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# Planned Communities in Greater Phoenix:

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## Origins, Functions and Control

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**PLANNED COMMUNITIES IN  
GREATER PHOENIX:  
Origins, Functions and Control**

by

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TEMPE, ARIZONA  
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## FOREWORD

Arizona and its largest metropolitan center, Phoenix, have been growing at rates well above the national average. The census data and economic indicators do not show any evidence of this slackening or tapering off in the near future. This growth has been possible because of an abundance of land in and around urban centers. However, this luxury condition is unlikely to continue indefinitely into the future. Subdivision development has been characterized by the "blocking" out of large parcels of land which would allow for more economic "packaging" of housing and necessary support features. Thus these developments have been large "land-users" which have pushed urbanization farther and farther out from the urban center with resulting traffic congestion, smog development, energy consumption and general dissipation of the amenities of our life styles. Consequently, Phoenix is faced with some harsh decisions to make in terms of further community growth.

The Institute of Public Administration has published several papers dealing with these problems such as "New Towns," "Planned Communities," "Water Administration," and other related items. The author of this paper, an urban geographer, brings a different set of insights to bear on these problems. His approach is somewhat alarming but incisive about the impact of urbanization on the physical environment. It is hoped that this paper will assist in the continued public discussion of policies which will allow growth in a rational manner, but at the same time protect our physical environment.

William R. Gable, Director  
Institute of Public Administration

## ABSTRACT

By mid-1972 metropolitan or Greater Phoenix had sixteen major "planned communities" in various stages of active development that encompassed 64,000 acres and a projected population of 450,000 persons. Contrary to both popular opinion and stated intent, however, a number of developments are simply conventional suburbs that have lakes, golf courses and a "master plan."

Part I of this study is an analysis of each development in terms of dominant function, location, size, financing and physical attractions. This typology is designed to distinguish between conventional subdivisions, planned suburbs, special-purpose developments and quasi-new towns. The historical roots of new town development in the United States and in Arizona are briefly noted and an appendix outlines the evolution and nature of the sixteen areas now under development.

In Part II, the forces that determine the location and occupance of residential areas are outlined in a dynamic model that explains the major role of transportation, land speculation, the land ownership pattern, and a planned environment in the location and marketing of a development. The increasing importance of artificial lakes and golf courses is indicated, as is the decreasing importance of terrain upon residential developments.

In Part III the contribution of planned communities to urban sprawl is examined and other negative aspects of large-scale residential developments are outlined. A number of recommendations to help public admin-

istrations control the impact upon and cost to the general public of planned communities are suggested. Findings of this study are (1) that Arizona and Maricopa County presently lack the power to effectively control the location of new residential developments but (2) that such control is imperative.

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I.

THE PHOENIX EXPERIENCE

The large scale introduction of the so-called "planned community" into the Greater Phoenix area within the last five years lends additional credence to the axiom that imitation is the sincerest form of flattery. For the apparent success of recent "planned communities," particularly those in California, is encouraging their development in Arizona; the California lesson that gold is extracted more easily, more surely and in greater quantity from land developments than was ever taken from the Sierra Nevada foothills during the Gold Rush is not lost upon developers elsewhere. A number of the developments in Arizona are even being carried out by California-based developers.

But if the Arizona adoption of the planned or "prefabricated" community compliments earlier successes in California and provides needed housing, it does not necessarily either complement "orderly urban development" in Greater Phoenix, or as its defenders argue, reduce the tendency toward "urban sprawl." Instead, such developments commonly represent an urban invasion of agricultural or desert areas that planning commissions are unable to maintain as "open space" in their attractive, but sometimes unenforceable comprehensive long-range development plans. <sup>1</sup> Additionally, the development of outlying planned communities creates new foci for more traditional forms of urban sprawl, speeding up the transition of open space into residential tracts.

By the end of 1972, metropolitan or Greater Phoenix, roughly equivalent to the 1970 platted area indicated in Figure 1 and containing a 1970 population of about one million persons, had sixteen major planned communities in various stages of development. In total, they encompass 64,000 acres and have a projected population of 450,000 persons. Present population is roughly 25,000 (Table 1). Of these sixteen, only seven existed either in fact or on the architect's drawing board before 1970.

As the term is used in Greater Phoenix, a "planned community" may be a conventional subdivision, a retirement community, or approach being a genuine "New Town" in function. Most, however, are simply large suburbs that are started entirely by one developer in accordance with his own "master plan" that serves as a general guideline for the development of the entire residential project. Typically, the development stresses "Environment" within the project and lacks a wide range of urban commercial and service functions so that it remains dependent upon a well-developed urban core (Phoenix-Scottsdale) for the provision of the high order goods and services that are purchased only infrequently.

Undoubtedly one element in the rapid expansion of the planned community in Greater Phoenix is the assessment by developers that they will most readily and profitably market conventional developments by creation of a veneer of luxury and exclusiveness, and a promise of pleasures. Lakes, golf courses, and "convenience" stores, all of a sameness in concept and content somehow will promise prestige to otherwise commonplace tracts. In some places the veneer is so thin as to be transparent.

Table 1

## SIZE, POPULATION AND TIMING OF PLANNED COMMUNITIES

| <u>Development</u><br>(Ranked by Size) | <u>Approx.</u><br><u>Gross</u><br><u>Acreage</u> | <u>Projected</u><br><u>Population</u> | <u>1972</u><br><u>Population</u> | <u>Proposed</u><br><u>Development</u><br><u>Time</u> |
|--|--|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------|--|
| Sun City                               | 20,000   | 100,000                               | 20,000                           | continuous   |
| Litchfield Park                        | 12,000   | 100,000                               | 2,000                            | 25   |
| Fountain Hills                         | 12,000   | 70,000                                | 0                                | 10   |
| McCormick Ranch                        | 4,200  | 35,000                                | 0                                | 15   |
| Sun Lakes                              | 2,500  | 23,000                                | 0                                | 15   |
| Dobson Ranch                           | 2,400  | 35,000                                | 0                                | ca. 10   |
| Carefree West                          | 2,300  | 2,000                                 | 0                                | n.a.   |
| Leisure World                          | 2,200  | 27,000                                | 0                                | 10   |
| Ahwatukee                              | 2,100  | 23,000                                | 0                                | 5+   |
| Rio Verde                              | 900  | 7,000                                 | 0                                | n.a.   |
| Villa de Paz                           | 900  | 8,000                                 | ca. 125                          | n.a.   |
| Carefree (Boulders)                    | 670  | ca. 1,500                             | ca. 200                          | n.a.   |
| Queen Creek Park                       | 650  | 5,000                                 | ca. 800                          | n.a.   |
| Fountain of the Sun                    | 600  | 7,000                                 | 0                                | 5  |
| Lake Country                           | 490  | 5,000                                 | ca. 600                          | n.a.   |
| Youngtown                              | 350  | 2,000                                 | 2,000                            | developed  |
| Totals                                 | 64,000   | 450,000                               | 25,000                           |  |

Source: Appendix B

Because the strong land market in Arizona has established land as an attractive "speculative investment," the potential for capital appreciation is another lure for purchasers. The question in Arizona is not whether land values will increase but by how much, and such potential rapid increases makes a potent sales lever. Some buyers are also undoubtedly attracted by the peripheral location of some of the developments, away from the "problems" of the city. The security and peace of mind offered by a walled development and/or private security police appeals to others. <sup>3</sup>

If developers prove successful in the promotion of the planned community, it is also in part because the public is at once seduced and confused by semantics. Developers employ a variety of terms such as new community, model community, new town, model city, planned community, planned total community, and master planned community to describe their projects. Not unwisely, promoters now studiously avoid using terms such as "subdivision" and "suburb" because of their "unplanned" and generally negative connotations and association with "urban sprawl." Even the term "garden suburb," widely used in the 1920's finds no favor today in Greater Phoenix.

The confusion of terms is magnified still further by the existence in local zoning ordinances of the "planned area development" for Phoenix, "planned community development" for Scottsdale, and the "Neighborhood Unit Plan of Development" and "Residential Unit Plan of Development" (NUPD and RUPD), terms used in the unincorporated portions of Maricopa County. Conceived to allow for flexibility in development (e. g., high-density clustered housing) within a large parcel so long as over-all

zoning density requirements are observed, these ordinances have been used to call a number of conventional, subdivisions "planned communities" in order to boost sales.

The public's perceptions (and misconceptions) of a still largely undeveloped but attractive "master planned environment" is a force that is becoming increasingly important in the shaping of the metropolitan periphery. At the same time, developers purposefully use varied terminology to market their product as effectively and as profitably as possible. Anyone seeking to understand the changing pattern of residential development must keep this fact in mind.

While the creation of an environment, the potential for profit, isolation, security and financial considerations may dull the general public's concern that a development is a large conventional suburb with environmental frills, there is a need to attempt a typology of residential developments in Greater Phoenix which will place planned communities in their proper perspective and allow critical analysis, both in terms of the true nature of the developments and their impact on the landscape. Such definitions and typology constitute one element of the following report.

A second goal is to identify the processes at work that determine the location, manner of development, nature and viability of the planned residential developments in Greater Phoenix. The underlying premise is that only through an understanding of the processes at work can one comprehend both the nature and the direction of growth of the so-called "planned community."

A third goal is to demonstrate why and how public interests should be protected in the face of strong private interests that are typically more concerned with immediate financial gain than with the long-range impact of their actions upon the total urban environment.

#### TYOLOGY OF PLANNED COMMUNITIES IN GREATER PHOENIX.

It is apparent that there is a great deal of variation among the sixteen planned communities of Greater Phoenix in terms of urban functions performed, size, nature of their location, method of financing, and so forth. Some are financed by conventional loan sources, others by large corporations. Some are on the edge of the city, others are at a considerable distance from the center city (Table 2).

Typology - By Function. The best measure of a planned residential community is an examination of the range of functions it performs. Those of Greater Phoenix, on this basis, can be classified as either (1) conventional subdivisions, (2) planned suburbs, (3) special purpose developments, or (4) "quasi-new towns."

1. Conventional Subdivision. The conventional residential subdivision and a modern sub-type, the "planned area development," may feature recreational amenities but they lack most urban services such as shopping centers, schools, theaters, churches, and so forth. As a consequence, they are almost totally dependent upon the surrounding urban area for goods, services, and employment. Because the median size of all "planned communities" in Greater Phoenix is about 2,150 acres, an

Table 2

## CHARACTERISTICS OF PLANNED COMMUNITIES

| Development         | Founded* | Dominant Function |                 |                  | Location                            |                                    |         | Size           |              |                |                 |                | Financing                  |                           |                            | Environment |        |             |
|---------------------|----------|-------------------|-----------------|------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------|---------|----------------|--------------|----------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|-------------|--------|-------------|
|                     |          | Planned Suburb    | Special Purpose | Quasi-"New Town" | Near Periphery<br>(less than 5 mi.) | Far Periphery<br>(more than 5 mi.) | Exurban | L<br>640 acres | 640-1,000 a. | 1,000-5,000 a. | 5,000-10,000 a. | M<br>10,000 a. | Developer/<br>Conventional | Developer/<br>Corporation | Diversified<br>Corporation | Lakes       | Desert | Golf Course |
| Ahwatukee           | 1971     | X                 |                 |                  |                                     | X                                  |         |                | X            |                |                 | X              |                            |                           |                            |             |        | X           |
| Carefree (Boulders) | 1971     |                   | E               |                  |                                     |                                    | X       |                |              |                |                 | X              |                            |                           |                            | X           |        | X           |
| Carefree West       | 1972     |                   | E               |                  |                                     |                                    |         |                | X            |                |                 |                | X                          |                           |                            | X           |        | X           |
| Dobson Ranch        | 1971     | X                 |                 |                  | X                                   |                                    |         |                | X            |                |                 | X              |                            |                           | X                          |             |        | X           |
| Fountain Hills      | 1968     |                   |                 | X                |                                     |                                    |         |                |              |                | X               |                |                            | X                         | X                          | X           |        | X           |
| Fountain of the Sun | 1970     |                   | R               |                  |                                     | X                                  | X       |                |              |                |                 |                | X                          |                           |                            |             |        | X           |
| Lake Country        | 1969     | C                 |                 |                  | X                                   |                                    | X       |                |              |                |                 |                | X                          |                           | X                          |             |        |             |
| Leisure World       | 1971     | X                 |                 |                  |                                     | X                                  |         |                | X            |                |                 |                | X                          |                           | X                          |             |        | X           |
| Litchfield Park     | 1964     |                   |                 | X                |                                     | X                                  |         |                |              |                | X               |                |                            | X                         | X                          |             |        | X           |
| McCormick Ranch     | 1970     | X                 |                 |                  | X                                   |                                    |         |                |              |                | X               |                |                            | X                         | X                          |             |        | X           |
| Queen Creek Park    | 1971     | X                 |                 |                  |                                     |                                    | X       |                |              |                | X               |                |                            |                           |                            |             |        |             |
| Rio Verde           | 1972     |                   | R               |                  |                                     |                                    |         |                | X            |                |                 |                | X                          |                           | X                          |             |        | X           |
| Sun City            | 1959     |                   | R               |                  |                                     | X                                  |         |                |              |                | X               |                | X                          |                           | X                          |             |        | X           |
| Sun Lakes           | 1971     |                   | R               |                  |                                     | X                                  |         |                |              |                | X               |                | X                          |                           | X                          |             |        | X           |
| Villa de Paz        | 1971     | X                 |                 |                  | X                                   |                                    |         |                | X            |                |                 |                | X                          |                           | X                          |             |        | X           |
| Youngtown           | 1954     |                   | R               |                  |                                     | X                                  | X       |                |              |                |                 |                | X                          |                           | X                          |             |        |             |

\*Year of announcement: Chandler, 1912; Maryvale, 1956; Carefree, 1959.

R Retirement function dominant; E exurban-environment-retirement

C Conventional subdivision

arbitrary minimum of 640 acres (one section of land) is also useful to distinguish the conventional subdivision from the planned suburb.

2. Planned Suburbs. Planned suburbs are essentially large bedroom "communities" over 640 acres in size that emphasize amenities, recreation, and open space, as well as providing most of the services not designed into a conventional subdivision. The existence of, and adherence to, a master development plan for the entire project is the key to determining if it is, or will become, a "planned" suburb. The term "garden suburb" would be an appropriate synonym in most cases.

The sharp rise in the number of planned communities in Greater Phoenix in 1970 and 1971 is in large measure due to the creation of these "planned suburbs" (Table 2). Behind the outbreak of these developments is the boom in land speculation in metropolitan Phoenix, a boom fed by the inflationary tendencies of the national economy, the optimistic, if realistic, projections of population growth for the metropolitan area, and a local speculative "fever." Even the most modest projection foresees a 1980 metropolitan population of about 1,300,000 as compared to the 1970 census figure of 963,000. By the year 2,000 it is estimated that metropolitan Phoenix will contain from 2,141,000 to 3,349,000 persons (Table 3).

In addition to anticipated future growth, the boom in planned communities is also part of the general upswing in residential construction in Maricopa County after a mid-1960's slump traceable to earlier overbuilding of single family residences and apartment (Diagram 1).

Table 3

POPULATION PROJECTIONS, MARICOPA COUNTY, 1980

| Year | Low Estimate | Average Estimate | High Estimate |
|------|--------------|------------------|---------------|
| 1980 | 1,300,000    | 1,360,000        | 1,464,000     |
| 1990 | 1,694,000    | 1,910,000        | 2,215,000     |
| 2000 | 2,141,000    | 2,682,000        | 3,349,000     |

Note: As the figures are for all of Maricopa County, the metropolitan Phoenix share can be roughly calculated by subtracting five per cent from the total to account for population outside the metropolitan area. 1970 population - 968,000.

Source: Maricopa County Planning and Zoning Department, Population Growth, Composition and Projections, Maricopa County, Arizona, (Phoenix, January, 1972). Table 5.

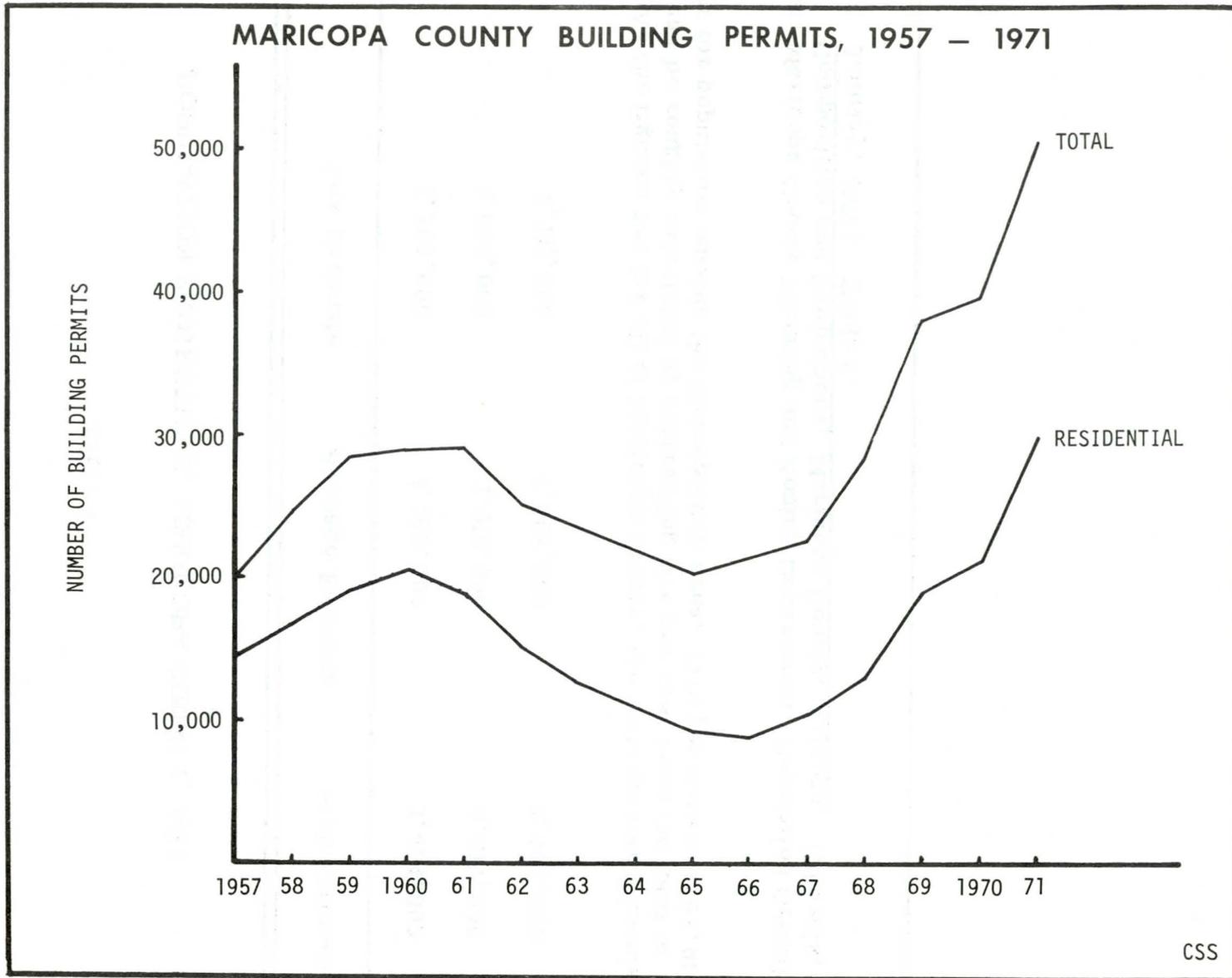


DIAGRAM 1.

3. The "Special Purpose" Development. A special form of the planned suburb, these are predominantly adult and retirement communities that increasingly stress an "environment." The larger of these communities provide a wide range of services within the development itself.

Special purpose residential developments were the first to appear in number in Greater Phoenix. While the retirement communities of Youngtown (1954) and Dreamland Villa (1954) both predate Sun City (1959), the latter quickly outpaced the older, smaller developments because of inherent locational advantages and the capital resources of the parent Del E. Webb Corporation. <sup>4</sup> The initial sales at Carefree, a development of desert lots oriented toward those who desired an exurban desert environment, also came in 1959. Because its residents, few in number, had no need of daily access to Phoenix, the road to Scottsdale remained unpaved until 1964.

As Table 2 indicates, a number of special purpose developments have been proposed since 1970. While most of these are retirement-oriented, Carefree West is an imitation, by another developer, of the successful selling of the desert environment at Carefree. The Boulders, a development by Carefree's original development company, is oriented to both environment and retirement.

4. "Quasi-New Towns." The prefix "quasi-" is needed because both of the new town developments have only limited potential for local employment of their residents and provide no low-income or minority housing, two requisites of true "New Town" status. Both Litchfield Park (1964) and Fountain Hills (1968) represent land developments by two large

corporations (Goodyear and McCulloch Oil, respectively) desirous of expanding earnings via diversification into land development. Both enjoy the initial benefit of having acquired large parcels at relatively low cost. Fountain Hills will utilize revenues from low interest municipal bonds issued by road improvement districts to provide money for "front-end," or initial, development costs.

While the functional classification outlined above may offend some developers, it comes closer to accurately describing the nature of the large-scale land developments in Greater Phoenix than do the imprecise labels that incorporate the term "community" with qualification.

#### TYPOLOGY - BY LOCATION

All of the planned residential developments can be classified as being either peripheral or exurban at the time of their inception. Those classified as 'exurban' are considered to be beyond the normal daily commute framework of metropolitan Phoenix. Although a number of individuals will commute daily from these exurban locations, the majority will not and the journey for exurbanites is predominantly the voluntary journey-to-shop or entertainment rather than the obligatory journey-to-work. In time, of course, as access to Phoenix and Scottsdale is steadily improved and as the public's perception of distance changes with continued metropolitan growth, the exurban classification can be expected to no longer apply to some of the closer developments.

Those within daily commute range of the central city can be distinguished

as between those on the edge of the built-up area, less than five miles from the edge of the city at time of inception, and those more than five miles from the city's edge, with intervening agricultural or desert land uses between the development and the edge of metropolitan Phoenix. Characteristically, the more distant developments are, like the exurban centers, either retirement or "new town" in nature, without close daily ties to the central city, and on relatively inexpensive land. It is therefore likely to be the planned bedroom suburbs on the very edge of the built-up area that will tend to immediately prove most attractive to the working upper middle income group that constitutes the largest market.

In terms of legal jurisdiction, twelve of the sixteen planned communities are in unincorporated portions of Maricopa County. Youngtown is incorporated, while Dobson Ranch is in Mesa, Lake Country is in Tempe, and McCormick Ranch is in Scottsdale.

#### TYPOLOGY - FINANCING

Urban land development in Arizona is financed in one or a combination of the following ways:

1. individual developers, often corporate, utilizing conventional loan sources,
2. individual developers in visible partnership with large capital sources such as savings and loans associations, corporations, and
3. large diversified corporations.

Of these three major categories, the largest number of developments are being carried out by individual developers or syndicates of developers

with access to sufficient conventional capital for the development and sales promotion of the project (Table 1). Large diversified corporations are becoming increasingly important, however, as shown by the financing of McCormick Ranch (Kaiser Steel-Aetna Life Insurance), Litchfield Park (Goodyear Tire and Rubber Co.), Fountain Hills (McCulloch Corporation), and Fountain of the Sun (Borg-Warner and Green Bay Packers).

Some future large developments will be in a position to obtain significant amounts of "front-end" development capital through the issuance of tax-free municipal bonds issued by special improvement districts which the developer can create under provisions of a Planned Communities Act passed by the state legislature in 1970. Because of the many ramifications of this new legislation, it is worthwhile to examine its background and provisions in some detail.

#### THE PLANNED COMMUNITIES ACT OF 1970

Background. The McCulloch Corporation, the developer of Fountain Hills, initially attempted to finance the development of streets, sewers, and water system via an irrigation district that could issue tax-free municipal bonds. Opponents, however, noted that the 1915 Arizona Irrigation Act that permitted the creation of irrigation districts was tailored to reclaim desert land for farming; not to promote the subdivision of land for speculative towns. There was also a fear that the integrity of local municipal bonds could be damaged if such a speculative development defaulted on bond repayment.

McCulloch general counsel indeed admitted that an "irrigation district is intended for the purpose of developing water resources for agriculture rather than for city building, but implied that, in the case of Fountain Hills, the end justifies the means." <sup>5</sup> Although for some reason the State Attorney General refused to take action against McCulloch to test the irrigation district law, strong opposition, led by the League of Arizona Cities and Towns and the City of Scottsdale, forced McCulloch to seek other avenues of financing. Thus, in early 1969 the so-called "McCulloch" or "Model <sup>6</sup> Cities" bill (HB 145) was introduced into the state legislature. Ultimately, Senate Bill 8 was passed early in 1970 as The Planned Communities Act.

Provisions. Under the provisions of the Planned Communities Act (Arizona Revised Statutes 11-771.01-.45), all owners of a parcel of 4,000 acres or more in size who wish to establish a "planned community" can petition the county board of supervisors and the State Community Development Council, established by the act, for the formation of a general improvement district. The district so created is empowered to issue municipal bonds upon approval of the Community Development Council, the district board, and the voters of the district which may include only the developer. The only limitation on the district's bonded indebtedness is that it is not to exceed the assessed valuation of the land plus the valuation of the improvements financed by the bonds. Revenues derived from the bonds can be used for capital improvements such as water, drainage, and sewer systems, arterial streets, sanitation, public recreation facilities, fire protection facilities, etc.

Because a substantial amount of the high initial or "front-end"

development costs can be financed in this way via the district, the developer needs less total equity capital and is able to pyramid his investment and devote more funds to the promotion and sale of lots and homes. In addition, interest rates on municipal bonds are considerably lower than the interest rate on speculative capital, if such capital is even made available to the developer. As the California experience shows, "use of districts for land development with the capacity to incur public debt, represents a direct state subsidy to land developers."<sup>7</sup>

At the same time the developer benefits from the planned communities act the public assumes the potential risks. It is possible, if not likely, for example, that the failure of a general improvement district would injure credit and bond-issuing capabilities of Arizona cities and towns. Of greater long-run significance is a complete absence of control over the location of new community development. If the developer's petition for a district is in order, "the county board of supervisors must approve the formation of the new community district. The county does not have the power to determine if the new community is congruous with the county general plan nor can they examine the financial effects that the new community district will have upon the county."<sup>8</sup> The developer need only obtain the appropriate zoning from the county, a relatively easy operation. Numerous other limitations and dangers surround the use of the planned communities act.<sup>9</sup>

The intent of the Arizona Planned Communities Act is to encourage and regulate new urban developments, but the lack of precedent and the brief time it has been in force provide no basis for judging how effective

the State Community Development Council, staffed by the State Department of Economic Planning and Development, will be in controlling such developments. At the present time, no one is utilizing the act. Despite the fact that the McCulloch interests were behind the creation of the Planned Communities Act, Fountain Hills is not utilizing it at the present time. Since one of the provisions of the act is that at the end of eight years a development is subject to annexation by an incorporated town that is either contiguous to, or within six miles of the new community. Conflict between Fountain Hills and Scottsdale thus led McCulloch to turn to road improvement districts and a sanitation district for financing rather than to the Planned Communities Act.

#### Historical Precedents

The planned communities of Greater Phoenix are neither a new concept in planning nor an innovation of the last decade, as some developers would have the public believe. Instead, the "planned new community" has its roots in antiquity and has arisen for two major purposes: to decant population out of overpopulated areas and to serve as a focus for land speculation, especially where low initial development costs and high effective demand allow high profits.

The development of new colonies by the Greeks throughout the Mediterranean world before the birth of Christ and the more recent founding of planned new towns in both North and South America during their respective colonial and early republican periods all constitute instances of planned population redistribution and highly planned town layouts. While most

of the older cities and towns in Europe were conceived and grew in response to trade, defense and religious functions, a large number in the New World were conceived as speculative plats in thinly-settled areas that had the potential to sustain agricultural, mining and trading towns. This was particularly true in the late nineteenth century in both North and South America when the American West, the pampas of Argentina and the inland plateaus of Brazil all experienced much the same type of speculative urban growth for much the same reasons.

The new planned communities of Greater Phoenix are part of that heritage. Locally, however, they can trace their parentage directly to the town of Chandler, Arizona, purposefully platted and developed after 1912 by Dr. Alexander J. Chandler, a local veterinarian-farmer. Though the new planned communities of Maricopa County might not care to acknowledge this lineage, the now relatively unimportant and peripheral agricultural town is, in fact, the first local demonstration of how to use the promise of amenities and designed environment to promote development. The original plan for Chandler was unfortunately never brought to full fruition, but the luxurious San Marcos Hotel, and its golf course were quickly completed in order to encourage lot sales in Chandler, just as lakes and golf courses are used today in the newer developments. If Chandler lacks the features of the planned community it is in part because it pre-dated cluster housing, industrial parks, and other aesthetic improvements. In part it is because the development plan was not carried out, a lesson in itself. The town of Mesa was also "planned," but it was designed as a Mormon agricultural

settlement rather than as a speculative urban development per se.

Most of the new planned communities that adhere to the edge of metropolitan Phoenix are indeed nothing more than refinements of the techniques that lay behind the creation in 1956 of Maryvale as a planned residential development by the Phoenix builder, John F. Long. Maryvale, now incorporated into the city of Phoenix, from its inception performed as many, if not more, functions as many of the newer planned communities. The absence of cosmetic effects such as the lakes and club houses increasingly common to the newer developments should not be allowed to obscure the common dynamic forces in operation; specifically, a series of actions by a speculative developer operating within a given transportation and distance framework, and aiming at a specific market.

While it is possible to trace the spirit of new towns and planned communities in the Greater Phoenix area to modest Chandler and Maryvale, the form of the new developments can be more precisely traced to California, point of origin of an increasing share of the capital being invested in land development.

That form can be best recognized in the over-riding themes of environment, openness, and recreation. As such, the form has especially evolved in the benign climate of southern California where temperature combines with a large middle income market in search of outdoor living. But the purposeful creation of the outdoors environment that is the backbone of the new planned residential developments in the United States can also be traced back to Forest Hills Gardens, one of the nations first "garden suburbs." The 160-acre

development in the New York borough of Queens was built ca. 1909 and  
12  
was a marketing success. The decade of the 1920's saw a number of  
garden suburbs and "new towns" develop, including the 1923 creation of  
Palos Verdes Estates, located some 20 miles from downtown Los Angeles  
and "perhaps the most carefully planned and highly restricted garden suburb  
13  
in the 1920's." A common flaw of the garden suburb, however, was that  
it was too expensive for the working class, a complaint valid today with  
respect to some of the planned communities of Greater Phoenix.

The economic crisis of the 1930's cut short the development of a number  
of garden suburbs, including Radburn, New Jersey, initially developed in 1928.  
The 1930's did see, however, the creation of three federal "rural-industrial  
communities" - Greenbelt, Maryland, Greenhills, Ohio, and Greendale,  
Wisconsin - before the sponsoring agency was abolished in 1938. World War  
II precluded the development of urban projects not oriented to the war effort.

After World War II, however, came the rapid growth of innumerable  
residential tracts and a few "planned communities" such as Park Forest,  
Illinois. Begun in 1947 on a 2,400 acre site thirty miles south of Chicago  
loop and designed for 30,000 residents, Park Forest featured clustered and  
individual houses on curvi-linear streets adapted to the rolling land. Schools,  
parks, churches, shopping centers, and public buildings were part of the  
long-range plan inasmuch as Park Forest "was conceived as a full-fledged  
14  
suburb."

These, then, are the historical roots of the form and functions of the

planned communities being developed in Greater Phoenix today. With this background and the classification of communities by function in mind, it is now possible to examine why the developments are found where they are.

## II.

### THE DYNAMICS OF RESIDENTIAL DEVELOPMENT

Studies of major metropolitan areas indicate that the location, physical extent, and occupance of their residential areas can be viewed as the result of the interaction over time of many individual forces which may be classified as either spatial, occupational, or temporal in nature. 15

The spatial factors determine the direction of growth and shape of the urbanized area and the location of residential areas within the urban complex. These factors include the intra- and inter-urban transportation network, the availability of land, the pattern of land ownership, and land speculation and development schemes. To a much lesser extent than commonly assumed does the impact of terrain, the availability of public services and municipal controls such as zoning sway the direction of metropolitan growth. They are more permissive than determinative.

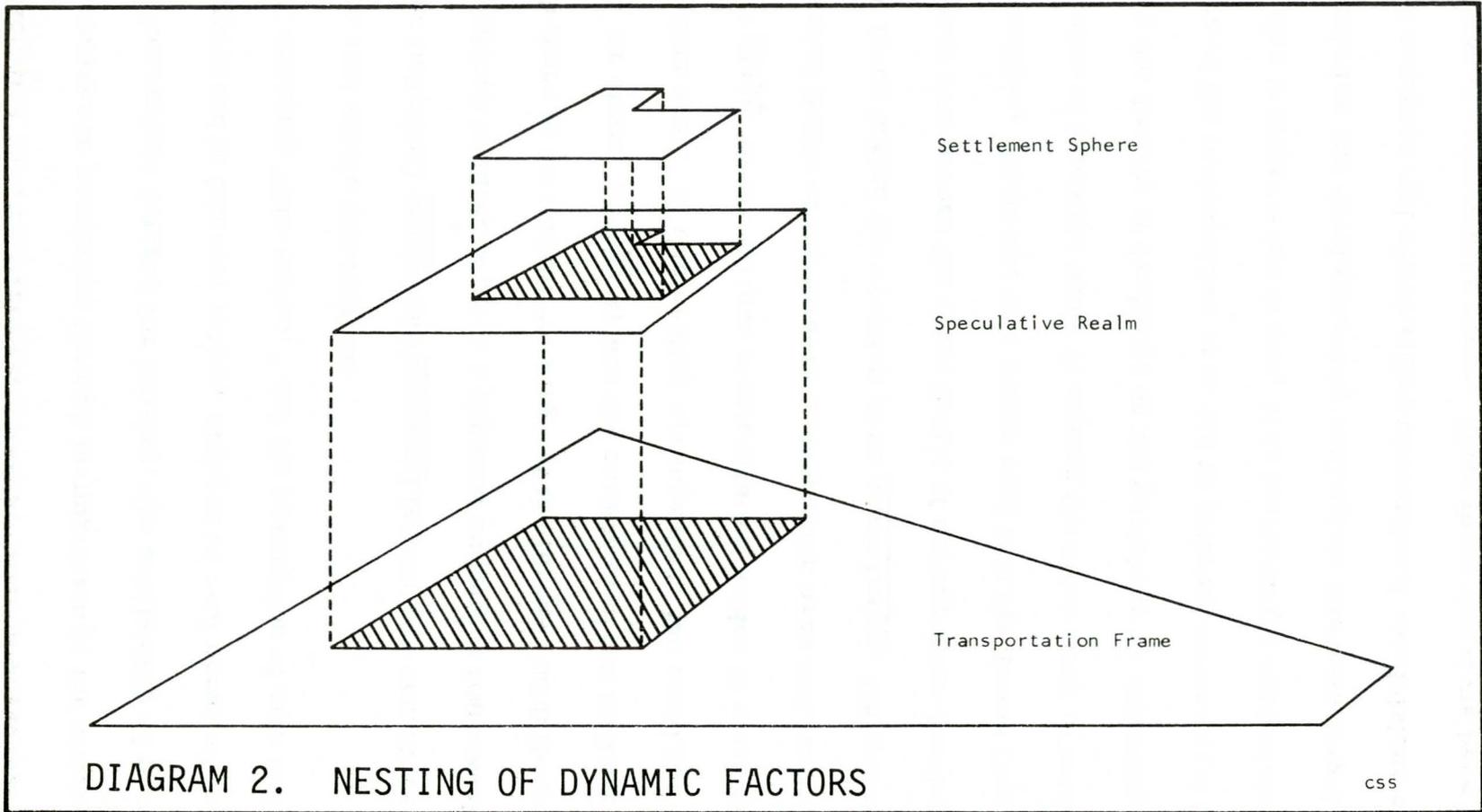
The occupational factors influence the settlement of residential districts by different socio-economic and ethnic groups. These include the level of personal income, spatial differentials in land costs and rents, the location of employment and its expression in the journey-to-work, social and ethnic values, public housing policy, and perception of the environment. 16

The temporal factors, operating within a time rather than a spatial framework, simultaneously affect the spatial and occupational factors. Included in the temporal category of dynamic elements are the application of new developments in transportation, such as rapid transit or the expansion

of existing facilities such as a freeway network. Also of great significance are rapid increases in population through in-migration to the metropolitan area and the consequent demand for housing, the availability of money and credit (as expressed in interest rates), changes in real personal income, price levels, changing "life-styles," and the perception of gain that can be derived from real estate transactions.

When the individual spatial and temporal factors are considered together and their combined influences given a physical outline, a framework is created within which there is an evident "nesting" of the forces that influence the morphology, or shape, of the city and the pattern of urban land use within the metropolitan area. In this nesting arrangement, the areal and technological evolution, or stage, of the various transportation modes is most responsible for the outer spatial limits of the modern metropolitan area and can be viewed as the primary force behind the creation of an urban frame, (Diagram 2) a spatial framework that determines the outer limits of metropolitan development. Thus, for example, the paving of a major road into the desert (Scottsdale Road) or the extension of freeways tends to expand the outer limit of settlement and increase the density of dwellings on the periphery by enhancing access to both the core of the metropolitan area and to outlying commercial foci.

Within this transportation frame, it is increasingly evident that the operation of land speculation and development by real estate interests largely determines both in what sequence and where either conventional subdivisions or the more elaborate planned communities occur. Once these decisions have been made by the speculator, the speculative realm has been created. Residential



occupance, except for a very few individuals, is limited to parts of the speculative realm now nested within the urban frame. Influences on location such as terrain, public controls over land use, and even the strong influence of the journey-to-work prove increasingly malleable under the pressure of land speculation and the platting of subdivisions and planned communities.

Within the settlement realm delineated by speculative decisions and actions is the settlement sphere, the spatial expression of the operation of the occupational factors listed above that determine the location of an individual within the speculative realm. The price of land and house relative to income is clearly a major factor in determining the location of an individual within the speculative realm, with "rising residential expectations" and intra-metropolitan family moves a common consequence of increased income. The strong role of how one perceives a location is increasingly recognized as a major force in determining location, and recognition of such perception and a search for an improved environment lies behind the increasing stress given by developers to creating a country club environment. Some successful developers may be knaves, but few are fools; what they market is primarily what is asked for or what can at least be passed off to the consumer as the desired product.

A major barrier to residential movement within any metropolitan area in the United States is the strong negative influence of racial or ethnic discrimination. In Phoenix, open segregation against blacks was practiced until the late 1940's and, as in other cities, still exists through the operation

17

of the real estate market.

In a very real sense, the speculative realm and the settlement sphere can be viewed as "nets" which may be cast within the transportation frame in a great variety of ways, such as fishing nets can be cast into the sea. The apparently random pattern of planned communities in Greater Phoenix (Figure 1) represents, in fact, the purposeful casting of "nets" in a way that responds in part to the dynamics of transportation, speculation and the availability of large tracts of land suitable for urban development. Just as a fisherman will prefer to cast his nets only where there are fish, so do developers keep their nets within the bounds of the transportation framework.

Where "nets" are cast within the transportation frame is also largely influenced by the nature of the housing market. The location of a retirement or desert-oriented community, for example, can be oriented to low land costs, the avoidance of "urban ills," and search for a natural environment (centrifugal forces) rather than to the exigencies of the daily journey-to-work and other centripetal forces. Because most planned communities are bedroom suburbs, however, the journey-to-work is a major factor and most locations tend to be relatively close to the heart of the metropolitan area (Diagram 3).

When the role of transportation, the availability of large tracts for development, the nature of the housing market and other variables are considered together, the apparently random pattern of planned communities in Greater Phoenix can be seen to be in fact non-random, highly structured, and logical. Cautious extrapolation of the inputs can also suggest the general location of future planned communities. Such forecasting provides a pragmatic justification for now examining in some detail the major influences on planned

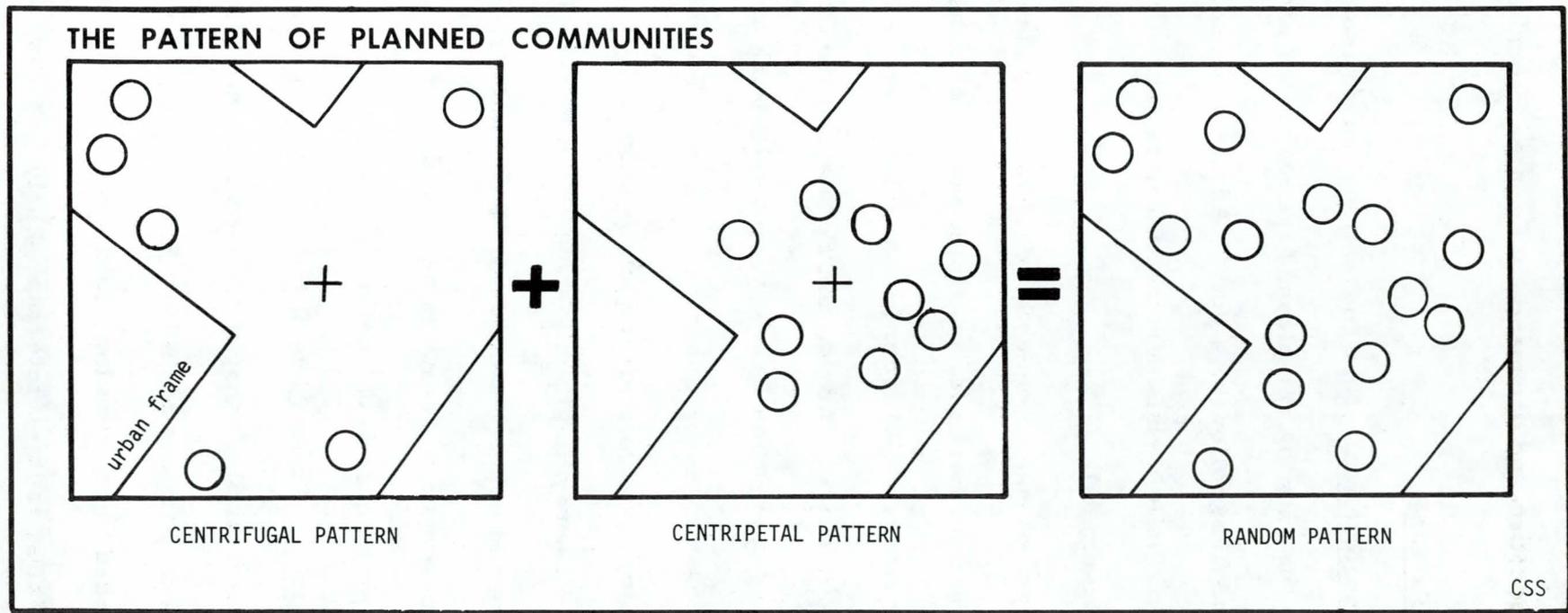


DIAGRAM 3.

community location and occupance in Greater Phoenix.

#### A. Spatial Factors

1. Transportation. New conventional subdivisions in Greater Phoenix crowd along the existing and planned freeways in a pattern one developer compared to "fleas following a dog." As the metropolitan area has no rapid transit and virtually no bus service, there is almost total dependence upon the private automobile.

The larger planned residential developments also closely follow freeway routes. Litchfield Park, for example, hopes for considerably more rapid growth after Interstate 10 from Los Angeles is opened in 1974 (Figure 1). Dobson Ranch, Leisure World, and Fountain of the Sun all anticipate completion of the Superstition Freeway. Foothill Park and Sun Lakes are adjacent to Interstate 10 which runs south from Phoenix to Tucson. Fountain Hills is relying upon the widening of Shea Boulevard, the opening of the Indian Bend Freeway and the widening of the Beeline Highway. Only retirement centers and exurban settlements like Sun City, Rio Verde and Carefree have low dependence on freeways and rapid daily access to the metropolitan center, but even these seek easier access to overcome the friction of distance.

2. Terrain. While a few of the planned residential developments are located in the foothills, most of the development is taking place on the relatively level portions of the Salt River Valley (Figure 2).

Surrounded by various low mountain ranges that give it definition, the Salt River Valley is itself interrupted only by isolated low hills and the

# PLANNED COMMUNITIES IN GREATER PHOENIX

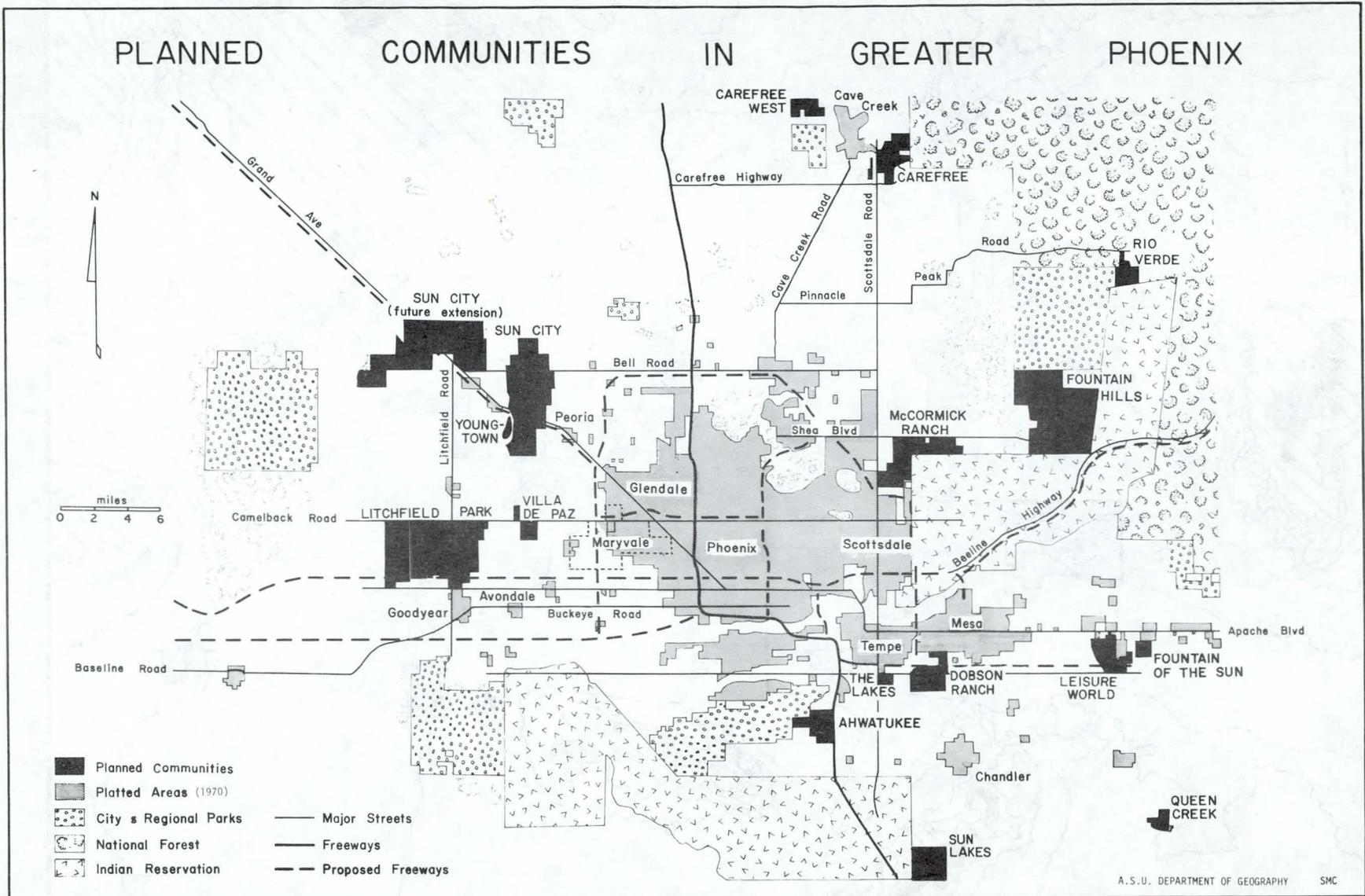


FIG. 1.

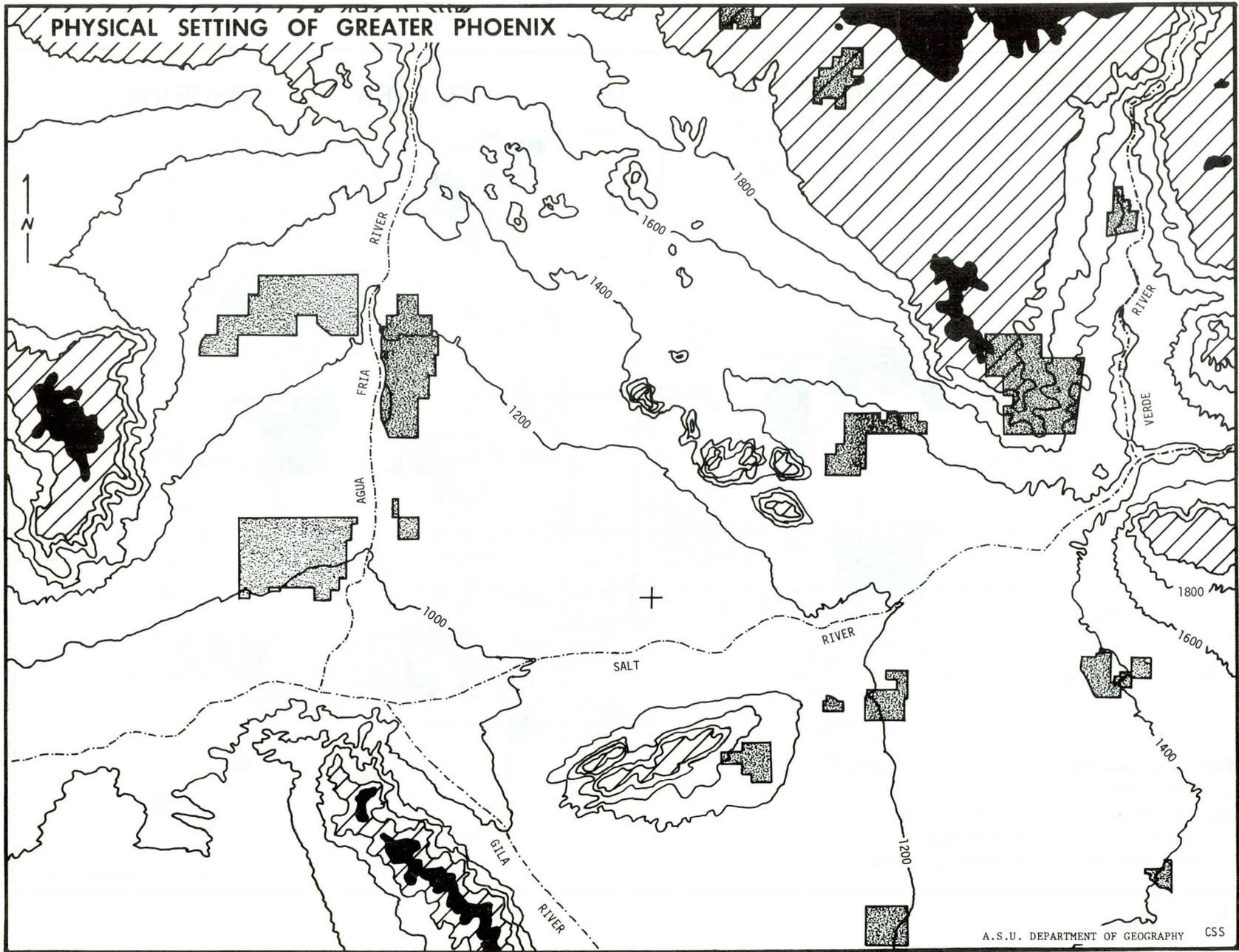


FIG. 2.

abbreviated chain of the Phoenix Mountains, the best-known element of which is Camelback Mountain, a focus of high income homes and resorts that surround its base and attempt, with varying degrees of success, to scale its lower slopes in search of a panoramic view of the valley.

Since the late nineteenth century, but especially after the completion of Roosevelt Dam and other dams after 1908, much of the alluvial portion of the valley came "under the ditch" and irrigated agriculture became a major land use and source of income. The rapid growth of the metropolitan area since World War II has been largely at the expense of these irrigated fields and orchards, the latter being highly prized as residential sites because of the attractive trees that provide both shade and fruit.

Increasingly, some are accepting or seeking a "desert environment" and accepting the expansion of conventional suburbs beyond the canals. Thus, large residential tracts leapfrog to the north of Phoenix, the major direction of urban growth, and one-acre "ranches" in Paradise Valley and elsewhere fill the needs of the more affluent for horse privileges. Growth to the south is largely restricted to the farmlands south of Tempe and Mesa. South Phoenix, as a center of the black and chicano groups, is not considered by most to be a highly desirable location despite its considerable potential and admirable location. Growth to the west is increasing and can be expected to blossom as the Los Angeles-Phoenix section of Interstate 10 is completed through that area. Development to the east is still restricted by the Salt River Indian Reservation although there is significant growth along Apache Boulevard to the east of Mesa. Other Indian reservations, the national forests,

and regional parks are far enough from the metropolitan area to be affected only by exurban residential developments that do not rely upon daily commu- tion to the metropolitan core. Already some privately-owned lands within the national forest boundaries are being developed, and land swaps between individuals and the federal government that create large private holdings near Phoenix are increasing.

Increasingly, as land adjacent to the heart of Greater Phoenix has become more valuable, the role of terrain as a locational factor has become relatively less important. The proposed Rio Salado project, for example, which calls for the residential, commercial, and recreational development of the Salt River floodplain demonstrates well the substitution of capital improvements for terrain controls. Expensive homes on mountain tops in north Phoenix also evidence the lesser role of terrain in influencing residential development; so does the continued construction of tract houses within desert washes where unwary buyers are periodically flooded as a result of the decisions of unscrupulous developers. Voters are asked to support bond issues for flood control but are given no assurance that restrictions will be placed upon developers who profit from building in flood-prone areas. In view of the fact that people live atop mountains and in desert washes terrain is clearly no longer a major factor in understanding the location of residential developments.

3. Land Ownership Pattern. Large farms and ranches on the outskirts of Greater Phoenix offer the greatest potential for the easy and rapid acquisition of large, if increasingly expensive, parcels. Litchfield Park enjoys a

special advantage in this respect, for the town is being developed on Goodyear-owned land purchased in 1916 as raw desert acreage. Both McCormick Ranch and Dobson Ranch, as their names suggest, as well as many of the other planned residential developments also acquired their land through the purchase of farms and ranches.

A number of large properties still await development. North of Scottsdale are a number of ranches while to the south of Tempe and Mesa farm and dairy lands stand ready for development. Extensive farmlands are also found to the west of Phoenix.

Recognition by the Maricopa County Planning and Zoning Commission of its limited real powers over the location of planned communities is forcing it to examine the existing pattern of large landholdings in the county and adapt the master development plan to recognize that a number of these will be developed in a manner sometimes contrary to existing long-range county plans. In a very obvious way, the forces of speculation and the pattern of large rural landholdings determine the siting of new developments. Because it is not possible for public agencies to control the location of new residential developments they must be content with establishing standards of physical development and public facilities that can be enforced through zoning and subdivision regulations. The role is an extremely passive one as it is generally practiced.

4. Other spatial factors. The transportation matrix, the pattern of land ownership, and the influence of actions by speculators play the major roles in location of a development. Other factors such as governmental controls and

differentials in property taxation from one part of Greater Phoenix to another are obviously minor factors influencing the location of housing developments. The decision of the speculative buyer-seller within a transportation framework is of overwhelming importance in determining where the public will ultimately be given the choice of residing.

#### B. Occupance Factors

An entirely different set of forces than those influencing the location of planned residential developments operate to determine their occupance. As noted above, the location of an individual family within the "speculative sphere" is largely a function of income, ethnic considerations, and a search for an "environment."

1. Cost and Income. In almost all cases, the planned communities of Greater Phoenix are designed to appeal to the affluent, the expanding upper-middle income group, and the retired. While the earliest developments were primarily oriented to housing the comfortably retired and while such communities are still being developed, there is an increasing orientation to the large, expanding, employed upper-middle income group. This emphasis is indicated by the number of "planned suburbs" being developed (Table 2).

The affluent have, in theory, the broadest choice of residential location because of the absence of income restrictions. In reality, possible residential location is highly restricted by the demand for a certain type of neighbor, environment, security, and prestige address. The wealthy, in fact, are probably as effectively restricted as the poor in their choice of residential

location.

A small number of the wealthy have been drawn to the exurban world of Carefree, where expensive homes lie among the rocks and cactus, but most still reside in favored areas of Phoenix, Scottsdale, or the newer desert town of Paradise Valley, immediately adjacent to both Phoenix and Scottsdale. It can be anticipated that a number of the wealthy will also be drawn by some of the expensive homes within the planned environments of some of the newer "planned suburbs" such as McCormick Ranch, or to the "quasi-new town" of Fountain Hills. Carefree West, as already noted, is being purposefully developed to duplicate the features that made Carefree a financial success for its developers.

But while McCormick Ranch, Fountain Hills and a few other of the planned residential developments will be additional foci for the wealthy, the financial success of most developments will hinge largely upon sales to the upper middle income group that can afford to make payments on houses up to \$50,000 in value. To reach a broader market, many of the developments offer some apartment-type dwellings in the mid-\$20,000 range. Prices in the \$30-40,000 are more common, except in retirement communities, where they are somewhat lower.

2. The Search for an Environment. While location theory is still firmly based on the principle that individuals attempt to seek residential locations that will minimize the frictions and costs of movement, particularly of the trip to and from work, it is increasingly obvious that increasing numbers are seeking to maximize an environment rather than minimize a journey-to-work.

They are also increasingly willing to pay relatively more for such a location than in the past. If such were not the case, the number, location and nature of the planned communities in Greater Phoenix would be greatly different than it is. The lengthening journey-to-work of many already living in "desirable" new developments on the edge of the city offers some evidence of the increasing preference for environment over the friction of distance. Particularly favored are the developments on the eastern side of Phoenix, relatively close to the lakes of the Salt River Project along the Salt River. Commuters from these eastern communities also benefit from having the sun to their back in their journey to and from work.

A study of ten "planned communities" in the United States showed that their residents valued most highly the nearness to recreation and the outdoors,<sup>19</sup> and that the physical maintenance of the neighborhood is extremely important. The sense of "community" was another strong attraction. Not surprisingly, both the income and educational levels of residents in the developments studied were far above average, with from \$17,000 to \$20,000 the average income. In general, the highly planned developments were found to be "great for growing families, a little expensive for the retired and unpopular with teenagers."<sup>20</sup>

The promotional literature describing the planned communities in Greater Phoenix clearly stresses environment over location even though the location of many of the developments on the near periphery of the major built-up areas makes them relatively close to the amenities of metropolitan Phoenix. A number of the developments some distance from the core are, as already

noted, retirement-oriented and daily access is unimportant. Fountain Hills, on the other hand, finds itself in the ambiguous position of praising its "insulation" from the problems of the metropolitan area while advertising that it is only 45 minutes from downtown Phoenix (which it is not!).

What is typically offered to the potential buyer is the guaranteed maintenance of an environment that focuses on sailing lakes, golf, and a "country club" atmosphere. Security, in the form of high walls and/or private security police is increasingly stressed. Only for the very few developments in mountain foothills is the natural environment a principal attraction; in most instances, an artificial, outdoor, recreational environment has been created by the construction of lakes and the installation of golf courses (Table 2).

Lakes are a dominant feature of at least 11 of the 16 planned residential developments of Greater Phoenix and water plays some minor role (casting pond, golf course hazards) in the other five developments. The appropriateness of large artificial bodies of water and high fountains that use increasingly scarce water in a hot desert environment has been questioned, particularly by farmers. The impact of the Arizona ground water code which places no restrictions upon domestic and urban uses but restricts agricultural pumping in critical areas if the water table continues to drop is of obvious concern to agriculturalists. On the other hand, it could be shown that urban land uses typically generate a greater return to the economy per gallon of water consumed than do a number of redundant agricultural activities such as cotton production. The need to maintain land in crops that are chronically in

surplus is debatable.

The present position of the Arizona Water Commission is that neither artificial lakes nor esthetic water fountains can be classed as wasteful use of water, even though a typical open body of water will lose about eight columnar feet of water a year through evaporation. The commission argued that "where lakes are created on former agricultural land, the resulting loss by evaporation is on the same order as the former use by farming, but results in a higher benefit."<sup>21</sup> However, the commission thinks "some thought should be given to requiring that all subdivision lakes be opened to public use" and notes that the state water plan, to be completed about 1976, "may include some constraints on subdivision lakes and other such uses."<sup>22</sup>

To date, conservationists have fought a losing battle with land developers for the preservation of the natural environment. The Sierra Club opposed Fountain Hills in terms of the "irreparable degradation to prime natural desert habitat"<sup>23</sup> in a site that the developer admits is one of "unusual natural beauty which contains more Saguaro cactus and desert growth than perhaps any other area in central Arizona."<sup>24</sup> The Rio Verde development was opposed for its effect on the natural landscape and the lowering of the water table.<sup>25</sup> But the prevailing philosophy of land developers seems an echo of that expounded by Arizona's present governor, who said in a recent speech about environment and pollution that "There are those today who preach the dark side of affluence, forgetting that when you have much you can afford to be wasteful, and only when you have little, is it necessary to be frugal."<sup>26</sup>

### III.

#### CONCLUSIONS

##### A. The Public Cost of Private Residential Developments.

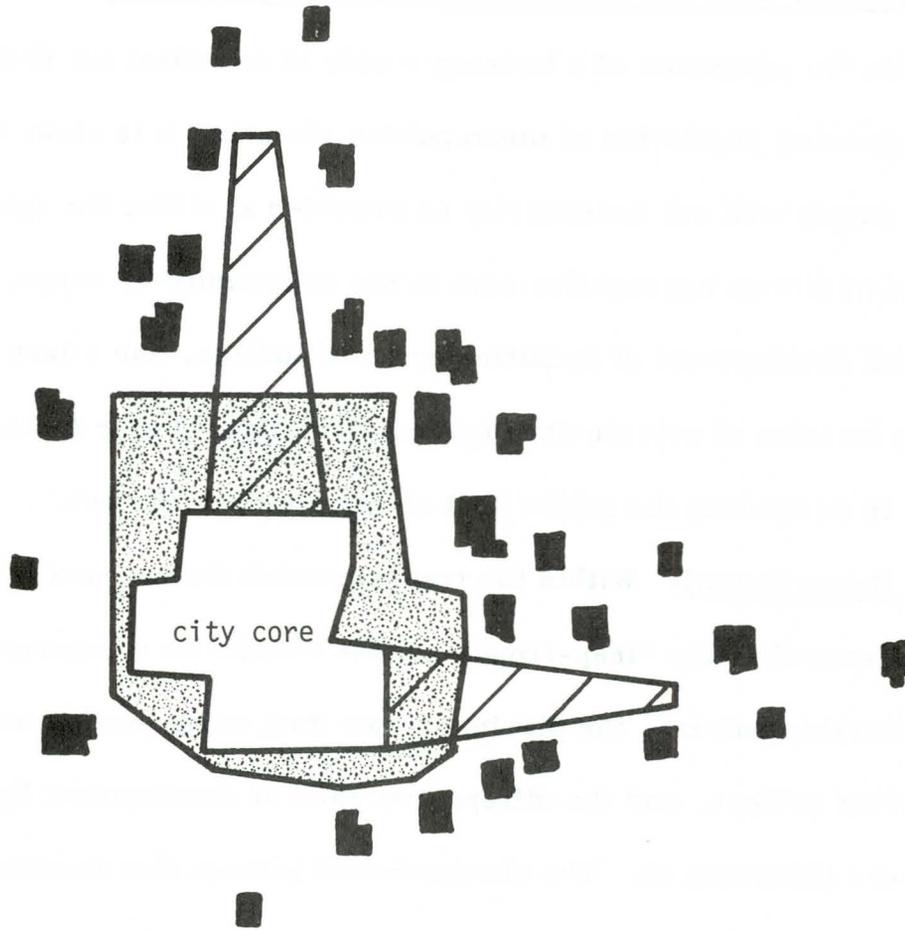
While the expansion of a housing supply is essential for sheltering the rapidly growing population of metropolitan Phoenix, it is clear that the housing supply will not necessarily be provided at either the optimal location or at the minimum aggregative cost to the community-at-large. Urban sprawl, the forced development of facilities by communities, and a lack of public control over the location of private developments are three major factors to take into account in computing the public cost of private development.

1. Urban Sprawl. Within the transportation frame, one familiar pattern of urban sprawl is the "leap-frogging" that results as a consequence of the land ownership pattern, the placing of raw land on the market at different times by different sellers, and the differential pace of development by real estate developers (Diagram 4). The checkerboard pattern that results is the form of sprawl "most often attacked by observers of the urban scene and probably is the form of development in which the greatest capital expenditures are required to provide total urban services at the time of development." <sup>27</sup>

Two other forms of urban sprawl are ribbon development sprawl along major transportation corridors and low density continuous sprawl out from the suburban fringe. All of these are recognizable in Greater Phoenix.

To combat public disenchantment with the extent and cost of urban sprawl, the developers of planned residential developments in Greater Phoenix distort

# FORMS OF URBAN SPRAWL



CONTINUOUS SPRAWL



RIBBON DEVELOPMENT SPRAWL



LEAP-FROG OR CHECKERBOARD SPRAWL

CSS

DIAGRAM 4.

the meaning of sprawl by equating it with "unplanned" development. Thus, according to the developer, if his development has a "master development plan" it does not contribute to sprawl. But "urban sprawl" is a phrase with spatial implications, expressing location, not the degree of site planning within a development. To define urban sprawl as developers do is to strip it of its real meaning, and is typically an attempt to mislead the public about the true nature of sprawl, its monetary and social costs, and the developer's contribution to it.

In reality, of course, many of the planned communities not only contribute to urban sprawl because of their peripheral locations but they also represent foci for other speculative developments, particularly the development of "ribbon sprawl" along major routes and encouragement of more "low density continuous" urban sprawl. Thus, for example, Fountain Hills and Litchfield Park, in addition to the urban sprawl they themselves represent, will both serve as foci of growth corridors. Intervening developments such as the McCormick Ranch and Villa de Paz further strengthen the ribbon-like sprawl. Projects like the Dobson Ranch, Leisure World and Fountain of the Sun, in addition to being forms of urban sprawl, all enforce growth in an already well-defined direction. Small developments such as Queen Creek Park, Foothill Park and Sun Lakes will probably for some time lack the appeal to serve as foci for growth, and will simply represent isolated islands of "leap-frog" sprawl. It would be folly to uncritically accept the developer's argument that his "community" does not contribute to urban sprawl.

On the other hand, Phoenicians have yet to show a great antipathy toward

urban sprawl. To the contrary, there seems to be more concern about so-called "high" densities than sprawl, and the continued acceptance of residential tracts and planned communities on the periphery of the city signals general acceptance of sprawl if it permits large lots and low cost housing.

2. Forced Pace of Development. There is also the question of the extent to which taxpayers may be subsidizing speculative developments. For example, because planned communities rarely are planned to provide significant levels of local employment, their creation increases traffic flows to existing areas of employment and burdens the local government to provide new roads, traffic controls, and so forth.

The development and operation of new schools and municipal services is often forced upon the local governmental unit by the planned community. While developers may "dedicate" land for schools, for example, the city is typically forced to purchase it. And there are indications that tax revenues derived from new residential developments do not pay for the services they require. A recent study in Palo Alto, California "demonstrated that a proposed subdivision would cost the city more in services than the taxes which could be generated over a 30-year period. The report's conclusion was that it was cheaper for Palo Alto to buy the land and maintain it as a green belt than to permit its development." Other California communities are also rejecting residential growth because the costs are not covered by the increased tax base.

3. Loss of Public Control over Private Development. Even when a development plan has received the approval of a planning commission and

seems to clearly indicate how development will take place, the variance between promise and performance can lead to a number of unauthorized changes. At Fountain Hills, for example, the developer was said to have engaged in "the biggest rape of the earth I've ever seen. You have not lived up to what you told us you would do. If a smaller developer had done this, he'd have been nailed to the wall."

Because most development plans are designed and approved in phases, it is possible for them to legitimately change their plan after the development is underway. Thus, while McCormick Ranch represents some of its last stages as the development of the "East and Far East" communities, they will be free to request a change in plan from the corresponding planning agency should they so desire. The recent change of Villa de Paz from an "adult community" to a development that is to be predominantly family-oriented evidences the strong impact of market forces.

While such changes are legal and orthodox, the fact remains that once a development is initially approved, the developer can more or less freely adapt it as he wishes. The end product may not be at all what the planning commission at first approved, but later could not halt. In some instances, there may even be a conflict between the private interests of a few planning board members (e.g., realtor members) and their public responsibility to control developments.

#### B. Toward Effective Land Development Policies.

Although American tradition calls for the almost exclusive provision of housing by private enterprise there is an demonstrable need for public control

over the location of private and inherently profit-motivated residential developments in order to assure protection of public interests at the same time private profits are encouraged.

Philosophically, many would argue against controls at any governmental level that could inhibit "individual freedoms." Paradoxically, however, individual freedoms are not well served when a handful of developers and land speculators can largely control the physical expansion of entire urban areas and influence the quality of the total urban environment. Individual self-interest should insist upon public actions that would control the pace and impact of urban sprawl and not allow private developers to force increased expenditures at the public's expense for acquisitions such as school and park sites, streets, and so forth. Few indeed would argue that "individual freedoms" are a license to rape and rob. If police, law courts and prisons have been provided to control these anti-social acts, is it inappropriate to request the protection of public interests as they pertain to the urban environment in which most people live? The police power that zoning provides is weak. There is a great need for more effective tools for planning implementation that can, in fact, control the direction of urban growth.

On the other hand the public interest would not be well served by discouraging either the scope or timing of private residential developments which provide housing for the middle and upper income sectors of the housing market. The public should simply insist that new developments be in accordance with adopted public plans and policies. Growth must also serve the general public while serving the profit interest of the private developer.

Public and private interests are clearly not incompatible. Some of the techniques that developers accept and use today, such as the provision of open space in subdivisions and cluster housing, not only make residential tracts more pleasant places in which to live (the public interest) but also makes them more valuable and marketable (the developer's interest). If developers today embrace the "radical" ideas of an earlier period that some of these features incorporate, might they not also ultimately accept, indeed advocate, effective planning of the entire metropolitan area if it can be shown to enhance the value of their product and increase the profit ability of their enterprises? Those who would advance effective planning must thus demonstrate its value to both the public and to private interests.

#### Who and How?

Effective restrictions over the location of new residential developments requires the participation and cooperation of all levels of government. Some of the actions each level of government might take are outlined below, but for several reasons no attempt is made here to either examine the positive and negative aspects of the various proposals, or outline how they might be implemented. First of all, such analysis would itself be the appropriate subject of numerous studies. Secondly, any attempt to apply a recommendation outlined below will bring forth enough advocates and detractors to build a strong case for or against an individual proposal. Here we are content to simply suggest some actions that have worked elsewhere, leaving to those with appropriate expertise the actual evaluation and application of the proposals

in an Arizona context. It will become apparent that some of the proposals outlined below are too "radical" or new to prove viable in Arizona at the present time, while others could be immediately implemented and accepted.

I. Federal Government. In some countries, the federal government has actively participated in the establishment of planned communities, either directly as in the case of the new capitals of Brasilia and Canberra, or through the creation of public corporations, as in the new towns of Great Britain, France and Sweden. For a number of reasons, some philosophical and other technical, it is not practical to have such active federal control over the development of planned communities in Greater Phoenix. Some federal assistance is presently available, however, for "new town" development under provisions of the 1970 Urban Growth and New Communities Development Act. Unfortunately, built-in requirements and restrictions make the act unpalatable to most developers in the United States. In Arizona, it would perhaps suffice if the federal government adopted stricter control over the alienation and use of federal lands, particularly as it pertains to the swapping of parcels with private interests.

II. State Government. One could also question state policy with respect to land sales, leases and swaps and insist upon analysis of the long-range impact of such actions upon residential development both in mountain forests and on lands adjacent to urban centers. To help control residential development, the following actions would also be appropriate:

a. Create enabling legislation for planning by cities and towns. While Maricopa County does have the authority for both planning and zoning under

the Arizona Revised Statutes, cities and towns have only zoning authorization. At the present time, therefore, municipal master plans lack legal status and the status of local planning is without definition. At the same time it legitimizes planning on the local level, the state should also clearly outline the elements that may be included in plans, the procedure to be followed in adoption and amendment of plans, the legal stature of adopted plans and the purposes of planning.

b. Establish a realistic relationship between land values and the assessment practices prescribed by the state. Until a rational relationship between assessed and potential as well as actual land values is established, speculators will continue to be benefited by holding land off the market, and leap-frog sprawl will not be retarded. Moreover, it will be difficult to obtain logical, orderly growth patterns and significant amounts of public revenue will continue to be lost through improper assessment techniques.

c. Create legislation that would allow the state, counties, and municipalities to buy and hold land for urban development. The direction of growth could be better controlled and the governmental unit could financially benefit from speculative appreciation in land values. This has particularly proven successful in Germany and is an element of the American Institute of Architect's newly  
30  
adopted national policy on urban growth.

d. Impose a "capital appreciation" tax on land sales. The enhanced value of private property is in part derived from public expenditures for streets and other municipal improvements. Particularly when land is not assessed at its true value, the public has a right to share in the increased value of that land.

If a publicly-financed freeway, for example, enhances land values, a share of that increment should be returned to the public rather than represent a windfall profit to the landowner. The Betterment Levy now in force in Great Britain could perhaps serve as a guideline.

e. Create a strong mechanism for the investigation and licensing of developers and the approval of individual projects. Performance bonds might help insure that a project is developed in accordance with the approved submitted plan.

f. Establish guidelines for the advertising of residential developments to insure "truth-in-packaging" of planned communities.

g. Re-examine the Arizona Planned Communities Act of 1970 and correct deficiencies in the legislation after consultation with lawyers and planning experts.

h. Establish a policy with respect to the creation of lakes in subdivisions and planned communities that will be consistent not only with state water policy but also with the real recreational needs of residential areas as opposed to the use of lakes as sales devices.

i. Actively foster the creation of effective, workable regional planning bodies in metropolitan areas encumbered with numerous legal jurisdictions.

III. County Government. The county is the political unit most directly connected with the great majority of planned communities as only four are presently within incorporated areas. To strengthen the county's position in its day-to-day encounters with developers, the county needs not only the adjustments outlined above, but also to:

a. selectively expand the professional staff of the County Planning and Zoning Commission when warranted. At the present time, many planning staffs and Commissions lack the time and resources to carefully assess the impact of new residential developments upon their counties. If greater powers were given the county planning and zoning agencies by the state, there would be a need for a more active and less passive role with respect to the evolution of planned communities.

b. initiate an educational program to inform both the public and various levels of government administration the need for and the functions of planning, as well as the statutory authority and limitations upon county and local planning and zoning agencies. It is not commonly realized that although planners can prepare and advise upon legislation they cannot make laws and that they are largely restricted to analyzing the needs of communities and making recommendations that may range from the preparation of comprehensive plans to preparing reports of current subdivisions zoning changes.

IV. City Government. Because most planned communities are established beyond municipal corporate limits there is often little an individual city can do to control them unless and until they are annexed to the city. There are, nonetheless, some actions that can be taken:

a. establish a firm and comprehensive policy in terms of the provision of public facilities and services to the edge of the city or to extra-municipal planned communities that may wish to "hook-up" to municipal services. The Capital Improvements Program should work to the city's benefit, not to the developers.

b. establish de facto working relationships with other municipalities in order to coordinate general development plans, standardize terminology, and work toward a regional development plan. There should also be coordinated action to press for enabling legislation for planning.

So long as the direction of urban growth in metropolitan Phoenix is almost totally determined by the profit motives of the speculative developer there is little reason to anticipate that future growth will be any more orderly than past growth. Instead, we can anticipate continued urban sprawl by both conventional subdivisions and planned communities. Instead of the relatively high density settlement nuclei and intervening open spaces that so many planners strive for sprawl and its attendant costs will continue as long as private interests and profits are deemed to be more sacred than the public welfare. Rarely have so few made so much from so many at such a cost to all.

Urban growth can be sound, well-located and not simply a response to the monetary desires of developers. Examples of effective land use do exist, particularly in Europe, and much of what is being learned there could profitably be applied in Greater Phoenix and elsewhere in the United States if the public is educated to the real costs of the unrestrained development of both conventional subdivisions and planned communities.

The time has come to do more than applaud the developer in the real estate section of the Sunday newspaper for the attractive architecture of his "planned" development and the country club environment he is creating. The time is overdue to chide the developer also for his major contribution to high land costs increasing taxes, traffic congestion, and urban sprawl.

No one would deny that the developer performs a service in providing housing to a large segment of the housing market in a rapidly growing metropolitan area, but one should not lose sight of the total price that is being paid by the community as a whole.

## APPENDIX A

### SUBDIVISION, SUBURB, NEW TOWN, MODEL CITY, OR COMMUNITY?

Because of the widespread confusion as to what constitutes a "new town" as compared to a "planned community," a "suburb" or a "model city," this appendix briefly outlines the characteristics of the most common residential components of the urban mosaic.

1. Subdivision. The subdivision is the basic building block of urban areas. Defined by the Arizona Real Estate Code as any parcel platted into four lots or more, the parcelling of land and the construction of dwellings for sale thereupon is the principal characteristic of the conventional housing subdivision. <sup>31</sup> Because a number of developers commonly build in the same general area, it is common for a suburb that is large enough to be identifiable by name -- which distinguishes a suburb from the suburbs -- to be composed of a number of individual subdivisions or housing tracts. A local exception of note is Maryvale, a suburb now incorporated into Phoenix that was created after 1956 largely by a single developer.

A speculator-developer can, generally speaking, either (1) subdivide and sell raw, undeveloped parcels, (2) subdivide and improve parcels by providing services such as paved streets, sewers, and water before selling at a cost that incorporates these improvements, or (3) subdivide, improve, and construct housing for sale. In all three instances, some profit is derived

through the simple act of subdivision of a larger parcel into smaller, more broadly marketable, parcels; the sum of the parts commonly exceeds the value of the whole. Hence, some developers sell essentially raw land (the Arizona desert and mountain acreage syndrome), others sell improved land to individuals and to speculative builders, while still others subdivide, improve and build. The two latter courses of action are common to the "planned communities" of Greater Phoenix.

2. Suburb. Etymologically, the term "suburb" is a composite of the Latin prefix sub- (under, or near) and urb (city). As such, the term implies location immediately adjacent to the city proper; it is essentially a word with spatial connotations. Functionally, the modern suburb is predominantly residential in land use, with supporting shopping centers, schools, parks, and so forth. Major employment is commonly outside the suburb itself, whence the common prefix of "bedroom" or "dormitory" and the large volume of diurnal traffic into and out of the suburb.

A distinction between "suburb" and "satellite" has been attempted in order to distinguish between suburbs that are essentially residential and those that are major employment foci as well. In the suburb, the dormitory function is dominant, while in the satellite a broad local employment base and broader range of functions is found. The journey-to-work would tend to be predominantly out of the suburb into employment centers such as the central business district and satellites. Distance from the center city would not be a distinguishing feature as both suburb and satellite would be intermingled.

3. New Town. One of the most comprehensive definitions of the "new town" is that of the Urban Land Institute, an autonomous off-shoot of the National Association of Real Estate Boards:

While the definition of a "New Town" is discretionary and open to debate, there is a distinguishing factor. A "new town" requires the element of an employment base within the community. Whether this industrial base is provided at the outset or whether it comes later, the local job opportunity in industry-research-commerce must be present as a development land use assignment in the planning. . . The true new towns are those planned as "balanced" communities created out of open land, peopled with all income ranges, provided with amenities, and equipped with a developer's vision, ability and financial staying power to make the elements work . . . Sufficient acreage should be available to allocate land for industrial, commercial and residential uses to support an ultimate population ranging between 50,000 and 100,000 or so to support eventually all of the cultural and other institutions normally found in a city. . . housing must provide a mix of age groups and economic levels, for the new town is designed to be a complete city and not a white collar, middle-income enclave.<sup>33</sup>

Inasmuch as development of a new town is characteristically over a 10 to 20 year period, we are forced to judge a new town in terms of intent rather than performance to date; it cannot be anticipated that all of the perquisite features will spring up immediately. It is nonetheless fair to question the new town's long-range potential for attracting sufficient industry to employ local workers and to examine whether all age groups and income levels will indeed be included. In Greater Phoenix, it seems that Litchfield Park and Fountain Hills, both touted as "new towns," will ultimately fail the test on both counts. Indeed, "most new towns at the moment are responses to the needs of central cities and are satellites to them. Most of the residents are attracted by an existing, new and better community. They are attracted

by the amenities, the variety in types and styles of housing and by the open  
surroundings.<sup>34</sup> Both Reston, Virginia and Columbia, Maryland, two of  
America's most famous "new towns," depend heavily upon outside areas  
(Washington, D. C. and Baltimore) for both employment and higher order  
goods and services.

As new towns continue to develop as upper middle class "golden ghettos,"  
the weak representation of the poor and of minority groups can be expected to  
persist. Studies of Reston and Columbia, for example, "tend to substantiate  
the contention frequently made by sociologists that most whites of all income  
groups do not object to racial integration as long as they are sure that the  
white group remains in the majority."<sup>35</sup> The high cost of housing ensures  
that the poor, except those few whose rent is federally-subsidized, are  
excluded from many new towns. Neither "new town" in metropolitan Phoenix  
has provisions for low-income subsidized housing, one way in which developers  
could provide the whole spectrum of housing choices.

4. Model City. On occasion, the term "model city" is equated with  
the new town or planned community. But the federal "model cities" program  
is not one of new towns; rather it is designed to revitalize large slum and  
blighted areas of existing cities under provisions of the Demonstration Cities  
and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966. It appears that the term "model  
cities" rather than "demonstration cities" came into use because of the un-  
favorable connotation of "demonstration" at a time racial outbreaks were  
taking place in a number of cities.

5. Community. A "community" is defined as " a body of people having common rights, privileges or interests," such as the business community or the Chinese community, or "living in the same place under the same laws and regulations," as a community of monks, for example. Over time, the term has also come to mean "any population cluster"<sup>36</sup> and according to Arizona law, a "community" need not have a business district or in any other way be construed as being equivalent to what is commonly thought of as a "town" or "city."<sup>37</sup> It was this legal interpretation of "community" that permitted Paradise Valley, a high income suburb on the edge of Phoenix to be incorporated as a town despite the fact it is entirely zoned residential except for a few pre-existing commercial activities and is not a city in a functional sense.

It is significant that neither the semantic nor legal definition of "community" specifies the existence of urban functions such as retailing, manufacturing, and the provisioning of services. It is consequently only as "population clusters without a range of urban functions appropriate to their size" that we can accept the speculative residential developments of Greater Phoenix as "communities."

## APPENDIX B

### PLANNED COMMUNITIES - BRIEF OUTLINES

The detailed information in this appendix is drawn from newspaper articles, advertisements, promotional brochures, and the development plans submitted to the appropriate planning agencies. Anyone interested in a specific planned community is particularly encouraged to examine the information on file in the public records section of the corresponding municipal or county planning agency.

Dependence upon the above sources subjects the details that follow to the limitations these sources impose. Newspaper articles, for example, commonly contain statements that are either inaccurate or out of context, while promotional brochures are oriented to sales more than to enlightenment. The most reliable source is the development plan submitted to the city or county planning agency by the developer. However, changes in the initial plan as the project develops can invalidate some of the information contained in the initial proposal.

For all of these reasons, this appendix is destined to err in a number of details. On the other hand, the generalizations outlined are valid, so that it would be unrealistic to question the entire study on the basis of minor errors in this appendix.

The apparent unevenness in coverage of the individual planned communities in the appendix is largely a function of their present stage of development.

Projects still in early development stages clearly offer less information to summarize than does a project already in the sales stage. For this reason, there is considerably more detail on Fountain Hills, McCormick Ranch and Litchfield Park, for example, than on Rio Verde, Dobson Ranch, or Ahwatukee.

#### 1. AHWATUKEE

Located about 10 miles south of downtown Phoenix and adjacent to both an existing freeway and large mountain park, Ahwatukee (Crow Indian for "magic place of my dreams") combines both retirement and "family" elements in its 2,080 acre development. Announced in 1971 by a Newport Beach, California development company as "Foothill Park," it is one of the few recent proposals that does not include a lake as an attraction, although it does encompass the almost ubiquitous golf course in addition to a community "country club" facility, three schools, and parks.

The plan calls for a "retirement community" of 2,819 dwellings on 452 acres, and "adult community" of 158 acres with 1,048 dwelling units, and the "family community" planned for 4,149 dwelling units on 996 acres. Single family detached homes, duplexes, apartments, patio homes, and townhouses are planned to house an estimated 23,300 population. Commercial and shopping facilities comprise 165 acres of the development. The first phase of the 5-year project will develop a 412 acre parcel with low and medium density dwellings, a 9-hole golf course, hotel, convenience commercial, and other related facilities.

Present population zero. Planning Jurisdiction - Maricopa County.

## 2. CAREFREE AND CAREFREE "BOULDERS"

The growth of Carefree, 22 miles north of downtown Scottsdale, demonstrates the evolution of a development from the sale of raw desert lots to the construction and sale of very expensive homes. When initially subdivided in 1959, the Carefree area had access to Phoenix only by gravel road and constituted empty gently rolling desert lands east of the small town of Cave Creek, an old stage stop founded in 1870 on the Prescott-Phoenix run and former focus of the Cave Creek Mining District. While Cave Creek persists today as an essentially unattractive and insignificant town strung out along one main road, Carefree has expanded through the efforts of the Carefree Development Corporation, now known as Carefree Developers, into a high-income exurbia.

Although many of its residents are retired, "Carefree is not a retirement community. Primarily it is "a winter home group not of the 'live it up type'" where by 1968 those of New York origin dominated over Phoenicians by 18 families to 14. Illinois and Ohio followed with 8 and 7 families, respectively. The average age of buyers is dropping from about age 60 to age 49.

About one-half of the initial 1500 acres of the Carefree plat acquired by two Scottsdale real estate brokers was part of the Hudson family ranch. The other half was state land sold at auction to various parties who agreed to later sell the land to Carefree's developers at a fixed price. A major

consideration in the choice of location was water availability. The Pinnacle Peaks area to the southeast was the preferred location but it was found to be without sufficient water resources, while the mass of Black Mountain at Cave Creek helped form a large subsurface reservoir only some 50 feet underground in places.<sup>43</sup>

Sales of the two-acre lots were relatively slow until the paving of Scottsdale Road in 1964 at which time there were only about 50 houses in the area, ranging from \$25,000 to \$100,000 in value. Largely financed by Carefree residents, the paving of the road not only led to more rapid and higher priced sales for the developers but also for landowners who sold their lots. A two-acre parcel purchased for \$800 around 1959 sold for \$12,000 in 1964 and a two-acre "view" lot that the developers sold for \$3,000 in 1961 has since had three owners, the last of whom paid \$42,000 for the lot.<sup>44</sup>

At the present time:

"3 of the most spectacular sites in Carefree have now come on the market. Each site is approx. 5 acres, among huge boulders high on rugged Black Mountain. Sites face East overlooking Carefree & far beyond the 4 peaks - Pinnacle peak, Superstition, McDowell & Camelback Mountains. 1 site valued at \$75,000 the other 2 at \$60,000 each. Survey prepared for access road. Rd. to be built by purchaser. All utilities available to each site. These commanding panoramic sites will interest the man who wants to build an eagles nest home for himself & sell the other 2 sites. These 3 truly majestic home sites offered as a single parcel. Underpriced at todays value. \$60,000. Terms avail." <sup>45</sup>

In order to enhance the value of remaining properties, Carefree Developers are trying to encourage lot owners to build, since by 1971 "five lots have been

46  
sold by comparison to each one house built." By summer 1970, some 770  
lots had been sold by the developer, but as of October, 1969 there were only  
47  
132 houses and 30 commercial enterprises.

Although lot sales are still a part of the operations of Carefree Developers,  
the development after 1969 of "The Boulders" tract leads the developers to  
argue that "we're not in the land sales business anymore. We're community  
48  
developers now." In part this is because The Boulders was to be their last  
major landholding in the area, a 670-acre parcel being developed with 640  
homes in the \$59-85,000 price range.

The development plan for The Boulders "clusters the homes in neighborhood  
49  
units of about a half dozen homes each on one-third acre sites;" the remaining  
land is either left in its natural desert state or incorporated into the golf course.  
As price would indicate, the developers are "appealing to a tiny fraction of the  
public with this development. For the most part, the people who buy here  
are in the top one to one and one-half per cent income group in the country.  
Many already own a townhouse in Manhattan or another city and a country  
home in one of the suburbs. In some cases they are looking for either a  
50  
vacation home or a future retirement home." Some are also speculating  
in property as well.

Like an increasing number of high income developments in Greater  
Phoenix, The Boulders will offer a private security police, gatehouses,  
maintenance service, and membership in community facilities. The developer  
also offers a management service for owners who wish to lease their home for

three or four months a year (at about \$1600 a month).

Determined that buyers want unspoiled desert and a special way of life that includes privacy, nature, freedom from "organization," and golf, the developers have established property restrictions in both Carefree proper and The Boulders. Bright roofs, air conditioners on the roof, and front lawns are prohibited; there are other deed and building restrictions. Yet at Air Park Estates, developed after 1969, it is possible to taxi private planes right to the house.

Designed to be "a place that would be to Phoenix what Palm Springs is to Los Angeles,"<sup>52</sup> activities in Carefree focus around the golf courses, developer-built pools, Carefree Inn (open year-round since 1971), the Spanish Village grouping of exclusive shops, and the small commercial district. Scottsdale and Phoenix are within easy shopping distance.

Late in 1972, Carefree Developers was acquired by a development syndicate and is now appended to the 10,000 acre Carefree Ranch<sup>53</sup> which has reportedly expanded still further as a result of swapping for public lands northeast of Carefree. Although the development plans have not yet been announced, it is rumored that a community of at least 20,000 population is planned by the landowners. Planning Jurisdiction - Maricopa County.

### 3. CAREFREE WEST

Clearly aware of the financial success of Carefree, and anxious to profit by association with its name, the developers of Carefree West also carefully

emulate some of Carefree's restrictive features. There will be strict control over exterior colors, building height limitations, prohibitions against grass and lawn areas, and planned colors of street paving. The aim is to preserve the desert environment and, with it, land values.

Announced in February, 1972 by Mastercraft Homes and the C. V. Development Corporation, the first phase of development is scheduled for a 190-acre site near the original homestead of the Apache Springs Ranch.

The development plan for the 750 lots on the 2,300 acre property provides for the installation of improvements and the parceling of lots from one to one and one-half acres in size. Each lot will have its individual well and septic tank, and prices will range from \$12,800 to \$35,000, presumably depending upon location. <sup>54</sup> Present population zero. Planning Jurisdiction - Maricopa County.

#### 4. DOBSON RANCH

Lakes and an 18-hole golf course will be the environmental showpieces of the Dobson Ranch, a 2,700 acre development by Continental homes, a subsidiary of American Financial Corporation, Cincinnati. Announced in March, 1971, the master development plan calls for 12,000 dwelling units and a population of 35,000. In terms of acreage, some 1,950 acres will be devoted to residential uses, and 466 acres to public and quasi-public services, including 14 schools, and 277 acres for commercial development. Sears has

already purchased 120 acres for a regional shopping center to serve Mesa<sup>55</sup> and Tempe; 14 neighborhood shopping centers are planned.

Now annexed into Mesa, the site is adjacent to the intersection of the proposed Indian Bend and Superstition Freeways. Present population zero.

Planning Jurisdiction - City of Mesa.

## 5. FOUNTAIN HILLS

When announced in late 1968, Fountain Hills was described as a "unified residential-recreation community (with a) 21st century concept of spacious urban living."<sup>56</sup> Today, advertisements bill it as "a balanced community-- self contained. It has a Master Plan for all its own services. . . roads and utilities. . . schools. . . churches. . . commercial areas. . . hotels and motels. . . businesses. . . carefully-selected clean, light industries. . . civic and cultural centers. . . recreational facilities. . . parks and wide open greenbelt areas. . . all the features of good living."<sup>57</sup> The development plan terms Fountain Hills a "new town." Proposed land uses and their approximate acreages are indicated in Table 4.

Located about 19 miles northeast of Scottsdale the 12,000 acre holding was purchased for about \$18 million (approximately \$1500 an acre) from the Page Land and Cattle Company after a complicated private/federal land swap<sup>58</sup> that added to the 4,500 acre P-Bar Ranch that formed the core of the parcel. The project was originally designed for a maximum population of from 75,000 to 78,000 persons but the figure now cited is 70,000, a density of from six to

Table 4

## INITIAL PROPOSED LAND USES - FOUNTAIN HILLS

| <u>Land Use</u>                  | <u>Acres</u> |
|----------------------------------|--------------|
| Single-family residential        | 6,230        |
| Roads                            | 2,510        |
| Multi-family dwellings           | 780          |
| Drainage                         | 720          |
| Parks                            | 620          |
| Commercial and parking           | 480          |
| Schools                          | 280          |
| Golf Courses (two eighteen hole) | 220          |
| Industrial                       | 160          |
| Total                            | 12,000       |

Source: Arizona Republic, 17 October 1968.

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eight persons per acre with much of the heart of Fountain Hills zoned for multi-family dwellings.

Sited in the low McDowell mountains, "in a peaceful setting of scenic mountain grandeur," the plat was designed to take advantage of the "priceless environment--which will be preserved--by protecting, by improving, by landscaping, by devoting a balanced portion to open spaces." <sup>59</sup> However, in early 1972, the Maricopa County Planning and Zoning Commission was forced to strongly denounce the extensive grading work underway. One commissioner noted that "You don't need zoning; you need a permit to operate a mine. . . You people have committed the biggest rape of the earth I've ever seen. You have not lived up to what you told us you would do. If a smaller

developer had done this, he'd have been nailed to the wall." The commission chairman warned that "If anything like this occurs again, I don't believe the commission will look with much favor on approving any more plats" at

60

Fountain Hills. The grading was apparently needed to overcome some drainage and flood control problems in the "downtown" area of the development, and much of the damage will certainly disappear as that part of the project is developed. A full-page advertisement noted that "this now bare earth might seem to indicate environmental indifference. To the contrary, on this levelled portion of our scenic hills there will arise one of the most beautiful and modern downtown districts in the nation." Because of their value, a large number of saguaro cactus were protected from destruction during the grading operation.

61

Though the scars will heal, it does seem the developer was not precise in his earlier outline to the planning commission about what work would be necessary, and Critics feel that McCulloch Oil operates on the principle that its goal justifies any means, as illustrated by earlier attempts to use an irrigation district to finance land development costs at Fountain Hills and by giving a "\$600 monthly retainer to the Arizona state senator who was chairman of the Lower Colorado Land Use Committee at the time when McCulloch was trying to buy the land for Lake Havasu City" on the Colorado

62

River. Road improvement districts are now financing a share of the development costs. Alleged costs and sales, according to the developer, are as follows:

Table 5

## ALLEGED DEVELOPER SALES AND COSTS

## McCULLOCH PROPERTIES, INC.

|                                       | AMOUNT                         | RELATIVE<br>PERCENTAGE |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------|
| Total Sales                           | 189,000,000.                   | 100.0%                 |
| Cost of Land                          | 18,000,000.                    | 9.5                    |
| Cost of Land Development              | 23,310,700. <sup>1</sup>       | 12.4                   |
| Cost of Onsite Facilities             | 4,950,000.                     | 2.6                    |
| Sales Commissions                     | 28,350,000.                    | 15.0                   |
| Sales Expense                         | 17,010,000.                    | 9.0                    |
| Customer Relations and Transportation | 22,680,000.                    | 12.0                   |
| Contract Cancellation Provision       | 15,120,000.                    | 8.0                    |
| General and Administration            | <u>9,450,000.</u>              | 5.0                    |
| Total Cost                            | <u>138,870,700.</u>            | 73.5                   |
| Profit before Taxes                   | 50,129,300.                    | 26.5                   |
| Estimated Taxes                       | <u>25,064,700.<sup>2</sup></u> | 13.2                   |
| Net Income                            | 25,064,700.                    | 13.2                   |

1

Includes 7,698.5 of lot grading and 15,612.2 of developer offsite costs.

2

Estimated 50% of profit before taxes

Source: McCulloch Properties, Inc.

Development Plan for the Community of Fountain Hills,  
op. cit., p.

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The extensive grading of the downtown area was also done to create a vista for a man-made lake and "the world's highest fountain" which is the development's centerpiece. To the promoter and his sales force, the fountain

is meant to symbolize "the gushing fountain of living, business, and growth opportunities" and will keynote the mile-long Avenue of the Fountains that will run through the central business section. The broad boulevard's center section will be lined with fountains, waterfalls, and pools. Many of the smaller fountains are expected to be acquired from old European estates. Rhetoric and visions aside, the fountain, which can hurtle water 560 feet into the air, serves the same function as does London Bridge at the McCulloch development at Lake Havasu City, Arizona. It is essentially a lure to promote land sales and a device to support high lot prices.

The first advertisement for Fountain Hills homesites ran in local papers in late 1971. To date, lot sales have been made to individuals, custom builders, and commercial establishments. By the end of 1972, few businesses or homes are actually under construction, although one builder advertises 220 homes under construction and for sale. A hotel that the developer indicated would be opened by November, 1969 has yet to be built. The price of lots starts at about \$8,000 today and the first offering of homes runs from \$18,000 for a four-plex condominium apartment and from \$34,000 for a single family residence.

The majority of individuals who purchase sites or homes at Fountain Hills will probably do so with eventual retirement in mind and in order to speculate in land. Advertisements assure the potential buyer that "this land has excellent appreciation potential. With our planned low-density and the trend of northeastward population movement, the supply can never equal the demand."

There will, of course, be those who commute to Phoenix-Scottsdale on a regular basis, but the time distance may well preclude extensive commuting to work. While the developer correctly notes that commuters will drive "with the sun," the center of Phoenix is considerably more than the 45 minutes distant that the developer says it is, and will remain so as long as an extensive freeway system is not developed. We might anticipate that there will be a number of individuals who will accept the long commute because of the "environment" that is being created there and the cachet that the developer is attempting to create.

What Fountain Hills will offer are the typical amenities of the golden ghetto, namely a stable and attractive environment, low population densities, security, and the promise of land value appreciation. There is also the appeal of being "insulated, but not isolated from the many economic advantages of the Phoenix metropolitan area, letting you live away from the pressures and the problems of the city." <sup>65</sup> The reality that Fountain Hills will never become a "new town" with adequate industry to support its residents and homes for all levels of economic society is probably considered more an asset than a liability by those who propose to live there.

Because Fountain Hills will serve a legitimate segment of the housing market, however restricted that may be because of income and distance factors, it should prove viable; unfortunately, it will also both create and foster urban sprawl to the northeast. No one would argue that Fountain Hills itself isn't planned, but its location beyond the built-up area of Phoenix-

Scottsdale represents a large-scale invasion of houses onto the desert at a distance which will promote additional sprawl between it and the existing built-up area. The development of McCormick Ranch along the same axis will further focus sprawl in the direction of Fountain Hills. At the present time, "McCulloch flies about 25,000 people a year to Fountain Hills for tours and sponsors an advertising campaign in 38 cities in the U. S. and Canada,"<sup>66</sup> thus further promoting population growth and new housing needs in metropolitan Phoenix. Present population zero. Planning Jurisdiction - Maricopa County.

#### 6. FOUNTAIN OF THE SUN

Proclaimed by its promoters as an "environmental community which began with a group of men who decided to form a company committed to people, not property" and "less a development than the embodiment of our ideas and concern with the quality of life,"<sup>67</sup> Fountain of the Sun is a retirement-oriented development of 582 acres planned for a total of 2,800 mobile homes (from \$13,000), single family homes (from \$21,000) and town-houses (from \$20,000).<sup>68</sup> Improved lots are also to be for sale from \$4,900.

While Fountain of the Sun contains the ubiquitous golf course and an 11-acre "commons" its lake is but a casting pond and only 10 acres is devoted to commercial land uses such as convenience shopping facilities. The development is financed by the Chicago-based Universal Development Corporation, whose major stockholders are Borg-Warner Acceptance Corpora-

tion and the Green Bay Packers (professional football). The projected population upon full development is 7,000; present population zero. Planning Jurisdiction - Maricopa County.

#### 7. LAKE COUNTRY (THE LAKES)

Lake Country in Tempe is a development of Diversified Properties, Inc., a Scottsdale-based corporation formed in 1967 by a land developer (Dahlberg Industries) and El Paso Natural Gas Company. While Lake Country was hailed upon its introduction in 1969 as a "total" community, the project is at best an attractive conventional subdivision inasmuch as it lacks schools, other community facilities, or even a golf course (!), although one was initially proposed. The total size of Lake Country is about 490 acres.

The first stage undertaken upon purchase of the Claridge Ranch was the creation of a 50-acre lake with a five-mile shoreline designed to optimize the number of high value lakefront lots. Two hundred acres surrounding the lake were then sold in late 1970 for a reported \$5 million to the Mission Viejo Company, a subsidiary of Philip Morris, Inc. that has a similar development in Orange County, California. Another 72 acres were sold to Hallcraft Homes for a conventional subdivision indicated on the initial plan as Lake Country Estates, a "planned community development." Both of these buyers are actively developing their properties. Approximately 150 families now live at The Lakes, the Mission Viejo subdivision which markets townhouse apartments from \$25,000, houses from about \$32,000, and Lakeshore Villas from \$51,000.

The Lakes also contains 176 custom lots for sale to individuals or builders; on Lake Island custom homes that will begin at \$75,000 are being constructed. A 31-acre apartment development of 975 units (Wood Lake) is also planned for Lake Country as is the construction of Lakeshore Village, a collection of "boutiques" and convenience shops. Projected population for the entire "Lake Country" development that only reluctantly accepted annexation into Tempe in May, 1969, is 5,000. Present population is about 600. Planning Jurisdiction - City of Tempe.

#### 8. LEISURE WORLD - GOLDEN HILLS

The "Leisure World - Golden Hills Environmental Planned Community," announced in September, 1971 most clearly demonstrates the increasing emphasis on "planning" and "environment" as key words in the marketing of planned residential developments. A joint development of Western Service Corporation, a subsidiary of Western Savings and Loan Association, and the Rossmoor Corporation, a building firm based in Laguna Hills, California, the 10-year development plan is aimed at two major markets--the adult/retired and the middle income family.

When fully developed, the 2,200 acre project will house an "adult" population of 17,000 and have a family complex of about 10,000 population. Clustered single family residences, predominantly on a Spanish architectural theme, and their open spaces will encompass about 60 per cent of the area. Homes will range in price from \$25-45,000.

Sixty acres of lakes and streams, a golf course (36 holes ultimately planned) and commercial facilities are planned. For security purposes, the development will be surrounded by a six foot fence. A homeowner's association will be in charge of home and yard maintenance, and the project will have its own waste water treatment plant. Its symbol is a 38-foot high globe, trademark of the Rossmoor Corporation. Present population zero. Planning Jurisdiction - Maricopa County.

#### 9. LITCHFIELD PARK

Litchfield Park was initially conceived in 1916 as a company town for executives of the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company which bought, in that year, about 16,000 acres of undeveloped desert land some 18 miles west of the heart of Phoenix. The intent was to raise long-staple cotton after German submarines effectively cut off the Egyptian supply during World War I. The land was apparently acquired from Paul W. Litchfield, later Chairman of the Goodyear Board of Directors from 1930 until 1956, who bought 20,000 acres of land in 1913. "At Mr. Litchfield's encouragement, the Goodyear firm in 1916 bought and leased two tracts of land (16,000 acres). . . One of the two tracts, originally known as the Agua Fria Ranch (was) later renamed in honor of Mr. Litchfield." At the same time, 8,000 acres was purchased south of Chandler. In 1920 another 14,000 acres was added, giving a total of 38,000 acres, of which about 20,000 acres went into cultivation. Initially called the Southwest Cotton Co., the name was changed to Goodyear Farms in 1943. In

1944, all but 16,000 acres at Litchfield Park was sold. Today, there is  
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about 13,500 acres, with all but 2,500 acres being farmed.

The "new town" of Litchfield Park was started in 1964 by the Litchfield Park Land and Development Co. (now Litchfield Park Properties), a subsidiary of Goodyear, to which about 12,000 acres of property will be transferred by the parent company for urban development. According to the 1966 master plan designed by Victor Gruen Associates the "new town" will be composed of six "communities," each with two "villages." Each village, composed of four "neighborhoods," will have about 7,500 to 10,000 residents; each community, therefore, will have ca. 15,000-20,000 population, giving a possible total population of from 90,000 to 120,000 persons. Each community is planned to have a high school and shopping center, while each village will have an elementary school and small stores. About 1500 acres is set aside for industry on the south side of town, where the Papago freeway linking Phoenix to Los Angeles is scheduled for completion in 1974.

To date, the growth of Litchfield Park has been slow, in large measure because the dominant direction of upper-income growth in Greater Phoenix is more north than west, but also because the freeway is still unstarted, because the commute to Phoenix is against the sun, and because the availability of houses closer to Phoenix also detracts from its appeal. In addition, almost one third of the residential development lies within a disputed "air noise intensity zone 2" of nearby Luke Air Force Base. A very small portion of Litchfield Park even falls within zone 3, the highest level on

the scale. About 400 takeoffs and landings a day, combined with proximity to the end of a principal runway, is deemed to make portions of the development unsuitable for residential development.

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The noise issue surfaced at a public hearing on the West Central Maricopa County Plan held on September 19, 1972. Goodyear legal counsel argued that the County Board of Supervisors has no authority to "zone for noise" and charged that "to determine land use by noise levels from the (air) base is paramount to 'taking land without compensation'." The Air Force maintained that "outlining the noise zone simply says people ought to be alert" to the noise factor and noted that Litchfield Park is "just off a runway" used by F4 aircraft that interrupt normal living. A great deal more passion than reason lay behind Goodyear's claim that the supervisors action's "would put long-range plans for such things as planned communities in 'serious jeopardy'" and behind the comment that to tamper with the Litchfield Park development plan" would demand we rethink the whole thing" and cost the developer \$5.6 million.

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In order to foster growth, Litchfield Park offered free land to the State of Arizona as early as 1965 for a branch campus of Arizona State University. In 1968 the Board of Regents formally accepted 525 acres, but the State Legislature in 1969 denied funding due to sudden objections that developed after a clash with the proposed dean of campus "whose educational and political views irked some legislators." The offer of the free land was withdrawn in early 1970, so that while sales brochures indicate a proposed university campus, such is no longer the case.

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Fortunately for the developer, the low initial cost of the land does not require its rapid development, and the 25 year development time is the longest of any planned community in Greater Phoenix. To date, the original post-1916 center of Litchfield Park has been "updated architecturally" into a 25-acre shopping core and the old Wigwam Country Club, with two 18-hole courses. The first "village" of Tierra Verde was constructed after 1966. Lake Village is scheduled for a 1972 start. As its name implies, it will feature a 38-acre lake.

As the developer does not build homes, lots are sold either to individuals or to custom builders. "To prevent land speculation, Litchfield Park Properties requires construction within a year on any individual lot sold; or regular and consistent progress on mass homebuilding projects." While the price of residences ranges upward from \$25,000 for the smaller patio home, many are in the \$40,000-50,000 range. In one of the newer developments, the owners of 14 new townhouses will be joint owners of 46 apartments as well.

If lower income housing were made available, if local employment were to develop on a large scale, and if the noise drawback can be resolved, Litchfield Park will have more potential than any other planned community in Greater Phoenix to evolve into a "new town." Some industry will undoubtedly be attracted to the lands along the proposed freeway, but if present housing costs are any indication, it is unlikely that those who work there will live there, and vice-versa. Like many other "new towns" in the United States, Litchfield Park will likely evolve as a quasi-new town. Present population

2,100. Planning Jurisdiction - Maricopa County.

#### 10. McCORMICK RANCH

On 4,236 acres of the McCormick Ranch which were purchased in mid-1970 for \$12,100,000, (about \$3,000 per acre), a partnership of Kaiser Aluminum and Chemical Corporation and Aetna Life and Casualty Co. is actively developing a master plan that envisions five "communities."

As designed by Victor Gruen and Associates, the five communities (compare Litchfield Park) will combine single family residences, townhouses and "resorts" with shopping centers, churches, schools, office buildings, golf courses, lakes, paths and trails. No land is dedicated to industry. In execution, Kaiser-Aetna hopes it will resemble, "in microcosm" their 97,000 acre Rancho California, 60 miles north of San Diego.

Because of the high initial land cost, the development proposed higher population densities than the one home per acre outlined in the Scottsdale General Plan, a density consistent with the predominant residential zoning pattern in adjacent parts of Scottsdale. This conflict was resolved by the creation in 1971 of "planned community development" zoning which permits up to four dwellings per acre. In some parts of the McCormick Ranch, residential densities will be as low as one unit per acre, but overall density on the ranch is expected to be approximately 3.8 dwelling units per acre, as indicated in Table 5. The projected population of the development is 35,000.

Table 6

## PROPOSED LAND USES - McCORMICK RANCH

| <u>Proposed Residential Area</u>                     | <u>Number of dwelling units</u> | <u>Gross Acres</u> | <u>Dwellings Per Acre</u> |
|--|---------------------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|
| Paseo Village *                                      | 1,207                           | 296                | 4.0                       |
| Equestrian*  | 1,760                           | 566                | 3.1                       |
| Lake and Golf  | 2,828                           | 590                | 4.8                       |
| East and Far East                                    | 4,716                           | 1,394              | 3.4                       |
| Retirement   | 1,091                           | 236                | 4.6                       |
| Residential Totals                                   | 11,600                          | 3,082              | 3.8                       |
| Facilities<br>(recreation, retail,<br>offices, etc.) | -                               | 1,154              | -                         |
| Totals   | 11,600                          | 4,236              | 2.7                       |

\*portions of Paseo Village and Equestrian constitute a "resort" district.

Source: Kaiser-Aetna promotional brochure.

The Paseo Village and "Resort" district constitute the first phase of development at McCormick Ranch. An 18-hole golf course, much of it in the flood-prone Indian Bend Wash, was officially opened in March, 1972 and various developers have acquired land from Kaiser-Aetna to build houses. In Paseo Village, Suggs Homes plans 115 single family homes, 88 patio homes, and 90 homes in a walled villa complex. The single family units will sell in the \$35, -50,000 range. Ponderosa Homes, a division of Kaiser-Aetna, will construct 120 single family homes in the \$30-40,000 price range. In the "resort" area, the William Messenger Corporation

of Newport Beach, California will build 400 condominium homes, 250 resort club units, and a private tennis club on 110 acres in order to "offer the affluent condominium home buyer environmental amenities nestled in a private resort setting never before introduced to the Phoenix metropolitan area. Prices will range from \$55-85,000 for the 2,000 to 2,250 square foot condominium dwellings. Avco, a Connecticut-based conglomerate, is planning condominiums in the resort district in the \$34-48,000 range. The cost of improved lots at McCormick Ranch reportedly ranges from \$7,000 to \$16,000, depending upon location. An improvement district was established to finance \$1,000,000 of "front-end" development costs such as water wells and related facilities. But as the Federal Housing Administration prohibits mortgage loans in subdivisions where assessments are levied, only the resort strip and more affluent sections are being developed with these funds.

The Equestrian Estates, focusing around the pre-existing Paradise Park horse show track and 200-horse barn is now in early stage of development as well. When the development is completed, riding trails will link residences with the barns and other parts of the ranch. The development of the entire McCormick Ranch is planned over a 15-year period. The Lake and Golf development, when completed, will feature an 80-acre boating lake. The Eastern and Far Eastern communities of 560 acres each will contain a kindergarten-high school system and 90-acre recreational area. But as this will be the last area to be developed, it is possible that the land will ultimately be developed for a higher yielding use if the market permits. Present population zero. Planning Jurisdiction - City of Scottsdale.

## 11. QUEEN CREEK PARK

The Queen Creek Park proposal of 648 acres will contain 1723 housing units. While it has no golf course (a rarity among planned communities) it does provide for a 30-acre park and a 22-acre stable area; one-acre "ranchettes" with horse privileges are planned. In all there will be 536 single family homes, 542 mobile homes, 380 modular homes and 225 garden apartments. The mobile homes, in particular, are viewed as a "much needed source of semi-low cost housing for the rural worker." Williams Air Force Base also creates a demand for local low-cost housing. The mobile homes will be in a 62-acre mobile home park and a 62-acre mobile home subdivision.

The 33 gross acres set aside for industrial use will be especially oriented to the packing and shipment of fruit and other locally-grown agricultural products. Included in the development is 19-acres of existing homes and three and one-half acres of commercial development that form the present townsite of Queen Creek.

The development is a project of the Ellsworth Land and Livestock, Inc., of Queen Creek and De Soto, Georgia. Projected population of Queen Creek Park is 5,000; present population about 800. Planning Jurisdiction - Maricopa County.

## 12. RIO VERDE

As is common to most of the developments beyond easy commuting distance from Phoenix-Scottsdale, Rio Verde will be adult and retirement oriented, an

869 acre development for 7,000 persons some 26 miles northeast of Scottsdale and 10 miles east of Reata Pass.

While some lot sales are planned, most sales will be the lot/home package, with out-of-state promotion planned. The revised development plan as approved in March, 1972 by the County Board of Supervisors contains 3460 dwelling units on 600 acres--single family residences, townhouses and apartments clustered into four or five villages--as well as four lakes, an 18 hole golf course, 15 acre commercial center and 200 acres of "open space" for recreation. The Box Bar ranch headquarters, some 131 acres of land on the Verde river owned by the developers, will be the core of the recreational area. The architectural theme will be "western/territorial." Prices as outlined in early 1972 average \$27,000 for a single family home, \$22,000 for townhouses and \$17,000 for a four-plex apartment. Lots are priced at an average of \$7,000.

The initial proposal for Rio Verde did not call for clustered dwellings and met some opposition from conservationists for this reason. Major objections by conservationists were that the development itself would detract from the natural landscape and that the ground water table would be lowered considerably. At least one county planning commissioner felt the Rio Verde development was too isolated, and accused its developers of engaging in "leap-frog" development. In mute recognition of this isolation, the developer proposes to provide twice daily bus service to Scottsdale for a year. Present population zero. Planning Jurisdiction - Maricopa County.

### 13. SUN CITY

The development of the retirement community of Sun City began in mid-summer of 1959 with a plan that encompassed five different models of homes ranging in price from \$8,500 to \$11,500, a shopping center, community building, fire station, hobby shops and golf course. An experimental farm was also planned, but never developed. In less than a year over 1,200 homes and apartments had been sold to people from 32 states and three foreign countries. By the end of 1971, Sun City contained about 20,000 residents served by four shopping centers and 214 businesses and services.

Like adjacent Youngtown, Sun City was built on flat cotton lands, but unlike Youngtown it was not hemmed in by the Agua Fria river or by other urban developments. It quickly surpassed the older retirement town in size in part because of this and in part because of the financial support of the parent Del E. Webb Corporation. Today, Sun City encompasses some 20,000 acres, with 11,000 of that acquired in early 1972 just west of the Agua Fria. Now in agricultural use, i. e., crops and feedlot operations, there are no plans for the development of this new acquisition until about 1979 since parts of older Sun City properties still remain to be developed.

The oldest portion of Sun City, Phase I, south of Grand Avenue, is about 90 per cent developed, while Phase II, north of Grand Avenue and under development since 1968 is expected to be completed in 1976 at the earliest. The acreage of these two development phases and their land uses are shown

in Table 7. The estimated population of phases I and II when fully developed is about 50,000 persons. When the 11,000 acres of land west of the river are developed in the 1980's, the population of Sun City will be approximately 100,000.

Table 7

LAND USES IN SUN CITY

| <u>Land Use</u>           | <u>Phase I<br/>(acres)</u> | <u>Phase II<br/>(acres)</u> | <u>Total<br/>Acreage</u> |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| Single family residential | 1,382                      | 2,865                       | 4,247                    |
| Duplex residential        | 180                        | 465                         | 645                      |
| Multi-family residential  | 411                        | 1,378                       | 1,789                    |
| Public and Semi-Public    | 96                         | 390                         | 486                      |
| Golf Courses              | 482                        | 890                         | 1,372                    |
| Commercial                | 134                        | 190                         | 324                      |
| Industrial*               | -                          | 105                         | 105                      |
| TOTALS                    | 2,685                      | 6,283                       | 8,968                    |

\*The construction yard for Sun City is the only "industrial" land use.

Source: Del E. Webb Development Co., Development Master Plan for Sun City, Arizona, February, 1972, p. 3.

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The success of Sun City, and the keys to its phenomenal growth, especially in the late 1960's when population rose from 4,500 in 1963 to 6,500 in 1965 and 20,000 in 1971 has been good planning and promotion, adequate capital, and the benevolent Arizona winter climate. The offering of 19 different model homes in five "modes of living"--single family homes, duplexes, garden apartments,

patio apartments, and chalet apartments--meets a wide range of demand. Increasingly viewed by many as one of Arizona's tourist attractions, Sun City even offers a "vacation week in a lovely Sun City apartment" for only \$75 in the winter, \$50 in the summer to further attract potential buyers. The only condition is that one person must be 50 years old or older. About 20 per cent of those who accept the offer end up buying at Sun City.

Aside from the variety of dwelling units, buyers are attracted by the wide range of activities and amenities available. These include a 7,500 seat outdoor amphitheatre that offers a wide variety of programs, a baseball stadium, four recreational centers, seven 18-hole golf courses (two are private), a 16-lane bowling alley, churches, a 100-bed hospital, and lakes. For \$20 a year, per person, organized activities such as swimming, boating, shuffleboard, lawn bowling, tennis, miniature golf, arts and craft studio, etc. are also available.

The nearby agricultural town of Peoria particularly has felt the economic impact of the growth of Sun City as retail trade increased and Sun City employees bought houses there. Peoria has also seen its school bond elections defeated by Sun City residents. In a 1969 election, for example, Sun City voted down a school bond proposal by 1142 to 598, while Peoria cast only 14 negative to 264 affirmative votes. Youngtown also in the district, voted in favor of the schools, by the narrow margin of 220 to 213. There was apparently concerted action against the bond issue at Sun City, where low taxes are used as a sales enticement. More recently, "a heavy No vote of about 3-to-1 in the retirement communities of Sun City and Youngtown was principally responsible for the defeat" of another Peoria school bond issue. Those in

Peoria voted for the proposals by a margin of about 9-to-1. As the great majority of Sun City residents are financially secure, the argument of having to "live on fixed incomes" rings hollow as a defense for voting the issue down. A few have been led to question whether retirement communities might not be more of a liability than an asset to Arizona.

One outcome of the negative vote was the resignation of the superintendent of the Peoria School District who noted that "the negative vote in Sun City on bond issues has prevented us from housing our children in uncrowded conditions so that not only the discipline problems have increased but the learning situation has deteriorated. The future does not seem to offer any improvement."

A nearby feedlot was also adversely affected by the growth of Sun City, for although it predated the retirement town by four years, the developers were successful in getting the prior land use declared a public nuisance and moved. Webb lawyers argued that the feedlot "violated the public's rights by allowing the odor and flies to spread over land it didn't own. The rights of the public are superior to the rights of the individual. . . He used other property which he didn't pay taxes on." The point is at once interesting and pious; it is unlikely that either Arizona's copper or power industry would support it. In early 1972, the Arizona Supreme Court ruled that Webb must at least compensate the feedlot operation for moving.

Planning Jurisdiction - Maricopa County.

#### 14. SUN LAKES

The initial 640-acre development of the 2,500 acre Sun Lakes adult

mobile home/townhouse development will include 1,930 mobile home spaces and 536 townhouse units. Like many other new developments, it will have a commercial area, golf course, four lakes and a 144 acre "commons." Because no one under 19 may live in Sun Lakes there is no need for schools. The nearest existing commercial services are in Chandler, seven miles away. The absence of churches, libraries, and medical facilities in the Sun Lakes plan led some planning commission members to oppose it as being too remote. But a number of approved developments are as far, if not farther, away from the major urbanized areas that have the most adequate libraries and medical facilities. The distance of about 25 miles from downtown Phoenix is probably not a major drawback.

Of more immediate concern is the question of the compatibility of mobile homes and townhouses, especially since the 1,930 mobile home spaces proposed constitutes the largest single block of mobile homes ever brought before the Maricopa County Planning and Zoning Commission for consideration. While the plan has the backing of the Chandler Planning Commission and City Council, the county is properly concerned about the impact of such a large mobile home development.

Sun Lakes is a development of JEJE of Phoenix. Present population zero; planned population for the 2,500 acre development is 23,000, with 15 years as estimated project time. Planning Jurisdiction - Maricopa County.

#### 15. VILLA DE PAZ

When purchased by the joint venture of Hugh Knoell Builders and South-

west Forest Industries in August, 1970, the 905-acre Stanley Ranch west of Phoenix was meant to become a "planned community of walled villas" for adult families. <sup>97</sup> The 2,500 dwellings were to be modular homes fabricated by Southwest Forest Industries in its Phoenix plant, with Knoell in charge of site preparation, etc.

The original intent was to compete, in terms of the level of monthly payments, with the mobile home market, but acceptance of the factory-built dwellings that range from \$19,000 to \$29,000 was less than enthusiastic and a return is presently underway to conventionally-built homes. Market analysis also indicated that the inclusion of family-oriented housing and multi-family units, and the possible development of a resort hotel would be more profitable than restricting sales to those over 40 years of age with no children under 18. It is now anticipated that upon completion of the project in about five years that the development will be one-third adult, including <sup>98</sup> the retired, and two-thirds family homes.

As is increasingly typical, the development features lakes, lagoons, and an 18-hole golf course in order to provide the requisite amenities. The old Stanley ranchhouse serves as the community clubhouse. Commercial development may include a shopping center at some future time, and land will be set aside for schools. At the present time there are about 80 dwellings occupied, with a total population of about 125 persons. Planning Jurisdiction - Maricopa County.

## 16. YOUNGTOWN

Youngtown was founded in 1954 by a Phoenix speculative syndicate that paid \$132,500 for 320 acres of cotton land along the east bank of the usually dry Agua Fria river. The initial 20 homes in the development, modest two-bedroom cement block structures, sold for about \$6,000 each. By 1958 sales prices were up to \$7,800 but the houses were somewhat larger. 99

In 1958, about 500 homes were occupied by couples with at least one member over 50 years of age and without children at home. This sales condition did not apply to re-sale however. In 1958, the turnover was about 17 per cent a year, not because of deaths, but because of "the inconvenience of the location and poor shopping facilities." 100 Despite the fact that most residents had a car, there were no major outlying shopping centers and it was 15 miles to downtown Phoenix via busy Grand Avenue. Ultimately, the growth of neighboring Sun City and the construction of a shopping center in the mid-1960's led to the decreasing isolation of Youngtown. While early promotional literature proclaimed a medical center and cinema, these and other functions never did appear. The "beautiful parks and walkways with citrus trees and palms" were also years late in appearing and the "deep water lake" of the prospectus was really a pond that was dry from 1960 to 1965. 101

In 1960, Youngtown had a population of 1,559 and that same year, according to their own claim, became the first incorporated retirement

town in the United States. Today, largely because of restrictions upon growth caused by the presence of the Agua Fria floodplain to the west and of Sun City on the east and north, Youngtown has ceased to grow and will maintain its size and 1970 population of about 2,000. Planning Jurisdiction - City of Youngtown.

#### OTHERS?

Bold in scale if not in execution are two potentially large developments well to the west of Greater Phoenix. At the present time, however, both appear to be nothing more than speculative developments principally aimed at the sale of undeveloped lots.

Phoenix Valley West is meant to become a 27,000 acre community of 100,000 persons 40 miles west of Phoenix, in an area of very little present development. True to form, the development is to have lakes, green belts, industrial facilities, as well as a "center for futurists." Most of the land in question is presently held under options, for the initial land purchase in February, 1970 was only 1280 acres. The developer is Sunshine Land and Cattle Company. At the present time unimproved one acre and larger lots are being sold. By January, 1971, only 36 lots had been sold; 30 of these to out-of-state buyers. A hearing on the initial master plan is scheduled for late 1972.

The American Realty and Petroleum Corporation (AMREP) has hopes of attaining a population of 700,000 on some 40,000 acres of the former Douglas

Ranch 40 miles northwest of Phoenix. While a "master planned community" is proposed, the plan is very incoherent to date, shows a freeway that is not planned by the highway department, and generally raises more questions than it answers. Recently, the firm announced plans to develop a planned community on farmland within the city limits of Eloy, a small town in Pinal county along the Phoenix-Tucson interstate highway. <sup>104</sup> The developer, headquartered in New York City, has speculative developments in New Mexico, Florida, and Missouri. Present population zero.

A more modest project will be Dreamland Village, 12 miles east of Mesa. To be built by the developers of Dreamland Villa, it will be a 1,000 acre retirement village with the usual amenities, but apparently without a lake. The project will probably be submitted to the county for approval by the end of 1972.

All three fall under Maricopa County Planning Jurisdiction.

## FOOTNOTES

1

There is no state enabling legislation for planning by cities and towns in Arizona, only zoning legislation. Counties do have both planning and zoning enabling legislation since May, 1971.

2

See Appendix A for a definition of each of these terms.

3

Of interest is an article on "Walled Suburbs" in Newsweek, September 25, 1972, p. 69.

4

Dreamland Villa in Mesa has grown from 13 acres in 1954 to over 600 acres today and had a 1971 population of 4,000, living in 2,100 homes. It is not examined in this study because it did not develop as a planned community per se.

5

Arizona Republic, 30 January 1969.

6

Phoenix Gazette, 26 March 1969.

7

State of California, House. Assembly Interim Committee on Municipal and County Government. Use of Special Assessment Procedures add Independent Special Districts to Air Land Development. Vol. 6, No. 20, 1961-63, pp. 9-10. Quoted in John G. Gliedge, New Towns: Policy Problems in Regulating Development, Institute of Public Administration, Arizona State University, 1970, p. 57.

8

John G. Gliedge, "New Towns in Arizona: The Impact of the Planned Communities Act," Public Affairs Bulletin, Institute of Public Administration, Arizona State University, Vol. 9, No. 3, 1970, p. 3.

9

John G. Gliedge, New Towns: Policy Problems ... op. cit., outlines a number of these limitations to the use of public credit by private developers.

10

J. W. Reys, The Making of Urban America, (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1965).

11

Robert Conway Stevens, A History of Chandler, Arizona, Social Science Bulletin No. 25, Vol. XXV, No. 4, (Tucson, University of Arizona Press, 1954) is a good general history of Chandler.

12

Mel Scott, A History of American City Planning, (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1969), p. 90.

13

Ibid., 233.

14

Ibid., 457.

15

C. S. Sargent, Jr., "Toward a Dynamic Model of Urban Morphology," Economic Geography, 48 (October, 1972), pp. 357-74.

16

The significance of "perceptions" in the decision-making process is succinctly reviewed in L. J. Wood, "Perception studies in Geography," Transactions, Institute of British Geographers, (July, 1970), No. 50, pp. 129-142.

17

An examination of the relationship between realtors and housing segregation is outlined in William H. Brown, Jr., "Access to Housing: The Role of the Real Estate Industry," Economic Geography, 48, (January, 1972), pp. 66-78.

18

Until developers are effectively restrained from building in floor-prone areas without providing adequate protection (and thereby not count upon publicly-financed flood projects to bail out homeowners), the voters are probably not unwise to refuse such bonding. It seems folly to tax the general public when control over developers could have a beneficial effect, at considerably less cost.

19

"How Do You Like Living in a Planned Community," Urban Land, January, 1972, pp. 4-13. From John B. Lansing, Robert W. Marans and Robert B. Zehner, Planned Residential Communities, (Ann Arbor, Institute for Social Research, 1971).

20

Ibid., p. 8.

21

Arizona Republic, 9 December 1971.

22

Loc. sit.

23

Sierra Club presentation, Maricopa County Planning and Zoning Commission Public Hearing, 26 September 1970.

24

McCulloch Properties, Inc., Development Plan for the Community of Fountain Hills, (1971?), p. 119.

25

Arizona Republic, 28 March 1972.

26

Governor Jack Williams, speech to American Society for Civil Engineers, Tucson, Arizona 17 April 1971.

27

Robert O. Harvey and W. A. V. Clark, "The Nature and Economics of Urban Sprawl," Land Economics, Vol. XLI, No. 1, (1965), reprinted in Larry S. Bourne, ed., Internal Structure of the City, (New York, Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 476.

28

Arizona Republic, 4 June 1972, p. K-5

29

See Appendix B, "Fountain Hills" for the full context of this charge by a Maricopa County Planning Commissioner.

30

MEMO, Newsletter of the AIA, January, 1972. See also Edward P. Eichler and Marshall Kaplan, "New Communities and Public Policy," The Community Builders, (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1967), pp. 160-182.

31

Before August, 1972, the legal definition in force included parcels of land divided into five or more parcels. Arizona Republic, 14 May 1972.

32

Raymond E. Murphy, The American City, (New York, McGraw-Hill, 1966). Murphy outlines (pp. 40-42) the confusion existing amongst geographers and planners about usage of the terms suburb and satellite.

33

Urban Land Institute, op. cit., pp. 253-54. A roughly comparable definition is given in Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, Urban and Rural America: Policies for Future Growth, (Washington, D. C., USGPO, 1964), pp. 63-64. See also Saturday Review, (May 15, 1971), a special issue dealing with "new communities," and "New Towns vs. Old Problems," Monthly Bulletin, Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco, (July, 1972), pp. 3-15.

34

Urban Land Institute, op. cit., p. 256. The use of the term "satellite" here more closely corresponds to "suburb" as defined in this appendix.

35

Wolf Von Eckardt, "A Fresh Scene in the Clean Dream," Saturday Review, May 15, 1971, p. 23. It is probably fair to assume the author means an "overwhelming" majority as opposed to a simple 51 per cent majority.

36

Compare Webster's International Dictionary of the English Language, Unabridged, (1900) and Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language, Unabridged, (Springfield, G. and C. Merriam Co., 1961).

37

Arizona Revised Statutes, Section 9-101, subsections A-D.

38

Presley Development Co., Master Development Plan, Tempe Property, (1971).

39

Arizona Republic, 26 October 1969.

40

Arizona Republic, 19 July 1968.

41

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42

Arizona Republic, 19 July 1970.

43

Arizona Republic, 28 January 1968.

44

Arizona Republic, 19 July 1970.

45

Arizona Republic, classifieds, 19 May 1972.

46

Arizona Republic, 6 June 1971. Among enticements to settle have been Wednesday night movies at company headquarters and the development of property management services.

47

Arizona Republic, 19 July 1970 and 26 October 1969. The developer put in the supermarket/drug store, restaurant, and hotel.

48

Arizona Republic, 6 June 1971.

49

Arizona Republic, 7 May 1972.

50

Arizona Republic, 7 May 1972.

51

Loc. sit.

52

Arizona Republic, 15 December 1964.

53

Arizona Republic, 3 December 1972.

54

Arizona Republic, 13 February 1972.

55

Arizona Republic, 21 March 1971.

56

Arizona Republic, 17 October 1968.

57

Arizona Republic, 3 December 1971.

58

Details of the land trade, which involved portions of the Point Reyes National Seashore in northern California are outlined in the Arizona Republic, 16 March 1969.

59

Arizona Republic, 3 December 1971.

60

Arizona Republic, 4 February 1972.

61

Arizona Republic, 19 May 1972.

62

Newsweek, August 9, 1971, p. 57.

- 63  
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- 85  
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- 86  
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- 87  
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- 88  
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- 89  
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Arizona Republic, 23 November 1972, letter to the editor.
- 92  
Arizona Republic, 23 January 1973.
- 93  
Arizona Republic, 10 December, 1971.
- 94  
Arizona Republic, 18 March 1972. Webb lawyers estimate that the costs may exceed \$2 million. The question is presently in court. Arizona Republic, 14 February 1973.
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- 96  
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- 97  
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