that developments outside the city's limits will demand services from the city and that those services will be costly to provide, not to mention the erosion of the city's tax base. In denying an 80 acre plat in Westport, a Madison councilman stated, "This council understands the costs of urban sprawl and what it will do to Madison." (WISCONSIN STATE JOURNAL, September 1976) Concern about urban sprawl is clearly in evidence among the elected officials of Madison and in their attitudes about it.

The City of Middleton

The City of Middleton also has a role to play in the activities within the Town of Middleton. The city exercises extraterritorial plat review in part of the township and is also concerned to some degree with the actual provision of services to the township. The entire Town of Middleton is tied to the City of Middleton for public education and fire protection. The City of Middleton has experienced a large population

increase which has strained school facilities to the breaking point.

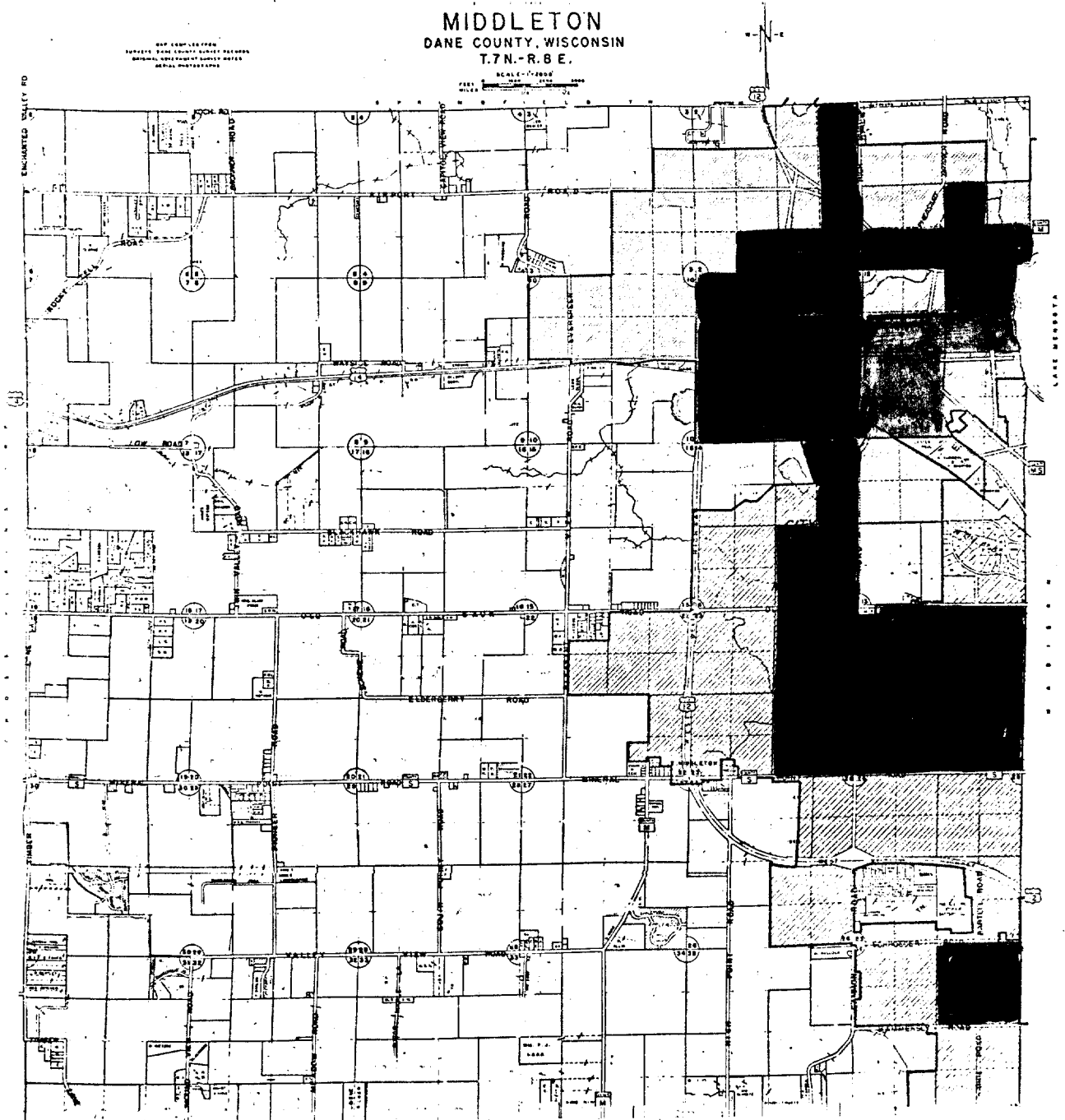
(WAGNER) The Town of Middleton at one time provided for its own educational needs utilizing only the City of Middleton's high school facility on a per student basis. However, the two systems were combined into Joint School District #5 in the late 1960's and presently the town contributes on a per capita basis to the cost of the school system. Nevertheless, the Town of Middleton, by allowing development to continue unchecked, places a strain on the City of Middleton and the educational facilities for which it has to pay. Because of this concern, the City of Middleton denied a plat within its jurisdiction in the township. The school question was at the heart of their concern.

Town of Middleton

The Town of Middleton lies adjacent to the west boundary of Madison. In fact, about one-third of the actual township land has been annexed to Madison over the last 20 years (Figure #3). Annexation has for the most part followed the extension of sewer lines. The most recent large annexation of township land was accomplished in the early 1970's by the City of Madison to facilitate the construction of the West Towne Mall. It was not possible for such a facility to operate without the infrastructure which a large metropolitan area could provide such as sewers and fire protection.

All members who currently sit on the town board are long time residents of the township and reflect the attitudes of those old time members of the community. The town clerk, Ray Tanck, has been active within the county at several levels, and served as a county supervisor for a number of years. Ray Tanck, while town clerk, is probably the most politically powerful force within the township, identifying himself

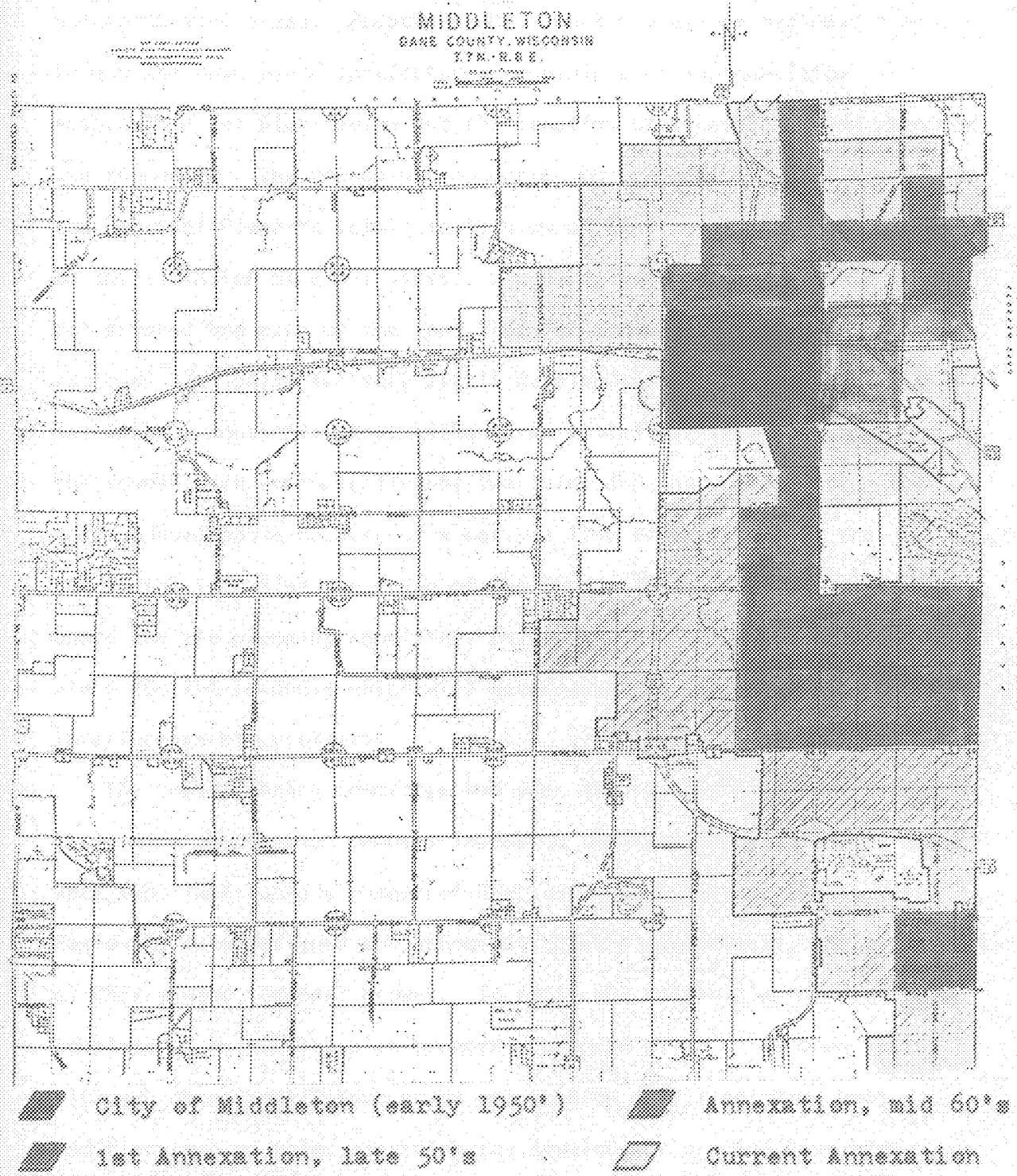
FIGURE #3...ANNEXATION HISTORY



- City of Middleton (early 1950')
- 1st Annexation, late 50's
- Annexation, mid 60's
- Current Annexation

SOURCE: Dane County Surveyor

FIGURE #3...ANNEXATION HISTORY



SOURCE: Dane County Surveyor

as "Dane County's principal foe of regional planning." He has had a substantial influence in thwarting the actions of the Dane County Regional Planning Commission, especially in regard to its efforts in unincorporated areas. Because of Mr. Tanck's views on regional planning, he and the town board instituted a township planning committee responsible for plat review and the creation of a comprehensive plan for the community. The township's objection to the regional plan stems from the Regional Planning Commission's view of land development being tied to the extension of sewer lines. Since the bulk of the township is not sewered and much of the land lies far from existing lines, the regional plan calls for very little development in the township. It is Ray Tanck's contention that without tax relief for farm land, farming in the township is economically not feasible; and that by declaring the land undevelopable because of a service line drawn on a map, the commission is taking the value of the land. (TANCK) The town, both the board and the planning committee, believe that they can make adequate plans for the township which will accommodate development without the interference of outsiders.

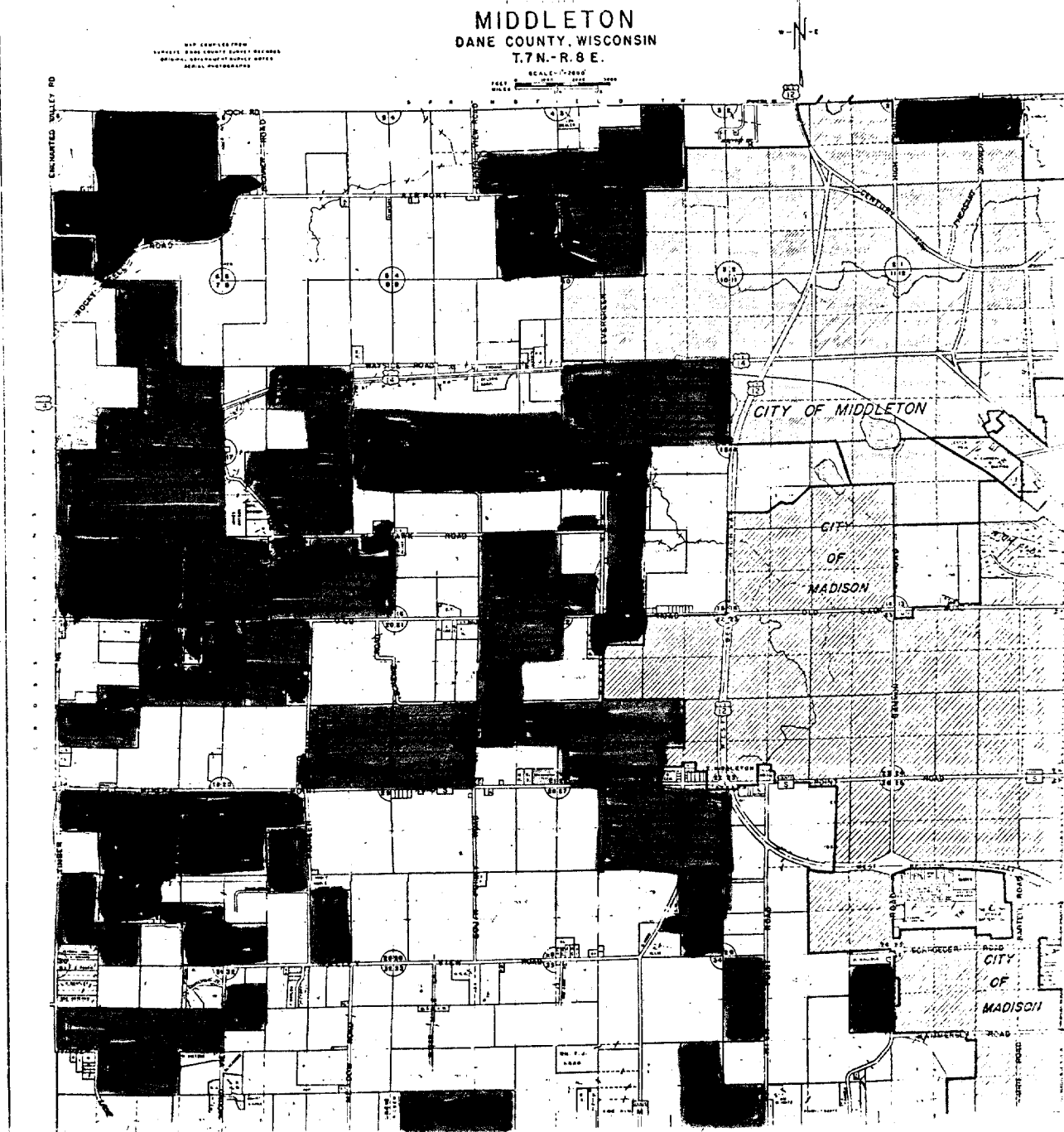
The town planning committee has been meeting for almost two years. It is made up of seven members including professional landscaper, James Watt (who landscaped a number of "Parade Homes"), an architect, Tony Pawlowsky (who designed the school district's new school), and a resident of Cherry Wood, Barbara Brower. To date, the master plan has yet to be completed. Meanwhile, plat approval has been given on an open basis, although occasionally some grade and erosion provisions have been modified; and no rules regarding the development process have been considered. The planning committee has no substantial legal basis on

which they could deny a plat until a master plan is drawn and implemented with rules promulgated at the township level. The only really vocal member of the planning committee, and the one who speaks for instituting a master plan, post haste, accompanied by some stringent rules, is the resident of Cherry Wood, one of the newer members of the community. There appears to be no outcry from other members within the township community for the planning committee to complete its task. In fact, the elected officials who actually represent the community display very little interest in the process, evidently being quite content with the status quo. Mr. Tanck, for example, recently sold the greater part of his 80 acre holding to a development corporation and the land has been platted.

It should be noted that Cherry Wood is not the only area of the town being developed nor is it the only area of the town which is the subject of speculative interests. The bulk of what appears to be farm land is being held by developers or speculators. Some of this land is rented and is being farmed temporarily by others (Figure #4).

Having recognized some of the legal constraints and processes as well as the political climate surrounding the development of Cherry Wood, it would seem that an examination of those directly involved with the creation of the development is appropriate.

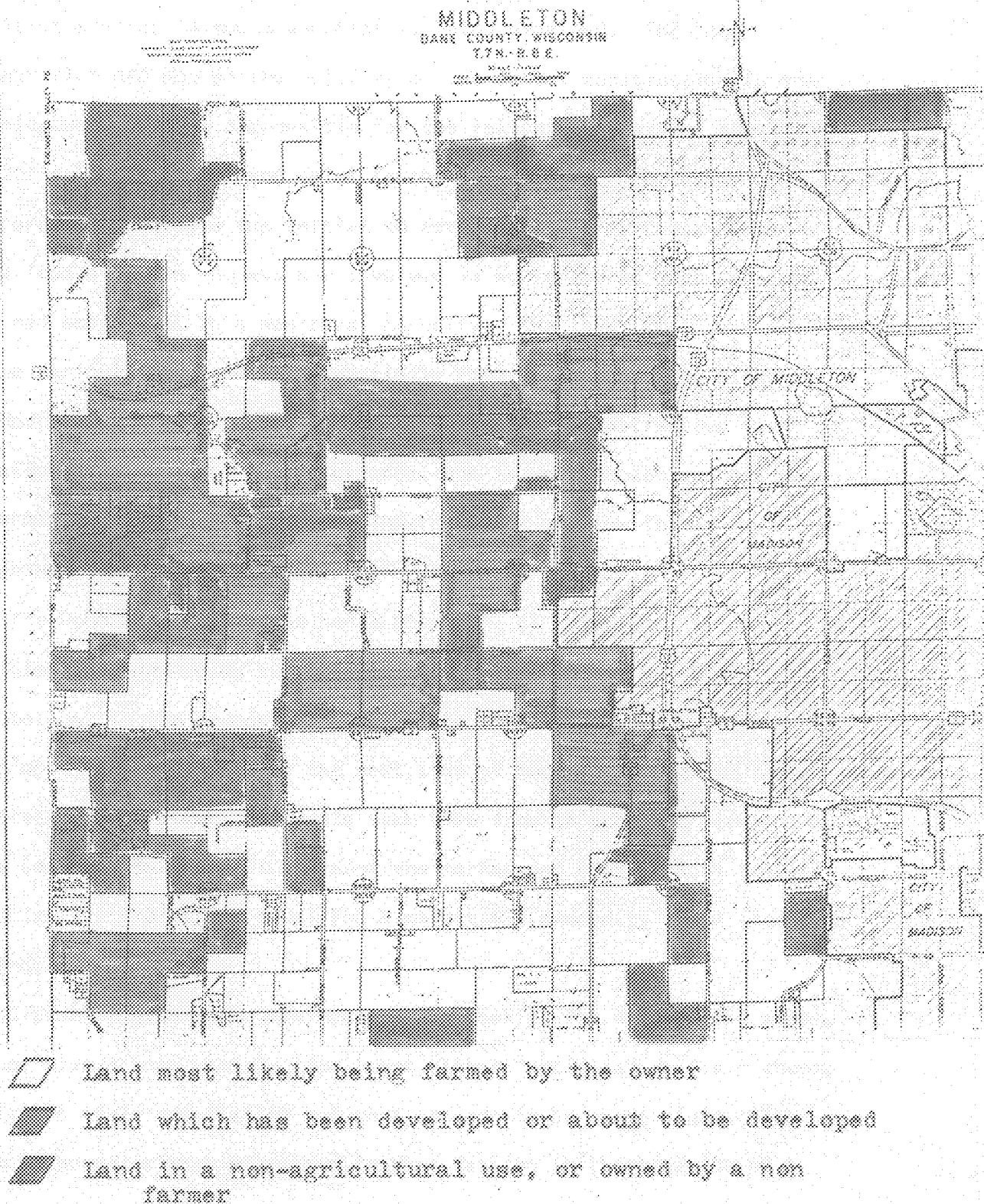
FIGURE #4...LAND OWNERSHIP CHARACTERISTICS



- Land most likely being farmed by the owner
- Land which has been developed or about to be developed
- ▨ Land in a non-agricultural use, or owned by a non farmer

SOURCE: Dane County Surveyor, Dane County tax records,
Ray Tanck

FIGURE #4...LAND OWNERSHIP CHARACTERISTICS



SOURCE: Dane County Surveyor, Dane County tax records,
Ray Tanck

INDIVIDUALS INVOLVED WITH THE CREATION OF CHERRY WOODThe Developer

The Dohm Corporation has been the only developer involved in the subdivision process in the area which is being examined. The Dohm Corporation did not do the majority of the actual construction in the development, but was responsible for the initial purchase of the land, platting, and all raw land sales in the subdivision. The Dohm Corporation purchased the initial 40 acres of land for Cherry Wood in 1974 from a person who was not involved in agricultural pursuits, but who had employment in a non-rural capacity. The land itself was not prime agricultural land being partially forested and bearing clear evidence of a glacial geological past. The land is attractive for development because of those features, and is well wooded and has an interesting terrain. From a developer's point of view it had features which were extremely marketable.

The Dohm Corporation has had a good deal of experience in subdividing land and being successful at it. It also has a "good reputation" in the community. It was the Dohm Corporation which developed Parkwood Hills on the west side of Madison. Based on the success of that effort, it would seem that from an economic stance the Dohm Corporation was well aware of the market and took actions to best maximize its profits by supplying a marketable commodity to an assessed demand.

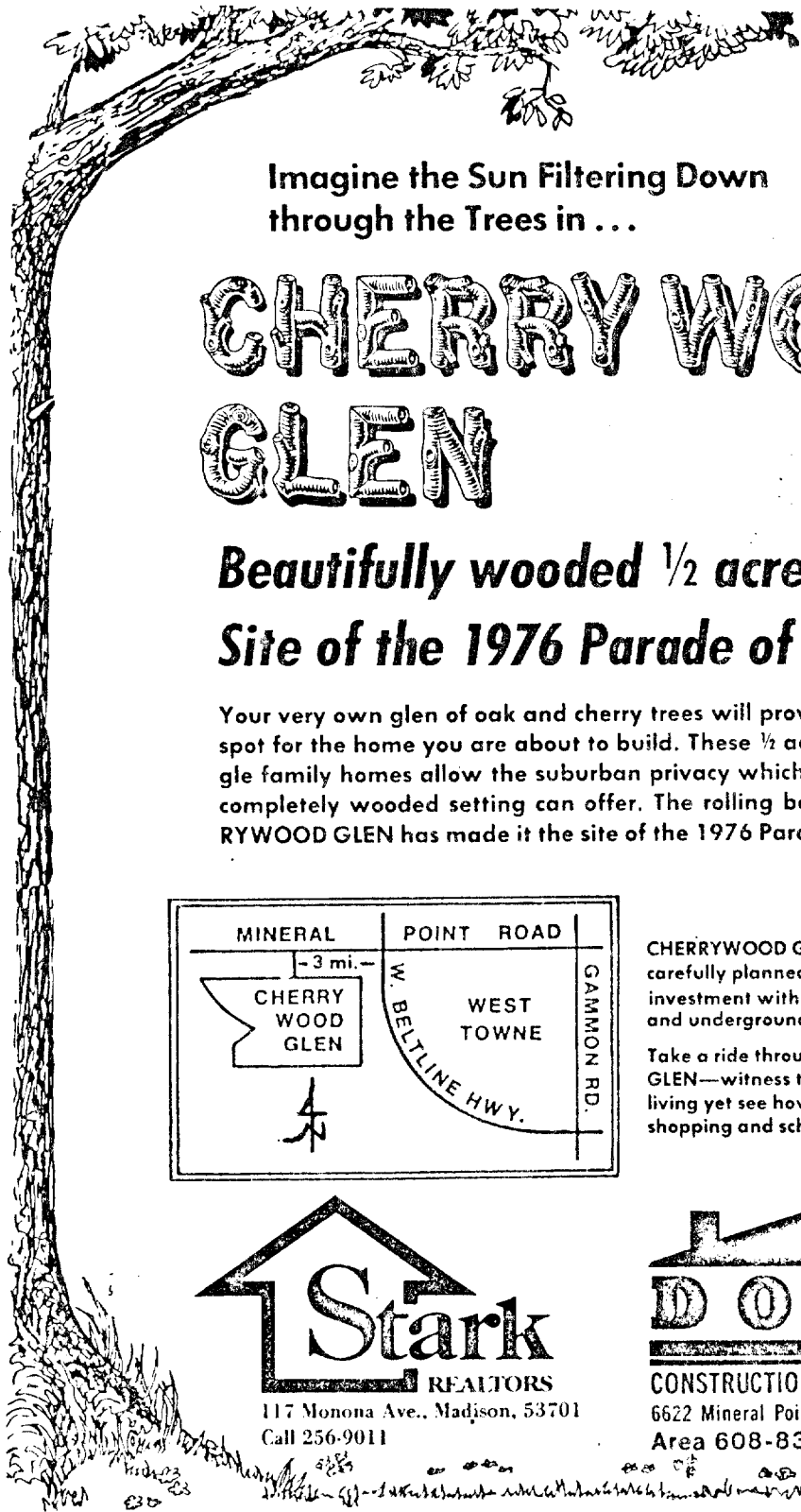
Clawson argues that developers, when looking for developable sites, do not always know what is ideal, but rather "satisfice" -- i.e., choose a site on their gut feeling and what appears to be about right. The Dohm Corporation probably acted in that fashion in the creation of

Cherry Wood. The site was attractive, available for purchase and perhaps most importantly was outside Madison's extraterritorial plat review authority. It was in an area where plat review could be easily obtained, but not so far from Madison to be inconvenient to the city. (Figure #5) From an economic standpoint, the land was purchased for a price which would be considered high for such a resource if it was not to be developed. However, it was far less than if such a parcel or group of parcels were purchased within Madison where such a site would be required to have access to public sewer and water. Further, lots sold to the individual consumer would be larger and less costly than the same lot within the city limits of Madison. A comparable lot in the City of Madison would have to be sewered and possess other amenities such as sidewalks, curbs, and gutters which would ultimately cost the consumer.

A lot in Cherry Wood, one acre in size, would cost about \$14,000 with a drilled well (STARK CORPORATION). Cherry Wood lots, it should be noted, are somewhat more expensive in comparison to other rural lots in the Town of Middleton. One acre lots can be purchased outside Cherry Wood for around \$10,500 (MCKY-ELLIS, INCORPORATED), but they lack the prestige of Cherry Wood which hosted the "Parade of Homes." A lot in the City of Madison (Parkwood), 101' x 120' in size and fully improved except for street lights would cost \$13,500 (PARKWOOD DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION). Hence for approximately the same dollar figure the consumer can purchase over four times the amount of land in Cherry Wood than he/she can in the city. Three city lots available for purchase (February 1977) in Parkwood totaling 3/4 of an acre at a total cost of

FIGURE #5...PARADE OF HOMES ADVERTISEMENT (1976)

source: 1976 "Parade of Homes" Advertising Brochure

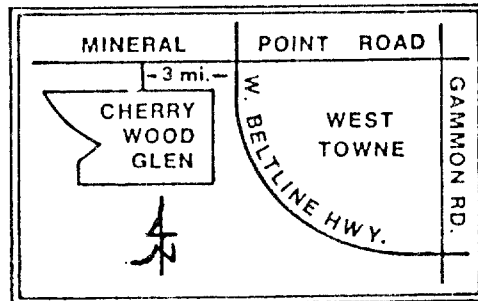


Imagine the Sun Filtering Down
through the Trees in ...

CHERRY WOOD GLEN

**Beautifully wooded 1/2 acre lots.
Site of the 1976 Parade of Homes**

Your very own glen of oak and cherry trees will provide the perfect spot for the home you are about to build. These 1/2 acre sites for single family homes allow the suburban privacy which only a natural completely wooded setting can offer. The rolling beauty of CHERRYWOOD GLEN has made it the site of the 1976 Parade of Homes.



CHERRYWOOD GLEN has been carefully planned to safe-guard your investment with deed restricted lots and underground utilities.

Take a ride through CHERRYWOOD GLEN—witness the beauty of country living yet see how convenient it is for shopping and schools.



117 Monona Ave., Madison, 53701
Call 256-9011



CONSTRUCTION CO., INC.
6622 Mineral Point Road, Madison, 53705
Area 608-836-9044

\$40,500, and a one acre lot in Cherry Wood at a total cost of \$14,000.*

By choosing the Cherry Wood site, the Dohm Corporation not only was spared the subdivision requirements of Madison, it also was spared extraterritorial plat review which probably would have been denied. The selection of the site allowed the Corporation to produce a commodity at a lower price to the consumer, thereby giving the developer a competitive edge for his/her product in the market place. It can also be seen in retrospect that the Dohm Corporation knew what it was doing because the original lots in the subdivision have been sold. In the fall of 1976 it also purchased 5 additional acres to permit expansion of the subdivision; those lots have also been sold. The additional purchase of 110 acres in the same area for a further development would indicate that the Dohm Corporation views the development of Cherry Wood as a success.

The Exurban Resident

The most crucial role played in the conversion of land on the urban fringe is by the individual buyer who creates the demand for such land. Without an economic demand for rural building sites, the developer would not be in the subdivision business in the rural area. The catalyst to the development of Cherry Wood was the developer, but the demand was supplied by those persons who ultimately consumed the platted, improved and built upon lots of the subdivision. Exurban residents are not terrible folk, although critics assert that they have deliberately gone off to the rural area to scar the landscape, pollute the environment and

*\$14,000 does not include the price of septic installation. This would require an additional \$2,000 (STARK CORPORATION).

deny the world an adequate supply of food. Rather, they are persons seeking a particular life style which, for a number of reasons, they believe they are unable to achieve elsewhere and which they believe they can afford. Exurban residents of Cherry Wood appear to be far more concerned with the increasing development in the Town of Middleton as a group than any other group in the community. Unlike the farmer, who is often anxious to sell his land for a high profit, the exurban resident while he lives there wishes to retain the very things which attracted him to the area in the first place: the farm land, the open space, and that rural feeling.

CHAPTER THREE
SURVEY RESULTS

The survey which was a 100% sample of the residents of Cherry Wood indicated that the residents of Cherry Wood like what they purchased and wish to maintain the area just as it is. Throughout the survey process residents sited the beauty of the area and the wooded lots as being important in their initial decision to locate in Cherry Wood and an aspect of the area they wish protected in the future. Throughout the survey process, residents mentioned a number of factors which made living in Cherry Wood inconvenient, but none of these factors was significant enough to deter from the life style which residents originally sought in choosing the area in which to live. Generally, residents are happy with the level of services and the kind of services which are provided to the area and while a number of suggestions were made as to how services might be improved, there was not a large number of people who wished to pay for those improvements. Most of those surveyed in Cherry Wood had lived in the area a relatively short time (less than six months) and few residents who had lived in the area longer, by and large, were less pleased with the area and had more suggestions on improvements which could be made. On the whole, the exurban consumer of lots and homes in Cherry Wood likes what he purchased and is well pleased with the subdivision.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RESIDENTS OF CHERRY WOOD

The typical resident of Cherry Wood is urban in orientation, having moved to Cherry Wood from a city or a suburb, tends to be youngish, has children, owns several cars in which he/she spends a fair amount of time and is financially well off. Most residents have lived in Cherry Wood less than six months, the longest two years. (Figure #6)

Ownership and Location Characteristics Prior to Cherry Wood

All the residents of Cherry Wood own single family homes ranging in current market value of between \$75,000 and \$150,000. For 20 of the 26 families, this home is not the first single family dwelling they have owned. The majority of the residents of Cherry Wood (20 of the 26), came from an urban environment. Only two residents moved to Cherry Wood from the country. Some of the residents coming from urban environments specified that they had lived in the suburbs.

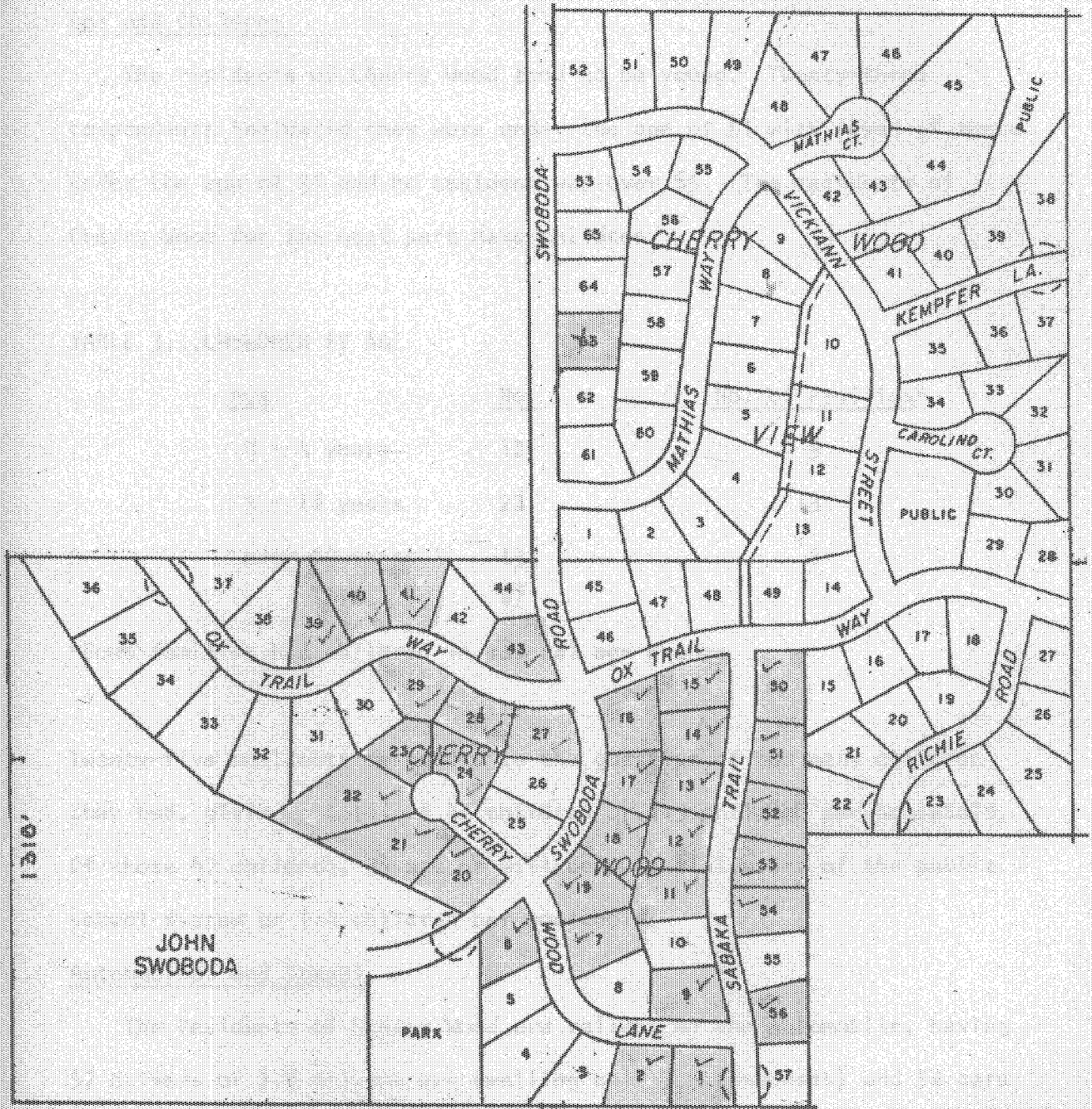
TABLE 1...OWNERSHIP CHARACTERISTICS PREVIOUS TO MOVING TO CHERRY WOOD

<u>Type of Dwelling</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Single Family	20	77
Multiple Family	6	23

TABLE 2...LOCATION BEFORE PURCHASE IN CHERRY WOOD

<u>Location</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
City	16	62
Suburb	4	15
Country	2	8
No Response	4	15

FIGURE #6...CHERRY WOOD, SURVEY AREA



SOURCE: Dane County Surveyor

Scale 1" = 400'

The average resident of Cherry Wood has not lived in the area very long. Twenty respondents lived in Cherry Wood less than six months. Only four of the residents have lived there for more than a year.

Age and Children

The residents of Cherry Wood tend to be young. Twenty-three respondents indicated they were under the age of 51 with seven of those under the age of 31 and no resident was over 65. The residents of Cherry Wood for the most part have children.

TABLE 3...CHILDREN BY AGE

<u>Age</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>No. of Families*</u>
0 - 4 years	12	9
5 - 18 years	22	13
over 19 years	13	6
TOTAL	<u>47</u>	

*Some families had children in several age groups.

Twenty-five residents responded to the question of how many children they had, giving a total of 47 children or 1.9 children per household. Of those 47 children, 34 are or will be potential users of the public school system or 1.4 children per household.

Automobiles and Travel

The residents of Cherry Wood are reliant on the automobile, having 57 drivers or 2.8 drivers per dwelling unit (25 responses) and 52 cars or just over two automobiles (2.08) per household. It might be noted that no housing unit has less than a two car garage with some units having three car garages.

The average resident of Cherry Wood (largest wage earner in household) averages 8.2 miles to work at an average time of 18 minutes one way. No resident claimed a trip time of more than 30 minutes and the shortest trip time claimed was four minutes.

Income

The high cost of Cherry Wood homes and the number of cars owned points to a high financial status of Cherry Wood residents. Eighteen of the respondents (largest single wage earner) earn over \$25,000 gross income.

TABLE 4... INCOME OF SINGLE LARGEST WAGE EARNER IN HOUSEHOLD

<u>Income</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%*</u>
\$15,000-19,999	2	8
20,000-24,999	3	12
25,000-29,999	2	8
30,000-34,999	3	12
Over \$35,000	13	50
No Response	3	12

*Percentage totals over 100% due to rounding.

THE LOCATIONAL DECISION

The survey indicates that the physical features of the area were important in the decisions of Cherry Wood residents to select the area but equally important was the economics involved in the purchase. Residents were generally happy with their purchase in that they believed their taxes were lower than in Madison and that their house cost less or about the same as it would have in Madison. A number of residents (four) chose Cherry Wood in order to be outside the city and its problems. While residents were influenced in their decision to locate by the physical setting, a majority (15) of residents viewed the area as being suburban in character. Lot size appeared to be a factor in the selection of the area, but this was not as important as other factors. People were influenced in their decision to purchase by the lot size, and a majority (15) of the residents felt their lots were about the right size.

The Decision to Purchase

In response to the question, "What factors were important in your decision to purchase a home in Cherry Wood?", the overwhelming response centered around the physical attributes of the area. Ten of the 26 respondents specifically cited trees, wooded lots, spaciousness, beautiful settings or country setting. However, most of those who listed physical attributes confined themselves to only those features as being relevant. Another factor cited as being important in the decision to purchase was to get out or to stay away from the City of Madison which they generally believed to be bad. One respondent wrote, "to get away from the undesirable city elements, traffic noise, wild kids, city HUD projects." Another respondent wrote, "no vandalism, can

walk the street safely... (and we moved from Madison's westside)." One respondent was quite specific when he stated, "We're out of Madison!!!" Several respondents cited the politics of Madison as being something they wished to get away from. One person wrote, "we did get away from the Mayor and his friends."

Another often cited factor by the residents in making their decision to purchase centered about the economics of the situation. Eight of those responding mentioned either lower taxes, resale potential or an initial good investment. However, taxes were specifically mentioned by five of those responding. Other factors which were mentioned were lot size, neighbors, convenience to Madison and the actual housing unit.

TABLE 5...DECISION TO PURCHASE, NON-ECONOMIC FACTORS VS. ECONOMIC FACTORS

<u>Non-economic Factors</u>	<u>Economic Factors</u>		<u>No Economic Reason</u>	<u>NR</u>
	<u>Lower Taxes</u>	<u>Good Investment</u>		
environment alone	4		6	
environment and psychological			8	
out of city	1	1	2	
no non-economic factors		2	1	
no response				1
Total Cases = 26				

Character of the Area

A number of other questions were asked of the respondents which also were aimed at discovering information concerning the reasons for the locational decision. Respondents were asked, "In describing the overall

character of Cherry Wood, do you consider it rural, suburban or other?" Fifteen of those who responded stated that they would describe the area as suburban.

TABLE 6...CHARACTER OF CHERRY WOOD

<u>Response</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Suburban	15	58
Rural	9	34
Other	1	4
No Response	1	4

Respondents were asked why they would describe the area as they did. People who felt the area was suburban in character felt that the number of houses and small lot size made the area suburban. One respondent wrote, "An area of 56 homes is not rural." Those people who felt the area was rural in character attributed it to the large lot size, the country setting and lack of conveniences in the immediate area such as grocery stores.

Lot Size

Respondents were asked, "Do you feel your neighbors' homes in relationship to your home are too close, about right or too far away?" Fifteen responded about right, but nine still felt too close.

In response to the question, "Would you say your lot is about the right size, too small, or too large?" Again, fifteen responded their lot was about the right size.

TABLE 7...LOT SIZE BY RELATIONSHIP OF HOME TO NEIGHBORS

	<u>Neighbors' Home Too Close</u>	<u>Neighbors' Home About Right</u>	<u>No Response</u>
lot too small	8	1	
lot about right	1	13	1
no response	0	1	1

When lot size was compared to the view the residents held on the character of the area, those residents who felt the area was rural by and large felt their lot was about the right size, while opinion was split about lot size by those who viewed the area as suburban.

TABLE 8...LOT SIZE VS. CHARACTER OF THE AREA

	<u>Suburban</u>	<u>Rural</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>No Response</u>
lot too small	7	2		
lot about right	7	7	1	
no response	1			1

Economic Considerations

Two questions were aimed at learning if Cherry Wood was viewed as a less costly living environment, especially when contrasted to a similar investment in Madison. Respondents were asked, "As contrasted to Madison, do you think your property taxes are higher, lower or about the same?" Eighteen responded that they believed their property taxes were lower than they would be in Madison. No one responded that they believed their taxes were higher.

TABLE 9...PROPERTY TAX AS CONTRASTED TO MADISON'S

<u>Response</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Lower	18	69
About the same	5	19
Higher	0	0
No Response	3	12

In response to the question, "As contrasted to Madison do you feel your present home cost less to purchase, about the same to purchase or more to purchase. Seventeen responded about the same.

TABLE 10...HOUSING COST AS CONTRASTED TO MADISON

<u>Response</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Less	5	19
About the Same	17	65
More	3	12
No Response	1	4

LIKES, DISLIKES, AND WILLINGNESS TO PAY FOR SERVICES

The residents of Cherry Wood like the area for the very reasons that led them to make their initial purchase. The environmental or physical features, the peace, quiet and privacy, as well as being out of the city were factors the residents liked about the area. Overall, the residents of Cherry Wood are pleased with the services which are provided to the development. For each service mentioned in the survey, at least 50%, and usually a much higher percentage of the residents, felt they were adequate or had no complaint regarding them. An overwhelming number of residents felt that living in Cherry Wood was as good as they expected or better than they had expected. However, when the length of time in the development was matched against a desire for improved service levels, those who had lived in the area for a longer time showed a greater tendency for wanting improvements in some services and were less pleased with Cherry Wood than were the shorter term residents. The most common dislike of the area residents was the development's location resulting in inconvenience to shopping and work. Some residents objected to the rapid pace of development and lack of environmental concern shown by the developer.

The level of services currently provided seems to be adequate for the residents of Cherry Wood. With the exception of improvements in the transportation system those residents who desire an improved level of services are willing to pay for it. The survey results seem to indicate that while some services were said to be adequate the willingness to pay for a services improvement might indicate the service was not quite as adequate as the respondent said that it was. This was clearly evident with police protection. No resident felt that

police protection was inadequate but 19% of the residents are willing to pay to have the service improved. Table 18 summarizes the willingness of residents to pay for improvements to a particular service as well as a summary of residents who either felt the service was inadequate, needed improvement or was lacking.

TABLE 11...WILLINGNESS TO PAY AND ADEQUACY OF SERVICE

	<u>Will Pay</u>	<u>Won't Pay</u>	<u>Desire a Change</u>	<u>No Change</u>
Transportation	15%	70%	38%	54%
School	38%	54%	12%	57%
Fire	38%	46%	23%	38%
Police	19%	66%	0	0
Sewer	34%	68%	34%	58%

The survey was designed not only to determine how residents felt about the area and the level of services, but also if the residents who desired improved services or additional services were willing to pay for that improvement. The survey asked, "Would you be willing to pay higher taxes for more or improved services in the areas of schools, police protection, fire protection, roads, or the extension of sewer lines?" The responses were as follows in order of the services people were most willing to expend tax monies.

TABLE 12...WILLINGNESS TO USE TAX EXPENDITURES FOR SERVICES

<u>Service</u>	<u>Willing</u>		<u>Unwilling</u>		<u>No Response</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Fire Protection	10	38	12	46	3	12
Schools	10	38	14	54	2	8
Sewers	9	34	16	62	1	4
Police Protection	5	19	17	66	4	15
Roads	4	15	18	70	1	4

Likes and Dislikes

Of the specific dislikes described, the one most mentioned was the lack of convenience for shopping and work. The two other dislikes most mentioned were some type of complaint regarding a service and the belief that development standards were not being followed. The survey showed that people were more consistent in what they liked about the area and each resident had a more specific complaint about the area, but they were more varied in nature ranging from crowded schools, to lack of public transportation and snowmobiles in the area. Loose dogs received their fair share of comments.

TABLE 13...LIKES BY DISLIKES

<u>Dislikes</u>	<u>Environmental & Psychological Reasons</u>	<u>Likes</u>	
		<u>Out of City</u>	<u>Convenient to City</u>
Inconvenient	7	0	0
Neighbor Too Close	1	0	0
Snowmobiles	0	0	1
Loose Dogs	2	1	0
Lack of Service	4	0	0
Lack of Development Standards	3	1	1
Nothing	1	1	0
No Response	3	0	0

Service Level and Willingness to Pay

Each service was analyzed by comparing the residents' response about the level of the service with the residents' willingness to pay and simple crosstabulations done for each service. Respondents were also asked for specific improvements they would like regarding each particular service.

Transportation

Residents were asked if there were any improvements they would like to see in the transportation facilities for the area. Thirteen responded that there were no improvements they would like while 10 felt there were some improvements that they would like to see. Of these 10, five thought there were improvements that could be made in the transportation system, and specifically wanted some improvements on Mineral

Point Road. Suggestions included either widening Mineral Point Road to four lanes or a separate turn lane to improve access to Cherry Wood itself. Other suggestions for transportation improvement were compared to length of time in the area and residents who have lived in the area the longest by and large desire an improved transportation system more than those who have lived in the area a shorter time. The distance the respondent had to drive to work also seemed to influence his desire for improvement in the transportation system.

TABLE 14...DESIRE FOR IMPROVED TRANSPORTATION FACILITIES BY LENGTH OF TIME IN CHERRY WOOD

	<u>Improvement</u>	<u>No Improvement</u>	<u>No Response</u>
Lived less than 6 months in area	7	12	2
Lived more than 6 months in area	3	1	0
No Response			1

TABLE 15...DESIRE FOR IMPROVED TRANSPORTATION FACILITIES BY DISTANCE TO WORK

	<u>Improvement</u>	<u>No Improvement</u>	<u>No Response</u>
More than 10 miles	8	6	1
5-10 miles	2	6	0
Less than 5 miles	0	1	0
No Response	0	0	2

The service receiving the smallest number of people willing to pay for its improvement was transportation. Thirty-eight percent of those responding indicated they would like some improvement, but only 15% of the residents indicated a desire to pay for its improvement.

TABLE 16...DESIRE FOR TRANSPORTATION IMPROVEMENT BY WILLINGNESS TO PAY

	<u>Would Pay</u>	<u>Won't Pay</u>	<u>No Response</u>
Desire an Improvement	3	5	2
No Improvement	2	11	1
No Response		1	1

Table 16 would indicate that those who desire an improvement in the transportation system do not wish to pay for those improvements.

Schools

Residents were asked about the adequacy of the school system. Ten of the residents felt that the school system was more than adequate. Four felt it was adequate and three felt the school system was less than adequate citing a crowding problem as their reason. Fifteen of the residents believed the system was adequate or better. Reasons given for feeling the system was more than adequate were such things as "good teachers," "traditional system" and "city country mixture of students." Ten residents indicated a willingness to pay for improved schools, but only three of the residents responded that they believed the school system was less than adequate. One must conclude that some of the people who believed the schools were adequate still see some room for improvement.

TABLE 17...ADEQUACY OF SCHOOLS BY WILLINGNESS TO PAY

	<u>Would Pay</u>	<u>Won't Pay</u>	<u>No Response</u>
Adequate	7	8	
Inadequate	2	1	
No Response	1	5	2

Table 17 would indicate that almost one-half of those residents who felt the schools were adequate would still be willing to pay for improvement in the educational system.

Police and Fire Protection

Residents were asked, "Do you feel that police and fire protection are adequate?" Ten responded no, and specifically mentioned that fire protection was inadequate. Six persons responded that they felt these services were adequate, but two of those made specific recommendations for improving fire protection. Recommendations for improving fire protection included a fire station in the immediate area, the addition of fire hydrants to the development and access to the Madison paramedic service.

Fire Protection

TABLE 18...ADEQUACY OF FIRE PROTECTION BY WILLINGNESS TO PAY

	<u>Will Pay</u>	<u>Won't Pay</u>	<u>No Response</u>	<u>?</u>
Adequate	0	5		1
Inadequate	7	3		
No Response	3	3	3	
?		1		

It would seem that on the question of fire protection, 70% of the people who felt the service is inadequate would be willing to pay to see fire protection improved. However, those persons who believe fire protection is inadequate regardless of their desire to pay constitutes only 38% of the residents of Cherry Wood. It is especially worth noting that 76% of the residents did know how fire protection is provided to Cherry Wood.

No resident in Cherry Wood felt police protection was inadequate, yet 66% of the residents when asked how police protection was provided to the area were incorrect or did not know. Despite these facts, 19% indicated they would pay for increased police protection.

Sewers

The one area concerning services which has received public attention outside the area is that of public sewers. "Would you prefer the area to be serviced by the Madison public sewer?", was one of the few questions on the entire survey which elicited a 100% response. Fifteen responded no, nine responded yes and two people were unsure. In addition, respondents were asked if they believed their septic systems would be adequate for the next five years. Twenty-one people or 81% believed that they would be adequate, two people believed they would not, two were not sure and one did not respond. There was no correlation between the belief in the adequacy of the system and the desire for public sewer. Six of the nine residents desiring public sewer also believe their septic systems would be adequate for the next five years. Of the two people who believed their septic systems would be inadequate only one desired public sewers, the other did not. Several questions on the survey were designed to determine residents' views on the issue. Nine of the residents responded that they did not wish to see the area connected to Madison's public sewer. The survey also asked residents whether they had room on their lot for a second drainage field. Eleven of the residents indicated that they did have room, 8 stated they did not have room or were not sure. Table 19 shows the relationship of the desire for sewers compared to room for a second drainage field.

TABLE 19...DESIRE FOR SEWERS BY ROOM FOR A SECOND FIELD

	<u>Room for a Second Field</u>	<u>No Room</u>	<u>Unsure</u>	<u>No Response</u>
Desire Sewers	4	3	2	
Do not Desire Sewers	7	4	3	1
Unsure			1	
No Response		1		

It appears that no statements can be made about people's desires for sewers and what might be construed as a possible need for a second drainage field. This can probably be accounted for by the fact that 81% of the residents believe their septic system will be adequate for the next five years. Two other crosstabulations were done regarding sewers.

TABLE 20...DESIRE FOR SEWERS BY WILLINGNESS TO PAY

	<u>Would Pay</u>	<u>Won't Pay</u>	<u>No Response</u>
Sewers	8	1	
No Sewers	1	14	
Unsure		1	1

TABLE 21...ROOM FOR A SECOND FIELD BY WILLINGNESS TO PAY

	<u>Would Pay</u>	<u>Won't Pay</u>	<u>No Response</u>
Room for Second Field	4	7	
No Room for Second Field	3	5	
Unsure	2	3	1
No Response		1	

Generally, those who desire sewers are willing to pay for them but those who don't have room on their property for a second field are not willing to pay for sewers.

EXPECTATIONS/THE FUTURE

The residents of Cherry Wood like Cherry Wood. In fact, many like it more than they expected. In general, the residents of Cherry Wood wish to retain what they have now and would like the area to experience as little development as possible. They appear to worry not only about more development, but the quality of that development especially in economic terms. As to development and its effect on the township, the school and increasing pressure on those facilities seem to be at the heart of their concern. Other affects on the township appeared to be negligible and some believed the town would be in better financial shape than it is at the present time. Other than controlling development in the area the residents of Cherry Wood desire a number of specific improvements, but there appears no one thing all residents demand.

Expectations

The last question was intended to find out how residents liked the area. "Overall, would you say that living in Cherry Wood has met your expectations, is better than you expected, or is less satisfactory than you expected?"

TABLE 22...EXPECTATIONS

<u>Response</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
As Expected	12	46
Better Than Expected	9	34
Less Than Expected	3	12
No Response	2	8

Residents who felt it was better than expected cited the friendliness

of their neighbors and the excellence of the development. Residents who felt their expectations have not been met were all residents who had lived in the area over six months and all stated the area had been developed too fast with too many people and with no care given for maintaining the environmental soundness of the area.

TABLE 23...EXPECTATIONS BY LENGTH OF RESIDENCY

	<u>Less Than 6 Months</u>	<u>More Than 6 Months</u>
As Expected	11	1
Better Than Expected	9	0
Less Than Expected	0	3
No Response	2	

Residents were asked what kind of improvements they would like in Cherry Wood. By in large the residents of Cherry Wood are happy with what they have, and five people stated there were no improvements they desired. The most cited "improvement" residents desired was no more development in the area. More specific improvements mentioned were leash laws, fire hydrants and the addition of a tot park.

TABLE 24...IMPROVEMENTS DESIRED

Less Development	7
Higher Development Standards	3
None	5
Park	3
Dogs Tied Up	3
Less Traffic	1
Snowmobiles Controlled	3
Horse Path	1

The Future

Development in Cherry Wood

Residents were asked what effect they thought more development would have upon the area of Cherry Wood. Residents of Cherry Wood by and large believe that more development in the area will not be an asset. However, three residents believe that more development will increase the value of their investment. Generally, residents believe more development will hurt the character of the area, make it less desirable, and are concerned about a lower caliber housing unit being introduced into the area. One respondent wrote, "Restrictions on cheaper home - there should be a minimum price home, e.g., \$70,000 - \$75,000." Four respondents specifically mentioned the developments below Cherry Wood as being a detriment to the area. A total of eleven respondents felt the character of the area would be hurt by more development. Table 25 shows factors which were important in the resident's initial purchase against what the resident felt would be the effect of more development in Cherry Wood.

TABLE 25...DECISION TO PURCHASE VS. EFFECTS OF DEVELOPMENT

<u>Effects of Development</u>	<u>Environmental or Psychological</u>	<u>Decision to Purchase</u>		
		<u>Out of City</u>	<u>Economic Only</u>	<u>No Response</u>
City Problems	1	1		
Hurt Character and Make Less Desirable	9	1	1	
Devel. o.k.		1		
Crowd Area	2	1		
Raise Invest- ment	2	1		
Hurt Invest- ment			1	
No Response	4			1

Development in the Town of Middleton

Respondents were also asked what effect more development would have on the Town of Middleton. It was believed that the largest effect would be increased school population. Nine residents specifically cited school pressure as being the main problem the township would have to face. Four residents believed more development would be a boon for the township, and increase the tax base with no increased demand for services. One respondent wrote, "I believe that the development of the area has increased the tax base without significantly increasing costs or ruining the character of the township." Other effects of development were felt to be a need for bigger government, the addition of city problems and two residents felt taxes would rise.

TABLE 26...EFFECT OF DEVELOPMENT ON THE TOWNSHIP

Increase School Problems	9
Increase Government Problems	4
Increase Tax Base to the Good of the Town	4
Increase Tax Base to the Detriment of the Town	2
Increase Taxes	2
Don't Know	2
Nothing	1

CHAPTER FOUR
ANALYSIS AND IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

It is now the time to ask what has been learned from this research effort. The exurban development of Cherry Wood utilized the legal and political systems as they exist and has successfully met the demand of an affluent group of persons seeking single family living accommodations. From the research findings it appears there are two parts to the problem of exurban developments. On one side there is the developer and the constraints upon him which structured his development and its location; and on the other side is the exurban resident or consumer whose options are limited by the developer and the decisions he made.

The development community reports to the public that its choice of location is a good one, it is what the consumer demands. (WISCONSIN STATE JOURNAL, August 2, 1976) The developer also tells the public that his choice of location is forced upon him because of the policies of Madison. (GOLD, STIEN)

The subdivision of Cherry Wood and its adjacent subdivisions received the approval of the elected officials and the appointed committees in the Town of Middleton. The largest criticism of such developments has come from the City of Madison and its residents (CAPITAL COMMUNITY CITIZENS, MADISON CITY PLANNING DEPARTMENT) concerning the adverse effect of such growth. Madison, however, has no legal basis for its objections to Cherry Wood, because the developer took pains to avoid (GOLD, STIEN) any jurisdictional problems involving Madison. The developer in putting together his development package, followed the path of least resistance (GOLD) and he did it with a great deal of economic success.

This research effort has examined the reasons the consumer chose Cherry Wood. The environmental quality and secluded atmosphere of the location appear as very important reasons for consumers choosing the area. However, it is not clear that these attributes exist only in the Cherry Wood area as contrasted to other areas in Madison or nearer to Madison. The residents of Cherry Wood are affluent and in economic terms there were few constraints placed upon them in their choice of housing. If anything, the reverse is true; they were probably seeking a high priced housing package as a reflection of their affluence. The fact that for the majority of residents this was not their first single family home they had owned would also indicate not only the desire for luxury housing, but also a desire to invest any capital gains realized from a previous home into another similar investment. The survey in Cherry Wood largely supported the view of builders in the Milwaukee area, i.e., that the market for luxury homes was excellent, attracting buyers with incomes over \$25,000, in their early 30's, and who were purchasing a home for at least the second time. Developers in Milwaukee stated, "This particular market doesn't go up and down with the economy. It is very stable." (MILWAUKEE JOURNAL, FEB. 13, 1977)

The residents of Cherry Wood have paid top dollar for their housing accommodations and the real question must be why did they choose to spend that money in Cherry Wood?

One reason is readily apparent. Developers like the Dohm Corporation are not building such subdivision packages within Madison or even very close to Madison. The consumer seeking a luxury new home does not have an infinite number of choices. His/her choice is constrained by what is available in the market place, and Cherry Wood is

available. One respondent to the survey wrote:

"Cherry Wood Glen is the finest development from the standpoint of site, engineering, and execution that has ever been done in the Madison area. If it can retain its character - a realistically priced and operated area - with people of some independence and appreciation of nature - then the area will continue to stand far and above those others in the Madison area."

Cherry Wood is a successful subdivision appealing to the consumer in the luxury new home market because there are not many areas in Madison or closer to Madison with the same appeal.

The factors that appeal to the residents of Cherry Wood are in large part physical in nature. They like the wooded aspect of the land, the numerous trees on the lots and that "country feeling." However, for all the trees, woods, and country feeling, 15 of the residents believed that Cherry Wood was suburban in character rather than rural. The nine residents who felt the area was rural in character attributed that character to a lack of convenience shopping and the reliance on septic tanks. One respondent wrote, "When we can't get hooked up to a sewer system, I call it rural." Some residents who felt the area was rural stated that they thought the area was rural in character at the present time, but would soon be suburban in character. Cherry Wood residents are primarily urban oriented people and they wish to retain certain amenities of the city in an exurban setting. By and large, it appears that most of the residents of Cherry Wood hold few illusions about where they live and what the nature of the development is.

Another factor important in appealing to this consumer was the secluded, quiet atmosphere of the area which residents accounted for by the spread out nature of the housing, little traffic on the local streets

and the larger lot size. These aesthetic qualities, the residents stated, were not available in Madison. One could question whether the residents of Cherry Wood would have necessarily selected an exurban development to live in if other options had been available in the city or nearer to it. Twenty-three percent of the residents specifically mentioned lot size as being a prime consideration in locating in Cherry Wood and of that 23% mentioning lot size as a prime consideration for locating in Cherry Wood, one-half of them had lots of one-half acre in size. A standard city lot in the City of Madison is approximately one-quarter of an acre, but is described in feet. Rather than the size of lot, it would appear that it is the wooded quality of the lots which holds the appeal to the consumer, whatever the lot size. Cherry Wood residents may well have located in Madison or nearer to Madison, had a comparable housing package been available. Few residents felt they had saved money in their initial investment and for most the lot size was not a major consideration.

Two more factors were mentioned as important in the locational decision. The first was lower taxes or other economic reasons such as good buy or expected high resale. One could speculate on the reasons for such an affluent group of people being concerned with locating where the property tax is believed to be lower or how a house costing in excess of \$90,000 (the 1977 Parade of Homes which will be held in the area will not have a house listing for under \$95,000) constitutes a good buy, but this research effort will not do so.

A question which this paper will examine is that of the property tax of Cherry Wood residents as contrasted to Madison. The old saying, you get what you pay for may or may not be applicable. At the present time,

for many Cherry Wood residents, their property tax is lower than in Madison, many of the residents are still paying taxes on the basis of unimproved land, which is a situation which will not continue for much longer. Property tax on an unimproved lot is about \$240 per year. (DANE COUNTY ASSESSOR) All assessing is done on a May 1 deadline, so the majority of residents will have enjoyed almost a year's grace period on their property tax.

For the purpose of this discussion, a brief examination of the property tax was done for the Town of Middleton and the City of Madison. The Town of Middleton having an average property tax rate in 1975 of \$20.93 (WISCONSIN DEPARTMENT OF REVENUE) is one of six townships in Dane County which does not levy a town tax, rather, it relies on state tax to finance all expenses incurred by the township. This might be contrasted to the Town of Fitchburg which has developed very rapidly in the last ten years, and has the highest town tax in Dane County and an average property tax rate of \$25.11 in 1975. (WISCONSIN DEPARTMENT OF REVENUE) The Town of Middleton has, over the years, had few expenses. It contributes on a contract basis for fire protection to the City of Middleton and uses funds for local road care and "general improvement." If Fitchburg is an example of the effect of development and if Ray Tanck is correct, the Town of Middleton will have to go to a town tax to pay for its expenses in the near future.

Regardless of the possible addition of a township tax the residents of the township have over the years enjoyed and continue to enjoy lower taxes than those residents in Madison. Based on a per thousand of assessed value, the Town of Middleton pays less than does the Madison resident. For the year 1975 the township resident paid \$20.93

per thousand dollars of assessed value and the Madison resident paid \$32.43. (WISCONSIN DEPARTMENT OF REVENUE) The addition of a town tax would narrow the gap even more as the average town tax in Dane County in 1975 was \$1.19 per thousand of assessed value (Fitchburg's was \$3.81). Fitchburg residents paid \$25.11 per thousand dollars of assessed value in 1975, a dollar figure which is closer to Madison's. (WISCONSIN DEPARTMENT OF REVENUE)

The Cherry Wood resident is correct in his/her belief that taxes are lower in Cherry Wood than they are in Madison, and while they may rise over time, possibly dramatically, he will most likely continue to enjoy lower taxes. Certainly, if for any reason, sewer lines had to be extended to the area, costs would rise dramatically. One respondent wrote, "Why the concern for septic tanks, it's an easy problem, just put in sewers." Sewers are an easy solution, but a very costly one. Since, at the present time, everything works properly and residents are by and large pleased with services as they exist, property taxes will continue to be significantly lower than those in Madison. It should be noted that after the Cherry Wood resident pays his/her property tax, he/she also pays a special charge for trash collection and another charge for street lights. He/she also pays for the maintenance of his/her septic system and an extremely high rate for fire insurance. One respondent wrote that while he felt his property taxes were lower than those in Madison, any savings he experienced were put into the gas tank of his car. Dollars are dollars no matter how they are spent and it is not clear from a hard dollar standpoint how much of a savings a Cherry Wood resident enjoys.

The following is a comparison of property tax and assessment for a resident of Madison and Cherry Wood for 1976. It should be noted that the Madison assessment is 100% of value while the Town of Middleton's assessment is 66.33%.

	CITY OF MADISON*	TOWN OF MIDDLETON**
Land	\$ 8,300.00	\$ 8,140.00
Improvements	41,800.00	41,800.00
Total	<u>48,100.00</u> - (100%)	<u>49,940.00</u> - (66.33%)
General Tax	\$ 1,545.00	\$ 1,486.40
State Credit	230.16	141.13
Net Tax	<u>1,314.84</u>	<u>1,345.27</u>
Special Assessment	0,000.00	38.40 Rubbish 14.24 Street Light
TOTAL TAX	<u>\$ 1,314.84</u>	<u>\$ 1,397.91</u>

*CITY OF MADISON TAX ASSESSOR
**DANE COUNTY TAX ASSESSOR

It can be seen that the Cherry Wood resident has a significant tax advantage per thousand of assessed value yet his hard dollar outlay is similar to that of the Madison residents. In the figures shown the Cherry Wood residents' property tax on two-thirds value is almost the same as the Madison residents whose assessment is at 100%. The Cherry Wood residents' total value at 100% assessment would be about \$75,000. Hence, the Cherry Wood resident is enjoying lower taxes than is the Madison resident.

Another economic question to address is the issue of resale. Sales of new homes in Cherry Wood have been excellent and most likely will continue to be so. The question of resale, while new building continues, is open to some speculation. Real estate persons in the area

believe that an existing home in Cherry Wood will continue to appreciate, but they were unsure at what rate. Most felt appreciation could be gauged against the rate that new home building costs rose, but probably no faster. (STIEN, STARK COMPANY, MCKY-ELLIS, INCORPORATED) They disagreed as to whether a home which had been occupied would be more or less salable than would be a brand new home. Some residents of Cherry Wood want less development in the area in order to protect their investment and it is a concern which may have its merits, especially in the short term.

Residents of Cherry Wood, by and large, like the package they purchased. They are unhappy about more development in their backyard. The very factors that contributed to their locational decision are being destroyed. Too many people, city problems and a fear of a lesser quality development down the street are factors that the residents of Cherry Wood are interested in preventing. One resident when asked about the effect of more development in the Cherry Wood area stated, "Ugly, but it is too late to save Cherry Wood." Cherry Wood residents are glad that they live in Cherry Wood, but wish others or at least not so many others be allowed the same options.

From the discussions so far, it appears that no resident has cited any major reason for locating in Cherry Wood that rests on anything more concrete than the presence of trees, and a quiet atmosphere. An interesting fact to note is that those residents who have been in Cherry Wood for more than six months are less enchanted with Cherry Wood than those who have just arrived in the area. Those residents who have been in the area the longest, on the whole, desire more improvements, dislike the increased size of the development and seem to be the most annoyed

about the trend of things to come.

Another reason for locating in Cherry Wood that the survey discovered was a desire to get out of the City of Madison because it was in some manner bad. Bad things in the City of Madison ranged from its school system, to its Mayor, and its lack of safety. Life in the city was felt to be restrictive in some manner for people wishing to live and let live. Life in Madison was in some manner dehumanizing. Cherry Wood residents like the homogenous aspects of the area. Perhaps these arguments should not be given credence as Madison is not a large city and its problems are not those generally attributed to a large city. Madison has no urban ghetto, no large pollution problems from heavy industry, has a relatively low crime rate as compared to a larger city and a very limited unemployment problem. Yet, the belief that Madison was a bad place was held by significant number of the residents, and cannot be dismissed as a completely specious argument. One respondent, representative of the others, wrote:

"People want and desire freedom, independence and personal responsibility. I can say that I don't pay for garbage collection if I don't want it. I can say that my neighbors' dogs aren't being chased by some animal control officer for no compelling reason at all. I can say that the local school cares about my little girl as a person, instead of an experimental educational concept guinea pig. Get it together...and realize that people want their freedom and individuality - the city cracker box and crowded bus aren't part of that."

The dislike of Madison and the desire to get away from the city in order to achieve a more humanized life style would seem to be the hardest argument to overcome in a person's desire to locate in an area like Cherry Wood. In the case of such persons, often times their affluence will assure them of maintaining whatever life style they desire where ever they choose to have it.

The survey also showed that the things residents most dislike about the area are in large part attributable to the location of the area and the lack of either government services or public services. There is no convenience shopping within a three mile radius of the area of Cherry Wood. There are no large or even small areas of employment until one enters the Madison city limits. The nearest mass transportation system is at West Towne, almost four miles down the road. The residents of Cherry Wood feel these inconveniences, but not to an overwhelming degree. The number of cars owned by the residents shows a heavy, but expected reliance on the automobile and it must be concluded that the residents knew that Cherry Wood was not just around the corner from the rest of the world.

Other complaints of the Cherry Wood residents centered about the lack of service to the area. Many residents displayed a lack of knowledge as to how services were provided, having a vague idea that they provided either by the Town or the City of Middleton. Several residents were concerned about the lack of fire hydrants in the area, seemingly unaware that wells and fire hydrants are not compatible items. Some residents were not pleased about using septic tanks although a majority stated they knew how the system worked. Several residents dislike the late arrival of the morning paper. The residents of Cherry Wood seem to find the lack of services an inconvenience and annoying to their daily lives, but by and large residents are not willing to pay for improvement. Residents who do want definite improvements are for the most part willing to pay for those improvements. However, those residents wishing improvements will have some trouble convincing their neighbors of their importance, let alone convincing them they should pay for them.

Some residents in Cherry Wood have taken age old city problems with them or have found them existing in Cherry Wood. Dogs running loose, snowmobiles through the front yard, neighbors who have broken deed restrictions, neighbors who tend toward traditional landscaping or neighbors who just allow anything to grow in their yard, and roads that don't get enough salt or roads which get too much salt. All in all, life in Cherry Wood with its country feeling seems to have the rather common pitfalls of city life or life in any community without the necessary infrastructure in some instances to handle the problems. While some Cherry Wood residents desire the freedom to do as they please, others desire the Town of Middleton to hire a dog catcher.

In summary, it would seem that the exurban development of Cherry Wood has thrived and grown due to the developers' push into the area and that the consumer has had few alternatives available in the selection of this particular type of housing. People in Cherry Wood are urban oriented both in outlook and for their personal needs. They are affluent and have few financial constraints. There appears to be no compelling reason for their choice of location in Cherry Wood, other than it was there and not somewhere else.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY IN TERMS OF DEVELOPMENT POLICY

1. Among the constraints on development are the legal regulations which surround the process. In the case of an exurban development such as Cherry Wood the subdivision laws of the State of Wisconsin play a major role in the physical attributes of the development itself. Subdivision law is in large part a definition of quality, a guarantee to the consumer that certain provisions have been met to create a livable habitat. However, current subdivision law only addresses those issues of quality in a very narrow sense. If each provision defined by statute is met on a specific issue such as the provision of adequate waste disposal, then that issue is approved, and in essence, is dismissed by any other agency and spared any other review process. As each part of the subdivision meets the requirements of the law, it is also spared any further scrutiny. Each agency sanctioning that part of the subdivision procedure over which it has authority acts independently from those other agencies. When all sanctions have been given and the final subdivision plat arrives at DLAD for the last approval, the agency acts strictly in the bureaucratic role of seeing that all the other agencies involved have performed their bureaucratic roles and, if they have, the subdivision is approved. DLAD then holds the record of the subdivision approval. Nowhere in the process is the subdivision viewed as a total entity nor is it viewed in any kind of setting other than by itself. The subdivision of Cherry Wood Park will not be reviewed within the total package of the Cherry Wood area nor will it be reviewed within a regional context. Only the separate requirements for a 77 unit subdivision will be reviewed, and if these have been met and quality standards prescribed by law have been adhered to, the subdivision will be

approved. Quality control on the small scale is the issue addressed, not quality on the broad scale. No agency or review process looks at the newly created subdivision in the context of a total picture either at the local level of government or even the regional level of government. One solution to the question of urban sprawl is for the subdivision regulations at the state level to require a comprehensive review of the subdivision development utilizing concepts similar to the environmental impact process, so that the subdivision is not viewed as an isolated case, but rather the broader context of local and regional development. This type of review and approval would not necessarily preclude such developments as Cherry Wood, but it might limit the size and scope of the development, thereby precluding some of the problems which are anticipated in Cherry Wood and assuring the consumer who does purchase such a package that he will retain what he has paid for.

11. The county can play a role in the subdivision process and within the unincorporated area that role could be expanded. Zoning is an important tool available to the county in controlling the use made of land in the unincorporated area of the county. At the present time in Dane County land which is zoned Agricultural-1 (A-1) allows for the building of single family homes without a reclassification of the zoning to Residential-1 (R-1). According to the County Surveyor subdivisions are usually completely built and occupied before a zoning reclassification from A-1 to R-1 is accomplished. If the county were to require a zoning reclassification of single family homes built in A-1 districts to R-1 it could limit the use made of agricultural land in the county. The county could in addition to exclusive use zoning categories

confine development to certain types of land such as ridgetops. The county has the potential for being an extremely powerful force in the question of exurban growth, but at the present time the political viability of the county taking strong action is open to serious question. (YOUNG)

In addition to zoning, the county also has promulgated subdivision regulations. Dane County's subdivision ordinance is more stringent than the state mandate and its rules could be made more stringent. Erosion controls have been suggested as one area where subdivision controls could be made more stringent as well as rules regarding the placement and standards for septic tank placement.

The strengthening of zoning ordinances and more stringent subdivision regulation will not preclude exurban development within the county, but such action could go a long way in guiding growth within the unincorporated area into a more orderly and efficient pattern.

III. Madison and its residents constitute a large source of discontent regarding the pattern of growth adjacent to its borders. It is not clear that the policies of Madison have done anything to contribute to a more orderly growth pattern. Rather, it would appear that Madison by imposing strict development standards within its extraterritorial plat review area, hoped to preclude urban sprawl on its borders. Cherry Wood is an example of the workings of that policy. The developer skipped three miles of land nearer the City of Madison and build the development anyway. (GOLD) If Madison cannot stop such developments, and it appears that it cannot, then perhaps a more realistic policy might be in order. If the City of Madison desires orderly growth at a more reasonable cost in the long run and with less detriment to the city,

then policies which encourage development almost four miles away from its borders may in the long run be extremely costly and a greater detriment than development in or nearer its jurisdiction. (GOLD, STIEN) If, as it is believed, residents in sprawl areas will ultimately demand services from the city, then the cost of providing those services such as sewer lines would be far less if the development was closer to Madison. The idea that Madison loosen its policies regarding development within its extraterritorial plat review area is not a solution which would stop development, but rather encourage development, which is now very haphazard, into a more orderly pattern. (GOLD, STIEN)

The City of Madison appears, according to the residents of Cherry Wood, to be suffering a public relations problem. Madison appears to need to sell itself to the residents of Dane County as well as some current residents who are leaving its jurisdiction. Perhaps, there should be a re-emphasizing of the strong points of the Madison community and the multitude of diverse services it offers.

Madison certainly has options open to it if it wishes to recapture some of the costs which the city believes it incurs because of urban sprawl. A wheel tax on automobiles is one option which has been considered as well as other user charges for other facilities and services the city provides to residents outside its jurisdiction. It is not clear that a better image of the City of Madison or user charges would have a large impact on exurban developments, but it certainly would not hurt the situation.

IV. There can be no doubt that the Cherry Wood resident is not as aware as he/she should be about the provision of services in the area. When people want fire hydrants in an area which relies on well water, one

must strongly question their understanding of not only how services are provided but the mechanics involved in their delivery. Some method of telling the consumer precisely what he/she is purchasing in the way of services and the methods of delivery of those services might discourage the consumer from seeking exurban living accommodations. There can be no doubt that the publicity which Cherry Wood has received regarding septic tanks and problems which may attend such reliance has made the residents of the area fearful about more development and defensive about their own purchase. A more informed consumer will not put an end to exurban development, but some more informed purchasers might reconsider their decision to purchase. Once again, an educational program is certainly not the total answer, but it cannot hurt the situation.

V. An important factor capable of impacting the question of urban sprawl is the developer. If opponents of growth could affect the development corporation's profit margin, this might in turn modify the developer's action. I have already discussed the importance of educating the consumer to the realities of his purchase. Through an educational process, awareness levels concerning the environment, transportation and energy costs might be raised to the point that buying patterns could be altered, shrinking the attractiveness and appeal of "country living." Another method of curtailing or limiting the profit margin in such exurban developments might be for the state, county or city to recapture what it believes the full cost of such developments. If, in fact, this cost is high and the developer were forced to pay such costs, then either his profit margin would become smaller or his product less competitive. Methods for the recapturing

of costs to society revolve around either taxing the development corporations' profits or enacting exceedingly high development standards which require high amounts of development capital into the initial investment.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS

The problems which surround the question of exurban growth are in large part problems of development policy at the state and county level. Yet, it is those who are most directly affected by urban sprawl who may hold the solutions. No other entity can take the direct action regarding development within its boundaries as well as the township itself. At the present time, opponents of exurban growth have not organized to reduce growth within the Town of Middleton. There are several routes which opponents of continued sprawl might explore within the township itself.

The first and most necessary pressure point which might be affected is the town planning board. Until pressure is brought from within the community either for change in the board membership or a change in attitude of the current members, it is unlikely that any significant action will occur in the town. The survey indicates that the residents of Cherry Wood are interested in curtailing development in the community and it is that group which must mobilize and demonstrate support for their particular view, thus bringing pressure on the elected officials and the planning board for some type of concrete action. The residents of Cherry Wood have demonstrated that if they act together for a particular cause, they can be successful. They did petition the town for the curtailment of more snowmobile trails in the immediate area and were successful in their effort despite the fact that the builder of the trails sat on the planning board.

Once a demonstrated interest has been shown as to the attitudes of

the residents of the township against continued uncontrolled growth, then there are some concrete actions the community and the planning committee can take. Townships cannot zone as it is a prerogative which the townships yielded to the county, but townships do have some other options. A township can issue permits relating to construction practices in addition to those required by the county. Building permits and driveway permits are required in other townships as a method of guiding development. The township also has the power to write subdivision ordinances once it has a properly constituted planning committee. The town has the same kind of options available to the county in creating subdivision regulations. Subdivision regulations must meet the state mandate and they may be more stringent. The City of Madison has in its subdivision requirements a "suitability standard" which includes such considerations as the adequacy of schools, fire protection and sanitary facilities. There is nothing to preclude the Town of Middleton from adopting such a subdivision procedure. Once the town has a subdivision ordinance, they will then have a basis for accepting or denying plats within their jurisdiction. It must be pointed out again that in the Town of Middleton the planning committee has been meeting for two years in an attempt to draw a land use plan and subdivision ordinances and to this date has made almost no progress on either item.

It may well be that in the course of time pressure on the Town Board of Middleton and the planning committee will mount to a point where action will be taken. It is the new resident in the town that is against more development. It is in fact a number of people in Cherry Wood. If the Cherry Wood residents are indicative of exurban dwellers'

attitudes then their number will be increasing within the township in the next year. Perhaps as the number of exurban dwellers increases in the town, the effect of their attitudes will become a more significant and powerful factor within the community. It would seem ironic that those who live in the exurban environment may be the most successful in curtailing further development of the very kind which they themselves sought. This process of course will take some time and will be too slow and too late for many who oppose exurban growth, but it may be the most realistic solution and most viable solution and represent the best compromise between those involved in the exurban growth question.

APPENDIX A

CHERRY WOOD SURVEY

1. Before you moved to Cherry Wood did you live in a single family home multiple dwelling and was that in the country suburb or a city ?
2. How many drivers are there in your family _____ and how many cars _____ ?
3. How many miles would you say the person who earns the largest income in your family drives to work (one way)?

<input type="checkbox"/> less than 5 miles	<input type="checkbox"/> 10 - 15 miles
<input type="checkbox"/> 5 - 10 miles	<input type="checkbox"/> more than 15 miles
4. About how long does that trip take (in minutes)? _____
5. Are there any improvements you would like to see in highways or local transportation facilities? _____

6. Where do you do the majority of your shopping? _____
7. How many children do you have? _____ and what are their ages? _____
8. Do you feel the school system in the area is more than adequate adequate less than adequate ?
 Why? _____

9. As contrasted to Madison, do you think your property taxes are higher about the same lower ?
10. In describing the overall character of Cherry Wood, do you consider it rural suburban other ?
 Explain: _____

11. Would you say your lot is about the right size too small too big ?
12. When did you move to Cherry Wood? _____
 (month & year)

13. What do you like most about living in Cherry Wood? _____

What do you like least? _____

14. Do you know how a septic system works? _____ Do you plan to have your septic tank pumped out every two or three years? _____

15. Do you feel your septic system will be adequate (will not fail) within the next five years? _____

16. If your septic system should fail do you have room on your lot for a new drainage field? _____ Would you prefer to see the area connected to the Madison sewer system? _____

17. What factors were important in your decision to purchase a home in Cherry Wood? _____

18. Over all would you say that living in Cherry wood has met your expectations , is better then you expected is less satisfactory then you expected ?

Why? _____

19. Are there any improvements you would like to see made in Cherry Wood?

20. As contrasted to Madison do you feel your present home cost less to purchase about the same to purchase more to purchase ?

21. Do you feel your neighbors' homes in relationship to your home are too close about right too far away ?

22. Who provides fire protection to Cherry Wood? _____

23. Who provides police protection to Cherry Wood? _____

24. Do you feel that police and fire protection are adequate for the area? _____
Are there any suggestions you would make regarding these services? _____

25. What was your approximate family income before taxes last year?

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> less than \$15,000 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$25,000 - \$29,999 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$15,000 - \$19,999 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$30,000 - \$34,999 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$20,000 - \$24,999 | <input type="checkbox"/> Over \$35,000 |

26. Do you know the name of your town chairman? _____

27. What effect do you think more development will have on Cherry Wood?

On the township of Middleton? _____

28. Would you be willing to pay higher taxes for more or improved services in the areas of

	YES	NO
schools	_____	_____
police protection	_____	_____
fire protection	_____	_____
roads	_____	_____
extension of sewer lines	_____	_____

29. What range best describes the age of the person who earns the largest income in your family?

- | | |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 20 - 30 | <input type="checkbox"/> 51 - 65 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 31 - 50 | <input type="checkbox"/> over 65 |

This space is provided for any additional comments you would like to make regarding Cherry Wood, the township or the the questionnaire itself.

Are there any important problems with living in this area that the questionnaire did not cover?

Are there any outstanding advantages to living in this area that the questionnaire did not cover?

APPENDIX B
DRAFT SPEECH
BILL MCDONOUGH

TWA 5/77

Parade of Homes - answer to CCC award
DRAFT

Good evening. I am Bill McDonough and I am representing the Madison Builders Association in accepting your Union Award, presented to the Association for its sponsorship of last year's Parade of Homes. I was asked to represent our group because I was chairman of the 1976 Parade, so I guess that makes me the chief spokesman.

Not that I'm superstitious about today being Friday the 13th, but there seems to be certain feeling about "bad luck" in having to accept your Union Award. Unlucky or not, I accept your recognition on behalf of the Association and the many people connected with the 1976 Parade, including the many tradesman and suppliers in the Madison area who earn their livelihood in the home building business.

Naturally, we are not happy with this award. But I am not going to spend the next few minutes quibbling over the merits of this recognition. Like it or not, we accept your verdict. But we would like to share our thoughts on what the Parade of Homes is all about, in hopes that there will be a better understanding of what we are doing in the future.

First of all, the Madison Builders Association consists of builders, contractors and developers who are members of the local community. We live here in Madison too, and we have as much concern for what is happening to the community as do many of you. The big difference,

of course, is that we build homes for a living -- if you will, serving a consumer market that has a broad range of tastes, preferences and desires. The shelter business is far too risky and costly for us to go off on a tangent, dreaming up offbeat homes and locations just to make a fast buck. As I said, we're members of this community too, so we have a much pride in what we're doing as you do in your work.

The homes we are building today are being built in response to what home buyers are telling us they want. And the places we are building these homes, quite frankly, are the only places in the area that are available. This may surprise you, but it is becoming impossible to find a lot in the city of Madison, on which to build a single family home. That's how critical the situation is.

We can denounce urban sprawl and the other popular euphemisms that make people think building a home outside of Madison is downright sinful, but that is not going to change the fact that people are choosing not to live within the city. According to a survey conducted by one of the local businesses, at least 2,000 of the new homes built in Dane County this year are outside the city, primarily because of choice, and because the land is not available for home building. Within last year, for example, of all the single family dwellings built in Dane County, less than one quarter of them were in the city.

As home builders, obviously we are facing a dilemma. For example, why would we build on sites such as Cherrywood or at the nearby location for this year's Parade of Home? First of all, these sites were up for sale, after being made available by a developer. We builders bought these sites from the developer, but only after thoroughly investigating several alternate sites, all of which proved to be unsuitable.

In home building, we decide on where to build when we are sure that the financial risks are less likely and that there are fewer site problems which would increase the price of the home appreciably. We also recognize that the Madison area has a greater proportion of professional and technical people with high incomes who can afford higher priced home. I'm sure we all realize that with any product or service we have to produce to satisfy the buying public.

What we find most disturbing about this Onion Award is that it gives the impression to some that we builders are some out-of-town speculators who infiltrate the area and drive up land costs outside the city, so that home buyers can be exploited. That impression is sheer nonsense and totally misleading.

As far as the Parade of Homes program, we are also building within the city limits this year. At the Charing Cross site on the far east side, there will be eight homes built, all of them in the typical modest price range. Of course at the west side location, which is outside the city, the homes will be higher priced.

But that's where the people who can afford higher priced homes are interested in living, as I explained before. Again, it's a matter of choice -- and our business is successful only when we can provide what the public is asking for.

While we accept your Onion Award, we also ask for your understanding of our problems and for your increased awareness of our desire to enhance the natural environment of our beautiful community. We builders are in a unique position to make that request, because what we do is there for all to see -- and admire or criticize. When we build something we're putting our name out in the public and our reputation is on the line.

When we plan the homes for the Parade of Homes, a great deal of time and money goes into the serious business of creating something that is relevant to our community and to the times. Before the first ground is broken we've thought long and hard about preserving the environment, about energy efficiency in the home, about aesthetic values and about keeping prices in line with our local economy.

But we also know that what we're doing may not be acceptable to everyone. I guess we are still searching for the answer to how do we make everyone happy.

Thanks so much for the opportunity to explain our Association's position and the Parade of Home. You may not agree entirely but I invite you to visit the Parade sites this year, June 18 - 26, just the same, maybe with more of a sense of appreciation than before.

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Speech

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Capital Community Citizens Onions and Orchids Awards Dinner,
Madison, Wisconsin, May, 1977.

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Approved by:

Herman Feldtkamer

Date:

May 26, 1977