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Report to Russell Township: The 1994 Land Use Survey

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Executive Summary

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*by Karen Crauder Snyder, Ph.D.
Columbus, Ohio*

At the request of the Russell Township trustees and the township zoning commission, Russell Township's Land Use Guide Plan Committee accepted the task of updating the township's Land Use Guide Plan. The purpose of this plan is to guide land usage in the township for the next 20 years. As the new plan is being prepared, it is important that the opinions of township citizens are given careful consideration. To better understand what those opinions are, Russell Township's Trustees and its Land Use Guide Plan Committee commissioned Dr. Karen C. Snyder, a professional public opinion researcher, to assess them. These opinions were assessed, in large part, by a mail survey sent to all households in Russell Township.

The results of the analysis of these survey data show that there is a strong majority opinion in Russell Township with regard to issues that might affect the new Land Use Guide Plan. These opinions are summarized below. In addition, however, there is a vocal minority whose opinions are sometimes at odds with those of the majority. A summary of these minority opinions follows the summary of the majority opinions.

- **The satisfied majority.** The majority of Russell Township residents were not born in Russell. Rather, they migrated to Russell, mostly from the suburbs of Cuyahoga County. They came to Russell for its pastoral pleasures and to avoid the crime and traffic of what they left behind. Once in Russell Township, they feel that they now have what it is they sought. And, they want to keep it.

The overwhelming majority don't plan to leave anytime soon. Most of the few who might move away within the next five years will do so because of "life passages." They will retire or have a change in marital status. Others might leave because of a change in job or job status, or because of housing requirements -- twenty-six may leave because they need more affordable housing than Russell can provide, while another nineteen may leave to get a bigger house and lot.

- **Quality of life.** As might be expected, satisfied people rate quality-of-life aspects highly. And the most highly-rated attributes are those associated with Russell's rural atmosphere.

- **Land use issues facing Russell.** It only follows, then, that the majority of top-of-mind land use issues of Russell's citizenry concern the possible loss of what is valued. The subjects of their concerns are all related to development: denser residential development; more commercial development; the capabilities of the land to provide the water and sewage disposal needed; etc.
- **Status-quo land use policy preferences.** Continuing in the same vein, we would expect Russell's citizens to favor "status quo" policies with regard to the use of the land. And they do. They oppose most types of residential development that deviate from the privately-owned single family home on a large lot. And most oppose additional commercial development. Any that does occur they want to see strictly regulated.

Indeed, they clearly feel that two considerations should dominate any future land-use planning: the capabilities of the land and the desires of the majority of Russell Township residents. And, they approve of requiring set asides to assure that Russell's character is retained as additional development occurs.

- **Backing up positions with pocketbooks.** Russell's citizens say they are willing to spend more, if needed, to retain what they value. The majority indicate that they would approve a permanent or a temporary tax to keep Russell rural and many would also tax themselves to purchase and maintain other amenities that contribute to the rural flavor. Few would support land-use issues that would either increase residential density or increase the size of the commercial district, even if doing so would help create a bigger tax base for the township.
- **Land Use Guide Plan considerations.** Two considerations -- the environmental capabilities of the land and what the majority of Russell residents want -- should carry the most influence when the new plan is put together, residents feel. The desires of commercial and special interest groups should carry the least influence.
- **Housing preferences.** Single family homes are the preference of the overwhelming majority. Very few want rental-type property, such as apartments and duplex housing. A minority are willing to allow retirement communities and condos.
- **Set asides of parks, trails, recreational, open and green spaces as a condition for development.** A majority prefers that land for parks, etc., be set aside. A plurality prefers that land for trails also be set aside.
- **Commercial development.** A slim majority preferred no more commercial development in the township, while a substantial minority preferred varying amounts of new commercial development. Almost all residents were in agreement that, if new commercial development

should occur, both the type and location of that development should be strictly regulated.

- **Water and septic systems.** The quantity of water is adequate and the condition of septic tanks is good in most households in Russell Township. There are a few areas in the township, however, where both of these amenities can be problematic.

There were minority opinions on many of the above issues, and these minority opinions tended to be expressed by members of the following subgroups: older people, those with lower incomes, those who had lived in Russell Township for more than 20 years, and females. They were sometimes joined by those who tended to live on major roads.

- **The most vocal minority.** The minority opinion seemed to be driven by pocketbook issues, as the opinions of these subgroups differed from the majority whenever dollars were involved. This vocal minority felt that we had enough open spaces now in Russell Township, and were less likely to support additional taxes to purchase and maintain more.

They were more likely to agree that the elderly have a difficult time supporting the typical Russell residence and need more options available. Consistent with that, this minority was more supportive of housing options beyond the single family home on large lots. Condos and retirement communities, in particular, were supported by them.

When it came to commercial development, these groups were more supportive of it, particularly when it promised tax relief. And, conversely, they were more likely to oppose the installation of city water and sewers.

Taken all together, we could infer that many older people on lower incomes who have lived in Russell for a long time, particularly females, are having a hard time maintaining the Russell Township lifestyle, or fear they will have a hard time maintaining it in the years to come. They would like to remain in Russell under more affordable conditions -- such as might be provided by alternative housing choices.

- **Another minority.** Another minority consisted of those who own the larger parcels of land in Russell. They felt they should be allowed to develop those parcels for profit as they see fit. The other residents of Russell don't agree.

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***Note: Appendix C is included under separate cover. Copies of this appendix are on file with the Russell Township Trustees.**

Report to Russell Township: Results of the 1994 Land Use Survey

*by Karen Crauder Snyder, Ph.D.
Columbus, Ohio*

I. Introduction

In democratic societies, governments are formed by people for the purpose of providing benefits to those people. In the United States, local governments, more than their state and national counterparts, furnish the benefits, including policies, that we rely on in our everyday lives. Because of their provision of these important things, local governments become, in essence, the providers or vendors and their citizens become the consumers.

As with any customer/provider relationship it is in every one's best interest to be sure what is provided is what is wanted. But what determines what is wanted? Part of that determination must be done by those most intimately involved with the government -- the "vendors" (in this case, the elected or appointed officials) -- because of their substantive expertise and broad responsibilities. And part of the determination must be done by the citizens.

As public entities, then, it is in the best interest of all parties to assess citizens' attitudes, particularly when important long-range policy decisions are about to be made, such as is about to happen in Russell Township. The situation is as follows.

At the request of the township trustees and the township zoning commission, Russell Township's Land Use Guide Plan Committee accepted the task of updating the township's Land Use Guide Plan. The purpose of this plan is to guide land usage in the township for the next 20 years. As the new plan is being prepared, it is important that the opinions of township citizens are given careful consideration. To better understand what those opinions are, Russell Township's Trustees and its Land Use Guide Plan Committee commissioned Dr. Karen C. Snyder, a professional public opinion researcher, to assess them. The research was designed to answer the following questions:

- What are residents' perceptions of the quality of life in Russell Township? With regard to the quality of life, what aspects of township life do they value most? And how do they perceive that

their quality of life might be affected in the future by different land use policies?

- What policies do they support or oppose with regard to different land use issues such as: residential density and development; commercial development; set-asides of land for parks, open spaces, trails and such; and city water and sewer systems?
- Why did citizens move to Russell Township in the first place? Why might they move away? How might land use policies affect their decisions?
- How do these land use policy preferences vary across demographic and geographic groups in the township?

The next section describes the methodology used to address these research questions.

II. Methodology

First, to make sure that land-use issues in Russell Township were well defined from the standpoint of average citizens, a series of focus groups were held in the summer of 1994 with various populations of adults in Russell Township. An analysis of the data from these groups is reported under separate cover¹. Next, a public opinion survey of all households in Russell Township was performed in order to provide a quantitative assessment of the research questions. Thus, both qualitative and quantitative methods were combined to achieve in-depth issue definition as well as accurate assessment of citizens' opinions regarding land use issues. This report analyzes only the quantitative portion of this assessment.

Survey Methodology

- **Population under study:** All adult residents of households located within the political boundaries of Russell Township.
- **Census approach to sampling:** The unit to be surveyed was the household. Because there are only about 2,000 households in Russell Township, and because township officials wanted to include all households in the assessment, a "census" was performed.
- **Survey technique:** The survey was administered by mail to every address located within Russell Township during November and December of 1994. Mailing labels were supplied by Russell Township personnel.

¹ See *Summary of Focus Groups for Local Land Use Guide* by Joanne Wanstreet, July 26, 1994.

- **Survey administration:** Each survey packet mailed included a cover letter with specific instructions as to whom within the household was to be the respondent. To help assure that the respondent was selected randomly, the "next birthday" method was suggested when the household contained more than one adult. That is, surveys were to be self-administered by the adult within each household who had the "next birthday." (As is always the case in mail surveys, there is no method of assuring that the intended respondent became the actual respondent.)

To help increase the response rate, township officials made sure that articles about the survey appeared in local papers. These articles explained the purpose of the survey, asked residents to look for it in their mail and, when it arrived, to complete and return it as soon as possible.

- **Administration of survey field work:** The survey was designed by Dr. Karen C. Snyder, while the actual mailing of survey packets was conducted by The Polimetrics Laboratory for Political and Social Research in the Department of Political Science at The Ohio State University under the supervision of Dr. Kathleen Carr, Senior Research Associate. The Polimetrics Laboratory also performed all data management tasks, as specified by Dr. Snyder: coding of open-ended questions; data entry; generation of statistics, etc.
- **Response rate:** The total number of survey packets mailed out numbered 2,071. Of these, 139 were returned as undeliverable, reducing the "universe" of households to 1932 total. In all, 781 completed surveys were returned, yielding a response rate of 40% (781/1932).
- **Sampling error:** Overall, the sampling error is slightly less than $\pm 3\%$, assuming a 50/50% split on survey answers. The sampling error was calculated at the 95% confidence level. (Please note that sampling error will vary within subgroups and among questions, depending upon the number of cases included in each subgroup, as well as the distribution of responses.)

A sample of the survey instrument and its cover letter are included in Appendix A.

III. Results

A. Description of Respondents

Demographic profile of respondents, their households, etc.: On many critical variables, the profile of our Russell Township Land Use Survey respondents approximates the demographic profile of adults living in the unincorporated areas of Russell Township, as determined by comparing respondents' demographics with 1990 U.S. Census Statistics (included in Appendix B). The two sets of statistics do differ somewhat, however. Survey respondents are slightly more likely to be male, older, more educated, married, and have higher incomes. These differences are undoubtedly attributable to multiple factors.² On other attributes, there is an almost-perfect match between the respondents and the census data, when one takes the categorical differences into account. These factors include: persons employed either full or part time; average number of adults per household; average number of children per household; home ownership versus renting; miles/minutes to drive to work; and some income and education categories. Readers who are interested in this respondent/census data comparison should compare the census data with the demographic data for the respondents, which are displayed in Table 1.

In general, the residents of Russell Township are an upscale group of citizens. They are significantly older, more educated, have higher incomes, are more likely to be married and more likely to own homes than are Ohio residents at large. In addition, when compared to Ohio census data, Russell Township's households have fewer children under 18 in them.

As we proceed with the analysis, note that all data, unless indicated otherwise, are calculated on the base of 781 respondents, minus a handful of nonresponders on each question.

² These factors could include some or all of the following: 1) Russell Township has grown since the 1990 census was taken, thus the nature of the population may have changed slightly; 2) the census data and the survey data do not have categories that correspond exactly; 3) the census data include persons 18 and over who would not be likely to be respondents, in spite of the instructions in the cover letter -- i.e., college students away at school, high school seniors, young adults living at home, etc.; and 4) some households, in accordance with generations of tradition, may have made a decision to have the perceived head of household (probably the male) respond for the entire household.

**Table 1
Demographics of Respondents**

Personal Demographics	No.	%*
Gender*		
Female	332	44
Male	430	56
Totals	762	100
Age		
44 & under	213	28
45 to 54	208	28
55 to 64	159	21
65 and up	176	23
Totals	756	100
Education		
High school grad. or less	95	13
Some college	149	20
College graduate	236	31
Some graduate school	81	11
Graduate degree	196	26
Totals	757	101
Employment status		
Employed full time	441	59
Employed part time	75	10
Unemployed	10	1
Homemaker	61	8
Retired	162	22
Disabled	5	1
Totals	754	101
Marital status		
Married	632	83
Unmarried	128	17
Totals	760	100
Household income		
\$19,999 or less	34	5
\$20,000 to \$39,999	99	14
\$40,000 to \$59,999	148	21
\$60 to \$89,999	150	21
\$90,000 to \$124,999	121	17
\$125,000 or over	151	21
Totals	703	99

* Nineteen surveys were returned with both "male" and "female" checked in the gender category. Respondents' comments indicated that both the male and female of the household had collaborated on the survey answers. (continued)

Table 1 (continued)

Personal Demographics	No.	%
Own or rent home?		
Own	760	98
Rent	9	1
Other	5	1
Totals	774	100
Property size in acres		
1/2 acre or less	14	2
>1/2 but not >than 1 1/2	130	17
>1/2 but not >3	322	42
>3 but not >5	146	19
>5 but not >10	114	15
>10 acres	49	6
Totals	775	101
Location of residence		
Major road	166	22
Minor road	384	50
Development	189	25
Other	28	4
Totals	767	101
Remain in Russell T. for next 5 years?		
Yes	674	87
No	20	3
Don't know	79	10
Totals	773	100
Average number of years lived in Russell Township	18 years	
Average number of adults in household	2	
Average number of children under 18 in household	.5	
Average age of home	34 years	
Average number of miles driven one way to work	15 miles	
Total respondents	781	

B. Migration patterns

Q: Where did Russell Township's citizens live before moving to Russell Township? What brought them to Russell? And why might they move away?

Russell's source of citizens. The overwhelming majority of residents were not raised in Russell, but moved to Russell Township from a suburban area in another county in Ohio, as displayed in Table 2. Only a fraction have lived here all their lives. Of those who moved to Russell Township from another county in Ohio, 79% came to Russell from Cuyahoga County; 11% from elsewhere in Geauga County; 6% from Lake County, and the remainder from various other counties, mostly counties near Geauga. The average resident has resided in Russell for 18 years (see Table 1).

Table 2
Where Did Respondent Live Before Moving to Russell Township?

Geographic Area	No.	%
Have lived in Russell Township all my life	19	3
Moved to Russell Township from another county in Ohio	637	85
Moved to Russell Township from outside Ohio	95	13
Totals	751	101*
Type of Area Lived In Before Moving to Russell		
Urban	143	19
Suburban	493	66
Rural	111	15
Totals	747	100

*Percentages add up to >100 due to rounding error.

Reason for moving to Russell. Respondents were asked to indicate why they moved to Russell Township (see Table 3). By far the most frequently mentioned "most important reason" was for the rural atmosphere. Other reasons lag behind in frequency of mention and in importance.

The data in Table 3 may also be looked at by *percent of cases* indicating reasons for moving to Russell. When that is done, 95% of the respondents mentioned "rural atmosphere" as either first, second or third most important reason for moving to Russell Township; 64% mentioned "bigger house or lot" and 62%

mentioned "avoid traffic/crime." These data suggest that the majority of Russell Township residents may have moved here for multiple reasons, but the rural atmosphere of Russell has the most importance to the overwhelming majority of respondents.

Table 3
Reasons for Moving to Russell Township

Reason	Most Important Reason		1st, 2nd and 3rd Most Important Reasons Combined*	
	No.	%	No.	%
Rural atmosphere	477	64	704	35
Bigger house or lot	117	16	474	23
Better schools	51	7	264	13
Avoid traffic/crime	46	6	457	22
Job or business	23	3	75	4
Other	28	4	63	3
Totals	742	100	2037	100

*These numbers and percentages represent the number and percentages of mentions, not cases.

Why might citizens leave Russell? As we saw in Table 1, most citizens do not intend to leave Russell Township, at least not anytime soon. Eighty-seven percent (87%) indicated they plan to live in Russell for at least another 5 years. What about the others? Three percent (3%) indicated they will move within the next 5 years, and an additional 10% didn't know. The probable reasons for these moves are displayed in Table 4. The dominant reasons are: retirement; to seek more affordable housing; and job relocation.

Table 4
Likely Reasons for Move If Respondent Moves in Next 5 Years

Reason	1st Mention		Total Mentions	
	No.	%	No.	%
Retirement	36	37	47	29
New job/job relocation	22	22	27	17
Bigger house/lot	10	10	19	12
More affordable housing	10	10	26	16
Change in marital status	4	4	8	5
Better access to employment	1	1	11	7
Better schools	1	1	3	2
Other	14	14	23	14
Totals	98	99	164	102

Note: Percentages add up to ±100 due to rounding error.

We turn now to substantive discussions of our respondents' attitudes about their township, its quality of life, and their land-use policy preferences for the next 20 years.

C. Perceived Quality of Life in Russell Township

Q: How do Russell Township residents feel about the quality of life in Russell? How do they evaluate Russell relative to other places in Geauga County? How do they evaluate Russell relative to the way it was when they first moved in?

What residents like most about Russell Township. The first question on the survey asked respondents to indicate, in their own words, what they liked most about Russell Township. Their coded and grouped responses, as shown in Table 5, clearly indicate that "variations on the rural life" are what is most appreciated: rural atmosphere; open spaces; quiet; wildlife and nature; fresh air, etc. Clearly, what they like most is what they said they came here to get (see previous discussion).

Table 5
What Respondents Like Most About Russell Township

Comment	No.	%
Rural lifestyle	343	47
Open spaces	106	14
Quiet	76	10
Large lots	68	9
Wildlife/nature	35	5
Access to urban areas	26	4
Fresh air	13	2
Safety issues	13	2
Schools	7	1
No congestion	7	1
Friendly neighbors	6	1
Little development	6	1
Low population	5	1
Low taxes	5	1
Other	18	2
Totals	734	101

Rating aspects of quality. All respondents were asked to evaluate various aspects of the quality of life in Russell Township on a ten-point scale ranging from 1 (very poor quality) to 10 (very high quality). The mean results of these ratings are displayed in Figure 1.

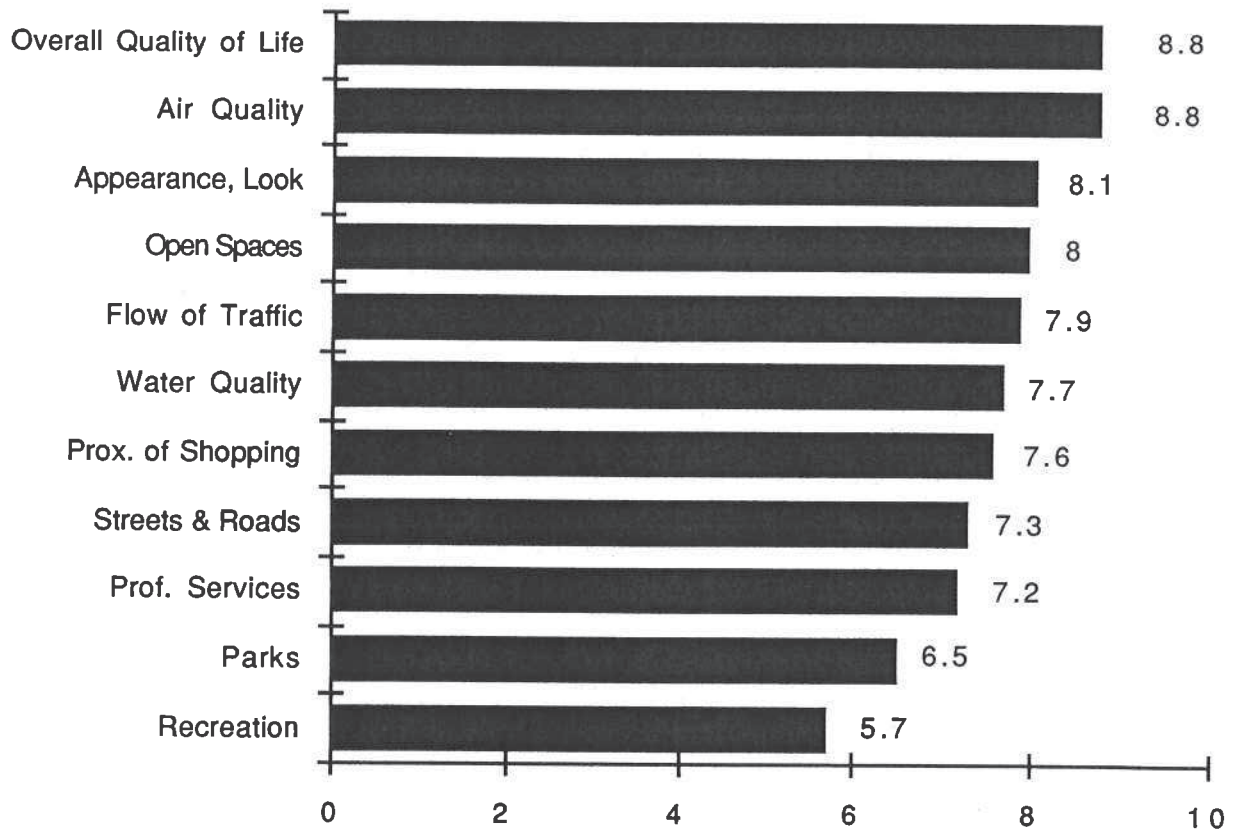
Topping the ratings are those for the "overall quality of life in Russell Township." And, once again, the appreciation of Russell's rural atmosphere is shown, as indicated by the 2nd, 3rd and 4th place ratings of (in descending order) "air quality," "appearance or overall look of Russell" and "open spaces."

The lowest rated aspects of Russell are its parks and recreational facilities. These two attributes of Russell, as we shall see later in this report, are not used very often by the majority of Russell residents. This observation raises the following question:

Q: With regard to parks and recreational facilities, is there a significance difference in ratings between users and non users?

There is -- though the difference is not enough to pull these attributes out of their relative rank with the other attributes. Those who used the parks, etc., at least one time a week or one time a month gave them a mean rating of 6.9, while those who never used

Figure 1
Perceived Quality of Life in Russell Township
(Mean Ratings of Attributes)



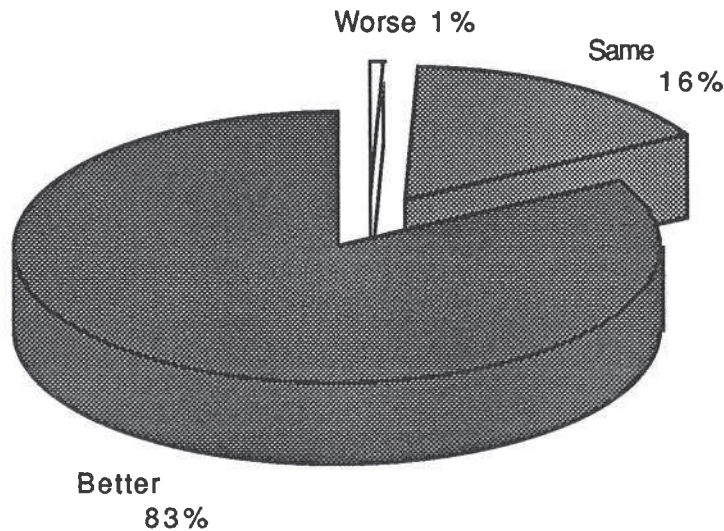
them gave them a mean rating of 6.0. The same pattern holds with regard to recreational facilities. Those who used the parks, etc., at least one time a week or one time a month gave these facilities a mean rating of 6.2, while non users rated them at 5.3. In both instances, the mean rating differences between user groups were monotonic or almost so: the higher the usage, the higher the rating.

Russell compared to elsewhere in Geauga County.

Q. How well off do Russell's residents perceive they are when they compare their quality of life to elsewhere in Geauga County?

Better off than their fellow Geaugans, their responses indicate, as shown in Figure 2. The overwhelming majority are in alignment. Life is sweeter in Russell than elsewhere in the county. When these data are reviewed by subgroups, we notice a tendency for one subgroup -- those who have lived in Russell Township longer -- to be more likely to respond that Russell is better when compared to those other places.

Figure 2
Russell Township Quality of Life
Compared to Elsewhere in Geauga County

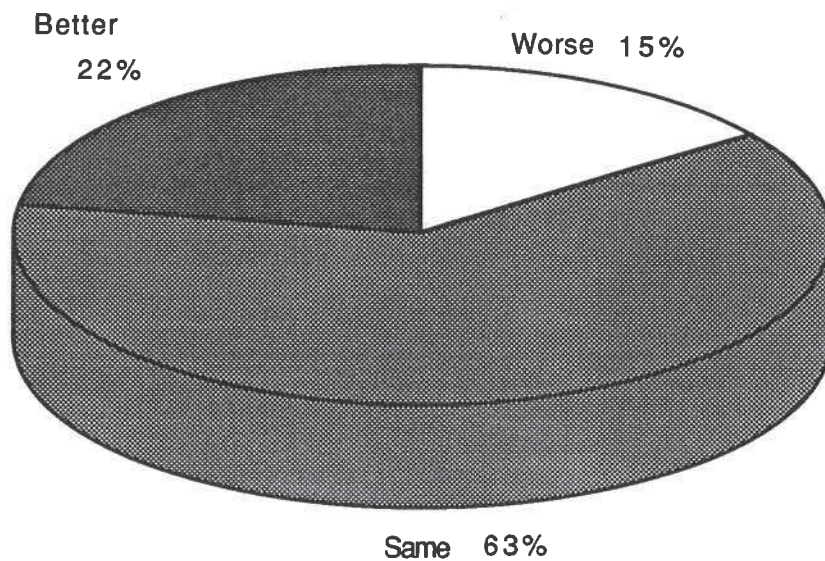


Russell now compared to then.

Q: Is the quality of life in Russell perceived as increasing, decreasing or staying the same over time?

To address this question, respondents were asked if the current overall quality of life in Russell is worse than, about the same as or better than when they first moved here. As shown in Figure 3, the quality of life is not only perceived as high. It is perceived as stable or improving by most. A minority (15%) feel the quality has declined since they first moved here. There were no real differences among subgroups with regard to this rating.

Figure 3
Russell Township Quality of Life Now
Compared to When Respondent Moved Here



In general, Russell Township residents came here to get what they got and they like what they have. This satisfaction with life in Russell forms the context for our next section, in which we explore citizens' attitudes toward land use policies for Russell Township for the next 20 years.

D. Preferred Land Use Policies

Q: What land use issues are perceived as threatening the good life in Russell Township? And what long-range land use policies are perceived as supporting it?

Most important land use issue. The above questions were addressed in several ways. First, respondents were asked, in their own words, to describe the most important land use issue facing Russell Township. The results were coded and grouped, as displayed in Table 6. The most mentioned concern regarded lot size -- generally, that residential lots might be allowed to get too small to preserve the rural character of Russell Township. The second most mentioned concern was about development in general -- that there would be too much of it. Many of the other concerns were in a similar vein: concerns about business development; concerns about the need to preserve the rural character and open spaces; increasing housing density. In fact, these data suggest that the land use issues named by the great majority of respondents concern the possible loss of what they like most -- the rural character of Russell Township.

Table 6
Most Important Land-use Issue Facing Russell Township

Issue	No.	%
Lot size	128	19
Concern about development in general	105	15
Concerns about septic tanks, water, or sewage	93	14
Business development	76	11
Preservation of rural character	63	9
Preservation of open spaces	46	7
Concerns about housing density	38	6
Overpopulation	31	5
Golf course/country club	25	4
Parks	18	3
Single family homes	16	2
Underdeveloped land	9	1
Need for planned growth	8	1
Strip mall center	6	1
Wetlands	6	1
Roads or traffic	5	1
Urbanization	4	1
Housing costs	4	1
Other	8	1
Totals	689	103

Percentages add up to > 100% due to rounding error.

Status quo policy options. Given these concerns, then, how do respondents react to a variety of policy-related statements regarding some central land use issues?

Q. For which types of land use policies do citizens indicate the most support -- those that would retain the status quo, or those that would allow more development? Which particular policies garner the most support? And which the least?

Respondents were asked to indicate how strongly they agreed or disagreed with frequently voiced opinions about land use issues. Each opinion was representative of a particular position from which policy implications could be inferred. Five of these positions were "status quo" positions, five were more supportive of change, while one position was more neutral. The order of the positions was scrambled on the survey to help avoid response bias. The five status quo positions, as stated in the survey, were:

We don't need any additional public open spaces and recreational areas in Russell Township. We have enough now.

New people moving into Russell Township just don't understand the Russell Township lifestyle.

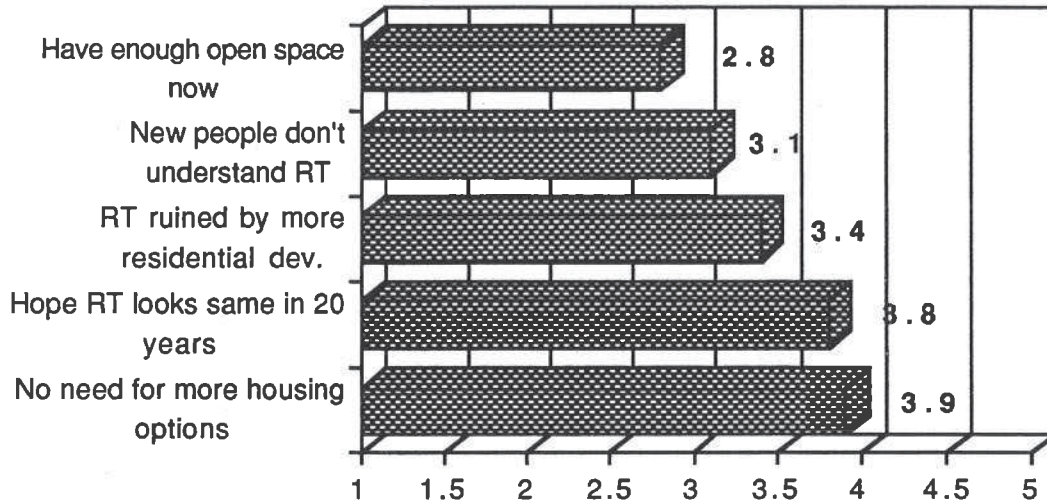
The character of Russell Township will be ruined if residential development continues.

Twenty years from now, I hope Russell Township looks just like it does today.

We don't need more housing options here in Russell Township. The type of housing we have now is the only type we need -- the single family home on a large lot.

Using a 1 to 5 scale, where 1 = strongly disagree and 5 = strongly agree, respondents were asked to indicate their attitude toward each of these statements. A number above the midpoint of three expressed agreement, while a number below the midpoint expressed disagreement. Strength of agreement or disagreement is thus indicated by number magnitude. The results, displayed in Figure 4, indicate that the status quo policy that would limit housing options to single family homes has the most support. Close behind it is the policy option that would preserve the appearance of Russell Township into the future. The status quo policy garnering the strongest disagreement is the one regarding open spaces. This suggests that citizens may be willing to listen to plans to preserve more open space in Russell. (Fifty-one percent of our respondents *disagreed* that there was no need to preserve more open space.)

Figure 4
Agreement with Status Quo Policy Positions
 (Mean ratings)



Q. Are these policy preferences consistent across all subgroups, or do some citizens express significantly more or less agreement than others?

With regard to the policy that garnered the strongest support -- *no need for more housing options* -- there were some groups that showed a propensity to disagree. They were: those who had lived in Russell for a longer period of time; older residents; females; and residents with lower incomes. As we shall see, members of these groups were frequently at odds with the majority.

With regard to the policy that states, *Hope RT looks same in 20 years*, there was just one group that showed any significant difference, albeit weak. The larger the lot size of the residential property owned by the respondent, the more the respondent tended to indicate agreement with the statement.

Females, younger people and those living on larger sized properties were slightly more likely to agree that Russell Township will be ruined by more residential development.

As one might expect, it was the following groups that showed the strongest tendency to agree that *new people don't understand the*

Russell lifestyle: Older people, people who had lived in Russell the longest; those with lower incomes and less education; those who lived on the larger parcels of property; and those who lived along major roads.

We have enough open spaces now was likely to receive stronger agreement from the longest-term residents, older people, less educated people, and those with lower incomes. Conversely, disagreement was likely to be strongest among more frequent users of parks and other such facilities.

Policies which advocate change. Still using the same 5-point disagreement/agreement scale, respondents were asked to indicate the extent of their support for five policies which advocated change. These were stated as such:

There are not enough shopping facilities and professional services here in Russell Township. As it is, we must drive too far to get what we need.

In Russell Township, we really need the stronger tax base that comes with more commercial development.

People who own large parcels of land in Russell Township have a right to develop it for profit as they see fit.

We need affordable housing in Russell Township. Many young families, including some of our children's families, may never be able to afford to live here the way things are now.

It's difficult for some of our elderly residents to maintain a typical Russell township residence. We need housing options here that are more suitable for them.

First, let's compare Figure 5 with Figure 4. In each case, the bars in the histogram tell a story. There is simply more overall agreement with status quo policies than there is with pro-change policies.

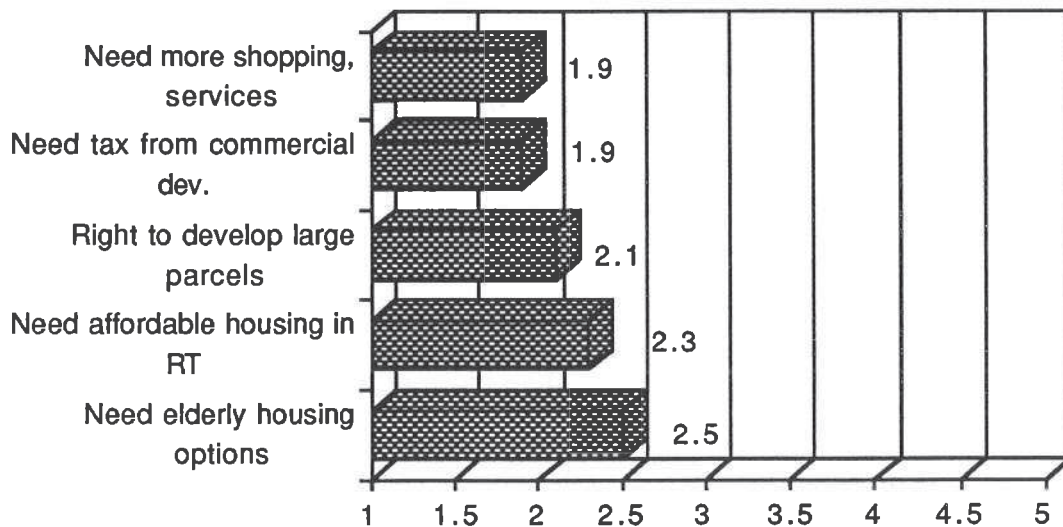
Continuing to refer to Figure 5, as the two statements with the lowest mean scores indicate, most residents simply don't agree that more commercial development is needed in Russell Township -- not for its tax base, and not for its convenience. The less educated and those with lower incomes are more likely to agree with both of these statements than their more educated counterparts, from which we may infer that they are more likely than others to prefer additional commercial development. In addition, longer term residents of Russell Township are also slightly more likely to agree with the need for an expanded tax base that results from commercial development.

Agreement that people should have the right to develop large parcels of land was weak across all groups with one exception. Those who owned large parcels tended to be likely to agree they should have the right to develop that land as they see fit.

Both of the pro-change housing policies were more likely to be preferred by the following groups: females; lower income people; less educated people; older people; and those who had lived the longest in Russell township. In addition, those who lived on major roads in Russell were more likely to agree that more affordable housing is needed.

Note that many of the policy issues just discussed reflect the old adage, "Where you sit is where you stand." Russell Township residents often seem to have their vested interests in mind when they pick their policy options.

Figure 5
Agreement with Pro-Change Policy Positions
(Mean Ratings)



An additional agree/disagree policy question was presented to respondents, namely:

Whether or not Russell Township grows and changes is not important -- it's how well we manage that growth and change that counts.

The mean score on this question was 3.4, indicating mild agreement overall. Among subgroups, agreement was most likely among those who were older, female, lower income and had lived a longer time in Russell Township.

Most important considerations. The existing Russell Township Land Use Guide Plan makes recommendations based upon the environmental capabilities of the land alone -- for example, availability of ground water supply and ability of the land to support septic systems.

Q: Should the new Land use Guide plan make recommendations based on environmental capabilities only, so should other factors be taken into consideration? How do these other factors rank in importance?

Respondents were asked to rank in importance the various factors shown in Table 7. They were also encouraged to supply their own factor, should the provided list not suffice. Clearly, the environmental capability of the land is the top consideration. Second in importance are the desires of the majority of Russell citizens. Two other government-associated considerations place a distant 3rd and 4th in importance.

By *percent of respondents* or *percent of cases* mentioning the different considerations as 1st, 2nd or 3rd most important, the data are as follows: environmental capabilities of the land (90%); desires of a majority of RT residents (88%); OEPA recommendations (45%); and state and county rules and regulations, 37%. The other categories were mentioned by an average of 5% of the respondents each. Thus, the rank order holds firmly from either viewpoint.

The things that were least important to be taken into consideration were a mirror image of the most important considerations. Specifically, commercial interest groups were the least important of all, followed by (in order of less to more important) special interest groups, owners of large tracts of land and ODOT recommendations.

Table 7
Most Important Considerations for Land Use Guide Plan

Consideration	Most Important Consideration		1st, 2nd and 3rd Most Important Considerations Combined*	
	No.	%	No.	%
Environmental capabilities of the land	391	53	671	32
Desires of the majority of Russell Township residents	266	36	652	31
OEPA recommendations	40	5	337	16
State and county rules and regulations	16	2	278	13
Desires of owners of large tracts of land	7	1	63	3
Desires of commercial interest groups (developers of clubs, etc.)	4	1	26	1
Desires of special interest groups	3	<1	10	1
ODOT recommendations	2	<1	36	2
Other	13	2	37	2
Totals	742	100	2110	101

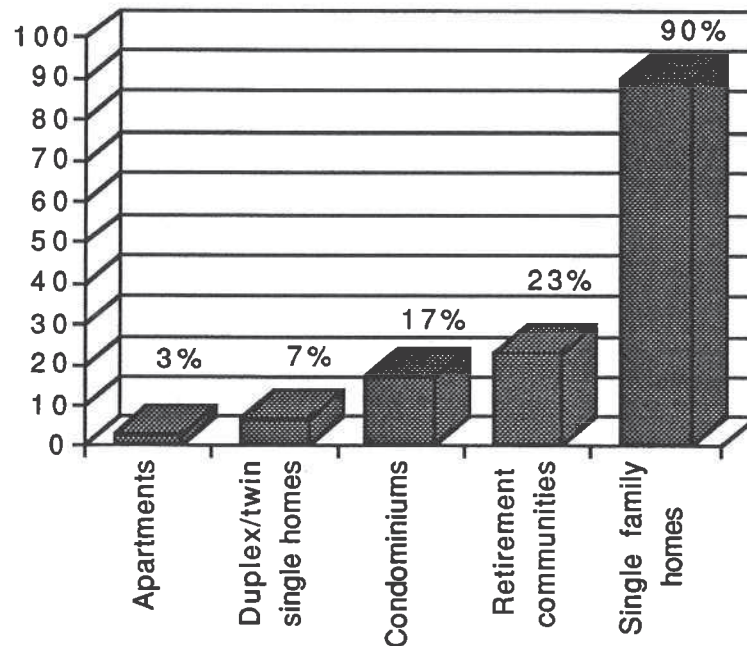
*These numbers and percentages represent the number and percentages of mentions, not cases.

Types of residential development to be recommended. As of now, residences in Russell Township are single family homes on large lots.

Q: Should the new Land Use Guide Plan recommend single family homes only, or should additional types of housing be permitted in Russell Township?

Respondents were asked to indicate which of five types of residential development they preferred, as well as allowed the opportunity to specify a choice of their own. As shown in Figure 6, there is practically no support for the two options that usually entail rental of property -- apartments and twin single homes. Support increases for condominiums (17%), increases again for retirement communities (23%) and is practically unanimous for the status quo, single family homes.

Figure 6
Types of Residential Development That Should be Recommended*



*Each histogram bar represents the percentage of respondents who indicated type of residential development which should be allowed.

Even though it is not displayed, the "other" category received 59 specific mentions, representing 8% of the cases. Most of these volunteered comments fell into one of two categories: support for cluster-type housing; or support for a no-growth-at-all policy.

Also note that support of retirement communities as a housing option is highly correlated with support of the policy position discussed earlier, namely: *It's difficult for some of our elderly residents to maintain a typical Russell Township residence. We need housing options here that are more suitable for them.*

Conditions for development. In order for development to occur, public laws and regulations can require that certain conditions be met.

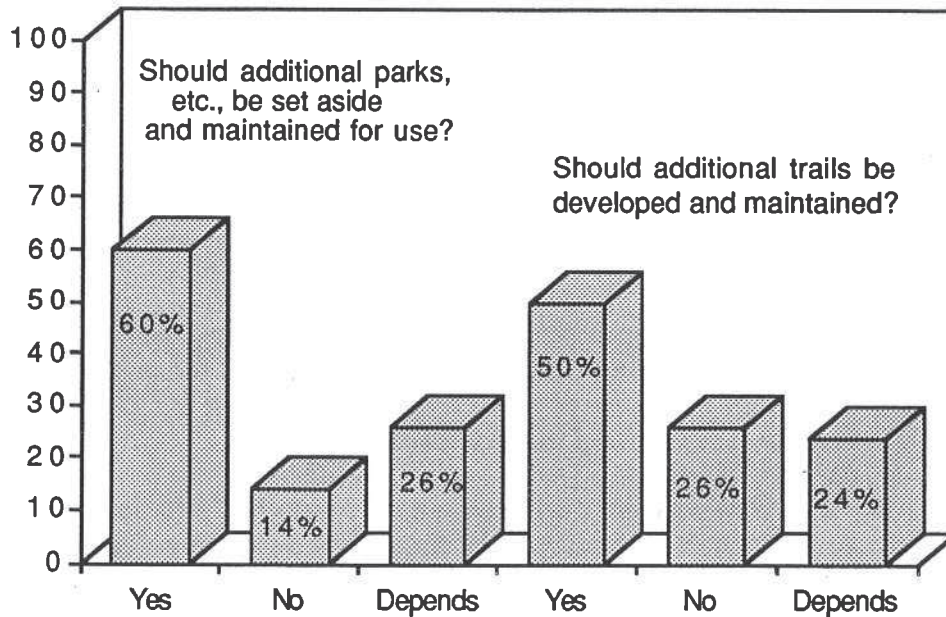
Q: Should Russell Township's new guide plan require the set-aside, development and maintenance of certain types of land as a condition for development?

Respondents were asked to evaluate the desirability of two types of conditions. The first would require that additional park land, recreational areas, open or green spaces be set aside and maintained for use by Russell residents. The second would require that additional trails for bikes, horses and other uses be developed and maintained for use by township

residents. As shown in Figure 7, the majority of respondents supported the first type of set aside. The second type received support from 50% of the respondents. Note, however, the large percentage responding "depends/don't know" in both instances. This suggests that this uncommitted group, given convincing information, could add its weight to either the "yes" or "no" positions, thereby shifting public opinion.

When looked at by subgroups, there is a significant difference of opinion among respondents based on their households' usage of these types of amenities. As we might expect, there is a much greater likelihood of support for the "yes" positions as frequency of usage rises.

Figure 7
Recommended Conditions For Development

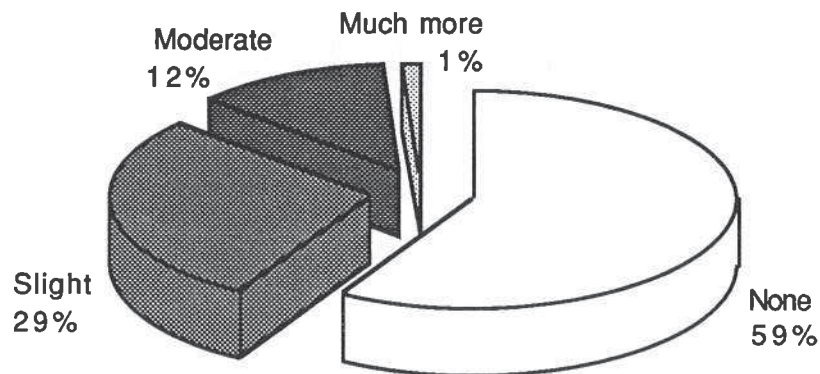


Commercial development in Russell Township. The new Land Use Guide Plan undoubtedly must address the issue of commercial development. As of now, little exists in Russell.

Q: Do citizens feel that more commercial development is desirable in Russell Township? If so, how much more? And how strictly do they feel additional commercial development should be regulated?

Respondents were asked which of four recommendations they preferred: no additional commercial development; a slight increase in commercial development; a moderate increase; or much more of it. As shown in Figure 8, the majority of respondents preferred no more commercial development, while 42% (29% + 12% + 1%) of the respondents preferred varying amounts of additional commerce in the township. There were no significant differences among subgroups.

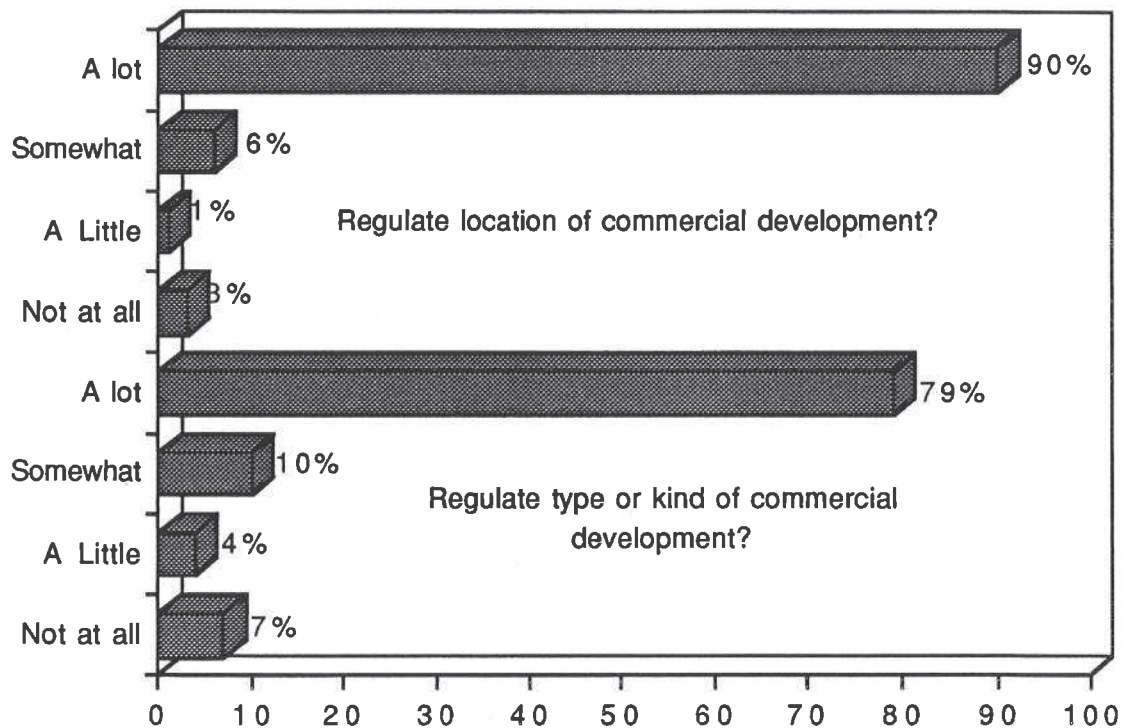
Figure 8
Preferred Amount of Additional Commercial Development



When it came to the location and type of additional commercial development, the distribution of responses was much more lopsided. As shown in Figure 9, almost all respondents (90%) felt that the location of such development, should it occur, should be regulated a lot, and the overwhelming majority (76%) also want the type of commercial development regulated a lot.

As one can clearly see, there is not much variation in Figure 9 -- the overwhelming majority of respondents favored a lot of regulation with regard to both location and type of commercial development. In spite of this, there are some subgroup differences. The following groups are more likely to prefer more regulation: those who have lived in Russell Township for a shorter period of time; younger respondents; females; and those with higher incomes. In addition, more regulation for location was preferred by the more highly educated and those who lived off of major roads (particularly those in developments).

Figure 9
Amount of Regulation of New Commercial Development



Land use issues and local taxes. As landowners and homeowners know all too well, many local land use issues have property tax implications. Some land use decisions can cause local property taxes to rise, while others might help to hold taxes steady or even to allow them to decline over time. To gain a measure of commitment to policy preferences, some issues were phrased hypothetically as pocketbook issues.

Q. How does phrasing land use issues in terms of property taxes affect citizens' opinions? Are there issues for which they would raise their own taxes? Conversely, are there development issues that would be supported if they promised tax relief?

First, respondents were asked if they would be likely to support a permanent, temporary³ or no tax increase for various types of land use purposes: to keep Russell Township rural; to purchase additional land for open and green spaces; to purchase additional land for parks; to purchase additional land for recreational areas; or to purchase additional land for trails.

As shown in Figure 10, the majority of respondents said they would pay, if necessary, to preserve the rural nature of Russell Township. And the majority of that majority would be willing to pay an additional tax *permanently* for this purpose. Almost half our respondents said they would pay to purchase additional land for open or green spaces. Support for parks, recreational areas and trails declines, but in each instance about half those who expressed an opinion (that is, who didn't reply "don't know") were willing to pay some tax, with a temporary tax gaining in preference over a permanent tax as we proceed from the top issue to the bottom issue shown on the chart in Figure 10.

When looked at by subgroups, those who express a greater willingness to tax themselves to keep Russell Township rural are those who have lived a longer time in Russell Township and those with higher incomes. The following groups are consistently more likely to support taxes for open spaces, parks, recreation areas and trails: those who have lived less time in Russell Township; younger respondents, the more educated; those with higher incomes and those who are more frequent users of parks and such.

Next, respondents were asked if they would support certain land use changes if they believed that these changes would reduce real estate taxes by increasing the tax base. Two options were presented: increasing the size of the commercial district to reduce the tax demand on residential property; and increasing residential density (i.e., smaller lot sizes) to limit the tax demand on each residence. As shown in Figure 11, there was little support for either of these options.

³ In the survey, we defined *temporary* as a tax that would stay in effect for 5 years or less.

Figure 10
Types of Land-Use Issues for Which Respondent
Would Support a Tax Increase

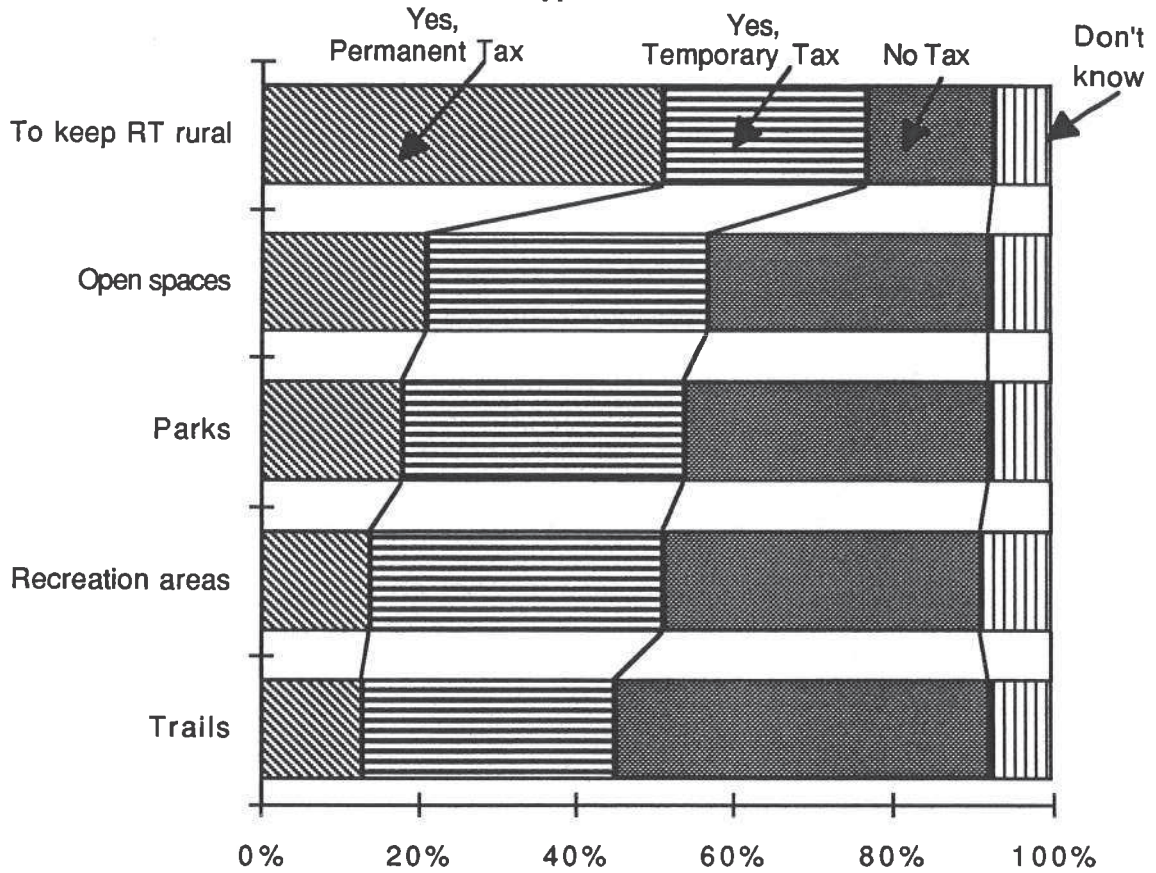
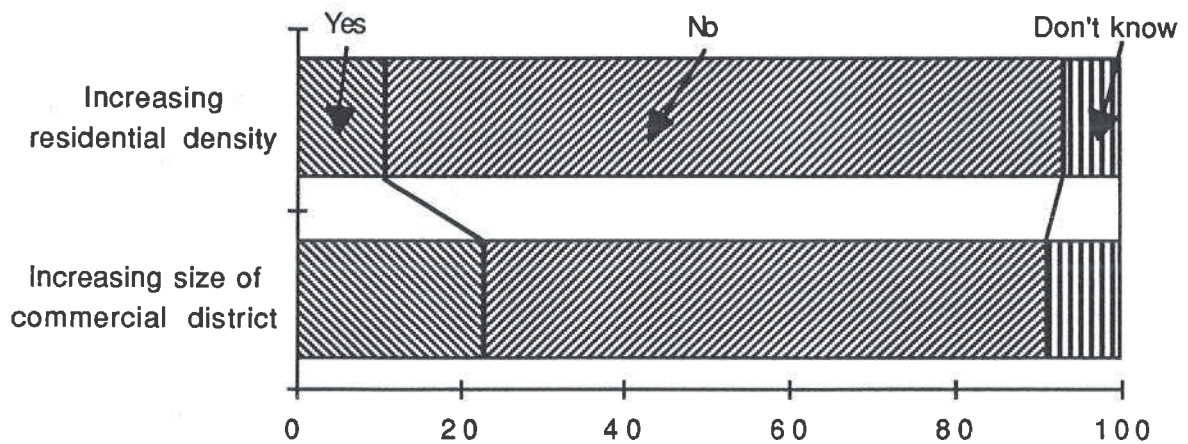


Figure 11
Types of Land-Use Issues Respondent
Would Support to Gain a Tax Decrease



When looked at by subgroups, the data in Figure 11 tell a story that reinforces the data associated with Figure 10. Here, those most likely to support land use issues that would bring tax decreases are: older people, the less educated, and those who have lived a longer time in Russell township.

Water, Septic Tank and Sewer Issues. In a rural areas, water is a critical issue with two variations: sources of fresh water for drinking and household uses; and disposal of waste water. Traditionally, individual wells on each property have provided the former. And septic systems with accompanying leachfields have provided the latter. Thus, each rural property provides two critical utilities for its residents. As development occurs, with its concomitant increases in population density, it can become increasingly difficult for the land to provide these essential utilities. Natural aquifers can be depleted or strained, the water table can lower, causing older, more shallow wells to go dry, and the ground can become more saturated with leachate. When this happens, city water and sewer systems are brought into play, as these systems allow water collection and disposal to occur at remote sites, using up-to-date technology. The capabilities of local land are expanded by "importing" the capabilities of land that is remote.

The introduction of city water and sewer systems, then, opens up the possibility of more development. With this in mind, it is essential to assess several things in order for Russell Township to create a new Land Use Policy Guide. First is the existing situation.

Q: How are the inherent capabilities of the land currently serving the residents of Russell Township? I.e., is the quality and quantity of water good? And how well are septic systems keeping up with disposal of waste water?

Water quantity. Looking at the inflow first, we asked respondents to rate the quantity of water supplied to their household. As shown in Figure 12, the overwhelming majority reported that the supply of water to their household was adequate all of the time, 9% reported adequacy most of the time and only 2% reported occasional or frequent shortages.

When looked at by subgroups, one would expect that those living on smaller properties might experience some deviation from an always adequate supply. Such was not the case. Those living on smaller lots were no more likely to have a less adequate water supply than those living on larger lots.

When looked at by section of the township, however, we find that those living in the southeast and south central portions of the

township are more likely to report a "mostly adequate" supply rather than an "always adequate" one.

Water quality. Water quality proved to be more problematic than water quantity. Referring to Figure 13, note that only a shade over one half of our respondents were very satisfied with the quality of the household's water. Once again, there were no significant differences when the data were controlled for size of property, but there were significant differences with regard to sections of the township. Overall, those living on the west side of Russell Township rate the quality of their water lower than those on the east side. When we use the means of the water quality ratings and look at these means by sections of Russell, we find that west side residents' mean ratings vary between 1.7 and 1.9, while east side residents' ratings average 1.4 or 1.5. (Note that in this instance a higher rating is indicative of lower quality, due to the way the response categories were ordered and numbered on the survey questionnaire.)

Figure 12
Quantity of Water in Household

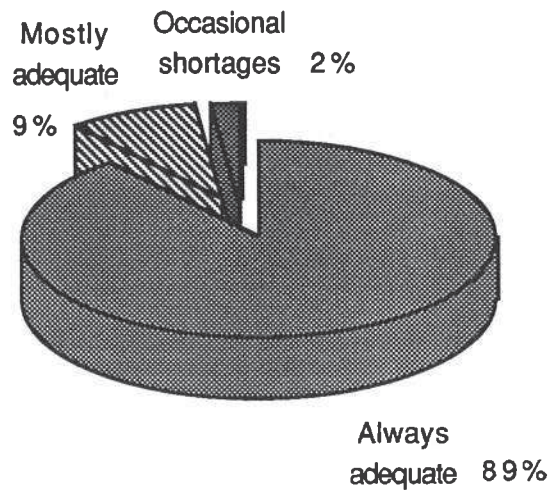
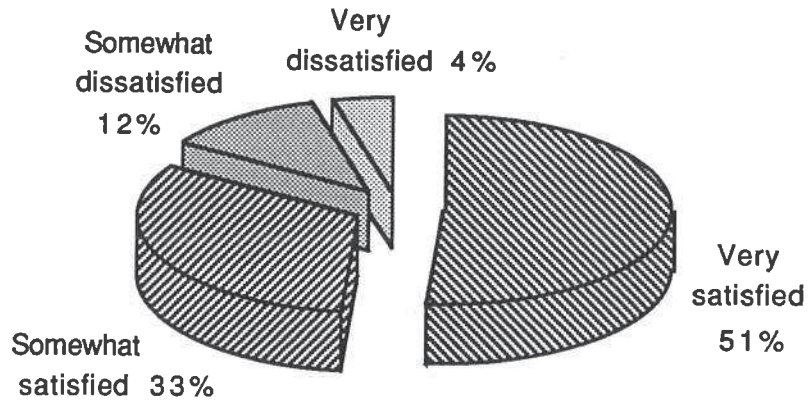


Figure 13
Quality of Water in Household



Condition of septic systems. Next, we consider the matter of the outflow, or the capabilities of Russell Township's septic system to meet the demands of its residents. Respondents were asked to describe the current condition of their household's septic system. As shown in Figure 14, 82% of the systems were described as being in good condition, 15% in fair condition and 3% in poor condition or in need of repair.

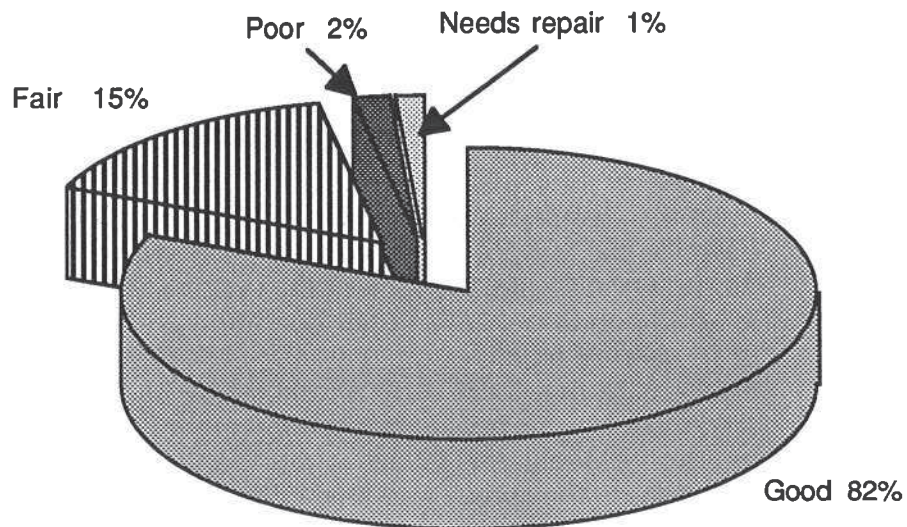
Please note that there were an unusually high number of blank responses on this question. Seventy eight (78) people skipped the question entirely and 19 answered "don't know." No other question on the survey had so much missing data.

As we speculated about the gender distribution of our respondents much earlier in this report, so we can speculate about these omissions. One explanation for this phenomenon suggests that their systems may be malfunctioning and, fearing detection, they chose not to respond. Another explanation is that respondents simply didn't know, so were more prone to skip the question entirely.

With regard to significant differences among demographic or geographic groups there was only one worth noting. Respondents living in the south central and north east sections of Russell township were more likely to respond that their systems were only "fair" instead of "good."

Types of septic system problems. Those who reported that their septic system was in poor condition or needs repair, plus a few other respondents who had experienced some type of problem with their system, indicated the type of problem they were experiencing. As displayed in Table 12⁴, the most frequently mentioned problem was wet areas in the leachfield, followed by odors. As one can deduce from the numbers reported, a few people reported more than one problem with their system.

Figure 14
Condition of Household Septic Tank



Note: Seventy eight respondents gave no answer at all, while 19 responded "don't know."

⁴ Problems are reported in raw numbers, not percentages, due to the low number of cases involved.

Table 8
Types of Problems with Septic Systems

Type of problem	No. of cases reporting this problem
Wet areas in leachfield	12
Odors	8
Problems during heavy rains	4
System backs up	2
Other	6
Total number of cases reporting one of these problems	23

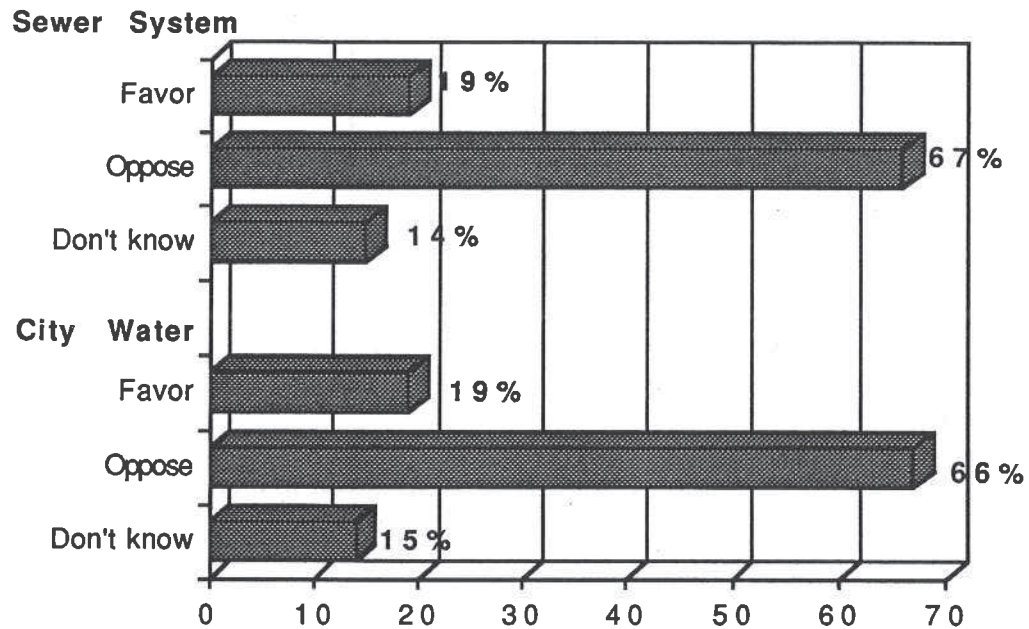
*The number of problems reported total 32, as some of the 23 respondents who reported problems reported multiple problems.

Attitudes toward possible installation of city water and sewers in Russell Township. After the assessment of the existing situation in the eyes of our respondents, next we consider their preferences for the future.

Q: Should city water be installed in Russell Township within the next 20 years? How about a sewer system?

To "cue" respondents thinking about these two subjects, they were reminded briefly of both the major advantages and disadvantages of installing/not installing these types of systems, with arguments on each side balanced as well as possible to eliminate question bias. Then, they were asked to take a position, first with regard to sewer systems, and next with regard to city water. Their responses are displayed in Figure 15.

Figure 15
Installation of Sewer System and City Water in Next 20 Years



With regard to both issues, there was a two-thirds/one-third split between those who oppose installation of these systems and those who favor it or simply don't know.

Subgroup differences regarding sewer systems. With regard to differences among groups of respondents, some demographic groups were more likely to oppose a sewer system. They were: those who had lived a longer time in Russell Township; those who lived on larger lots and major roads; older respondents; the less educated and those with lower incomes. Those more likely to favor or respond "don't know" to this question were those in the southwest quadrant of Russell Township (sections 7,8,10 and 11 on the survey map).

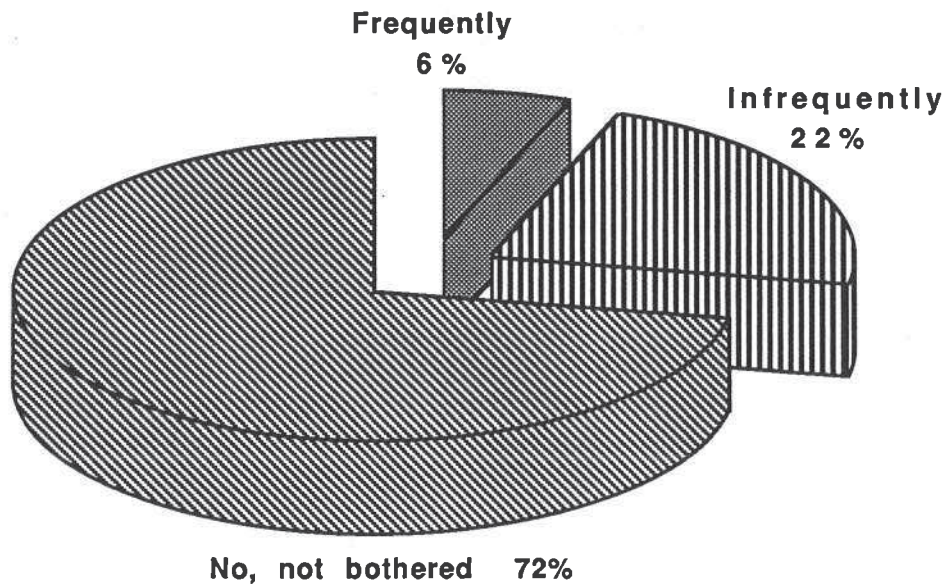
Subgroup differences regarding city water installation. Here, there weren't many differences with regard to lot size, but the same demographic groups that opposed sewers also opposed city water. And, once again, those living in the southwest quadrant of Russell (sections 7,8,10 and 11) were less likely to oppose the idea and more likely to favor it or respond "don't know."

Noise Issues. As earlier discussion and data have shown, aspects of the rural lifestyle available in Russell Township is what residents like best. Certainly, part of that rural atmosphere is the freedom from noise generated by the hubbub of a city and its suburbs. Contributing to the quiet in Russell is the low population density and its related implications. I.e., where fewer people are located, there are fewer sources of noise from cars, trucks, factories, and commercial areas. One possible direct or indirect policy goal of the new land Use Guide Plan might be to preserve the quiet of Russell Township.

Q: What is the current situation regarding external sources of noise from neighbors, traffic and commercial areas? Who is most likely to experience bothersome noise? And what are its sources?

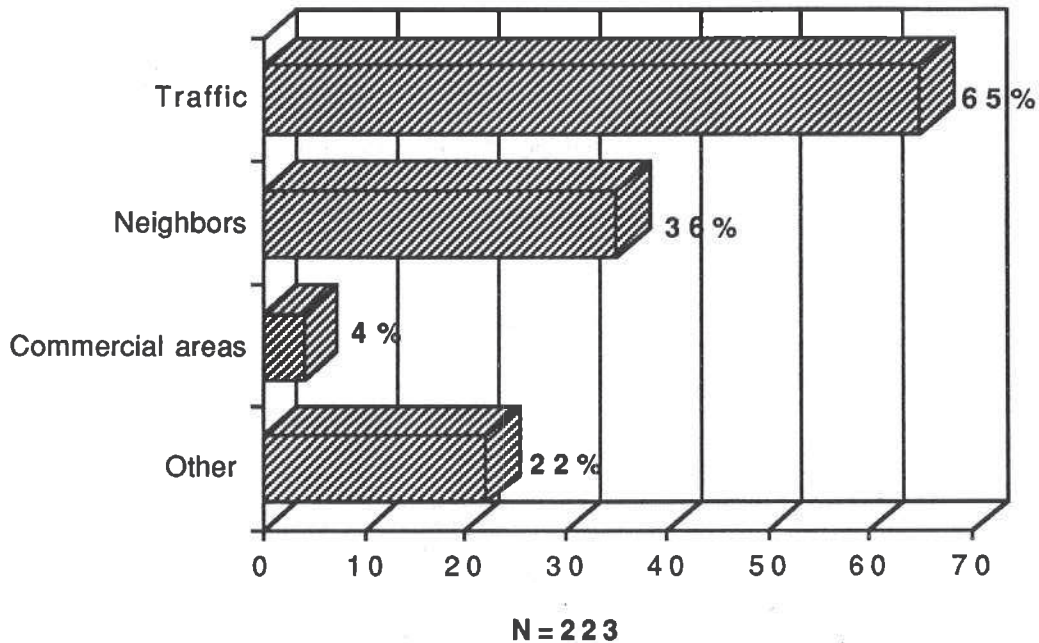
As shown in Figure 16, most respondents said they were not bothered by noise. Twenty-eight percent (N=222), however, reported some level of bothersomeness.

Figure 16
Frequency of Being Bothered by Noise from External Sources



Noise sources. What were the sources of those noises? As shown in Figure 17, most of them were caused by traffic and neighbors. Among the most mentioned sources in the "other" category (these responses were volunteered and written in the respondents' own words) were: vehicles; dogs; and guns.

Figure 17
Source of Noise



Minimum lot size considerations. The new Land Use Guide Plan can recommend minimum lot sizes for additional residential development that may occur in Russell Township. The current plan bases its lot-size recommendations only on the environmental capabilities of the land.

Q: For which reasons do citizens think the new Land Use Guide Plan should recommend minimum lot sizes?

Citizens were asked to choose the first and second most important reasons from a list of four. They could also specify a reason of their own. Their preferences, as displayed in Table 9, are unmistakable. Citizens know that the capabilities of the land take first place among considerations. Right behind that, however, is the need to preserve the character of Russell Township -- clearly, the rural character that is valued so highly, as shown by previous discussions.

Table 9
Reasons to Recommend a Minimum Lot Size for Residential Development

Reason	Most Important Reason		1st, and 2nd Most Important Reasons Combined*	
	No.	%	No.	%
Environmental reasons -- i.e., to ensure adequate ground water supplies and room for septic systems	522	72	666	47
To preserve the character of Russell Township	192	26	618	43
To control traffic levels in neighborhoods	6	1	100	7
To control noise levels in neighborhoods	8	1	42	3
Totals	728	100	1426	100

*These numbers and percentages represent the number and percentages of mentions, not cases.

When looked at by number of respondents rather than number of mentions, the consensus among citizens is reinforced. Over 91% and 84% respectively, mentioned environmental reasons and retention of the Russell character as the first or second choice.

E. Parks, recreational facilities, etc.

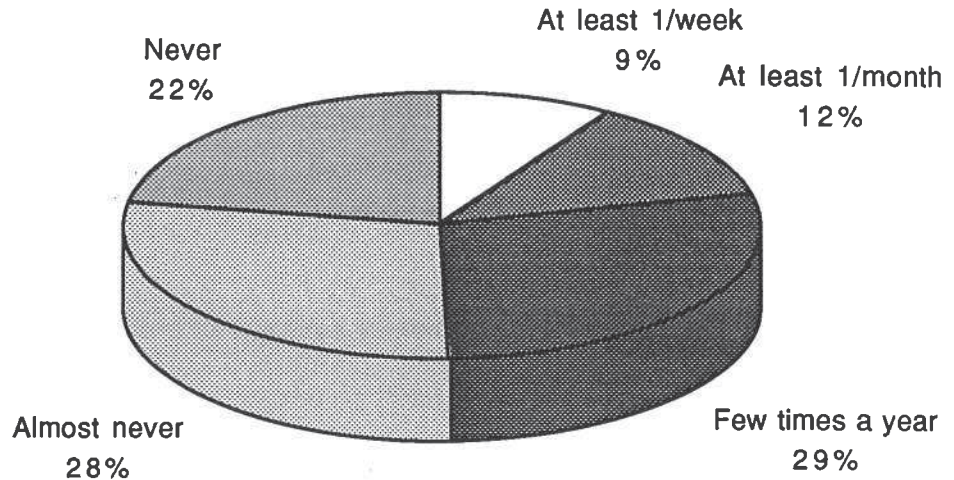
In an area prized for its rural character, are parks, open spaces, trails and such considered superfluous or are they appreciated?

Q: How often are the parks, recreational facilities, trails and such used by citizens? Who are the more frequent users? And who are the ones who seldom use them?

Utilization. As shown in Figure 18, one half the households of Russell Township report using these amenities at least once a week, at least once a month, or a few times a year. On the other hand, fifty percent of the households almost never or never use them.

Who are the users? They tend to come from households where the respondent is younger, has lived in Russell Township a shorter time, and is more educated. This, of course, would be the profile of households more likely to contain children.

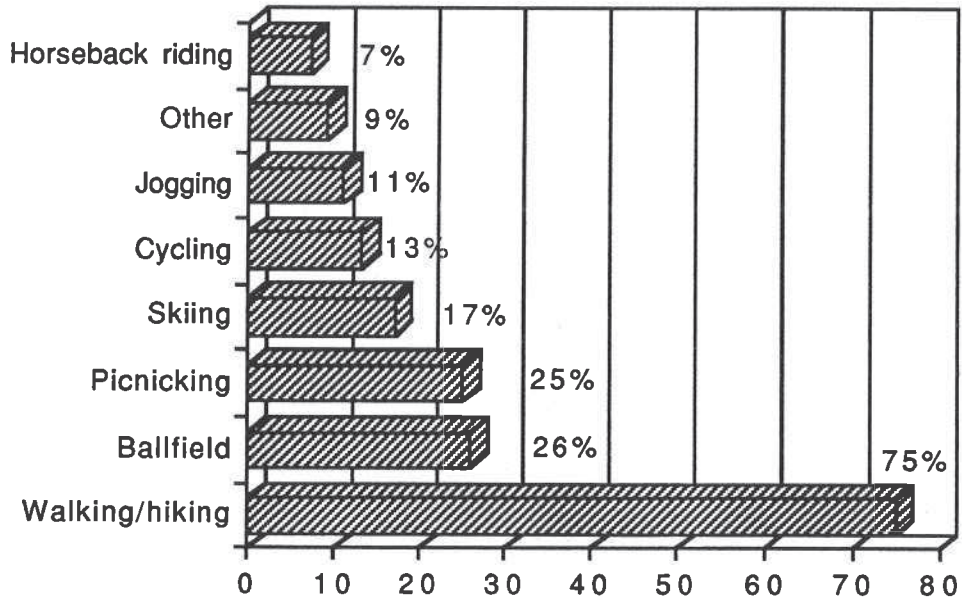
Figure 18
Frequency of Household Utilization of Russell Township's
Parks, Recreational, Green and Open Areas



Activities. What are the parks used for? As shown in Figure 19, there is a broad range of activities going on in these public places, with the most popular being walking or hiking. Utilization of the ball fields and picnic facilities are the next most popular activities. The open-ended comments that respondents volunteered in the "other" category reinforce that these amenities are used for a broad range of sports, nature and pleasure outings.

As has been noted in various places throughout this report, frequency of utilization of the parks, open spaces, recreational facilities and trails is significantly associated with support of pocketbook issues regarding these amenities. That is, the more frequently members of the household use these amenities, the more likely the respondent is to support additional taxes to purchase additional amenities. Also, the respondent is more likely to support requiring set asides for these amenities in the new Land Use Guide Plan as a condition for development.

Figure 19
Type of Park Utilization by Household Members
(Park Users Only)



F. Open-ended or volunteered comments.

Throughout the survey, respondents were given the opportunity to comment in their own words on various issues. And, at the end of the survey, a designated space for additional comments was provided. All of these comments have been included, verbatim, in Appendix C, under separate cover. They make rich reading, especially the longer comments citizens made on the last page of the survey. To better understand how Russell Township citizens think and feel about the township, as well as to understand the intensity of those feelings, the reader is urged to spend a few minutes looking over these comments.

IV. Summary

As the above discussion has shown, there is a strong majority opinion in Russell Township with regard to issues that might affect the new Land Use Guide Plan. These opinions are summarized below. In addition, however, there is a vocal minority whose opinions are sometimes at odds with those of the majority. A summary of these minority opinions follows the summary of the majority opinions.

- **The satisfied majority.** The majority of Russell Township residents were not born in Russell. Rather, they migrated to Russell, mostly from the suburbs of Cuyahoga County. They came to Russell for its pastoral pleasures: the rural atmosphere, the big house and lot, the wildlife and fresh air. And to avoid the crime and traffic of what they left behind. Once in Russell Township, they feel that they now have what it is they sought. And, they plan to keep it. After all, they feel that life in Russell is better than life elsewhere in Geauga County. And we may infer that it's better than almost anywhere else they can imagine.

The overwhelming majority don't plan to leave anytime soon. Most of the relative few who might move away from Russell within the next five years will do so because of "life passages." They will retire or have a change in marital status. Others might leave because of a change in job or job status, or because of housing requirements -- twenty-six may leave because they need more affordable housing than Russell can provide, while another nineteen may leave to get a bigger house and lot. Regardless, most will stay. What transience that does exist in this community is caused by immigration, not emigration. Its citizens, it seems, were anxious to come to Russell. Few are anxious to leave.

- **Quality of life.** As might be expected, satisfied people rate quality-of-life aspects highly. And the most highly-rated attributes are those associated with Russell's prized rural atmosphere.
- **Land use issues facing Russell.** It only follows, then, that the majority of top-of-mind land use issues of Russell's citizenry concern the possible loss of what is valued. The subjects of their concerns are all related to development: denser residential development; more commercial development; the capabilities of the land to provide the water and sewage disposal needed; etc.
- **Status-quo land use policy preferences.** Continuing in the same vein, we would expect Russell's citizens to favor "status quo" policies with regard to the use of the land. And they do. Generally, they oppose most types of residential development that deviate from the privately-owned single family home on a large lot. And most oppose additional commercial development. Any that does occur they want to see strictly regulated. They are not bothered by the need to drive to shop or get the professional services they need.

Indeed, they clearly feel that two considerations should dominate any future land-use planning: the capabilities of the land and the desires of the majority of Russell Township residents. And, they approve of requiring set asides to assure that Russell's character is retained as additional development occurs.

- **Backing up positions with pocketbooks.** In theory at least, Russell's residents are willing to spend more, if needed, to retain what they like. The majority indicate that would approve a permanent or a temporary tax to keep Russell rural and many would also tax themselves to purchase and maintain other amenities that contribute to the rural flavor. Few would support land-use issues that would either increase residential density or increase the size of the commercial district, even if doing so would help create a bigger tax base for the township.
- **Land Use Guide Plan considerations.** Two considerations -- the environmental capabilities of the land and what the majority of Russell residents want -- should carry the most influence when the new plan is put together, residents feel. The desires of commercial and special interest groups should carry the least influence. Attitudes toward specification of minimum lot size reinforce these points: the environmental capabilities of the land plus the lot size needed to preserve the rural character of Russell Township should be the most important reasons behind these specifications.
- **Housing preferences.** Single family homes are the preference of the overwhelming majority. Very few want rental-type property, such as apartments and duplex housing. A minority are willing to allow retirement communities and condos. (See discussion of "The vocal minority" below.)
- **Set asides of parks, trails, recreational, open and green spaces as a condition for development.** A majority (60%) would require that land for parks, etc., be set aside, while a plurality of 50% would require that trails be set aside. Support of set asides was positively correlated with frequency of usage of similar facilities.
- **Commercial development.** A slim majority (59%) preferred no more commercial development in the township, while a substantial minority preferred varying amounts of new commercial development. Almost all residents were in agreement that, if new commercial development should occur, both the type and location of that development should be regulated "a lot."
- **Water and septic systems.** The quantity of water is adequate and the condition of septic tanks is good in most households in Russell Township. There are a few areas in the township, however, where both of these amenities can be problematic on occasion. The quality

of water is more problematic overall, however. A very slim majority (51%) felt "very satisfied" with water quality, while the others (49%) reported varying degrees of dissatisfaction. Again, certain geographical areas of Russell were more prone than others to report less satisfaction with quality of water.

There were minority opinions on many of the above issues, and these minority opinions tended to be expressed by members of the following subgroups: older people, those with lower incomes, those who had lived in Russell Township for more than 20 years, and females. They were sometimes joined by those who tended to live on major roads, as compared to minor roads and developments.

- **The most vocal minority.** The minority opinion seemed to be driven by pocketbook issues, as the opinions of these subgroups differed from the majority whenever dollars were involved. This vocal minority felt that we had enough open spaces now in Russell Township, and were less likely to support any additional taxes to purchase and maintain more.

They were more likely to agree that the elderly have a difficult time supporting the typical Russell residence and need more options available. Consistent with that, this minority was more supportive of housing options beyond the single family home on large lots. Condos and retirement communities, in particular, were supported by them.

When it came to commercial development, these groups were more supportive of it, particularly when it provided tax relief to residential properties. And, conversely, they were more likely to oppose the installation of city water and sewers. (Remember, these issues were partially framed in pocketbook terms.)

Taken all together, we could infer that many older people on lower incomes who have lived in Russell for a long time, particularly females, are having a hard time maintaining the Russell Township lifestyle, or fear they will have a hard time maintaining it in the years to come. They would like to remain in Russell under more affordable conditions -- such as might be provided by retirement communities, condos or cluster housing.

- **Another minority.** Another minority consisted of those who own the larger parcels of land in Russell. They felt they should be allowed to develop those parcels for profit as they see fit. The other residents of Russell don't agree.