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Lisa Kalhar Melton

Preserving Green Bluff's Cultural and Agricultural Heritage

Lisa Kalhar Melton

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Lisa Kalhar Melton

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Committee Members:

Gail Dubrow

Ronald Kasprisin

Date: _____

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Figures	iii
List of Tables	v
Chapter I: Introduction	1
Chapter II: Green Bluff's History	9
Chapter III: Issues	27
The People	29
The Agriculture and Land	31
The Economics	43
Local Planning	50
Chapter IV: Literature Review: Farmland Protection Tools and Techniques.....	55
Agricultural District Designation	56
Agricultural Historic District Designation	56
Agricultural Zoning	59
Cluster Zoning	61
Comprehensive Plan Development	63
Conservation Easements.....	64
Economic Development	69
Mitigation Ordinances and Policies.....	70
Right-to-Farm Laws	72
Tax Relief	73
Urban Growth Boundaries.....	77
Farmland Protection and Preservation Packages.....	79
Chapter V: Survey of Green Bluff Landowners.....	83
Chapter VI: Rationale and Recommendations for Preserving Cultural Resources Associated with Green Bluff's Agricultural Heritage	94

Rationale	94
Recommendations	98
Plan Implementation Strategy	120

TABLE OF CONTENTS (CONTINUED)

Chapter VII: Conclusion	121
Bibliography	124
Appendix A: Green Bluff Survey.....	129

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure Number	Page
1. Martin Johnson Heade's <i>Marshfield Meadows</i> , about 1877-1878	2
2. Jean-François Millet's <i>Man with a Hoe</i> , ca. 1863	2
3. The Cycle of Farmland Conversion.....	4
4. Washington State Map	6
5. Map of Spokane, Washington.....	6
6. 2002 Green Bluff Growers' logo	16
7. 2002 Green Bluff Growers' Association Member Location Map	18
8. Green Bluff Grange #300	20
9. Former Green Bluff School	22
10. Green Bluff Methodist Church	23
11. Map of Green Bluff's Cultural Center	26
12. Green Bluff Farm Parcels	33
13. Green Bluff Boundary Map	37
14. Green Bluff Parcel Map.....	38
15. Map of Parcels Zoned as Agricultural	40
16. Map of Parcels Zoned as Single Family Residential.....	41
17. Map of Parcels Listed as "Vacant"	42

18. Detail of Spokane County Urban Growth Area Boundary	79
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LIST OF FIGURES (CONTINUED)

Figure Number	Page
19. Strategy One for protecting and preserving farmland	80
20. Strategy Two for protecting and preserving farmland	81
21. Strategy Three for protecting and preserving farmland.....	82
22. Question 1	83
23. Question 2.....	84
24. Question 3.....	85
25. Question 4.....	86
26. Question 5	87
27. Question 6.....	88
28. Question 7.....	89
29. Question 8.....	90
30. Question 9.....	91
31. Question 10.....	92
32. Green Bluff Protection and Preservation Strategy	100
33. New Green Bluff residence	102

34. Beck-Walker Farmstead.....	103
35. Beck-Walker family's original house	103
36. Green Bluff Growers' Association 2003 Pamphlet.....	117

LIST OF TABLES

Table Number	Page
1. Green Bluff Growers' Association history	32
2. Green Bluff Water Association Shareholder Data	35
3. Parcel Data Information.....	36
4. Parcel Acreage Totals	39
5. Parcels by Property Use Code	39

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This thesis is dedicated to my father, Dennis Carl Kalhar, whose idea of a family vacation was working on our farm.

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCITON

Idyllic, scenic, peaceful: these terms are frequently used to describe rural life.

This is both a nostalgic and unrealistic view; and one that has been depicted in works of art and literature. Artists have painted pastoral scenes that romanticize agrarian life and landscapes. Compare the vision of agrarian life in Martin Johnson Heade's *Marshfield Meadow's, about 1877-1878* to that portrayed in Jean-François Millet's *Man with a Hoe, c. 1863* (Figures 1 and 2).¹ Both scenes may evoke a nostalgic, unrealistic version of rural life. The first is a romanticized version of agrarian life shown with an expansive landscape, a man and a child in the foreground, a group in the background hauling hay in a horse-drawn wagon. The man is raking hay into piles and the child is fishing. Although it may appear peaceful and idyllic, all persons portrayed are working towards some goal, including the child who fishes; whether this is out of necessity or for recreation. The second painting reveals a more realistic portrayal of farming's labor intensiveness. These 19th century paintings portray life prior to industrialization, however, even in today's mechanized society, farming is a physically exacting profession, which is more illustrative in *Man with a Hoe*. Even this vignette is a slightly fanciful

¹ Theodore E. Stebbins, Jr., *Martin Johnson Heade*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 18. Alexandra R. Murphy, et al., *Jean-François Millet: Drawn into the Light*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 93.

portrayal of the physical toil of farm labor because either in paint or print, the features of a working landscape are difficult to realistically capture in their entirety.



Figure 1. Martin Johnson Heade's *Marshfield Meadows*, about 1877-1878.



Figure 2. Jean-François Millet's *Man with a Hoe*, c. 1863

These unrealistic views of farming have been translated into fantastic notions of rural life by people who have never lived near or in a farming community. These ideals have even been perpetuated in the how-to book, *Finding & Buying Your Place in the Country*, which is a step by step guide on how to find and purchase a house or land in a rural area.² The purpose is to provide assistance to those seeking to create a rural estate, rather than a working farm. Books such as this one perpetuate the unrealistic view of “peaceful” country living and encourage the conversion of agricultural land to suburban

² Les Scher and Carol Scher, *Finding & Buying Your Place in the Country*, 4th ed., Chicago: Real Estate Education Company, 1996.

residences. Living in an agricultural area is not as picturesque as it is often portrayed. A move to a farming community is often offensive to an urban person's olfactory, aural and visual senses. Even though all states have Right-to-farm laws to provide farmers protection against nuisance lawsuits, this law does not provide complete protection against neighbors' complaints or prevent them from taking farmers to court.³ These diametrically opposed views, between rural estate owner's unrealistic notions and the realities of living in an agricultural area, eventually lead to conflict.

In *When City and Country Collide: Managing Growth in the Metropolitan Fringe* Tom Daniels noted that, “[n]ewcomers...are often searching for a lifestyle that offers the best of both city and country living. There is the promise of peace and quiet, a closeness with nature, a feeling of space, and a slower pace of life.”⁴ When rural estates develop in the country, farmers are pushed out of the community because of such factors as increased taxes and nuisance lawsuits that can be financially devastating. There is a cycle of farmland conversion illustrated in Figure 3.⁵ Tom Daniels wrote,

As density increases in previously predominantly agricultural areas, the impact upon agricultural operations can exponentially increase. The greatest impact of increasing residential development is not just the potential loss of farmland, but the impact on existing farm operations. An

³ Tom Daniels and Deborah Bowers, *Holding Our Ground: Protecting America's Farms and Farmland*, (Washington D.C.: Island Press, 1997), 20.

⁴ Tom Daniels, (Washington D.C.: Island Press, 1999), 14.

⁵ Image from Daniels, *Holding our Ground: Protecting America's Farms and Farmland*, 6.

increase in the number of non-farm residences in rural areas can often place greater pressures upon farm operations, making it more difficult for them to continue or expand.⁶

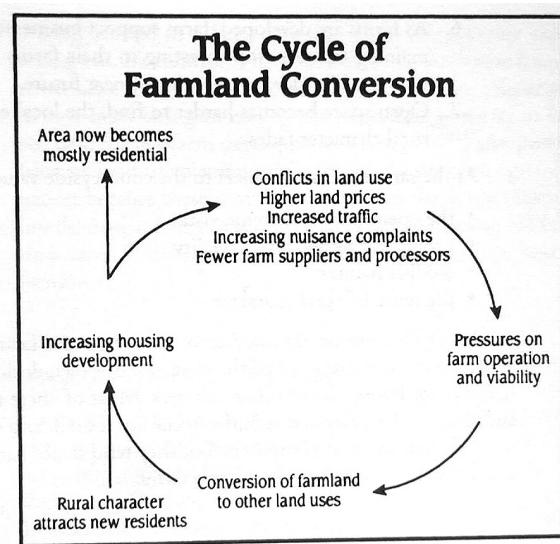


Figure 3. The Cycle of Farmland Conversion.

This dichotomy of perspectives on life in rural communities exists throughout the United States and is the cause of increasing community strife. This is seen throughout Washington State. Skagit Valley, for example, is a viable agricultural area in the Puget Sound Region which lies in the path of an ever expanding metropolitan region. Skagitonians are working diligently to preserve their farmland and have produced a very telling slogan - reproduced on bumper stickers - which reads "Protect Skagit Farmland:

⁶ Daniels, *Holding our Ground: Protecting America's Farms and Farmland*, 6.

Pavement is Forever.”⁷ In essence, once farmland has been converted to other uses, it will never revert to farmland. Skagitonians have been involved in farmland preservation for over a decade due in part to the Puget Sound region’s explosive population growth. Some farming communities, in less dynamic growth areas, are currently faced with the issue of preserving their farmland and livelihood. An area known as Green Bluff, in eastern Washington, is one such community.

On the arid side of Washington State is the diversified farming community of Green Bluff, which is located approximately 15 miles northeast of the city of Spokane in Spokane County, Washington (Figures 4 and 5). This is an area locally known for its fruit and produce, rolling hills, and scenic vistas. It is also an area of historic value. The residents sought to commemorate their history in the form of a book. In January 1983, members of Green Bluff Grange # 300 undertook the arduous task of researching Green Bluff’s history. *Green Bluff’s Heritage* was the result of countless interviews of former and present Green Bluff residents and months of archival research.⁸ This book, published in 1984, and the transcripts of interviews done by the authors have remained of interest to both newcomers and long-time residents for its celebration of Green Bluff’s culture and history from its earliest European settlement to the present day residents. The only

⁷ Bumper stickers are from the group Skagitonians to Preserve Farmland, P.O. Box 2405, Mount Vernon, WA, 98273.

⁸ Although this book is the compilation of a community’s commitment to preserving its own history, Jadee Hogue, Anna Margaret Kalhar and Mae Turner co-authored this book.

cultural and social history of Green Bluff, it is an invaluable resource as are the tapes and typed transcripts from each interview.



Figure 4. Washington State Map, www.mapquest.com, May 7, 2003.

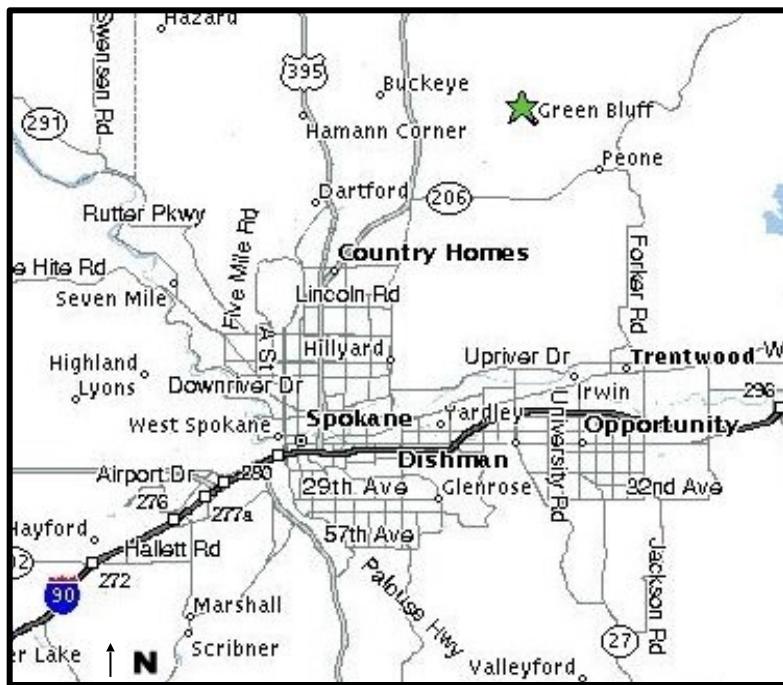


Figure 5. Map of Spokane, Washington, www.mapquest.com, May 7, 2003.

This book celebrates the lives and struggles of a burgeoning agricultural community. Through trials and tribulations, Green Bluff residents developed the area

into a viable farming community linked by common goals, a sense of determination, and hardships. In this respect, “Green Bluffers,” as they are known locally, were much the same in 1984 as the early settlers during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. However, in the years since the book was published, Green Bluff has continued to evolve. The area appears to be moving away from an agricultural community to one of rural estates. Access to the area has improved, sections of Green Bluff now have a private water system, and quality farmland continues to be subdivided. The question currently facing local farmers is how long Green Bluff will survive as a viable farming community?

In recent years, infrastructure improvements and nearby single-family developments have made this area a target for development in the form of 10-acre rural estates. Newcomers to a rural area typically have an unrealistic view of life in an agricultural area, believing it is quiet, serene, and aromatic. Generally, as realism descends, conflicts develop within the community that pit farmers, and those who support them, against newer, nonfarming residents or rural estate owners. This dynamic is beginning to emerge within Green Bluff’s community. As this chasm increases, farming is likely to decrease. Farmers cannot afford the costs associated with fighting lawsuits. Time and money spent on lawsuits decrease farm profitability and often result in driving farmers out of business. If immediate steps are not taken to protect and preserve Green Bluff’s viable agricultural land, rural landscape, rural character, and historic farmsteads,

these will be lost to future generations. The purpose of this thesis is to use the agricultural community of Green Bluff as a case study to determine how best to protect and preserve the farms, farmland, and agricultural heritage of similar areas. In the second chapter of this thesis, Green Bluff's history is presented; beginning with a discussion of the area being part of the Spokane Tribe of Indians' territory and carrying it through to its early settlement and how the community has developed and evolved since that time. The third chapter deals with the current status of Green Bluff's community. The fourth chapter reviews the pertinent literature on farmland preservation and conservation in the United States and in other counties. The fifth chapter supplies the results of a survey taken by a representative number of Green Bluff community members. The sixth chapter explores the reasons for protecting and preserving Green Bluff and provides a specific set of recommendations on how best to accomplish this task. It is my hope that this work will assist Green Bluff farmers and residents to protect and preserve its farms, farmland, and agricultural heritage; not only because of its historical importance but for its value in the present as well as the future.⁹

⁹ My interest in this subject is both academic and personal. My family and I moved to a small farm on Green Bluff when I was just two years old. I still consider Green Bluff "home" and would like to see farming continue there.

CHAPTER II: GREEN BLUFF'S HISTORY

Prior to European-American settlement, the area known as Green Bluff was part of the Spokane Tribe of Indians' territory.¹⁰ According to interview transcripts done for the book *Green Bluff's Heritage*, the Spokane people modified Green Bluff's landscape by creating paths and burning the underbrush. When European-American settlers moved into the area in the late 19th century, the land was further modified by the creation of wagon roads and the logging of trees to create farm land. These settlers created an agrarian-based community and several community-based organizations that exist today. They focused on building a self-supportive Township and a community based on common ambitions and goals. In doing so, Green Bluff developed into a cohesive diversified farming community. Green Bluff's agricultural heritage and community's history are inextricably linked. Since the late 19th century, Green Bluff has transformed from an aboriginal hunting ground to productive agricultural land.

Prior to European-American settlement on Green Bluff, the land was part of the Spokane Indian Tribe's territory: a territory that once covered most of eastern Washington. As noted in the History section on the Tribe's website, “[t]he aboriginal lands occupied by the Spokanes laid in eastern Washington along the Spokane River and

¹⁰ The historical information in this chapter derives from interview transcripts done for the book *Green Bluff's Heritage* and the book itself. Information from other sources will be noted.

surrounding area encompassing some three million acres.”¹¹ The Spokanes’ website noted that “Mount Spokane was a prime area for berrying and hunting” and, according to settlers’ accounts, the Spokanes camped and held horse races on Peone Prairie.¹² Artifacts found by early settlers provide physical proof of the Spokanes presence on Green Bluff.¹³ Within interview transcripts for the *Green Bluff’s Heritage* book, the group of Spokanes who used this area was referred to as Peone Indians.¹⁴

The Spokanes are mentioned several times throughout the interview transcripts for *Green Bluff’s Heritage*. The Spokanes are credited with saving early settlers, influencing the naming of the area as Green Bluff and are known to have worked for farmers at least up until the 1930s. According to Winnie Rinck Martin, her father, Green Bluff homesteader Jacob Rinck, often said that during the depression [the Panic of 1893], “[i]f it hadn’t been for the Indians they – the family – would have starved. You see, there were only three white families on Green Bluff: the Rincks, the Becks, and the Elmer

¹¹ History of the Spokane, <http://www.spokanetribe.com/>, 2/12/2003. For further information on the Spokanes refer to *The Spokane Indians, children of the sun*, by Robert H. Ruby and John A. Brown.

¹² History of the Spokane, <http://www.spokanetribe.com/>, 2/12/2003. Jadee Hogue, Anna Margaret Kalhar and Mae Turner, *Green Bluff’s Heritage*, (Fairfield, WA: Ye Galleon Press, 1984), 231.

¹³ Jadee Hogue, Anna Margaret Kalhar and Mae Turner, 231.

¹⁴ The Treaty Tree, which still stands on Peone Prairie, is the location of a peace treaty between Spokanes and the US government. According to the agreement, this tree is never to be cut down. This site has been included on Spokane County’s map of historic and cultural sites.

McGinnises.”¹⁵ The “Indians brought food and killed deer” for the struggling settlers.¹⁶

Their survival was directly dependent upon the graciousness of the Spokanes.

In addition to saving the early settlers, the Spokanes also played a part in the transformation of the Green Bluff landscape, which lead to its present name. Earl Atkinson, whose father Kit was one of the early settlers, mentioned that his “[d]ad said [Green Bluff] was like a big park. The Indians burnt off the underbrush so they could see to hunt and pretty green grass grew under the trees. They did the burning every year so it was beautiful.”¹⁷ This landscape known to the Spokanes and early settlers changed from forested land of yellow pine, some of which were noted as being 4-5 feet in diameter, and red fir to farmland as more settlers arrived to the area and began clearing the land.¹⁸ The Spokanes were cognizant of these changes since their presence continued, in some fashion, on Green Bluff at least through the 1930s according to oral history. Henry Beck,

¹⁵ Emilie Forkner, et al, Interview by Jadee Hogue, Mae Turner and Anna Margaret Kalhar, *Green Bluff's Heritage*, Typed transcript from tape recording, 31 January 1983, Tape 3, Side 1, 4-5.

¹⁶ Emilie Forkner, et al., Interview by Jadee Hogue, Mae Turner and Anna Margaret Kalhar, *Green Bluff's Heritage*, Typed transcript from tape recording, 31 January 1983, Tape 3, Side 1, 5.

¹⁷ Earl Atkinson, et al, Interview by Glenda Bakken, Dorothy Garlinghouse, Jadee Hogue, Mae Turner and Anna Margaret Kalhar, *Green Bluff's Heritage*, Typed transcript from tape recording, 9 February 1983, Tape 2, Side 2, 4. Christopher Edward “Kit” Atkinson arrived who purchased former railroad land on Green Bluff in 1899. Earl Atkinson was born on Green Bluff in 1901.

¹⁸ Emilie Forkner, et al., Interview by Jadee Hogue, Mae Turner and Anna Margaret Kalhar, *Green Bluff's Heritage*, Typed transcript from tape recording, 31 January 1983, Tape 2, Side 1, 9 and Hogue 231. There were several sawmills on Green Bluff during these early years. From interview transcripts it appears that there were 4 on Green Bluff. Earl Atkinson, et al., Interview by Glenda Bakken, Dorothy Garlinghouse, Jadee Hogue, Mae Turner and Anna Margaret Kalhar, *Green Bluff's Heritage*, Typed transcript from tape recording, 9 February 1983, Tape 2, Side 2, 11.

a second generation Green Bluff farmer noted that “[i]n the [19]20’s we used to have Indians come down and they’d pitch their tents in the woods and picked strawberries for us.”¹⁹ After about the 1930s, the Spokanes’ presence declined on Green Bluff. By this time, the land had evolved from a wooded hunting ground zigzagged by trails to farmland divided into individually owned parcels which were accessed by wider, wagon and automobile roads.²⁰

Green Bluff and the land surrounding it was, prior to settlement, a checkerboard of square mile (640 acre) blocks owned, alternately, by the United States Government and the Northern Pacific Railroad Company (Railroad).²¹ Settlers either purchased land from the Railroad or received a patent on the land from the U.S. Government. For all of the early settlers on Green Bluff, like the Rincks, the Becks, and the Elmer McGinnises, their first priority was to construct shelter, then the trees were removed for farm land.²² The first crop cultivated by many farmers was strawberries. Because there was no

¹⁹ Elsie Berstresser, et al., Interview by Jadee Hogue, Mae Turner and Anna Margaret Kalhar, *Green Bluff's Heritage*, Typed transcript from tape recording, 30 Marc 1983, Tape 3, Side 1, 36. Henry Beck, the youngest son of Green Bluff homesteader Charles Carl Beck, was born on Green Bluff in 1917.

²⁰ Major transportation routes on Green Bluff have not changed substantially over time. However, several sections of these routes were straightened for the purpose of safety. One addition major route was cut in 1933 but the old road that this one replaced is still in use. Hogue, 13.

²¹ In 1864 the U. S. Government granted nearly 40 million acres of land to the Northern Pacific Railroad Company. Sale of this land was to help fund construction of the railroad. Derrick Jensen and George Draffin and John Osborn, M. D., *Railroads and Clearcuts: Legacy of Congress's 1864 Northern Pacific Railroad Land Grant*, (Spokane: Inland Empire Public Lands Council and Sandpoint: Keeokee Co. Publishing, Inc., 1995), 7.

²² Some of the houses built by settlers were constructed of Green Bluff lumber.

dynamite available to farmers at this time, they “had to farm around the stumps.”²³ Once these stumps were removed, farmers could plant fruit trees, vegetables, and other crops.²⁴

Parcel size was paramount in directing agricultural development on Green Bluff.

As noted by Mimia Johnston McGinnis, Green Bluff farmers “[d]idn’t have enough acres to farm anything except fruit.”²⁵ Originally, farms on Green Bluff ranged from 40 to 160 acres and even though fruit was the biggest crop for farmers, farms were diversified.

Diversified farms are those that produce fruit, berries, vegetables, wheat, hay, grass seed, and various other crops and livestock as opposed to specializing in a particular product.

For example, at one time there were approximately 20 dairies in operation on Green Bluff but this business was in conjunction/conducted concurrently with other products. Today, there are no dairy farms on Green Bluff. Linda Beck, the widow of Henry Beck, ran the last dairy in the area. *Beck’s Mini Dairy*, as it was called, ceased operation in the early

²³ Earl Atkinson, et al., 9 February 1983, Tape 3, Side 2, 17.

²⁴ Stumps were removed using several methods. Prior to the availability of powder, stumps were burned or dug up and pulled out by oxen or horses. Once dynamite powder was available, stumps were blown up into more manageable pieces. For farmers planting fruit trees, they would not begin to profit from their investment for up to 5 years since it typically takes between 3 to 5 years for a tree to produce enough fruit to sell. Elsie Berstresser, et al., Interview by Jadee Hogue, Anna Margaret Kalhar and Mae Turner, *Green Bluff History*, Typed transcript from tape recording, 30 March 1983, Tape 2, Side 2, 25.

²⁵ Earl Atkinson, et al., 9 February 1983, Tape 3, Side 2, 17. Mimi Johnston McGinnis was the daughter of Robert Johnston. The Johnston family arrived on Green Bluff in 1904. Homesteaders on Green Bluff, like many throughout the western United States, received patents on their land claim under the Homestead Act of 1862. The Act provided patents for up to 160 acres of land per head of family. Homesteaders then up five years to prove the claim by “improving” the land (i.e. building structures and cultivating the land). For more information on United States land legislation refer to Carlos Arnaldo Schwantes’ *The Pacific Northwest: An Interpretive History*, 295-298. According to Merriam-Webster’s Online Dictionary at www.m-w.com/home, the term “dry farming” is “farming on nonirrigated land with little rainfall that relies on moisture-conserving tillage and drought-resistant crops.”

1990s. Each of Green Bluff's extant small tract farms continue to be diversified but are supported almost exclusively by the sale of fruit, berries and produce.

Fortunately for Green Bluff farmers, they discovered that the soil on which their future hopes were pinned was fertile. As noted in *Green Bluff's Heritage*, the "soil is deep and fertile with the unique capacity for moisture retention which allows the growth of 'dryland' produce famous for its quality and flavor."²⁶ During the 1910 Spokane Interstate Fair and Livestock Show (Fair), this fact was used as part of farmer's promotional campaign. The sign over Green Bluff's Fair exhibit read "Green Bluff Exhibit: Grown Without Irrigation."²⁷ The quality of products combined with the fact that they were grown without the benefit of irrigation was a point of pride for farmers because it was nature and farmers' toil that created Green Bluff's fruit and produce. The choice of whether to irrigate or not was actually determined by nature. Water was a scarce resource throughout much of Green Bluff and, prior to the construction of the community-owned water system completed in the fall of 1991, wells provided the water to most households (or it was hauled in and held in cisterns). This water was generally used for household use only: there was simply no choice but to dryland farm.²⁸

²⁶ Hogue, 161.

²⁷ Hogue, 273.

²⁸ The Green Bluff Water System is a nonprofit organization that supplies water to residents on the west side of Green Bluff who opted to purchase one or more water hook-ups.

According to Earl Atkinson, the soil on Green Bluff is said to have been “a lot deeper than it is now. It has washed off a lot through the years. They [Green Bluff settlers] used to figure they had 9 feet of top soil, but I don’t think there’s quite that now. When they [settlers] dug their wells, they dug down about 9 feet before they hit clay. That’s what made it hold water because the clay kept the water from going on down. The ground at the top would soak up any water that we got through the winter, and made it sub-irrigated that way.”²⁹ In order for the soil to soak up the water, farmers learned that they had to clean cultivate their orchards. Mimia Johnston McGinnis mentioned that the orchards had no weeds because farmers would “plow and then harrow the ground.”³⁰ The key was to keep the top soil around fruit trees and produce tilled to a fine powder. This powder allows water to penetrate deeper into the soil.³¹ Hard pan prevents much of the water from seeping into the soil. This lesson is one that Green Bluff farmers learned quickly and it has been passed down through the generations. Even today some farmers rely on annual rainfall to supply water to crops and the fertile soil to maintain the quality of their products.

²⁹ Earl Atkinson, et al., Interview by Glenda Bakken, Dorothy Garlinghouse, Jadee Hogue, Anna Margaret Kalhar and Mae Turner, *Green Bluff's Heritage*, Typed transcript from tape recording, 24 February 1983, Tape 3, Side 2, 29.

³⁰ Earl Atkinson, et al., 9 February 1983, Tape 3, Side 2, 17.

³¹ Melvin Walker, third generation Green Bluff farmer who still farms his family’s land, Interview by author, 10 February 2001, Colbert, Tape Recording, Authors Collection, Bothell, Washington.

As mentioned in the previous paragraph, the soil on Green Bluff is susceptible to erosion. Green Bluff farmers have, since the 1960s, invested in soil conservation methods in attempt to counteract the problem of soil erosion. Farmers have worked with organizations such as Washington State University Cooperative Extension and Spokane County to determine effective methods of preventing further erosion. As will be discussed in the proceeding chapter, Green Bluff farmers anticipate that their way of life will continue and are, therefore taking the necessary steps to conserve their farmland by remaining alert to new agricultural production methods and techniques.

Concerns about agricultural production methods and techniques, marketing and pricing led to the creation of a grower's association on Green Bluff.³² The first of these was the Green Bluff Fruitgrowers' Association formed in 1902 by 35 local growers.³³ This group lasted approximately 10 years. Although there was no formal association, Green Bluff farmers continued to meet to discuss their business. In 1952, 14 local farmers formed a cooperative known as the Green Bluff Cold Storage and Packing Co-op Association. The group had a cold storage and fruit packing warehouse constructed in 1953/54.³⁴ This organization changed its name to Green Bluff Fruit Growers

³² Not all Green Bluff farmers participated in these associations. This is the case at present as well.

³³ Hogue, 161.

³⁴ Hogue, 163.

Incorporated in 1962. It disbanded in 1982 and the warehouse was sold.³⁵ The Horticulture Club, that later evolved into the Green Bluff Direct Marketing Association, organized in 1979/80. This Club was formed to “better acquaint the Inland Empire with Green Bluff as a fruit and vegetable growing area, to promote the individual growers and their produce, and to be more responsive to the needs of drive-in trade.”³⁶

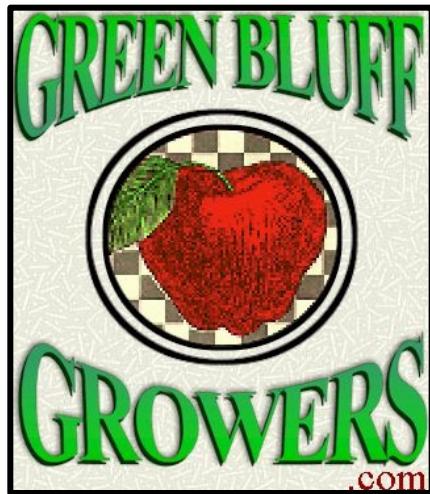


Figure 6. 2002 Green Bluff Growers’ logo from their website.

The Direct Marketing group still exists today but is known as the Green Bluff Growers’ Association (Figure 6). The Association has developed creative marketing techniques to encourage the public to visit farms and purchase products produced on Green Bluff. The following are the festivals and events currently sponsored by the

³⁵ Hogue, 163.

³⁶ Hogue, 166.

Association: Cherry Festival, Cherry Pickers' Trot, Peach Festival and Apple Festival.³⁷

Cherry Pickers' Trot was the first of these marketing events to come to fruition. It was held in 1979 with 69 registered participants. Today, the event is attended by thousands and it has evolved into a broader community supported event. For example, the Green Bluff Fire Department #47, which is staffed entirely by volunteers, sells hamburgers, locally produced cherry pies and ice cream. Any funds earned by the Fire Department during this event are put towards the purchase of equipment for the station and for the volunteer firefighters. The second oldest of these events is the Apple Festival which began in 1983 and continues to be held every fall. This was begun in 1983 and has, in the past two years, created much of the controversy currently plaguing Green Bluff farmers. This situation is discussed further in Chapter IV. In 2002 the Association lists 22 participating farms (Figure 7).³⁸ For 2003, this number has increased to 26.³⁹ The Association members continue to pursue new marketing and agricultural production methods and techniques to ensure the economic success of Green Bluff farms. These farmers rely heavily on innovative marketing techniques and they are cognizant of the

³⁷ The following information on the Green Bluff Growers' Association and its evolution is from Hogue, 166-167 and the Association's website www.greenbluffgrowers.com.

³⁸ This number does not include independent farmers who are not members of the Association.

³⁹ The 2003 map is not yet available.

fact that their existence depends not only on the continuation of fiscal solvency but the conservation of Green Bluff's farmland as a working landscape.

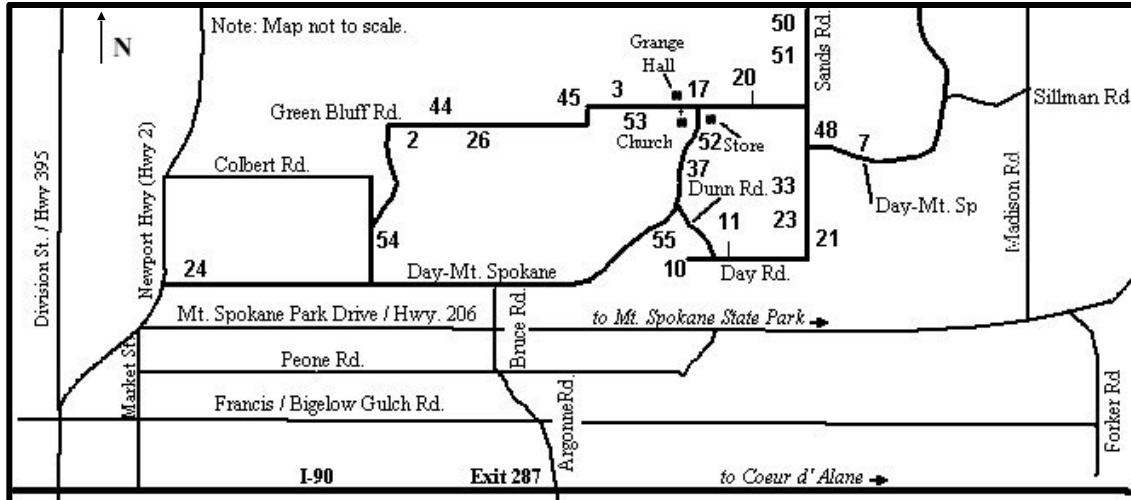


Figure 7. 2002 Green Bluff Growers' Association Member Location Map from www.greenbluffgrowers.com.

The agricultural industry is just one of the common interests and instances of community cooperation credited with creating Green Bluff's cultural heritage. The culture evolved because settlers had common goals, a similar sense of determination and faced similar hardships as settlers and as agriculturalists. These common bonds created a fiercely independent, self-supportive, self-sufficient and generous community. To cultivate the community's culture, the farmers worked together to create Green Bluff's locally renowned crops and to develop and perpetuate local civic, social, and religious organizations besides the previously mentioned Grower's Association.

One example of early civic ventures was the creation of the Green Bluff Township #20. This locally maintained and supported government entity was officially formed March 20 1909.⁴⁰ Although it was dissolved in 1973, and all pertinent documents and funds turned over to the Spokane County government, this type of self-government was another method of attaining the self-sufficiency and the cohesiveness that shaped the Green Bluff community.⁴¹

During the same period that the Township was developed, Green Bluff's social and cultural structure continued to emerge. This is illustrative in the types of organizations that ensued. These organizations include Green Bluff Grange #300, Green Bluff School and Green Bluff United Methodist Church.

Green Bluff Grange #300 was established during the same community meeting on March 20, 1909 when residents agreed to create a Township.⁴² The Grange is a nation wide organization that is defined as "an agricultural family fraternity and its purpose is to build a program of fellowship, service and member activities."⁴³ Meetings held twice a month brought members together for meetings and for socializing afterwards. During the

⁴⁰ Hogue, 15 and 150.

⁴¹ Hogue, 15-19. Individuals within the Township were elected to govern the community. Then, the "Township officers made all the governing decisions and reported them to the [Spokane] County Commissioners." Hogue, 15.

⁴² Hogue, 150. According the *Green Bluff's Heritage*, there were 91 founding members. Currently, there are over 250 members.

⁴³ Hogue, 150. The "Father of the Grange" is Oliver H. Kelley who founded the Grange, the oldest farm organization, in 1867. Hogue, 150.

first several years, Grangers met in the Community Hall until it burned on July 5, 1916.⁴⁴

Sporadic meetings were then held in the Green Bluff School until the new Grange Hall, which was constructed on the Community Hall site, was completed in 1935 (Figure 8).



Figure 8. Green Bluff Grange #300. Photo by author.

In 1934 the community tore down a boarding house in Elk, Washington and used the lumber to build the Grange Hall.⁴⁵ This building still stands today. There have, however, been some changes such as the addition of a ramp to the south façade to make the building accessible, and enlarging the interior stage on the north end of the main meeting area.⁴⁶ Although there have been changes to the building, membership, in 2003, has

⁴⁴ Sig Arnevec, et al., Interview by Jadee Hogue, Mae Turner and Anna Margaret Kalhar, *Green Bluff's Heritage*, Typed transcript from tape recording, 14 June 1983, Tape 2, Side 1, 29.

⁴⁵ Hogue 153.

⁴⁶ In recent years, plays have been staged for the general public. The proceeds from these performances go to the Green Bluff Grange's local scholarship fund.

remained steady at 262 and Green Bluff Grange members continue to meet twice a month.

The Green Bluff Grange was not the first organization to be built, both figuratively and physically, by community cooperation. The earliest example of this is the Green Bluff School. In 1891 the community was permitted to form the Green Bluff School District #101. The first Green Bluff School was a log structure built during the summer of 1891.⁴⁷ In 1901, a one-room frame building was constructed to replace the log structure. In subsequent years, there were two additions to the schoolhouse: the first in 1906 and the second in 1910/11. A two-story brick schoolhouse replaced the frame one in 1946 (a local family tore down the school and reused lumber for constructing a chicken house). The new school was designed by G.A. Pehrson and Associates, a renowned architectural firm in the Spokane area (Figure 9).⁴⁸ Although the school is no longer used for academic purposes, it still maintains a social purpose. Green Bluff Methodist Church purchased the school property and the building is used for social events sponsored by the church, grange, or a community member.

⁴⁷ Hogue, 191.

⁴⁸ Hogue, 193-194.



Figure 9. Former Green Bluff School. Photo by author.

The Green Bluff Methodist Church has been closely allied with the community since 1909; the year that local residents constructed their first church. According to Katherine (Walker) Ness, who was raised on Green Bluff, “everyone went to the Green Bluff Church.”⁴⁹ The original wood frame church was destroyed by fire in on March 16, 1945.⁵⁰ By fall of that same year the community had almost finished rebuilding (Figure 10). This new church was dedicated on May 4, 1947 and, since this time, has undergone minimal changes.⁵¹ The original 1946/47 pews and woodwork are extant and the building retains its original form.⁵² Through the years the church has served as a place of

⁴⁹ Elsie Berstresser, et al., Interview by Jadee Hogue, Anna Margaret Kalhar and Mae Turner, *Green Bluff History*, Typed transcript from tape recording, 30 March 1983, Tape 1, Side 2, 11.

⁵⁰ Hogue, 141.

⁵¹ Hogue, 141.

⁵² At the end the several pews are memorial plates that list Green Bluff pioneers, Hogue 142.

fellowship for the community and has been the venue of numerous marriages, baptisms, funerals and memorials.⁵³



Figure 10. Green Bluff Methodist Church. Photo by author.

Without the community's tenacity, Green Bluff may never have succeeded in having a Township, school, church or Grange Hall. These are physical representatives of Green Bluff farmers' independence, self-supportiveness and self-sufficiency. Their munificence is less tangible. This generous and benevolent nature is an intangible value permeating Green Bluff's community. As settlers, they were helped by the Spokanes, then, as more settlers arrived, they helped one another. As the landscape developed into parcels of cultivated land, they worked together to succeed in agriculture and as a

⁵³ Green Bluff residents who passed away were and are today often buried at Peone Cemetery.

community. Throughout *Green Bluff's Heritage* and the interview transcripts for the book, stories revealing the community's cooperative and generous spirit abound; families who worked for other families to plant, cultivate and harvest the multitude of fruit, berries, vegetables and other crops, community members helping those in need, and those who supplied others with good will and cheer. The following anecdotes are illustrative of this munificent spirit:

Ellen Piterson Lauck, daughter of Hans Piterson who settled on Green Bluff in 1898, recounted an incident that occurred one winter during an outbreak of smallpox. She said that "Dad and I were the only ones that didn't have the smallpox one Christmas. Nobody could come in. The neighbors got the Christmas tree and all the trimmings, and the whole rigmarole and the food. On Christmas Eve after we were all in bed, they put it all on the front porch."⁵⁴

Structure fires were not uncommon in rural areas such as Green Bluff. Although most fires occurred in barns and outbuildings, several fires did destroy homes. If a fellow Green Bluffer's house burned, a shower was held for the family to provide them with household items lost during the fire. Over the years building codes have improved and house fires have decreased in number, but, these incidents still occur. In October of 1991

⁵⁴ Earl Atkinson, et al., Interview by Glenda Bakken, Dorothy Garlinghouse, Jadee Hogue, Anna Margaret Kalhar and Mae Turner, *Green Bluff's Heritage*, Typed transcript from tape recording, 24 February 1983, Tape 2, Side 2, 14. There were seven Piterson children born to Hans and Edna.

during “Spokane Fire Storm,” as it became known, fire struck one of Green Bluff’s farmsteads. The entire farmstead burned to the ground: the barn, the milkhouse, the garage/shop, and the house. The Green Bluff community was quick to offer shelter and comfort and soon thereafter, they held a shower for the family. This community’s outpouring of unselfish kindness provided the family with material goods, funds to go towards rebuilding and compassion.

There are numerous stories that could be recounted to provide evidence of the Green Bluff community’s munificence. This is the community’s intangible heart. The physical heart of Green Bluff exists at the intersection of Green Bluff Road and Day-Mt. Spokane Road. Near this intersection are structures that serve as community gathering places and learning, religious, and civic institutions; the Green Bluff Methodist Church, Green Bluff Grange #300, Green Bluff School, Green Bluff Fire Station #47 and Green Bluff store (Figure 11). All of these structures are extant but some were modified and no longer serve the same function. For example, the 1960s concrete block walls of the Green Bluff Store’s exterior were re-clad in wood shingles and the building is currently used as a craft shop. Furthermore, the first Fire Station was sold and replaced by a larger one that is located west of the brick school building.⁵⁵

⁵⁵ Green Bluff Fire Department was formed in 1955 and is part of Spokane County Fire District #4. The station was and continues to be staffed by local volunteers. For more information on the Green Bluff Fire Department and the Green Bluff store refer to *Green Bluff’s Heritage*, 144-147 and 223-226.

The physical heart of Green Bluff only begins to reveal the area's history. Layers of history accumulated to create the Green Bluff of today. Although there are few vestiges of the Spokane Indian Tribe, who occupied this land prior to settlement, their existence is verified by the artifacts left behind and the stories early residents recounted of the assistance the Spokanes provided to Green Bluff settlers and farmers. These settlers created and perpetuated agriculture in the area. Agriculture, in turn, was the basis on which the Green Bluff community was built. Because of this, Green Bluff's agricultural heritage and cultural history are inextricably linked. As the settlers cleared the land for farmland they also created a rural culture that grew out of their shared interests, goals and struggles. This culture is evident in the various organizations that were created such as the Green Bluff Growers' Association, Green Bluff Grange #300, Green Bluff Methodist Church and the Green Bluff School. In analyzing the community, it is apparent that Green Bluff of today has continued its tradition of agriculture, comradeship, sense of independence and benevolence.

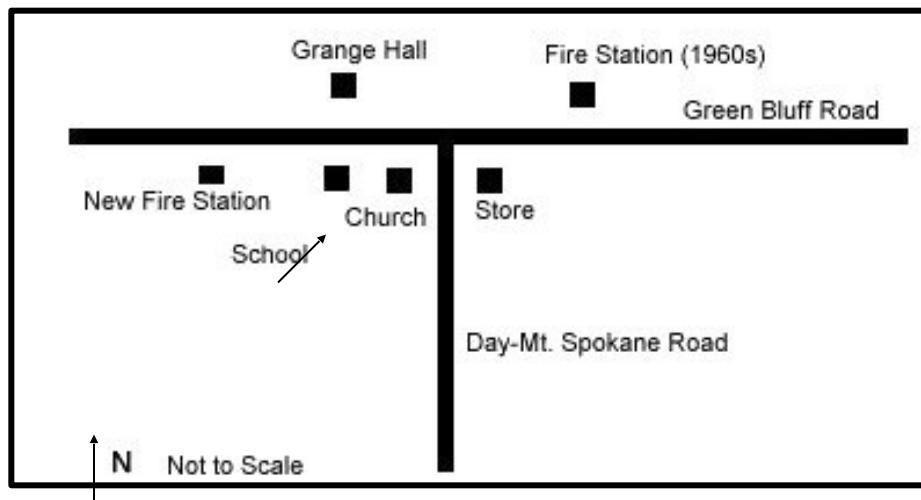


Figure 11. Map of Green Bluff's Cultural Center (map by author)

CHAPTER III: ISSUES

Green Bluff's farmers have endured and the area has retained its rural characteristics, agricultural base and community connectedness for over a century. Without the farmers, Green Bluff will lose its rural character, open space, agriculture, community connectedness, and Spokane would lose another viable agricultural area. In the past decade, agricultural areas near the City of Spokane such as Five-mile and Otis Orchard have succumbed to development pressures.⁵⁶ These areas are currently designated as Low Density Residential and an Incorporated Area and consist mostly of single family residential lots and retail businesses. The agricultural area now in jeopardy is Green Bluff.

Green Bluff's agricultural-based culture and economy has survived for close to a century. As of 2003, however, Green Bluff's future as a farming community is uncertain. Green Bluff is, according to Tom Daniel's definition, an area on the urban-rural fringe and, therefore, threatened by development. A fringe area is one that "includes the less developed regions of metropolitan counties" and has the following features:

[it is located between] 10 to 50 miles from a major urban center of at least 500,000 people, [residences are served by] on-site septic systems and wells, the population density in [the] community is less than 500 people per square mile, [the] community has a mix of long-term residents and those who moved in within the last 10 years, [the area's] elected officials

⁵⁶ 5-Mile is located to the southwest of Green Bluff and Otis Orchards is to the southeast.

and [community members] talk a lot about population growth, property taxes, and the rising cost of public services, and agriculture and forestry are declining industries in [the] community.”⁵⁷

This chapter focuses on the current situation on Green Bluff and the issues and challenges faced by Green Bluff farmers. In recent years internal and external controversy has developed and farmers have been unprepared to address the impacts of change. Farmers who have worked the land all their lives concentrate on making a living by working year-round from sunup to sundown. The population growth comes to farmers and farming communities and not vice versa. Typically, these newcomers’ expectations of life in the country are incongruous with rural reality, which creates conflict. As the number of newcomers to Green Bluff increases, these conflicts will increase.

In general, Green Bluff’s community is comprised of three groups: farmers, nonfarmers, and newcomers. A Green Bluff farmer is one who works the land and has a vested interest in agriculture. The group of nonfarmers includes retired farmers, long-time residents who support farming in various ways such as leasing land to farmers and participating in community activities and local, long-standing organizations. Newcomers make up the third sector of this community and are nonfarming and essentially nonparticipatory in existing community organizations. These newcomers are referred to

⁵⁷ Daniels, *When City and Country Collide*, 11 and 14.

in current literature as rural estate owners because they often construct large homes, fence and gate the acreage and they have no stake in the continuation of agriculture.

Newcomers to Green Bluff are professionals who typically work in Spokane. Their professions include computer programming, medicine, dentistry, education, and business-related industries. Professions of this type often generate six figure incomes and would place the earner in an upper-middle class income bracket. Generally, their children attend local schools in the Mead School District.

The People (Society and Culture)

Socially and culturally Green Bluff has not changed drastically. The general focus of older community members is agriculture and is reflected in the clubs and other organizations begun by early residents, which exist today and continue to retain an active membership. These clubs and organizations include Green Bluff Grange, Green Bluff United Methodist church, Green Bluff Growers' Association and Green Bluff Home Economics Club.⁵⁸ Active community involvement, camaraderie, and munificence have remained a constant on Green Bluff as is demonstrated throughout *Green Bluff's Heritage* and the interview transcripts for the book. There are numerous examples of how these community attributes continue and are perpetuated in the community. For example,

⁵⁸ Green Bluff Home Economics Club was originally known as the Busy Bees. The original date of organization is not known, however, it was prior to 1915 as this was about the time that the name changed. Hogue, 170.

according to Washington State Grange records, Green Bluff Grange #300 has 223 active members; one of the highest in Washington.⁵⁹ The local Grange members raise funds for their scholarship program by putting on plays during Green Bluff's Fall Festival – a Green Bluff Growers' Association marketing event to promote the sale of Green Bluff agricultural products. The Green Bluff Home Economics Club also has a scholarship program. Every year members raffle off a hand-made quilt and hand-made items to raise money for their program.⁶⁰ The local volunteers at Green Bluff's Fire Station #47 are also committed to the community. During the February 2003 Fire District #4 annual appreciation dinner, Fire Station #47 volunteers received Spokane Fire District #4's recently instituted *Dennis C. Kalhar Award* for going above and beyond the call of duty. These are only a few examples demonstrative of Green Bluff's social and cultural structure – a structure that began years ago and it has endured and continues to thrive in the present.

There is only one addition to Green Bluff's organizations and clubs in recent years. In December of 1997, a group of Green Bluff residents organized the Friends of Green Bluff (Friends): a nonprofit corporation organized "to address community issues

⁵⁹ Membership information retained from Judi Schaible who is in charge of Washington State Grange Membership Development, 5-12-2003. Ms. Schaible also noted that Green Bluff has one of the highest membership rates in Washington State.

⁶⁰ These two scholarship programs assist eligible local students with their college expenses.

through information and education with community involvement and agency support.”⁶¹

This group is comprised of mostly newer, non-farming, Green Bluff residents and is represented by approximately 9 households. The group holds monthly meetings and produces a monthly one-page newsletter focused on Green Bluff people, activities, and events. Unfortunately, this group may have made some missteps that have alienated it from the rest of the community. For example, one of the first orders of business for the group involved efforts to create an historic district. Spokane City’s and County’s Historic Preservation Officer was asked by the Friends of Green Bluff to attend one of their meetings to discuss the possibilities of creating an historic district on Green Bluff. Once word spread to local farmers and long-term residents that this may occur without their consent, the local preservation officer received sufficient negative responses to deter any further investigation into this possibility.⁶² To this date, not even a County sponsored windshield survey has been attempted in the area. The group’s intentions are similar to the rest of the community’s. This group also wants to ensure that farming continues on Green Bluff. The members of this group have an understanding of politics and planning issues that would be helpful to the entire community in reaching its common goal.

⁶¹ State of Washington’s Secretary of State, “Friends of Green Bluff Certificate of Incorporation,” 18 December 1997.

⁶² Unfortunately, another result of this initial meeting was profound misunderstanding of the preservation process. Residents were concerned that the Friends of Green Bluff and County officials would create an historic district without consulting long-term and affected residents. Because of the perceived imminent regulations for a Green Bluff historic district, one resident demolished an original log house (ca. 1900). At this time, no further actions have been taken.

In summary, Green Bluff's social and cultural structure has changed little over the past century. Residents retain a similar sense of commitment to community events and organizations.

The Agriculture and Land

As it was historically, Green Bluff is still predominantly an agrarian-based community. A majority of the farms on Green Bluff are diversified, growing a variety of fruit, berries, vegetables, and other crops. Products grown on Green Bluff include cherries, peaches, pears, apples, strawberries, raspberries, blackberries, cucumbers, beets, corn, pumpkins, and squash. However, there are exceptions to this. For example, one family breeds and sells Tennessee Walking horses and another has sheep. The Green Bluff Growers' Association has continued to promote and market locally grown agricultural products from Green Bluff. Table 1 shows the number of members in the Association at various years throughout the last century. Not all agriculturalists are members of the Association, however, all Green Bluff farmers' goals are the same – to see that farming continues on Green Bluff.

Table 1. Green Bluff Growers' Association history⁶³

Year	# of Members
1902	35

⁶³ Hogue, 161-166 and www.greenbluffgrowers.com.

1952	14
1983	19
2002	22
2003	26

Even though not all farms are active members of the Association, agriculture is still the crux of community life and character on Green Bluff. There are 40 family farms on Green Bluff and 10 residents who lease their land to local farmers.⁶⁴ Included in the farms total are residents who have livestock, fruit, vegetables, hay, or produce other types of crops. Even with 40 operating family farms, Green Bluff is facing changes as infrastructure improvements are made and farmland is divided into smaller tracts of land including parcels currently owned by farmers. Between the 40 farming landowners, they own 64 individual Green Bluff parcels; as delineated in green in Figure 12.

⁶⁴ Anna Margaret Kalhar, Interview by author, May 10, 2003.

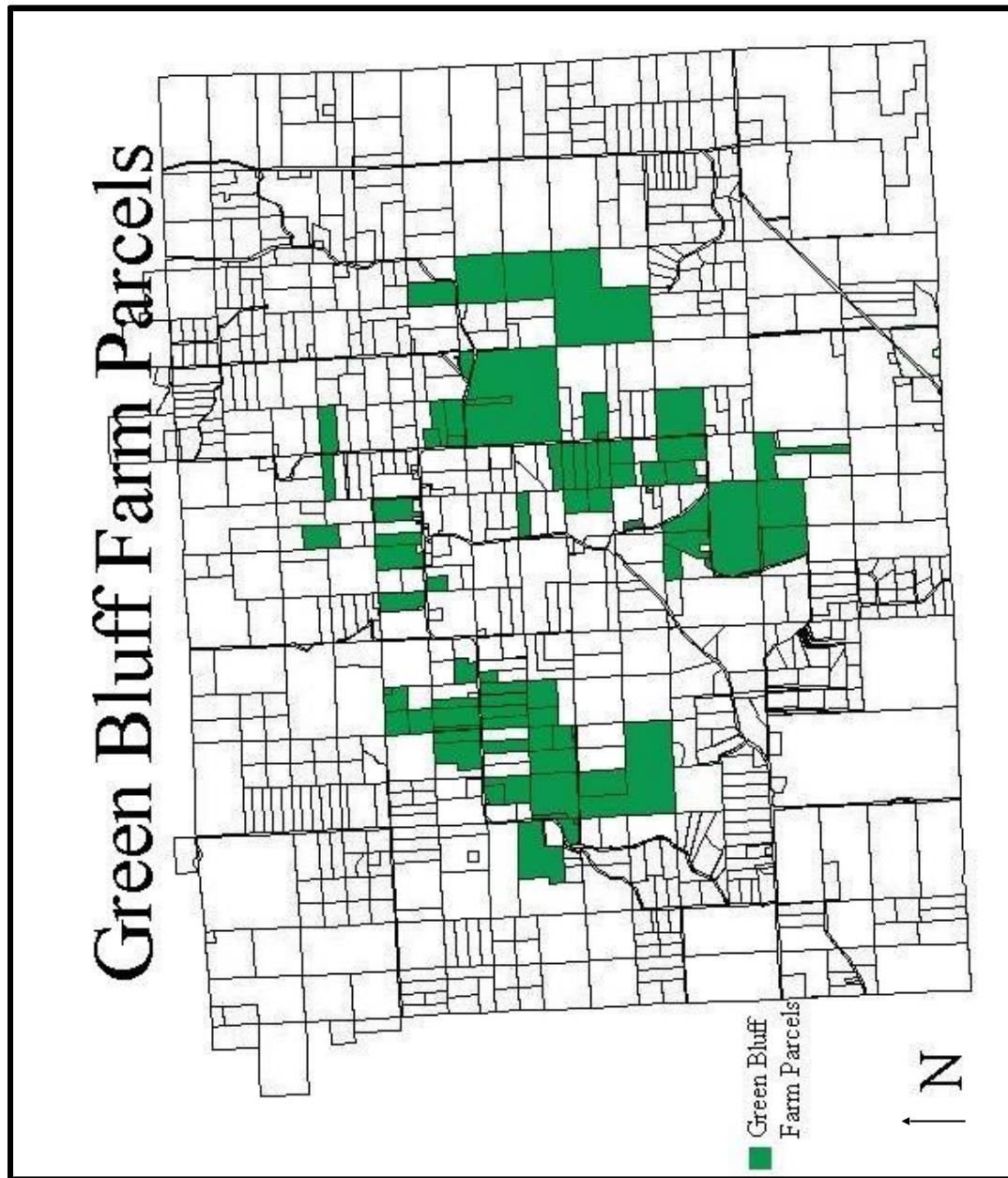


Figure 12. Green Bluff Farm Parcels using 2002 Spokane County GIS data. Map by author.

Green Bluff farms generally relied on ground water tapped by wells for potable water until the early 1990s. At this time, Green Bluff farmers devised a plan to create a

private water system that would eliminate the limitations on household water usage.

Most farmers on Green Bluff were plagued by water shortages especially during dry years. The Green Bluff Water Association was established as a nonprofit, locally supported and maintained water system.⁶⁵ This water system was completed in October of 1991 with 115 water hook-ups. Data in Table 2 is from the 2000 Green Bluff Water Association Shareholder database. It is notable that some individual shareholders own more than one hook-up. The majority of Shareholders purchased one or two water hook-ups, but several others purchased more – including one individual who purchased five. Owning more than one hook-up is indicative of land speculation. The ostensible purpose of these land speculators is to sell off 10 or more acre parcels with water hook-ups for the development of single family rural estates at some future date. In addition, in analyzing the Shareholder's list, those owning more than two hook-ups are not agriculturally dependent. They either farm as a hobby or do not farm. As Tom Daniels has noted, non-farmers are often the most devastating to preserving an agricultural area. The numbers suggest that at least 35 individual parcels are primed for development. Although there are few farmers who have no outside income, these generally are those who "hobby

⁶⁵ The water system currently supplies approximately 75 % of Green Bluff households. This is due, in part, to the fact that the system could not be expanded into the far eastern portion of Green Bluff.

farm.”⁶⁶ There are 115 total water hook-ups and 35 of these are not currently supplying a home, but are attached to a subdivided parcel waiting to be sold and developed.

Table 2. Green Bluff Water Association Shareholder Data, 2000.

# of Green Bluff Water Association Shareholders (#of water hook-ups)	115
Shareholders owning more than one water hook-up	21
# of water hook-ups supplying a household	80

To better illustrate how the farmland on Green Bluff has developed from the first settlers to present day, I used parcel data from *Green Bluff's Heritage*, Metsker maps, Spokane County maps and 2002 Spokane County GIS data to derive at the information in Table 3. Having parcel information is more valuable in determining how the land divisions have evolved over the last century. Demographic information is less useful because the focus is on the land and at what rate Green Bluff farmland was and is being subdivided.

According to Spokane County 2002 data there are 145 individual households or owners.⁶⁷ This number suggests that, of the 235 parcels within Green Bluff’s Boundary (Figure 13), the 90 remaining parcels were separated from larger pieces in anticipation of future development.

⁶⁶ Hobby farms are characterized as those earning less than \$10,000 per year.

⁶⁷ Legal ownership was the determining factor. In analyzing the data, I noted that a few owners have subdivided larger parcels. In these cases ownership is split between a living trust or LLC and children of the owner, however, the parcels are still farmed as one unit.

Table 3. Parcel Data Information for Green Bluff⁶⁸

Map Year and Name	# of Individual Parcels	% Change in # of Parcel
c. 1900 <i>Green Bluff's Heritage map</i> (inside front cover)	42 (original purchaser/ US Patent holder)	
1905 <i>Township Map of Spokane County</i>	59	4% Increase
1912 <i>Standard Atlas of Spokane County</i>	114	93% Increase
1930 <i>Metsker Maps</i>	120	5% Increase
1957 <i>Metsker Maps</i>	104	15% Decrease
Ca. 1964 <i>Metsker Maps</i>	104	0
1984 <i>Metsker Maps</i>	138	33% Increase
2002 <i>Spokane County GIS Parcel Data</i>	235	70 % Increase

The Green Bluff area is designated by Spokane County as Small Tract Agriculture with a minimum lot size of 10 acres, although, there are a range of parcel sizes that exist. A GIS data query resulted in a parcel acreage map (Figure 14). The numerical results of this GIS data query are listed in Table 4. According to this query, the majority of Green Bluff parcels are less than 10 acres.

⁶⁸ When counting parcels on Metsker Maps and Spokane County maps, if a road cut through a parcel, and no contiguous sign was present, the parcels were counted separately.

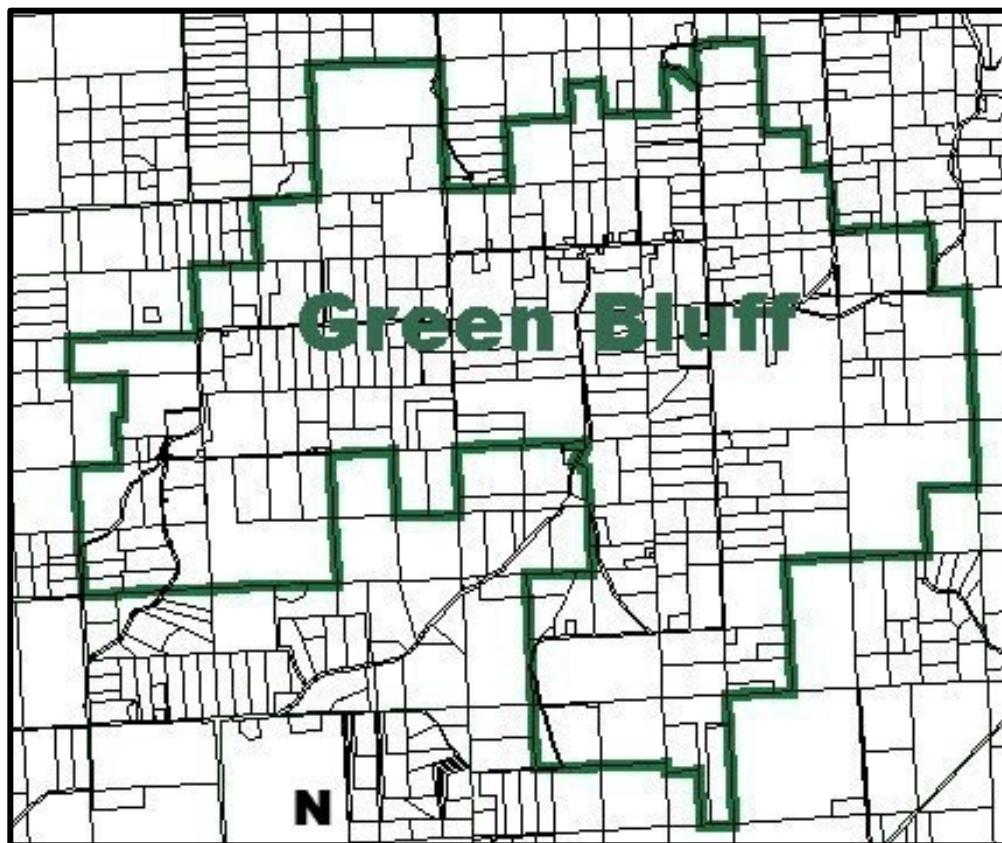


Figure 13. Green Bluff Boundary Map.⁶⁹

⁶⁹ This map was created using 2002 Spokane County GIS base data from compiled by the County's Information Systems Department.

Green Bluff Parcel Acreage

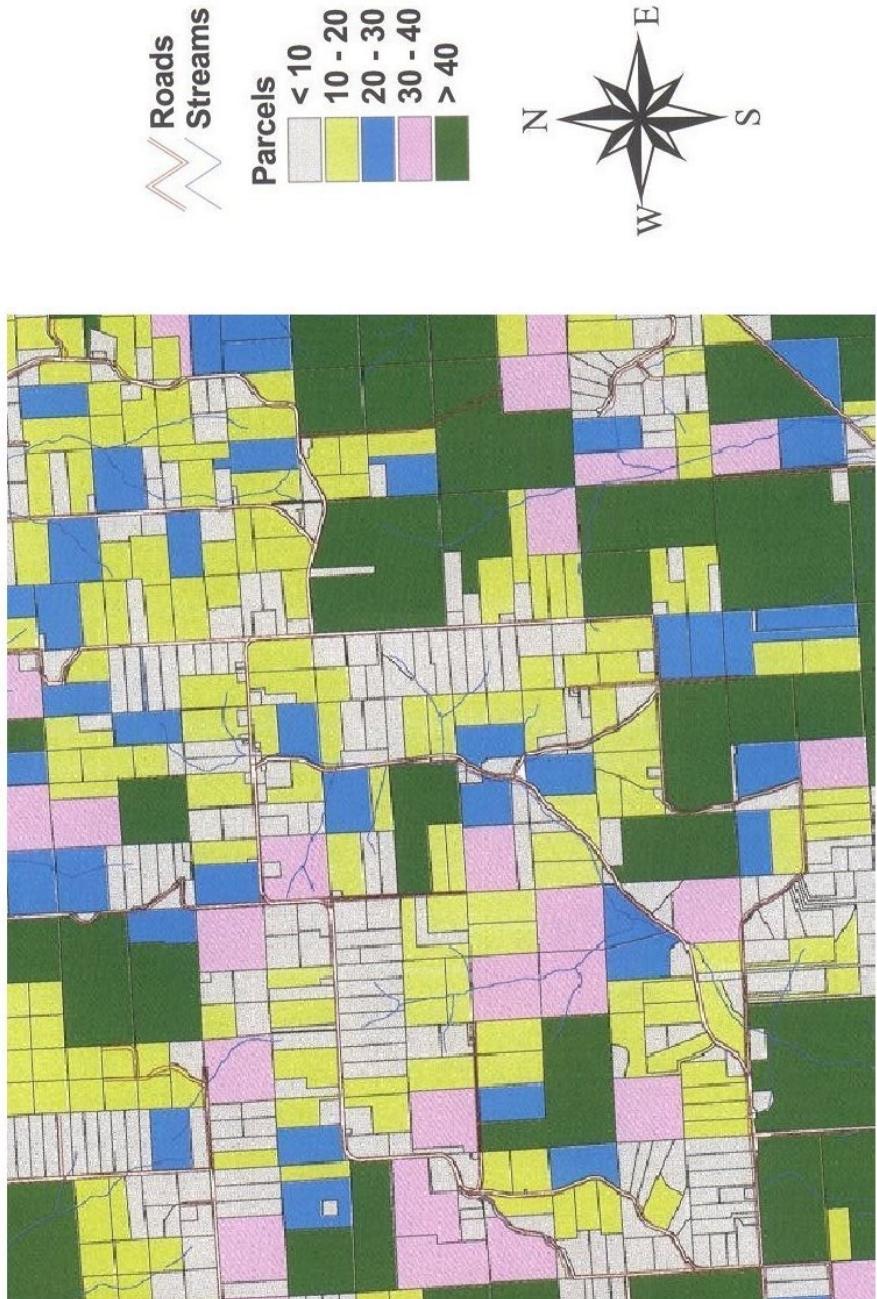


Figure 14. Green Bluff Parcel Map, by author.

Table 4. Parcel Acreage Totals

< 10 Acres	119
10-20 Acres	79
20-30 Acres	17
30-40 Acres	7
> 40 Acres	13

Table 5 is the result of data queries of Green Bluff parcels by Spokane County's Property Use Code (Figures 15, 16, and 17). The resulting numbers provide a general understanding of land usage on Green Bluff.

Table 5. Parcels by Property Use Code⁷⁰

Agricultural Land	102 Parcels
Residential Land	83 Parcels
Vacant Land	88 Parcels

⁷⁰ Points of clarification on query results: agricultural land may include parcels with buildings; not all residential land has a building on it; and not all vacant land is suitable farmland.

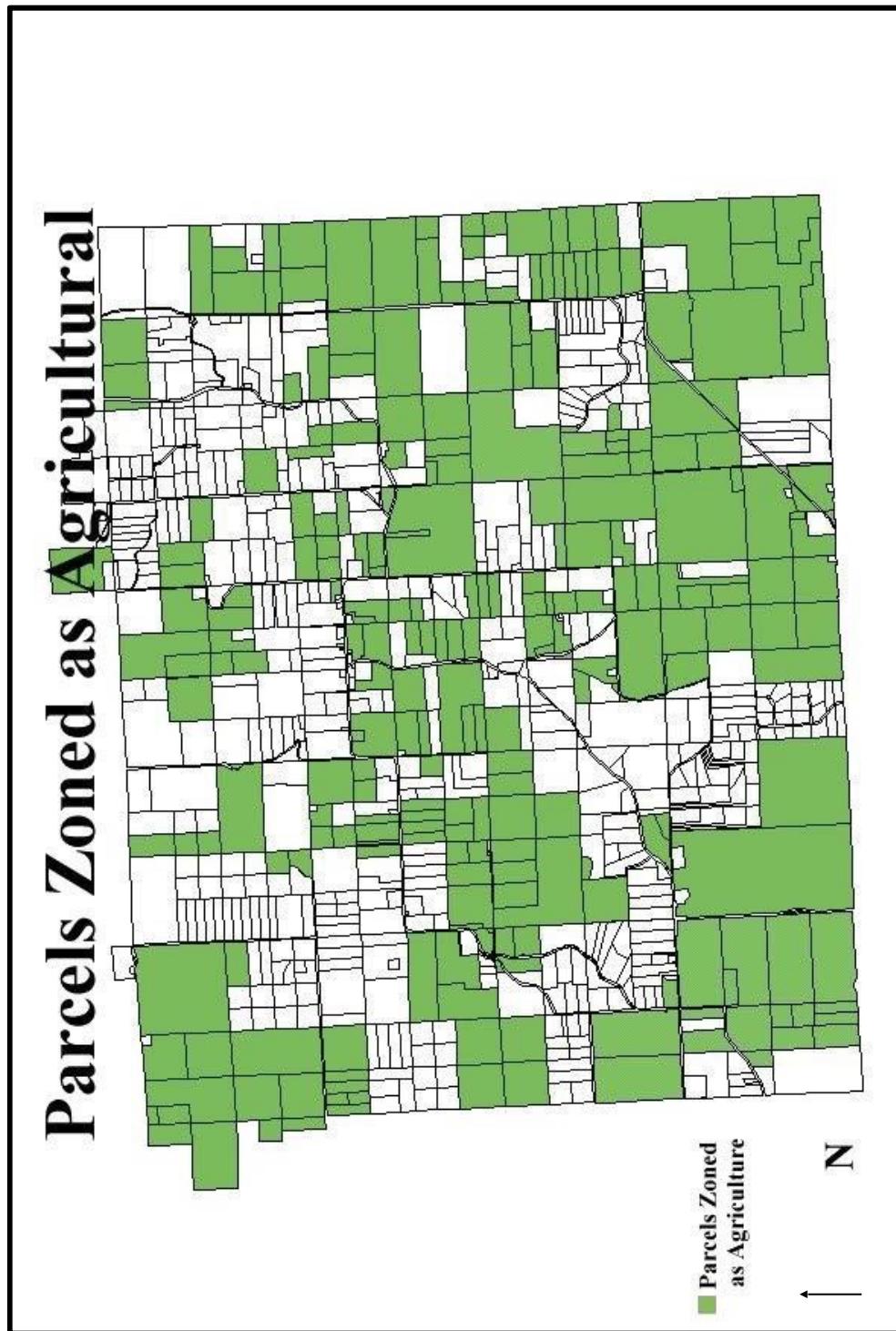


Figure 15. Map of Parcels Zoned as Agricultural using 2002 Spokane County GIS data. Map by author.

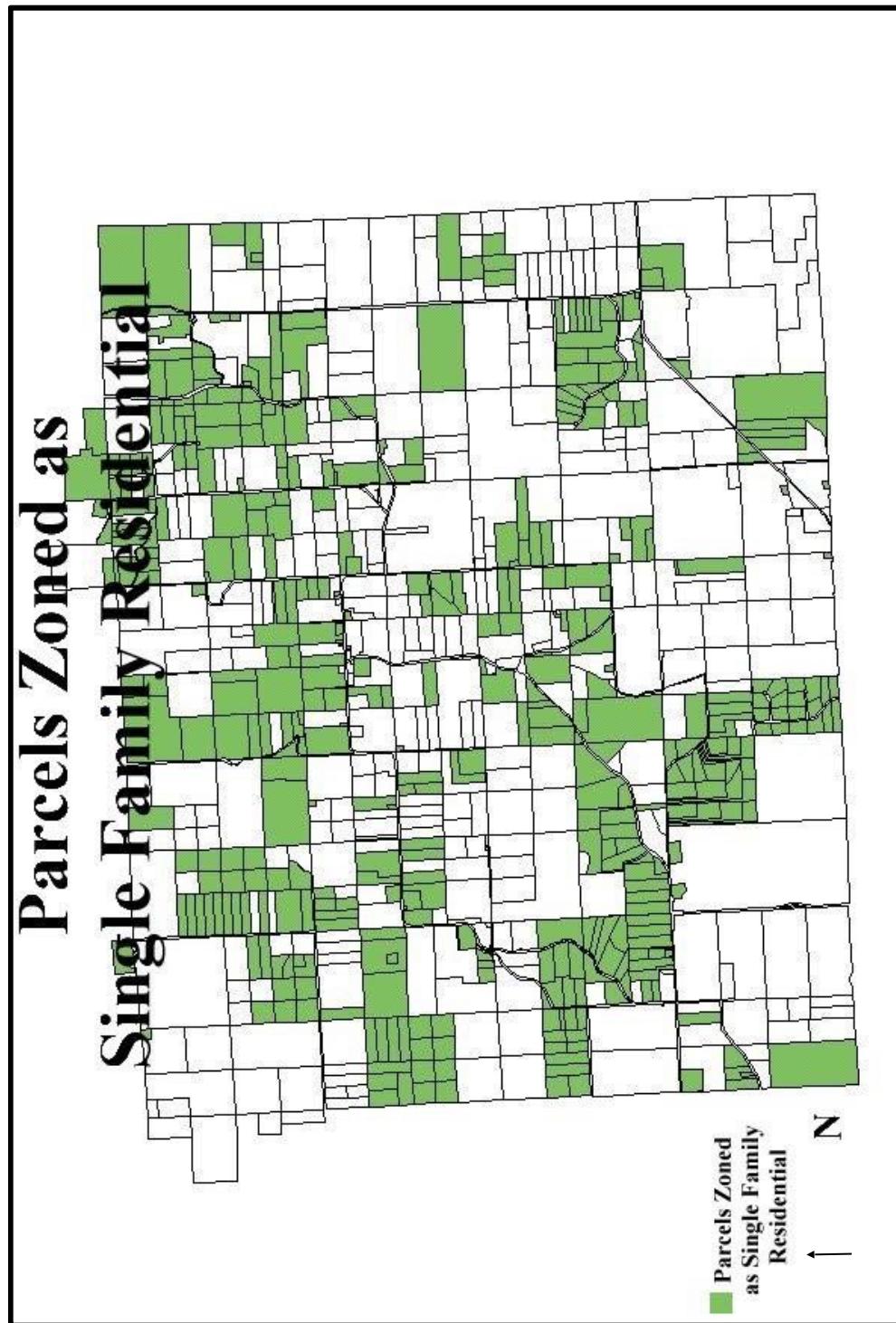


Figure 16. Map of Parcels Zoned as Single Family Residential using 2002 Spokane County GIS data. Map by author.

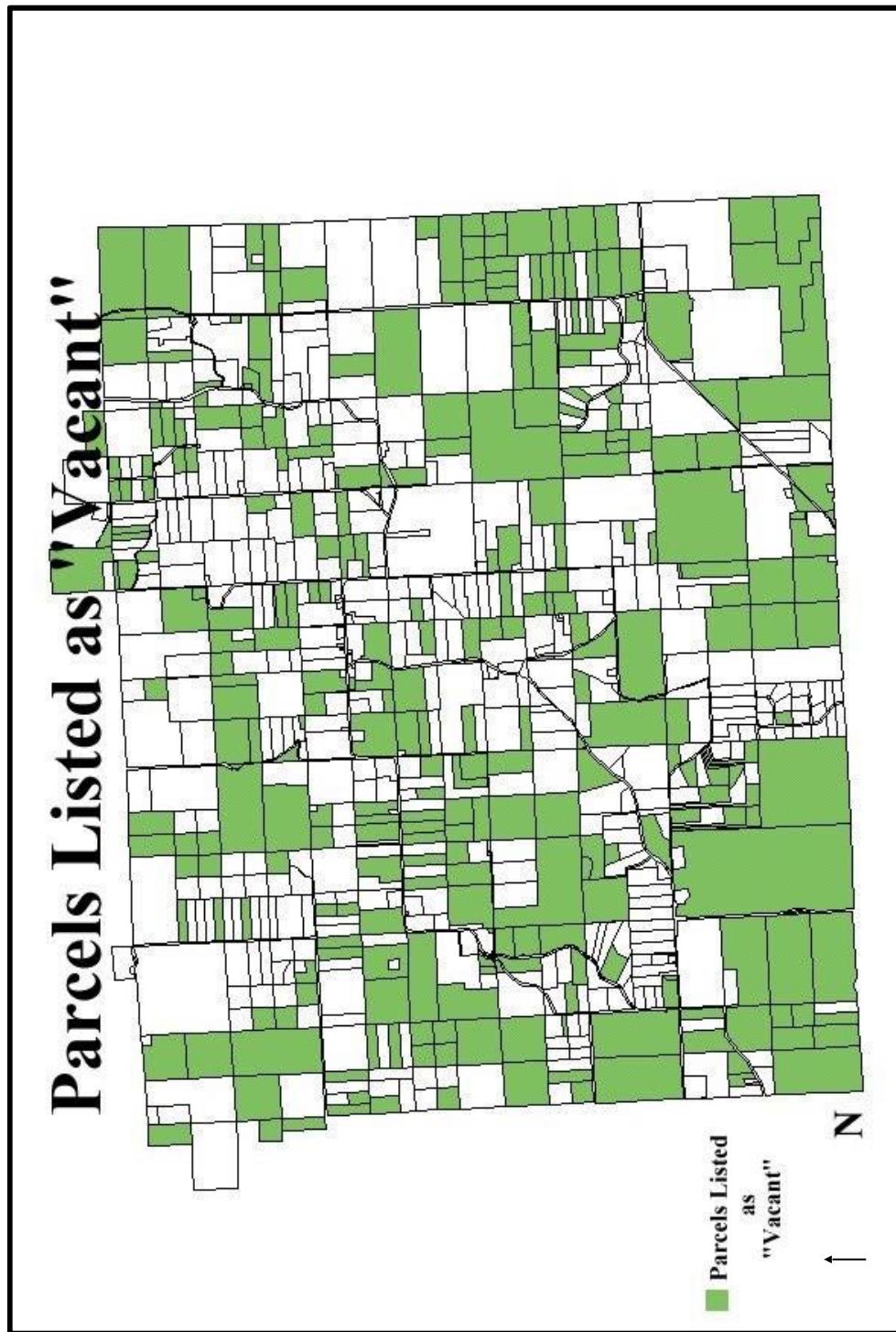


Figure 17. Map of Parcels Listed as "Vacant" using 2002 Spokane County GIS data. Map by author.

In summary, the business of agriculture continues on Green Bluff, but is slowly being transformed for residential use. Between 1984 and 2002, there was a 70% increase in the number of parcels within the Green Bluff boundary. Approximately 90 Green Bluff parcels have development potential; 35 of which also include water hook-ups.

The Economics

Agricultural economics is a far broader topic than can be explored within the scope of this thesis. However, I will present a brief and generalized discussion of economic issues concerning farming in the United States but only to provide a basis or background that will assist in explaining the business of agriculture specifically as it pertains to Green Bluff farms.⁷¹

According to the 1992 Agricultural Census, large farms (those earning \$100,000 or more per year) are thriving in the United States.⁷² Generally speaking, the larger the farm, the more successful it is economically. There are numerous reasons for this trend. John Ikerd, Professor Emeritus of Agricultural Economics at the University of Missouri, during a radio program in February 2002, discussed how agriculture has become “corporatized” in the United States. According to Professor Ikerd,

⁷¹ For more information regarding agricultural economics refer to Tom Daniels' and Deborah Bowers' book: *When City and Country Collide* and *Holding our Ground: Protecting America's Farms and Farmland*, Washington D.C.: Island Press, 1997.

⁷² U.S. Bureau of the Census Agricultural Brief, *Large Farms are Thriving in the United States*, prepared by Agriculture and Financial Statistics Division, Bureau of the Census (Washington D.C., 1996).

when [people] think about a farmer, they have some sort of bucolic vision of early agrarian times, of a family out here eking a living out of the hard earth. Or they have a modern vision of agribusiness, of farming just for the bottom line, but there's no real sense of connectedness between them as the consumer of food, and the people who bring that food from the earth.⁷³

This disconnectedness between society and their food source is, to Professor Ikerd, perpetuated by consumers' pursuit of "cheap food." This, in turn, drives farmers to stray further from diversified farming techniques and, ultimately, to farmers' general disregard of environmental responsibilities. He notes that "farmers are forced to do things that are destroying the land, and things that are destroying their communities and their society" all in the pursuit of profit.⁷⁴ Ikerd further states that even though large farms are thriving, he does not view corporate farms as positive in terms of the sustainable agricultural model and peoples' relationship or "connectedness" to their food sources.⁷⁵

Looking at the aforementioned Agricultural Census statistic regarding the success of large farms in a different way, one can infer that small farms are not thriving. This is evident in Spokane County as agricultural land is paved over by sprawl. Green Bluff is one of the last vestiges of diversified farming within a 15 mile radius of the city of Spokane. One of the predominant reasons for this is poor economic returns. This, of

⁷³ Ikerd, 1.

⁷⁴ Ikerd, 2.

⁷⁵ Elements of the sustainable agriculture model include ecologically sound principles such as the prevention of soil erosion and the reduction of pesticide use.

course is nothing new. In the interview transcripts for *Green Bluff's Heritage*, Stan VanLeuven, a long time resident, stated that “[i]n 1945 I got sick of farming again. You never got any money for it. You had your food, but you never had a dollar to do anything.”⁷⁶ The economic cycle of farming is that funds earned during the growing season are used to reinvest in the business; to purchase seeds or seedlings, pay farm workers’ wages, to purchase new equipment or repair old and to pay off any other auxiliary debts including loans. After reinvestment, profits are typically minimal or nonexistent. In *Holding our Ground*, Tom Daniels notes that “[w]ithout a doubt, a profitable agriculture industry...is the single best way to ensure that land will continue to be farmed.”⁷⁷ Having small, diversified farms means that Green Bluff farmers retain little profit at the end of the growing season and most of this “profit” is reinvested in the farm. This being the case, the question is “Why do Green Bluff farms still exist?” Knowing the community, its history, its characteristics and its dynamics, I have determined that there are three specific reasons why Green Bluff farms still exist. The first is that a majority of farmers have an outside income. In most instances, at least one spouse works off the farm or receives retirement income or benefits (several farms are

⁷⁶ Emilie Forkner, et al., by Jadee Hogue, Mae Turner, and Anna Margaret Kalhar, *Green Bluff Heritage*, Typed transcript from tape recording, May 25, 1983, Tape 2, Side 2, 18 and 20. Stan VanLeuven purchased one of Green Bluff’s original homesteads in 1950. Prior to that time, he had lived and farmed in other area’s of Spokane including the land currently owned by Bruce and Mae VanLeuven; land which is located just outside the southwestern boundary of Green Bluff. Hogue, 296.

⁷⁷ Daniels, *Holding our Ground*, 248.

owned by retirees). This outside income is what sustains most farmers on Green Bluff.

The second, and perhaps most compelling reason, is that farmers on Green Bluff chose this profession. Many farmers could easily sell their farms to eager buyers pursuing life in the country on a rural estate, but most have chosen not done so as evidenced by the number of farms that remain.⁷⁸ The third reason is Green Bluff farmers' adaptability. This flexibility includes the ability to apply new marketing techniques and to evolve as consumer trends dictate. Historically, Green Bluff products were sold to various outlets; local and national wholesale markets, local markets and local consumers. Grace Piterson Zeimantz remembered that her family typically sold apples and strawberries to a warehouse in Spokane.⁷⁹ She noted that her

Dad contracted his strawberries out and delivered to a warehouse [with the] name Waybright. On Steven and 2nd Avenue was where they sold them in Spokane. Cost .25¢ to go down and park on the street and sell your fruit. The Washington Market was run by the Italians who bought your fruit. See if our parents needed quick cash they would load up produce and take it to one of these markets – another one was the Davies Spur.⁸⁰

Various modes of transportation were used to transport products. Originally it was with horse and wagon, later it was by rail or automobile. The first Growers'

⁷⁸ Green Bluff is viewed as a desirable place to live by Spokane area residents. This is especially evident when land is for sale. The property typically sells within a month and on many occasions no "For Sale" sign is necessary to market the property.

⁷⁹ Ms. Zeimantz is one Hans Pieterson's children. The Piterson family is also mentioned on page 23.

⁸⁰ Earl Atkinson, et al., by Jadee Hogue, Mae Turner, and Anna Margaret Kalhar, *Green Bluff Heritage*, Typed transcript from tape recording, February 24, 1983, Tape 1, Side 1, 9-10.

Association on Green Bluff devised the plan to construct a distribution warehouse. This warehouse, which was located approximately 3 miles southwest of Green Bluff on the southeast corner of Mt. Spokane Park Drive (Hwy 206) and Newport Highway (Hwy 2), was known as Davies Spur (ca. 1902).⁸¹ Association members graded the land and constructed a brick warehouse on the site. The ties and rails were put in by the railroad.⁸² By 1910, farmers were transporting about “9 carloads” of strawberries daily to the Spur.⁸³ After approximately 10 years, the spur was sold.⁸⁴ Another warehouse was constructed by the Association in 1954. This one is located on Green Bluff just south of the Green Bluff Store. The building, which is no longer owned by the Association, is extant but has undergone several renovations.

Current conditions are such that Green Bluff farmers no longer need a distribution warehouse. In general, Green Bluff farmers do not sell products nationwide or to wholesalers. One exception is Yoke’s Market. In 2001, Yoke’s, a locally owned grocery

⁸¹ Refer to Figure 7 on page 16.

⁸² Although the rail company was not mentioned, the only plausible scenario is that this spur line linked with the Great Northern Railroad line. This line, which is still used today, is located approximately $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile from where the warehouse was located. Emilie Forkner, et al., by Jadee Hogue, Mae Turner, and Anna Margaret Kalhar, *Green Bluff Heritage*, Typed transcript from tape recording, May 25, 1983, Tape 3, Side 1, 28.

⁸³ Emilie Forkner, et al., by Jadee Hogue, Mae Turner, and Anna Margaret Kalhar, *Green Bluff Heritage*, Typed transcript from tape recording, May 25, 1983, Tape 3, Side 1, 28. At this time, strawberries were the largest crop on Green Bluff. Farmers on Green Bluff say, even today, that the best cash crop is strawberries. However, this is also one of the most labor intensive.

⁸⁴ Emilie Forkner, et al., by Jadee Hogue, Mae Turner, and Anna Margaret Kalhar, *Green Bluff Heritage*, Typed transcript from tape recording, May 25, 1983, Tape 3, Side 1, 29. The Spur was sold for taxes. This indicates that profits were not enough to pay the taxes due.

chain, built a new store on a site just west of where Davies Spur was located. At this time, Yoke's management began to purchase Green Bluff products (fruit, vegetables and pies). The grocery store markets the products to the public as being locally grown on Green Bluff. In addition to this grocery chain, McGlade's Treemendous Fruit, a small market built by a Green Bluff family, sells some locally grown products. McGlade's is number 24 on the Green Bluff Growers' Association map (Figure 7). Today, the majority of Green Bluff products are purchased by consumers who drive to Green Bluff either to pick the fruit and vegetables themselves, "u-pick" or to purchase them already "picked."

Green Bluff farmers have thus far weathered the shift from selling the majority of their products to wholesalers to marketing and selling to individual consumers fairly well. However, societal shifts over the past several decades have diminished direct consumer sales. Few local households are canning fruit, vegetables and meat. The result is that current Green Bluff consumers purchase smaller quantities of Green Bluff products than they had in previous decades. Products are purchased for immediate consumption not for canning and storing. In order to entice consumers to the area, farmers have been implementing new marketing tools. The most successful tool is the "festival." Seasonal festivities are a necessary part in farmers' ability to retain economic viability. It is estimated that Green Bluff farmers "reap 60-70% of their annual income during the six-

week fall apple festival.”⁸⁵ These events and festivals can be credited for the continued existence of Green Bluff agriculture. The fall festival, in particular, has become a contentious issue between rural estate owners and farmers. Some farmers have incorporated carnival-type entertainment including pony rides, music, games and, at one site, a small Ferris wheel. These farmers insist that this carnival-like atmosphere is necessary. Byron Siemers, a third generation Green Bluff farmer, states that “[t]o draw customers to the farm we had to evolve to make a living to accommodate that the public prefers.”⁸⁶ Non farmers in the area are diametrically opposed to these activities. Cecily Wright, a non-farmer and Friends of Green Bluff member, believes that they take away from the “true rural character” and “what country is all about.”⁸⁷ The fact that such a high percentage of annual sales occur during this six-week period suggests that these events may be necessary for Green Bluff farmers’ economic success. It is important to understand that profitability in agriculture, as with any business, is an incentive that encourages its continuation.

While consumer consumption has decreased, nuisance consumption is increasing. This particular trend can devastate crops and result in fiscal losses for farms. Farmers’

⁸⁵ Fern Christenson, “Red tape putting squeeze on farmers,” *The Spokesman-Review*, 2 March 2002, B4.

⁸⁶ Barbara Minton, “Can small-town Americana be preserved,” *Capital Press*, 28 December 2001, np.

⁸⁷ Barbara Minton, “Can small-town Americana be preserved,” *Capital Press*, 28 December 2001, np.

crops are constantly plagued by elk, deer, and less frequently moose. They are not allowed, without being issued a special permit, to protect their economic investment except during hunting season. The elk herd, which has transgressed through Green Bluff for the past 5 years, totals 22. On Green Bluff, these elk have walked through electrified barbed wire fences, ultimately destroying a section or more of fence line. Both the elk and deer are responsible for eating local crops – although the elk eat larger quantities. An example of the economic costs of this is from the 2002 season. The cabbage crop sold to Yoke's last season was notably smaller in diameter because farmers were forced to harvest them prematurely. Fortunately, the flavor and ripeness of cabbage is not time dependent like fruit or corn. However, consumers are particular in terms of the size and appearance of the fruit and vegetables they purchase. For example, wax coatings are applied to most apples sold in grocery chains to make them more visually appealing to consumers. Product appearance can have a negative economic effect if the product is deemed unappealing by consumers. To encourage sales, product prices are reduced. For farmers, this reduction may result in loss of profit, which can easily devastate small, diversified farms like those on Green Bluff.

In summary, Green Bluff's agricultural economy is fragile. The continuation of farming depends upon economic viability, marketing flexibility and more importantly Green Bluff farmers' fundamental commitment to agriculture.

Local Planning

When marketing strategies expanded to include events and festivals, Green Bluff farmers discovered that not all activities were allowed under Spokane County's land use and zoning codes. In 1996 "the Zoning Code and the Comprehensive Plan were amended to designate the Green Bluff Area as a "Small Tract Agricultural" (STA) area with a minimum lot size of 10 acres.⁸⁸ Spokane County Comprehensive Plan lists Green Bluff area's land use category as Small Tract Agriculture (STA), which is an area primarily devoted to grain, fruit, berry, vegetable, dairies, Christmas trees and forage crop production. Non-resource-related uses other than rural residences are generally prohibited. This type of agriculture is suitable to small-scale operations and may be conducted on relatively small parcels. Residence on large lots may or may not be associated with farming operations. Seasonal festivals and other activities associated with the marketing of agricultural products will be common occurrences in these areas.⁸⁹

This code was amended and in 2002 was approved by the Spokane County Planning Commission for Green Bluff. The new codes allow for the marketing activities used by farmers such as temporary food services, commercial farm rides and agricultural direct

⁸⁸ Makers Architecture and Urban Design, *Final Draft Green Bluff Subarea Plan*, (Seattle: Makers Architecture and Urban Design), May 2003, 2.

⁸⁹ Spokane County Comprehensive Plan, 2001, <http://www.spokanecounty.org/planning/CompPlans-Old/recplan/chap4.pdf>.

marketing activities.⁹⁰ Farmers struggled for months to have these amendments approved. An editorial article in the *The Spokesman-Review* “Red tape putting squeeze on farmers” by Vern Christenson provides insight into a Spokane resident’s opinion of Green Bluff events and festivals and the County Commissioners’ reluctance to approve the amendments. Christenson writes, “[f]or farmers, harvest festivals are critical for their survival. For city folk they are a breath of fresh air, a nostalgia rush, a glimpse of our rural roots. A season isn’t complete without an outing to pick strawberries, take part in the Cherry Picker[‘s]s Trot, buy a fresh-baked apple pie or pluck the perfect pumpkin. People enjoying themselves stay longer and buy more.”⁹¹ The author goes on to write that the Spokane area “needs the Green Bluff growers.”⁹² In addition, Christenson notes that the Spokane County Planning Commission approved the zoning amendments but that county commissioners were divided and were asking for more public comment. For farmers who generally work every day of the year from, at least, sunrise to sunset, the time spent working towards this amendment costs them time at the expense of their agricultural business. It is vital for Green Bluff farmers to be involved in planning issues especially if they intend to continue farming. One possible solution is for farmers to

⁹⁰ Spokane County, www.spokanecounty.org/planning/documents/zoning/amendments/GBzoningamendment.htm, January 2003.

⁹¹ Fern Christenson, “Red tape putting squeeze on farmers,” *The Spokesman-Review*, 2 March 2002, B4.

⁹² Fern Christenson, “Red tape putting squeeze on farmers,” *The Spokesman-Review*, 2 March 2002, B4.

select a representative from amongst their group to attend public meetings and, in general, be a liaison between farmers and County officials. Through this contact, farmers may develop a closer relationship with County officials and become more involved in planning issues.

Spokane County is mandated by the Growth Management Act to involve the public in local planning issues. To address continued concerns over code compliance and farming activities on Green Bluff, the County determined that Green Bluff was in need of a Subarea Plan. Green Bluff, like many rural areas on the Metropolitan fringe, was the subject of complaints concerning advertising signage and farming activities and practices.⁹³ In 2002, Spokane County hired Makers, Inc., a Seattle based company, to provide assistance in developing this plan. By the end of that year, the plan draft was presented to the community for additional comments. Five additional community meetings were set up to refine each element of the plan. The 5th meeting was never held and, as of May 1, 2003, no further action will be taken on the Plan for two reasons. First, according to Spokane County, community agreement could not be reached on several issues and second, 110 local residents signed a petition to stop the Subarea planning process thereby preventing the Plan from being presented to the Board of Spokane

⁹³ Farming operations are protected from nuisance complaints by Washington State's Right to Farm Law.

County Commissioners.⁹⁴ Those who signed the petition were determined to stop the plan because several of the proposed elements were not suggested or supported by the residents including the bike trail, the three-way stop at the intersection of Green Bluff Road and Day-Mt. Spokane Road, the Adopt-A-Triangle program, and the rural activity center proposal.⁹⁵ In addition to this, farmers and their nonfarming supporters felt “railroaded” by the local planners into accepting the plan.⁹⁶

Over the past eight years, Green Bluff farmers have been working with Spokane County to protect their agricultural interests but only as stop-gap measures. When an issue arises, such as code compliance, Green Bluff farmers work with County government to resolve the issues. This method, however, will not save and preserve Green Bluff farms in the long run. If farmers want to protect their interests, but this would require a proactive approach to planning is needed. By revising the Subarea Plan with a focus on the preservation of agricultural land, Green Bluff farmers may be able to protect their community and to ensure the continuation of their livelihood.

Agriculture is key to Green Bluff’s unique character. For over a century the social and cultural structure of the community has virtually remained the same. The landscape

⁹⁴ Tim Lawhead, Terry Liberty and Hall Allert, Spokane, Wa, to Green Bluff Residents, Colbert and Mead, Wa, 1 May 2003, Letter in the hand of Lisa Kalhar Melton, Bothell, Wa.

⁹⁵ Anna Margaret Kalhar, Interview by author, May 10, 2003.

⁹⁶ Anna Margaret Kalhar, Interview by author, May 10, 2003.

has evolved to include more rural estates but, despite this fact, agriculture remains strong. Of the approximate 145 households on Green Bluff there are 40 land owners who actively farm. Even though farming income is often supplemented by an outside income, Green Bluff farmers are committed to the success of their agri-business. The next step is for farmers to be proactive in planning for their present as well as their future. By doing so, these farmers will secure their future success by maintaining and preserving the root of their success: the farm land.

CHAPTER IV: LITERATURE REVIEW:

FARMLAND PROTECTION TOOLS AND TECHNIQUES

In determining an appropriate farmland protection program for Green Bluff, it is first necessary to review the various tools and techniques used in the United States to “ensure the economic viability of agriculture” through preservation and protection.⁹⁷ Key tools include: Agricultural District Designation; Agricultural Historic District Designation; Agricultural Zoning; Cluster Zoning; Comprehensive Plan Development; Conservation Easements; Economic Development; Mitigation Ordinances and Policies; Right to Farm Laws; Tax Relief; and Urban Growth Boundaries.⁹⁸ Each approach is defined and discussed briefly in terms of its benefits and disadvantages for farmland protection. Following this list are three examples of farmland protection and preservation strategies used by counties throughout the nation.⁹⁹

⁹⁷ American Farmland Trust, *Fact Sheet: The Farmland Protection Toolbox*, September 1998, 1.

⁹⁸ The American Farmland Trust (AFT) also lists Executive Orders, State and Local Marketing Programs, and Natural Resources Protection compensation as strategies for protecting and preserving farmland. According to AFT, executive orders can be used to “document the importance of agriculture and farmland to [a] state[’s] economy, environment and culture” which in some cases include withholding state “funds from projects that would result in farmland conversion.” State and local government funded marketing programs “support and enhance the economics of agriculture,” which may help farmers remain profitable. As for the third strategy, “several states and a few local governments “have developed programs that compensate farmers for protecting natural resources.” *Fact Sheet: The Farmland Protection Toolbox*, September 1998, 2 and 7.

⁹⁹ These packages are presented by Tom Daniels, a renowned scholar in the field of farmland preservation who holds a Ph. D. in agricultural economics. He is the former director of the Agricultural Preserve Board of Lancaster, Pennsylvania and is a professor of Planning in the Department of Geography and Planning at the State University of New York in Albany.

Agricultural District Designation

American Farmland Trust, an organization that advocates, promotes, and participates in protecting farms and farmland, list Agricultural District Designation as one of the tools available to preserve farmland. An Agricultural District is a specific land area, totaling at least 500 acres, in which “commercial farming is encouraged and protected.”¹⁰⁰ A state’s legislature, prior to the creation of a District, must enact legislation allowing its formation.¹⁰¹ Common benefits of this program include the following: exemption from local nuisance ordinances; eligibility for differential assessment; “limits on some other taxes and sewer and water lines;” and it provides “greater protection from eminent domain.”¹⁰² The drawbacks to this program are that it is voluntary and that a landowner may withdraw at any time (or after the time designated by the District agreement). Unfortunately, Districts are of little use near urban areas because

¹⁰⁰ American Farmland Trust, *Fact Sheet: The Farmland Protection Toolbox*, September 1998, 1 and Deborah Ritter, *An Evaluation of King County’s Farmland Preservation Program: What Motivated Landowners to Participate? How Do They Feel About the Program Now?*, (master’s thesis, University of Washington, 1995), 9.

¹⁰¹ Ritter, 10.

¹⁰² Daniels, *Holding our Ground*, 236.

of the intense development pressures on farmers to sell farmland and reap the economic benefits of land conversion.¹⁰³

Agricultural Historic District Designation

The United States Department of the Interior's National Park Service (NPS) recognizes the value of rural historic landscapes and "the cultural values that centuries of land use and occupation have embodied in rural America."¹⁰⁴ According to the NPS Bulletin #30,

a rural historic landscape is defined as a geographical area that historically has been used by people, or shaped or modified by human activity, occupancy, or intervention, and that possesses a significant concentration, linkage, or continuity of areas of land use, vegetation, buildings and structures, roads and waterways, and natural features.¹⁰⁵

An agricultural historic district that is qualified for listing on the National Register of Historic Places may also be listed on a State or Local Register. Being listed on the National Register and State Register provides the historic resource with an increased public recognition or awareness of both the historic resource itself and its historical value.

Neither the National Register nor the Washington Heritage Register is prohibitive. The

¹⁰³ Daniels, *Holding our Ground*, 236.

¹⁰⁴ McClelland, Linda Flint, et al., *Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Rural Historic Landscapes: National Register Bulletin #30*, National Park Service website at http://www.cr.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb30/nrb30_2.htm, 2 June 2003, 1.

¹⁰⁵ McClelland, Linda Flint, et al., *Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Rural Historic Landscapes: National Register Bulletin #30*, National Park Service website at http://www.cr.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb30/nrb30_3.htm, 2 June 2003, 1.

National Park Service and the Washington State Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation impose no restrictions on listed National Register of Historic Places or Washington Heritage Register resources “when private funds are used to alter a significant property.”¹⁰⁶ The only requirement is that any Federal or State government agency or any recipient of Federal or State funds must consider the effects of a project on listed historic resources.¹⁰⁷

Historic resources designated on the local level typically have some restrictions and requirements but these programs frequently offer incentives. City and county historic preservation programs’ restrictions and requirements generally require a design review for any alteration or proposed demolition of a resource. In Washington State, the local Landmarks Preservation Board (Board) and the resource owner typically negotiate a “Controls and Incentives Agreement” (Agreement), which outlines specific guidelines as to which defining features are covered by the designation. Only features included in the Agreement are subject to review by the Board unless the proposed changes negatively affect the resource’s defining features. Even though controls are placed on a resource on the local level, the city or county also provides financial incentives to resource owners.

¹⁰⁶ Washington State Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation website at <http://www.ocd.wa.gov/info/lgd/oahp/WHRguide.pdf>, 2 June 2003, 2.

¹⁰⁷ Washington State Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation website at <http://www.ocd.wa.gov/info/lgd/oahp/WHRguide.pdf>, 2 June 2003, 2.

One such incentive is a property tax reduction or freeze on historic resources. Ordinarily, programs in Washington State offer a 10 year freeze on property taxes for owners who spend at least 25% of the appraised improvement value of a resource on rehabilitation. For example, if a building (i.e. the improvement) is appraised at \$100,000 a minimum of \$25,000 must be spent on the resource's rehabilitation to qualify for the program. In addition to property tax reduction or freeze program, resource owners are qualified to receive local grants, technical assistance, and signage.

Based on a preliminary assessment by the Spokane City/County Historic Preservation Department and the author of this thesis, Green Bluff is likely eligible for listing as an Historic District on the National, State, and Local Registers. Green Bluff farmers would benefit from the additional advertising and would be qualified for grants, technical assistance, and identifying signage. This designation would provide the public (i.e. current and potential consumers) with another reason to drive to Green Bluff as a tourist destination.

Agricultural Zoning

Zoning is enacted by local governments to segregate land uses and to identify minimum lot sizes. Specifically, "a zoning ordinance has the force of law."¹⁰⁸ Agricultural zoning

¹⁰⁸ Daniels, *Holding Our Ground*, 41.

designates areas on which farming and ranching are the primary land uses.¹⁰⁹ Two types of agricultural zoning exist: exclusive and non-exclusive. Exclusive agricultural zoning is rarely used because it prohibits the construction of nonfarm dwellings. By enacting this type of zoning, the local government is at risk of a governmental “‘taking’ of private property rights without compensation.”¹¹⁰ Nonexclusive zoning is the type commonly used.

There are two types of nonexclusive zoning: minimum lot size and area-based allocation. Minimum lot size zoning regulates parcel size for land designated as agriculture. This minimum varies. In Spokane County, the minimum is 10-, 20-, or 40-acres. Some counties in Oregon, California, and Minnesota “use an 80-acre minimum lot size; this means that an 80-acre farm cannot be subdivided, nor could a 150-acre farm be split in half.”¹¹¹ In the western United States, some areas have the minimum lot size set at one dwelling per 640 acres.¹¹² Area-based allocation takes two forms: sliding-scale or fixed. Sliding-scale agricultural zoning is parcel size dependent. Under this type of zoning “the number of development units allowed is based on parcel size with allowed

¹⁰⁹ American Farmland Trust, *Fact Sheet: The Farmland Protection Toolbox*, September 1998, 4.

¹¹⁰ Daniels, *Holding our Ground*, 116.

¹¹¹ Daniels, *Holding our Ground*, 117.

¹¹² American Farmland Trust, *Fact Sheet: The Farmland Protection Toolbox*, September 1998, 4.

density decreasing per acre as the size of the parcel increases.”¹¹³ Fixed area-based allocation allows a specific density according to parcel area such as 1 dwelling unit for every 25 acres. Thus, a farmer owning 100-acres is allowed 4 dwelling units. The lot size for these dwelling units is typically 1 acre to 2 acres. This allows for flexible site planning. These 4 units could be clustered together, leaving a minimum of 92-acres of open space or farmable land.

Whether a county is using exclusive or nonexclusive zoning, there are several benefits to using agricultural zoning. For example, it limits non-farm development and protects “large areas of farmland at a low public cost.”¹¹⁴ Another benefit of agricultural zoning is that it “provides some protection for farmers by limiting the number of nonfarm dwellings that can be built in the neighborhood.”¹¹⁵ The drawbacks are as follows: “local governments can rezone land out of agriculture or cancel agricultural zoning; and landowners may complain about ‘equity loss’ or the lack of compensation.”¹¹⁶

Agricultural zoning in Spokane County is nonexclusive. The County uses fixed area-based allocation and encourages cluster developments (see definition below) to

¹¹³ Daniels, *Holding our Ground*, 118.

¹¹⁴ Daniels, *Holding our Ground*, 236.

¹¹⁵ Daniels, *Holding our Ground*, 105.

¹¹⁶ Daniels, *Holding our Ground*, 236.

protect open space.¹¹⁷ Increasing the minimal parcel size currently allowed in agricultural areas would assist in preserving farmland. Its effectiveness would increase if this tool was implemented as part of a protection package.

Cluster Zoning

Cluster zoning, “also known as open-space zoning,” is enacted by local governments.¹¹⁸ This type of zoning is promoted as a method of allowing “nonfarm development in farming areas.”¹¹⁹ Part of the farmland is developed into a cluster of single family dwelling units while the rest of the land is left open to either remain as farmland or to provide a buffer to adjacent farmland. A benefit to this type of zoning is that at least a portion of land is left as open space. The detriments, however, may outweigh the benefits. One of these drawbacks is

that most places that use it allow a fairly high density of one dwelling per two acres or one to three or five acres. At those densities, the result is likely to be clustered sprawl. Moreover, the remaining farmland will probably be used for low-value crops such as hay because animal agriculture with its manure smell is not very compatible with nonfarm neighbors and their kids and dogs.¹²⁰

¹¹⁷ Spokane County Planning Department, *Spokane County Comprehensive Plan (2001)*, <http://www.spokanecounty.org/planning/documents/CompPlan2001/TOC.pdf>, 5 June 2003.

¹¹⁸ Daniels, *When City and Country Collide*, 219.

¹¹⁹ Daniels, *When City and Country Collide*, 219.

¹²⁰ Daniels, *When City and Country Collide*, 219.

In addition, “clustered development works best with public sewer and water facilities.”¹²¹ With a number of houses on 1-acre to 2-acre lots on-site septic systems may contaminate on-site wells or water sources forcing the local government to construct a public sewer and water facility. As a safe guard against water contamination due to poor septic system drainage, Pennsylvania’s Department of Natural Resources requires groundwater testing prior to permitting a landowner to construct a house with an on-site septic system. If the test reveals that water is higher than the 10 parts per million nitrate standards set by the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, an on-site septic system is not allowed.¹²² A byproduct of this public health standard is relief from development pressures on farmland, since high nitrate concentrations will limit development in areas without access to a public sewer system

Spokane County allows for and encourages cluster zoning in its natural resource areas, which includes agricultural lands. This type of zoning is highly contested. A cluster development was proposed on a 100 acre site on Green Bluff. According to the County’s Comprehensive Plan, 10 dwelling units, on a maximum of one acre per unit, are allowed on this site. This would leave approximately 90 acres of farmland or open space. Unfortunately, some members of the Green Bluff community decried the development,

¹²¹ Daniels, *When City and Country Collide*, 219.

¹²² Daniels, *Holding Our Ground*, 121.

preventing the plans from coming to fruition.¹²³ As it stands today, the 100 acre parcel may be developed into 10-acre residential lots and none of the site will be retained as farmland or open space. This initial interest in cluster development by a Green Bluff landowner prompted interest among other landowners in the area. Since Spokane County did not approve the development plan, it is unlikely that any Green Bluff landowners will attempt to create a cluster development in the near future. Modification of this particular protection technique is unnecessary because it will work in retaining some open space and farmland if it is implemented and approved by County officials.

Comprehensive Plan Development

Comprehensive plans are mandated by a state's legislature, but are enacted at the local level. Specifically, a "comprehensive plan provides a legal foundation for the zoning ordinance; and the zoning ordinance should carry out the goals, objectives, and vision expressed in the comprehensive plan as well as in the future land-use map."¹²⁴ These comprehensive plans are beneficial in that they are "an organized way to identify good farmland and set growth and protection goals and serve as the basis for land use

¹²³ Anna Margaret Kalhar, Interview by author, May 10, 2003.

¹²⁴ Daniels, *Holding Our Ground*, 41.

regulations.”¹²⁵ The drawback, however, is that these plans “may be changed or ignored by planning commissions or elected officials as they rule on development proposals.”¹²⁶

In Washington, the State’s Growth Management Act (GMA) was first enacted in 1990 then revised in 1991.¹²⁷ Spokane County developed their Comprehensive Plan (Plan) according to the State’s GMA. The most recent approved Plan is from 2001.¹²⁸ Green Bluff is categorized as a Small Tract Agriculture area in Chapter 4 of the Plan which covers Natural Resource Lands. Parcels zoned as Small Tract Agriculture are allowed 1 dwelling unit per 10-acres.

Comprehensive plan development is an important technique in farmland protection because it can direct growth away from quality agricultural land and other natural resource lands. However, it is vital that local governments perceive their plan as a “binding policy document” and to clearly identify where development is to occur in order to protect open space and farmland.¹²⁹ If the plan is inconsistent with county codes or regulations, it becomes less effective. For example, protecting a community’s agricultural land is a typical goal for counties in Washington State. If county zoning code

¹²⁵ Daniels, *Holding our Ground*, 236.

¹²⁶ Daniels, *Holding our Ground*, 236.

¹²⁷ American Farmland Trust, *Fact Sheet: The Farmland Protection Toolbox*, September 1998, 2.

¹²⁸ Spokane County Planning Department, *Spokane County Comprehensive Plan (2001)*, <http://www.spokanecounty.org/planning/documents/CompPlan2001/TOC.pdf>, 5 June 2003.

¹²⁹ Daniels, *When City and Country Collide*, 57.

allows 2-, 5-, or 10- acre lots, the land is actually set up for development. By rectifying this type of inconsistency, counties can create effective comprehensive plans.

Conservation Easements

In the United States, property rights involve a number of elements. This “bundle” of rights may include mineral, air, and development rights. Property owners, within the limits set by local, state, and federal governments, have the right to purchase, sell, lease, use, or pass down through inheritance any of the rights associated with their property, in part or in whole. A conservation easement is a legally binding contract between a landowner and, typically, a government agency or Land Trust (Purchaser), in which a landowner sells or donates one or more of the property rights associated with the land. Conservation easements will restrict particular land uses. These restrictions vary depending upon the specific purpose of the easement. Easements of this type, for example, may restrict all uses except recreation. Government agencies such as Natural Resources Conservation Services often prefer this restriction when the intent is to return an area to what is considered a natural state on which human modification and land disturbances are prohibited and human activities restricted to light recreational usage.

As they pertain to agricultural land, conservation easements are intended to protect and conserve the land by preventing development and, as is the case in the majority of agreements, are held in perpetuity so that they run with the land. Currently,

all of the nation's 50 states have legislation allowing this type of conservation easement.¹³⁰ There are deed restrictions associated with conservation easements on agricultural land. The following list of restrictions is drawn from King County's Farmland Preservation Program:¹³¹

- The land is restricted to agricultural or open space uses (there is no requirement that the land be farmed continually nor is there a limitation on the type of farming to be conducted).
- The number of dwelling units on the land is generally limited to one dwelling per 35 acres of the original ownership.
- Subdivision of the land is permitted but uses are limited to agriculture and open space. Dwelling units are not allowed.
- Land development is restricted to 5% of the land surface. Development includes agriculture-related buildings, non-tillable surfaces, surfaced parking lots and driveways.

Easement values for conservation easements are determined using the following equation:

$$\text{Fair-market value} - \text{Agricultural Value} = \text{Easement Value}^{132}$$

Once this evaluation is complete, the landowner and purchaser negotiate a final settlement, a price that may or may not be for the maximum easement value. The following techniques are used in the acquisition of conservation easements; Purchase of

¹³⁰ American Farmland Trust, *Fact Sheet: The Farmland Protection Toolbox*, September 1998, 1.

¹³¹ This list is from King County's Farmland Preservation Program as written by Deborah Ritter in her master's thesis for the University of Washington. *An Evaluation of King County's Farmland Preservation Program: What Motivated Landowners to Participate?; How Do They Feel About the Program Now?*, (master's thesis, University of Washington, 1995), 28.

¹³² Daniels, *Holding our Ground*, 149.

Development Rights or Purchase of Agricultural Conservation Easement program;

Transfer of Development Rights; and Private Land Trusts and Donation Easement.

Purchase of Development Rights (PDRs), also known as Purchase of Agricultural Conservation Easement (PACE), is a program under which a farmer's development rights are purchased and overseen by either a local or a state government. PDRs and PACE programs are beneficial since they "provide[] permanent protection of farmland and pump[] cash into the farm and farm economy."¹³³ Drawbacks to the program are that public costs may be high and it may be difficult to protect a large farming area.¹³⁴

When developers compensate farmland owners for their development rights, it is termed Transfer of Development Rights (TDRs). This tool is used by a local government to increase density in one specific area while preventing it in another. Like PDRs/PACE, TDRs permanently protect farmland. However, TDRs programs are more "difficult to establish, especially where development is scattered," and they are often opposed by landowners in the areas receiving the increased density benefit.¹³⁵

A private, nonprofit land trust is an organization "whose primary purpose usually is the direct protection of natural areas and open space."¹³⁶ Land trusts can either form

¹³³ Daniels, *Holding our Ground*, 236.

¹³⁴ Daniels, *Holding our Ground*, 236.

¹³⁵ Daniels, *Holding our Ground*, 236.

¹³⁶ Daniels, *Holding our Ground*, 194.

public-private partnerships or work independently with a landowner to permanently protect land.¹³⁷ Furthermore, land trusts may either maintain property or conservation easements in-house or it can “resell land and conservation easements, usually to a local, state, or federal government agency.”¹³⁸ Because land trusts are tax-exempt organizations, deemed as an educational and charitable organization, “donations of money, property, and conservation easements qualify as federal income tax deductions for the donors.”¹³⁹ Land donations are often used as a tool in estate and land transfer planning. Farmers who donate a conservation easement “reduce the value of the land in the estate and can lower the estate tax burden. The donation of a perpetual conservation easement may also produce an income tax deduction.”¹⁴⁰

A drawback to private land trusts is that they often have limited amounts of funding. Therefore, the amount of land protection is limited as well. Land trusts “may create islands of protection not protect a critical mass or contiguous lands.”¹⁴¹

Spokane County allows for PDRs and TDRs. Green Bluff farmland typically appraises at \$3000.00 per acre. Owners selling 10-acre residential lots receive

¹³⁷ Daniels, *Holding our Ground*, 236.

¹³⁸ Daniels, *Holding Our Ground*, 194.

¹³⁹ Daniels, *Holding Our Ground*, 194.

¹⁴⁰ Daniels, *Holding Our Ground*, 228.

¹⁴¹ Daniels, *Holding our Ground*, 236.

approximately \$10,000.00 per acre.¹⁴² Inland Northwest Land Trust, founded in 1991, is located in Spokane, Washington and would, therefore, be the local land trust for anyone in Spokane County who is interested in selling or donating property or a conservation easement.¹⁴³ Conservation easements are currently the best tool for ensuring that land remains, in perpetuity, as open space or agricultural land. In order to be an effective preservation tool on Green Bluff, a number of farmers would need to agree on this goal in order to prevent development. It is more likely that Green Bluff will retain its farms, farmland, rural character, and agricultural heritage through the use of conservation easements.

Economic Development

Profitability is essential to the success of any business. Agriculture bases its economic success on the ability to produce a profit. Just like any business, without this maintaining some profitability, sustaining farms and farmland is implausible. State economic development programs attempt to assist the agricultural industry in its pursuit

¹⁴² Information regarding land values was provided by Anna Margaret Kalhar in an interview by the author, May 10, 2003. Mrs. Kalhar's land was appraised by Mike Gentry, certified appraiser and Green Bluff resident, in 2001. The total residential sale price of Green Bluff land may vary depending upon the view from the site and if it has a water system hook-up. According to Mrs. Kalhar, who is a current member of the Green Bluff Water Association Board of Directors, the current price of purchasing a water hook-up is \$14,000.00. This amount is typically added on to the asking price of a parcel with a hook-up.

¹⁴³ Land Trust Alliance website, <http://www.lta.org/findlandtrust>ID.htm>, 2 June 2003.

of economic sustainability by promoting its agricultural products. State programs

typically include one or more of the following:¹⁴⁴

- Export promotion of crops, meat, and processed foods and promotion of locally grown food, such as the following Washington State programs: International Marketing and Export Assistance; Small Farm and Direct Marketing; From the Heart of Washington; Commodity Commissions; and Agricultural Fairs.
- Financing for value-added businesses that will process raw farm products into packaged good.
- Loans for beginning or high-risk farmers.
- Biotechnology and technology transfer to farms to increase the production of food and fiber.
- Grants for farmers to try new and different crops.
- Grants for farmers' markets.
- Marketing advice and a hotline for consumers to learn of farmers who sell produce directly to consumers.
- A listing of farm bed-and-breakfast establishments for tourists.
- A farm-link program to match beginning farmers with farmers looking to sell their farms.

In the past, Spokane County farmers received economic development assistance through Washington State University Cooperative Extension, Spokane Regional Convention and Visitors Bureau. According to Spokane County Conservation District' Production Agriculture Department, the department is currently working on the following programs:

- State revolving funds loan package.
- Dairy producer assistance.
- Country living expo for rural property owners with 2-80 acres.
- Farm plan technical assistance

¹⁴⁴ The following list is reproduced, in part, from Daniels, *Holding Our Ground*, 102.

- Conservation reserve program (CRP)

These upcoming programs will provide much needed assistance to local farmers because, as stated previously, profitability is vital to retaining farming business and, therefore, farmland.

There are several programs that are of particular interest to Green Bluff farmers. Relevant programs include: Washington State's Small Farm and Direct Marketing assistance, Financing for value-added businesses, Marketing advice, and farm-link programs. On the local level, Green Bluff farmers would benefit from Spokane County's farm plan technical assistance.

Mitigation Ordinances and Policies

Mitigation ordinances and policies require developers to mitigate the impact of their development if farmland is lost because of it. Generally, this mitigation is a monetary fee that will fund conservation easements within the county to protect other farmland from development. Tom Daniels refers to them as "developer exactions" and references the U.S. Supreme Court ruling in *Dolan v. City of Tigard* that requires that an exaction "must address a problem created or contributed to by the development, or the cumulative effects of development."¹⁴⁵ In other words, a direct link must exist between

¹⁴⁵ *Dolan v. City of Tigard*, 512 U.S. 374 (1994) quoted in Daniels, *Holding our Ground*, 166. Mandelker, Daniel R. and John M. Payne, *Planning and Control of Land Development: Cases and Materials*, 5th ed., (New York: Matthew Bender & Company, Inc., 2001), 584-598.

any exaction or mitigation and any problem(s) that may arise from a development. Exactions or mitigation are relatively new tools in the protection and preservation of farmland. Various methods exist to accomplish the task of attaining exactions or mitigation. In Davis, California, city officials “enacted an ordinance that requires developers to protect one acre of farmland for every acre of agricultural land they convert to other uses.”¹⁴⁶ Developers may either pay a mitigation fee or “place an agricultural conservation easement on farmland in another part of the city.”¹⁴⁷ Another example is from King County, Washington. The County’s Comprehensive Plan mandates “‘no net loss of farmland.’”¹⁴⁸ In order for land in an agricultural zone to be developed, “an equal amount of agricultural land of the same or better quality is added to the county’s agricultural production zones.”¹⁴⁹

At this time, no mitigation policies exist in Spokane County that focus specifically on the preservation and protection of farmland. Even if Spokane County were to institute a similar policy, it may not preserve Green Bluff’s farmland unless farmers agree to sell their development rights. By implementing this policy Spokane County’s comprehensive plan would direct development to weak farming areas with

¹⁴⁶ American Farmland Trust, *Fact Sheet: The Farmland Protection Toolbox*, September 1998, 6.

¹⁴⁷ American Farmland Trust, *Fact Sheet: The Farmland Protection Toolbox*, September 1998, 6.

¹⁴⁸ American Farmland Trust, *Fact Sheet: The Farmland Protection Toolbox*, September 1998, 6.

¹⁴⁹ American Farmland Trust, *Fact Sheet: The Farmland Protection Toolbox*, September 1998, 6.

lower quality farmland while preserving strong farming areas with high quality farmland.¹⁵⁰

Right-to-Farm Laws

Every state legislature in the nation has enacted right-to-farm laws to “protect farmers from nuisance complaints for standard farming practices.”¹⁵¹ Some local governments have also adopted right-to-farm ordinances that further protect farming practices from nuisance complaints and lawsuits. The nuisance doctrine generally “allows a landowner to file suit to stop a neighbor from using land in ways that detract from the landowner’s enjoyment of his or her property.”¹⁵² Often times new residents “to the rural-urban fringe do not understand that farming, as practiced today, is essentially an industrial process involving heavy machinery, powerful chemicals, and large concentrations of animals.”¹⁵³ This misconception on the part of new residents causes conflict between newcomers and farmers whose very existence and livelihood depends on agriculture. A right-to-farm law may protect farmers from losing lawsuits concerning existing and accepted farming practices but it does not prevent newcomers from filing complaints or lawsuits. In addition, this law “may not protect major changes in farm

¹⁵⁰ Unfortunately, soil class is not currently available for Spokane County. The previous soil survey was done around 1968 and is no longer in use. The soil survey for the county will not be completed until 2007.

¹⁵¹ Daniels, *Holding our Ground*, 236.

¹⁵² Daniels, *Holding our Ground*, 90.

¹⁵³ Daniels, *Holding our Ground*, 91.

operations or new operations.”¹⁵⁴ State legislatures could revise the law to discourage frivolous nuisance lawsuits. For example, Michigan, in 1995, “revised its right-to-farm law to allow farmers to recover legal costs from plaintiffs who lose a nuisance suit.”¹⁵⁵

Washington State right-to-farm policy is covered under the Revised Code of Washington 7.48.300 through 7.48.310, and 7.48.905 and is intended to protect “agricultural activities conducted on farmland and forest practices from nuisance lawsuits.”¹⁵⁶ This law protects existing Washington farmers from losing lawsuits over normal farming practices but it does not prevent local residents from filing complaints or lawsuits. Allowing mediation, arbitrations or an alternative dispute resolution process would decrease costs for both parties. However, farmers should be able to recover any legal costs from the plaintiff if the claimant loses.

Tax Relief

Generally property in the United States is “assessed for tax purposes at its ‘highest and best use,’ or development potential.”¹⁵⁷ Every state offers some type of tax relief for agricultural land. This means that instead of taxing farmland at its highest and best use, the property is assessed and taxed at its current-use value: farmland. In general,

¹⁵⁴ Daniels, *Holding our Ground*, 236.

¹⁵⁵ Daniels, *Holding our Ground*, 90.

¹⁵⁶ Revised Code of Washington, sec. 7.48.300.

¹⁵⁷ Daniels, *When City and Country Collide*, 216.

this tool provides only a “modest incentive to keep land in commercial farming” because financial incentives for developing farmland are far greater than any tax relief program can provide.¹⁵⁸ In addition, any landowner whose land fits the criteria may qualify for tax relief programs including non-commercial farmers whose livelihood is not directly dependent on the farming operation. Tom Daniels suggests that the minimum qualifying standards for receiving tax relief be “25 or more acres or a farm income of more than \$10,000 a year.”¹⁵⁹

Ordinarily, tax relief programs are a simple tax break without penalty if the land is converted to a nonfarm use, or a tax break combined with a ‘rollback’ penalty (a recapture of the tax break) if land is converted.¹⁶⁰ Two types of tax relief programs exist: circuit breaker tax relief credits and differential assessment. The former program is used by only four states and is intended to offer tax credits to farmers to provide relief from property tax bills.¹⁶¹ In three states, Michigan, Wisconsin, and New York, “farmers may receive state income tax credits based on the amount of their real property tax bill and their income.”¹⁶² In Iowa, farmers receive school tax credits “when school taxes

¹⁵⁸ Daniels, *Holding Our Ground*, 236.

¹⁵⁹ Daniels, *Holding Our Ground*, 236.

¹⁶⁰ Daniels, *When City and Country Collide*, 215-216.

¹⁶¹ American Farmland Trust, *Fact Sheet: The Farmland Protection Toolbox*, September 1998, 4.

¹⁶² American Farmland Trust, *Fact Sheet: The Farmland Protection Toolbox*, September 1998, 4.

exceed a statutory limit.”¹⁶³ The latter type of tax relief is known as differential assessment. There are three types of differential assessments: preferential assessment; deferred taxation; and restrictive agreements. Preferential assessments generally “require farmers to apply for tax relief, showing a minimum acreage and proof that the land is being actively farmed.”¹⁶⁴ A drawback to this type of program is that there is no penalty for withdrawing from the program or for converting the land to a nonfarm use.¹⁶⁵ The second type of assessment is deferred taxation which “combines preferential assessment with a rollback penalty to recapture some of all of the property tax benefits if the land is converted to a nonfarm use.”¹⁶⁶ This means that “property taxation based on the farmland’s highest and best use is deferred until the land is no longer used for farming.”¹⁶⁷ Enrollment requirements are stricter than those for preferential assessment programs. These requirements typically include the following: a minimum acreage; a minimum level of gross farming income; and a minimum number of years land must be farmed before being accepted into the program.¹⁶⁸ The third type of assessment is known as a restrictive agreement. This agreement provides farmers with a “preferential

¹⁶³ American Farmland Trust, *Fact Sheet: The Farmland Protection Toolbox*, September 1998, 4.

¹⁶⁴ Daniels, *Holding Our Ground*, 93.

¹⁶⁵ Daniels, *Holding our Ground*, 93.

¹⁶⁶ Daniels, *Holding our Ground*, 94.

¹⁶⁷ Daniels, *Holding our Ground*, 94.

¹⁶⁸ Daniels, *Holding Our Ground*, 94.

assessment through a legally binding contract.”¹⁶⁹ By consenting to the agreement, a landowner agrees to “restrict the use of the land for a specific period of time in return for preferential taxation or for a freeze on the actual amount of property taxes owed.”¹⁷⁰ The time period for the contract is typically for 10 years, and if the land is converted to a nonfarm use, prior to the contract’s expiration, the landowner is subject to a rollback penalty.¹⁷¹ The major drawback to restrictive agreements is that “farmers in rural-urban fringe areas are often reluctant to enter into contracts that limit their options to sell land.”¹⁷²

In Washington State, the Open Space Taxation Act (Act), a deferred taxation program, was enacted in 1970. It allows property owners to have their open space, farm and agricultural land, and timberlands taxed at their current use as opposed to the accustomed value of highest and best use. Restrictions are that the land or contiguous parcels of land total 20 acres. If the land is less than 20 acres, the Act specifies a gross income requirement per acre that must be attained for three of the five years preceding the date of application.¹⁷³ Enrollment is voluntary and the land must be enrolled in the

¹⁶⁹ Daniels, *Holding Our Ground*, 95.

¹⁷⁰ Daniels, *Holding Our Ground*, 95.

¹⁷¹ Daniels, *Holding Our Ground*, 95.

¹⁷² Daniels, *Holding Our Ground*, 95.

¹⁷³ State of Washington Property Tax Division, *Open Space Taxation Act: Current Use Assessment Information*, January 1993, http://dor.wa.gov/Docs/Pubs/Prop_Tax/OpenSpace.htm, 6 June 2003.

program for a minimum of ten years.¹⁷⁴ Any penalties for early withdrawal from the program are usually rolled into the sale price of the property. On Green Bluff, farmland is valued at \$3000.00 an acre while the value of a parcel sold for residential use is approximately \$10,000.00 an acre.¹⁷⁵ According to Tom Daniels, “in rapidly growing communities, taxes on farmland can eat up more than half of net farm income and actually force the sale of the farm.”¹⁷⁶ Spokane and its suburbs continue to expand and are pushing closer to farming areas including Green Bluff. Because of the substantial difference in land valuation between agricultural and residential land uses and Green Bluff’s close proximity to suburban and urban areas, Washington’s differential assessment program provides some incentive for farmers to continue farming. To strengthen this program, Washington State would need to increase the penalty for conversion to a nonfarm use and increase the enrollment period.

Urban Growth Boundaries

An Urban Growth Boundary (UGB) is “a line agreed upon by a city and county within which there is enough buildable land to accommodate development for up to 20

¹⁷⁴ State of Washington Property Tax Division, *Open Space Taxation Act: Current Use Assessment Information, January 1993*, http://dor.wa.gov/Docs/Pubs/Prop_Tax/OpenSpace.htm, 6 June 2003.

¹⁷⁵ Anna Margaret Kalhar, Interview by author, May 10, 2003. Information based on a 2001 real estate appraisal. J. Michael Gentry, MAI of Auble, Jolicoeur & Gentry, *Kalhar Property, Green Bluff Rd. & Ballard Rd., Spokane Co., Washington Complete Appraisal Summary Report*, 1 October 2001.

¹⁷⁶ Daniels, *Holding Our Ground*, 92.

years.”¹⁷⁷ Furthermore, “the governments agree not to extend urban-type services (i.e. public sewer and water) beyond the growth boundary.”¹⁷⁸ UGBs are intended to discourage sprawl and to promote compact development which can be provided services at a lower cost than sprawling development. The major drawback to UGBS is that cities and counties often have difficulty agreeing upon boundaries.¹⁷⁹

In Spokane County, sprawling development is evident even though there is an agreed upon UGB. The Spokane County Assessor’s Office has assessed the taxable value of new construction in the County for 2002. The assessed taxable value of new construction outside city boundaries is 39% of the total increase in assessments. In comparison, the City of Spokane, the county’s largest, was 33.6%.¹⁸⁰ The numbers indicate that the majority of Spokane County’s new construction is occurring outside City of Spokane’s Boundary and is not necessarily within the UGB. A UGB is a useful tool if it does what is intended which is to control sprawl. However, in Spokane the abundance of new suburban developments is evident throughout the area. For example, a new low-density residential development, outside the UGB, is being constructed just southwest of

¹⁷⁷ Daniels, *Holding Our Ground*, 318.

¹⁷⁸ Daniels, *Holding Our Ground*, 318.

¹⁷⁹ Daniels, *Holding Our Ground*, 236.

¹⁸⁰ Spokane County Assessor’s Office website, <http://www.spokanecounty.org/assessor/2003TaxYear.asp>, 5 June 2003. Other city’s throughout Spokane County have new construction listed at less than 5% of total new construction assessments (except the new city of Spokane Valley which is at 17.2%).

Green Bluff near the intersection of Highway 2 and Day-Mt. Spokane Road. Figure 18 is a detail of the County's UGB map (urban growth area is indicated in yellow). This detail also reveals a concentrated residential road network near Green Bluff that is indicative of low-density residential development. Development of this area began approximately 10 years ago. The development has continued to grow, in phases, closer to Green Bluff. Although Green Bluff still remains miles from the UGB, it is not far from suburban development. If these developments continue to appear outside the boundary near Green Bluff, the next UGB may engulf it. If the UGB contains and directs sprawl, as intended, then Green Bluff farmland may be protected. If Spokane County continues to allow low-density residential development, and the commercial developments that support them, outside the UGB, Green Bluff's farmland and other quality farmland throughout the entire county will be lost.

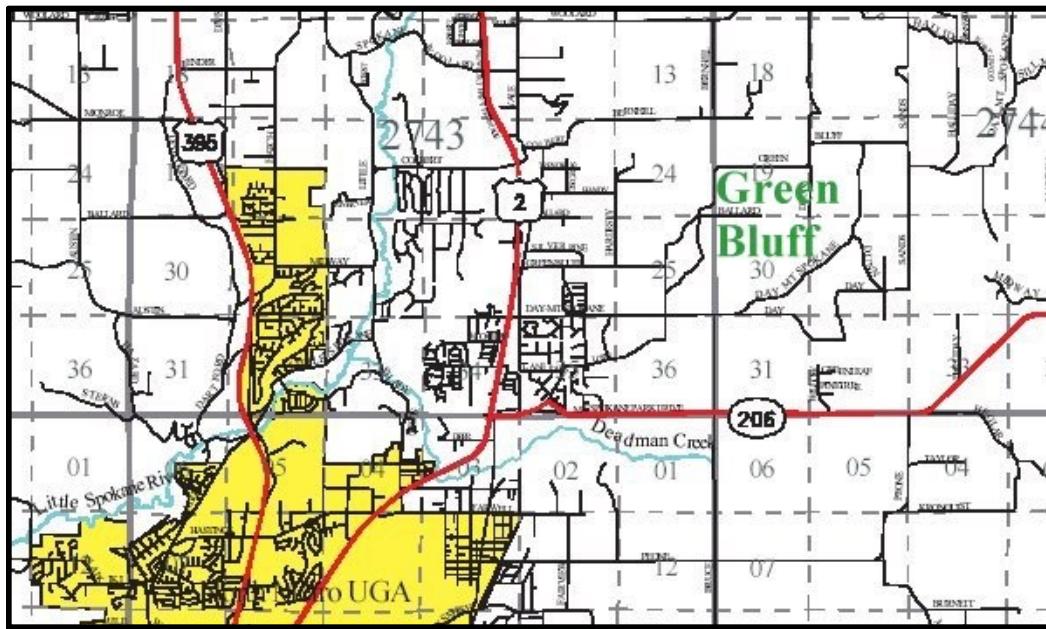


Figure 18. Spokane County Urban Growth Area Boundary Map, 2001.
Detail of Green Bluff and its proximity to the Urban Growth Boundary.

Farmland Protection and Preservation Packages

Tom Daniels provides examples of three strategies used by a county or counties in the United States to protect and preserve farmland. The first of these is for “maintaining a strong farming community.”¹⁸¹ Characteristics of areas to which this first combination of tools is appropriate would have the following characteristics: a strong farming community; low to moderate development pressure; large land holdings of at least 100 acres in a contiguous area of at least 1,000 acres; local and adequate farm support businesses; “farmers want to continue farming”; community is rural consisting of some

¹⁸¹ Daniels, *Holding our Ground*, 237.

long-distance commuters to “urban or suburban employment centers.”¹⁸² According to Tom Daniels, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania is “the only jurisdiction in the nation” to employ all of the tools and techniques in Figure 19.

Strategy One: Maintaining a Strong Farming Community

- Comprehensive planning by the township or county
- Urban growth boundaries or village growth boundaries
- Agricultural zoning of one building lot per 25 acres or per 50 acres; maximum building lot size of 2 acres
- Purchase of development rights and/or transfer of development rights
- Agricultural districts
- Preferential farmland taxation with a stiff rollback penalty for conversion to a nonfarm use
- Relief from sewer and water assessments¹⁸³
- Right-to-farm law
- Agricultural economic development, such as farmers’ markets and community-supported agriculture projects

Figure 19. Strategy One for protecting and preserving farmland.
Daniels, *Holding Our Ground*, 237.

The second strategy is for a moderately active farming area (Figure 20). This is a community in which “land holdings are fragmented, with some large [land] ownerships of over 100 acres and a considerable amount of scattered residential and commercial development. Farm support businesses are adequate but may not remain so for long.

¹⁸² Daniels, *Holding our Ground*, 237. The proceeding information is directly appropriated from Daniels.

¹⁸³ Relief from sewer and water assessments can come in various forms. A county may tax only the portion of land with the residence on it or a percentage of the land total. A farmer would not be charged for laying pipe across the entire length of the property.

Some farmers want to continue farming; others don't see much future in it. This is an ex-urban bedroom community within commuting distance to urban and suburban employment centers.”¹⁸⁴

Strategy Two: Maintaining Some Farming in an Increasingly Suburban Community

- Comprehensive planning by the township or county
- Urban growth boundaries or village growth boundaries
- Agricultural zoning of one building lot per 20 acres; maximum building lot size of 2 acres
- Purchase of development rights and/or transfer of development rights
- Agricultural districts
- Preferential farmland taxation with a stiff rollback penalty for conversion to a nonfarm use
- Relief from sewer and water assessments
- Right-to-farm law
- Agricultural economic development, such as farmers' markets and community-supported agriculture projects

Figure 20. Strategy Two for protecting and preserving farmland.
Daniels, *Holding Our Ground*, 241.

The third strategy is for an area with a weak farming community (Figure 21). This is an area under “moderate to heavy development pressure. Land holdings are fragmented with few large [land] ownerships of over 100 acres and widespread residential and commercial development. Farm support businesses are weak; farmers must travel some distance for services. Few farmers want to continue farming. This is a

¹⁸⁴ Daniels, *Holding Our Ground*, 240.

rapidly suburbanizing community within commuting distance of urban and suburban employment centers.”¹⁸⁵

Strategy Three: Maintaining Some Rural Character in a Suburban Community

- Comprehensive planning by the township or county to accommodate development and maintain open space
- Large-lot “rural” zoning of 2- to 10-acre minimum lot size or cluster zoning
- Farm property tax breaks for commercial farming operations that meet a gross revenue standard of \$20,000 per year
- Right-to-farm law

Figure 21. Strategy One for protecting and preserving farmland.
Daniels, *Holding Our Ground*, 245.

¹⁸⁵ Daniels, *Holding Our Ground*, 245.

The aforementioned farmland protection and preservation tools and techniques provide farmers with incentives to protect and preserve farmland. The bottom line is that if farming is not profitable, farmland will continue to be converted to more profitable uses: residential; commercial; or industrial. By implementing a protection and preservation strategy, such as the ones noted previously, farming at least has a greater chance of maintaining economic viability. In the proceeding chapter, these tools and techniques are combed to create a strategy to protect and preserve Green Bluff farms and farmland.

CHAPTER V: SURVEY OF GREEN BLUFF LANDOWNERS

In the spring of 2003, a representative sample of 40 out of the estimated 145 Green Bluff landowners were given a survey and asked to respond to 10 multiple choice questions (an example of the survey is in Appendix A). The intent of the survey questions was to provide information on the primary stakeholders' interests in protecting and preserving their farms, farmland and agricultural heritage. The questions are general, but contribute to the overall understanding of the community and the results provide guidance as to how best to direct a protection and preservation strategy. As of the date of this writing, 26 of the 40 surveys have been completed and returned. Of these 26 respondents, 13 are farmers. The other 13 include both long time and newer residents. The compiled survey results are included below.

Question 1: Do you want farming and agriculture to continue on Green Bluff?

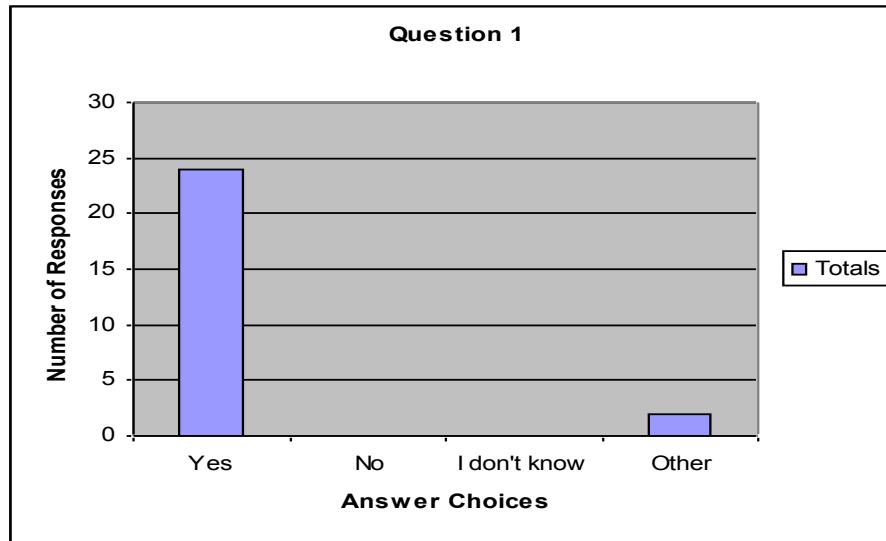


Figure 22. Question 1

According to the responses in Figure 22, 92% of residents want farming and agriculture to continue in Green Bluff. This indicates that the majority of the respondents are pro-farming and pro-agriculture.

Question 2: Are farming and agriculture on Green Bluff in jeopardy of disappearing (i.e. developing into 10 acre single family residences)?

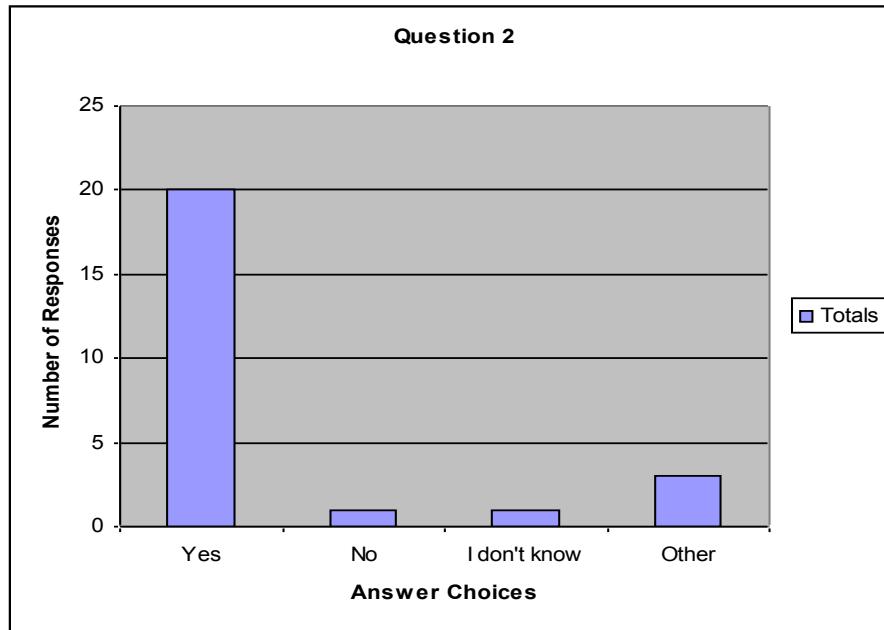


Figure 23. Question 2

Figure 23 shows the answers to question 2. Only 25 residents answered this particular question. The majority of respondents (80%) answered yes to the question of whether Green Bluff's farming and agriculture are disappearing. As for the other answers, one answered "no"; one answered "I don't know," and three answered "other." According to these results, it can be concluded that a majority of respondents share the perception that Green Bluff's farming and agriculture are disappearing.

Question 3: What is the biggest threat to farming and agriculture on Green Bluff?

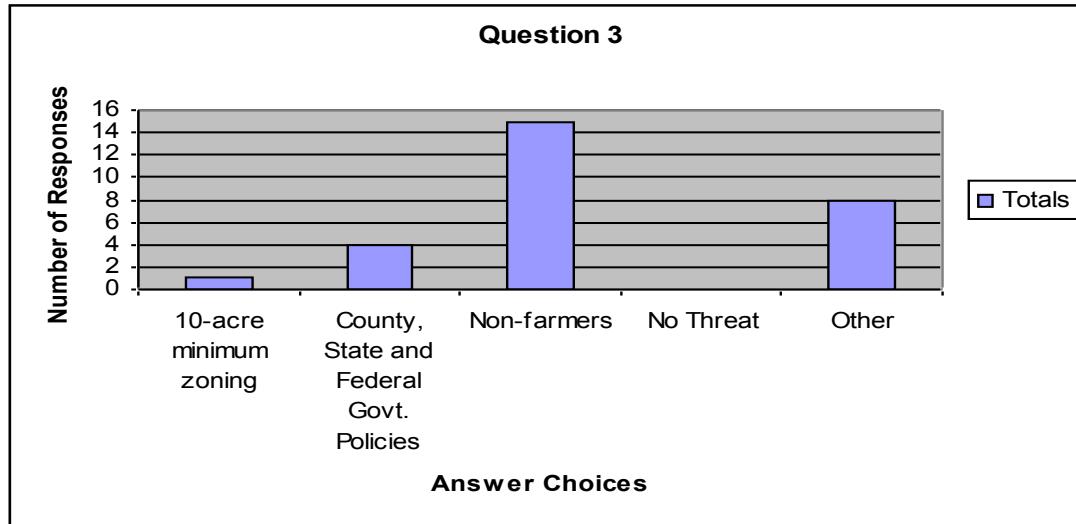


Figure 24. Question 3

The purpose of question 3 was to determine what the perceived obstacles are to farming on Green Bluff beyond basic economics. The options provided are issues or problems that can be addressed on a local level. The totals to question 3 are shown in Figure 24. There were 28 answers to this question because two respondents circled both “government policies” and “Non-farmers.” The majority of responses (15 or 55%) answered “Non-farmers.” As for the other responses: one was for “10-acre minimum zoning”; four were for “government policies”; and eight responses were “other.” According to the majority of respondents, nonfarmers pose the biggest threat to farming and agriculture on Green Bluff. This response may indicate a fissure in the community between farmers and nonfarmers. Nonfarmers have no stake in Green Bluff’s farming

economy and, in general, are unfamiliar with farming practices. It may be useful to provide potential rural residents with what is known as “The Code of the West.” Essentially this is a document that explains how living in a rural area substantially differs from living in an urban setting.¹⁸⁶

Question 4: Are you interested in having alternatives to the 10 acre lot minimum?

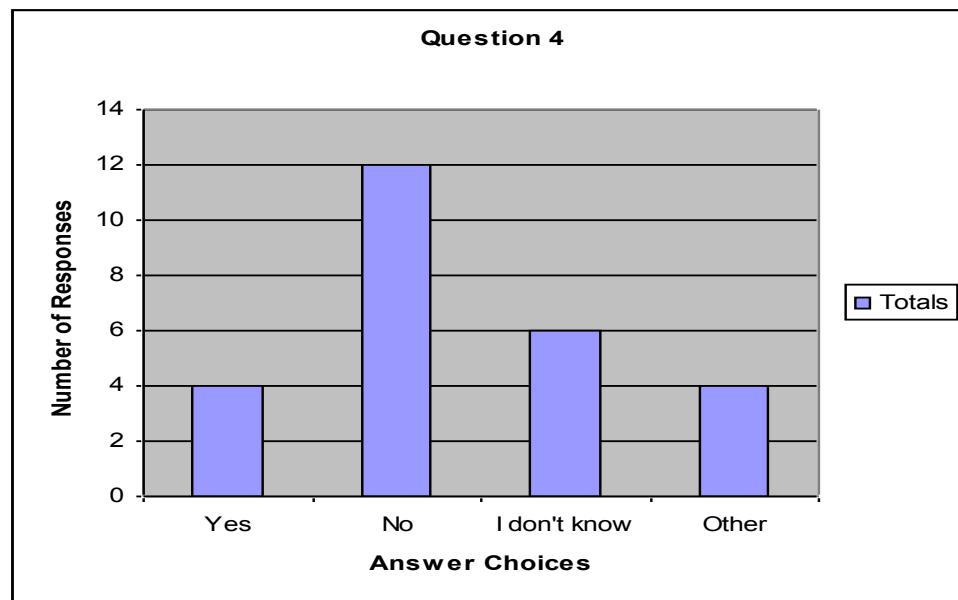


Figure 25. Question 4

Of the 26 total responses, the majority (46%) answered “no” to question 4 (Figure 25). Only 15% (or 4 respondents) answered yes. Six (2%) responded “I don’t know” and four answered “other.” The majority of respondents are not interested in alternatives to

¹⁸⁶ “The Code of the West” was written by John Clarke, county commissioner of Larimer County, Colorado and noted in Daniels, *When City and County Collide*, 275-279.

the 10 acre lot minimum. From these responses it can be concluded that respondents are satisfied with the 10-acre minimum. Respondents are not interested in increasing the minimum lot size because it may decrease the lands development value. It is apparent that some respondents are open to alternatives especially if it protects farmland, which is addressed in question 5.

Question 5: Are you interested in having alternatives to the 10 acre lot minimum if this would help to save Green Bluff farming and agriculture?

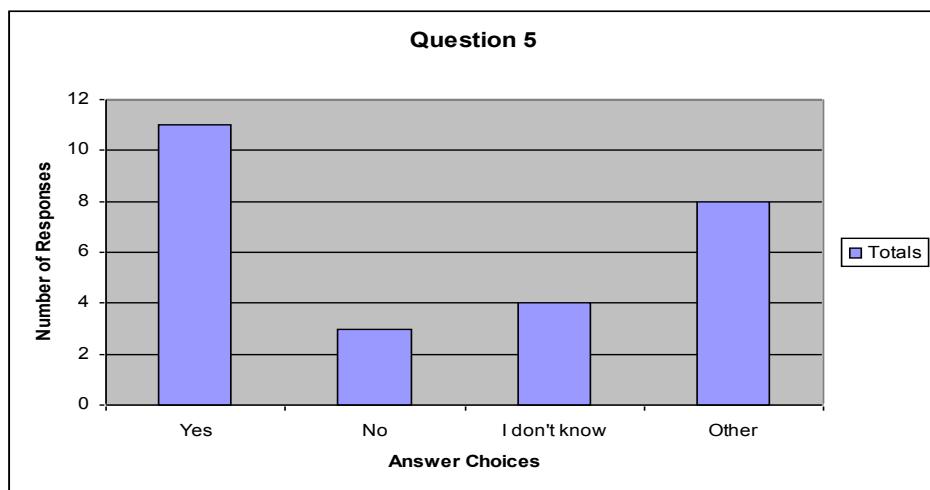


Figure 26. Question 5

It is interesting that the majority of responses (11 or 42%) said “yes” to question 5 (Figure 26). It appears from the responses, and the increase in “yes” answers compared with the previous question, that many respondents are interested in alternatives to current zoning regulations if it will help to save the area’s farming and agriculture. Those

respondents who answered “I don’t know” (4 or 15%) and “other” (8 or 31%), were concerned about what these alternative are, which indicates an interest in learning about alternatives.

Question 6: Are you interested in Green Bluff being listed on the National Register of Historic Places as an Historic Rural Landscape (there are no owner/property restrictions)?

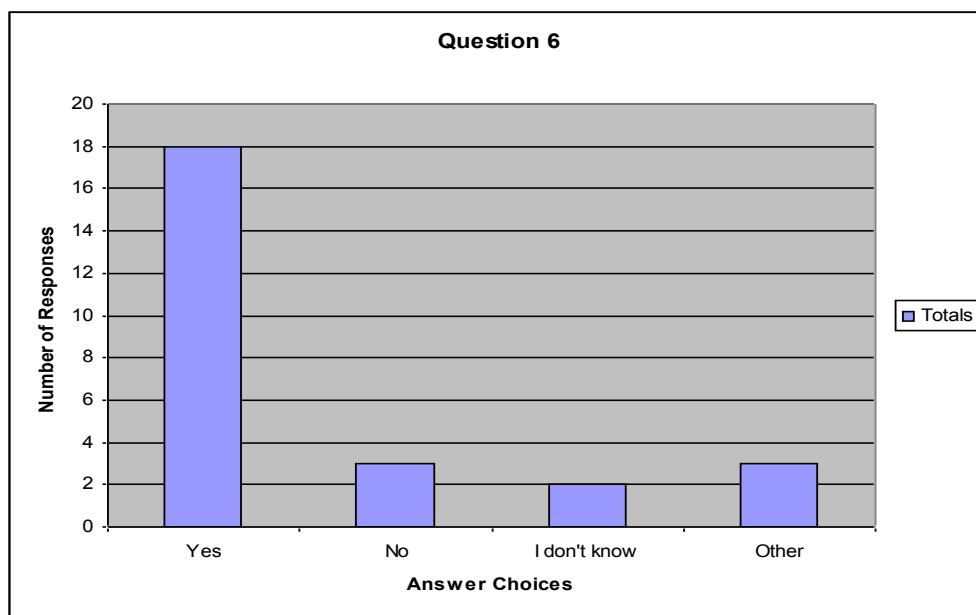


Figure 27. Question 6

In question 6, half (18 or 50%) of respondents answered positively (Figure 27). Only 3 respondents answered “no”, while the other 5 answered either “I don’t know” or “other.” These answers suggest that the community is interesting in learning more about

what being an historic district entails. The caveat of “no owner/property restrictions” was added to question 6 because it is not known if local farmers receive federal funds that would trigger a Section 106 review. This is an issue that requires further research when the community pursues National Register listing.

Question 7: Are you interested in Green Bluff being listed on the National Register of Historic Places as an Historic Rural Landscape if this would help to save Green Bluff farming and agriculture?

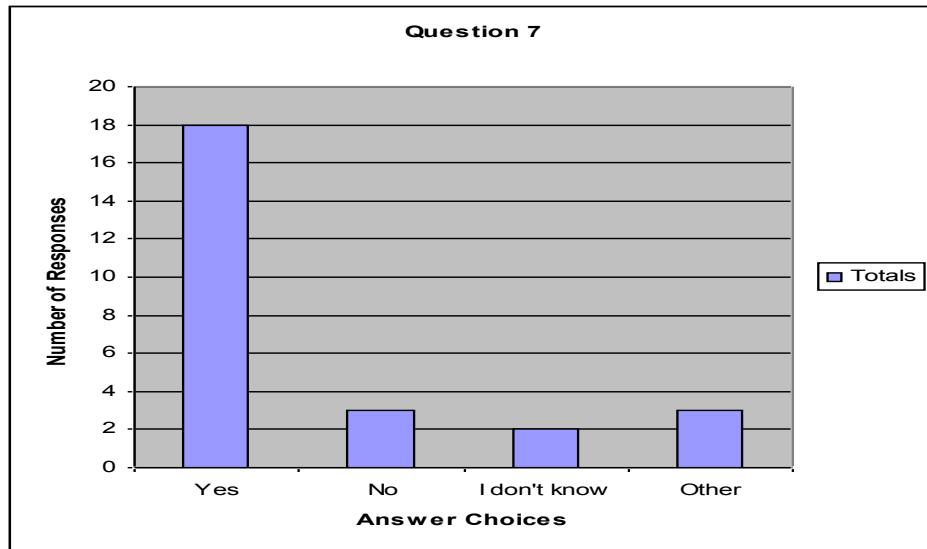


Figure 28. Question 7

The responses for question 7 (Figure 28), are the same as in the previous question. It can be concluded that respondents are interested in pursuing National Register listing.

Question 8: If you are a Green Bluff farmer, what is the average gross annual income produced by the farm?

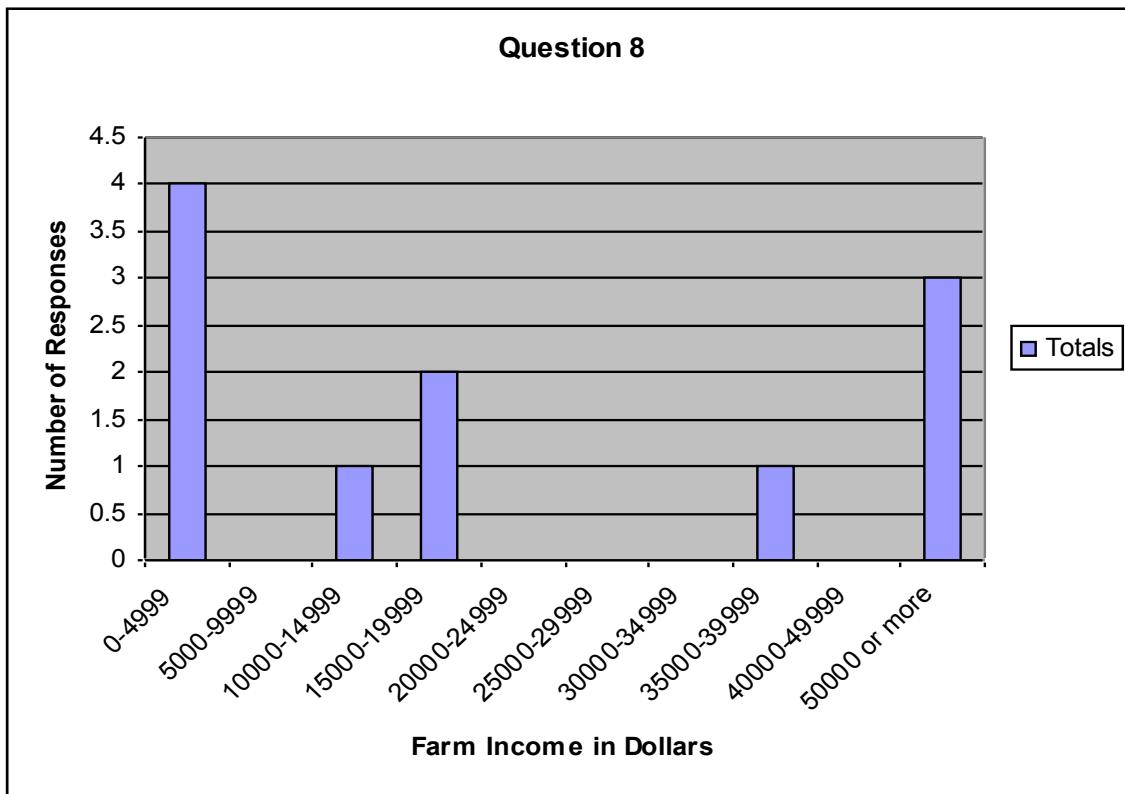


Figure 29. Question 8

The intent of Question 8 is to gain a general understanding of local agricultural economics. Only 11 of the 13 farmers responded to question 8 (Figure 29). The four farms earning between \$0 and \$4,999.00 are generally known as “hobby” farms. These landowners farm as a hobby and, therefore, do not rely upon or have a high stake in the continuation of Green Bluff’s agriculture industry. The majority of farmers (7 or 64%), however, appear to have a stake in the protection and preservation of the area’s agriculture for future generations. There are wide variations in the amount of annual

income produced by each farm. This may be due to products sold, total acres in production, or a combination of both. It does appear that farming can be economically viable.

Question 9: What are your annual farm expenses?

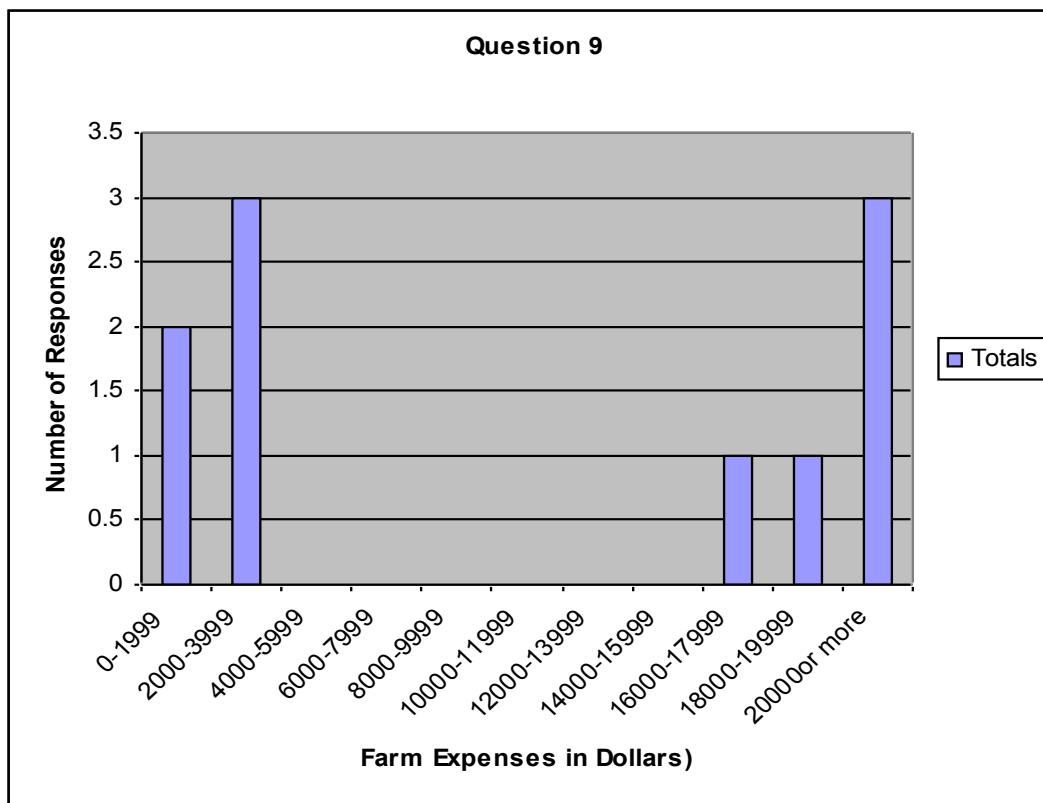


Figure 30. Question 9

These numbers indicate the wide discrepancy between “hobby” farmers and farmers (Figure 30). The “hobby” farms have expenses of less than \$4000.00 while the other full-time Green Bluff farmers have expenses of \$16,000.00 or more. Expenses vary

depending on the types of products and the total acres in production. As with any business, expenses diminish profits.

Question 10. If you are a farmer on Green Bluff, are the sales from farming your only household income?

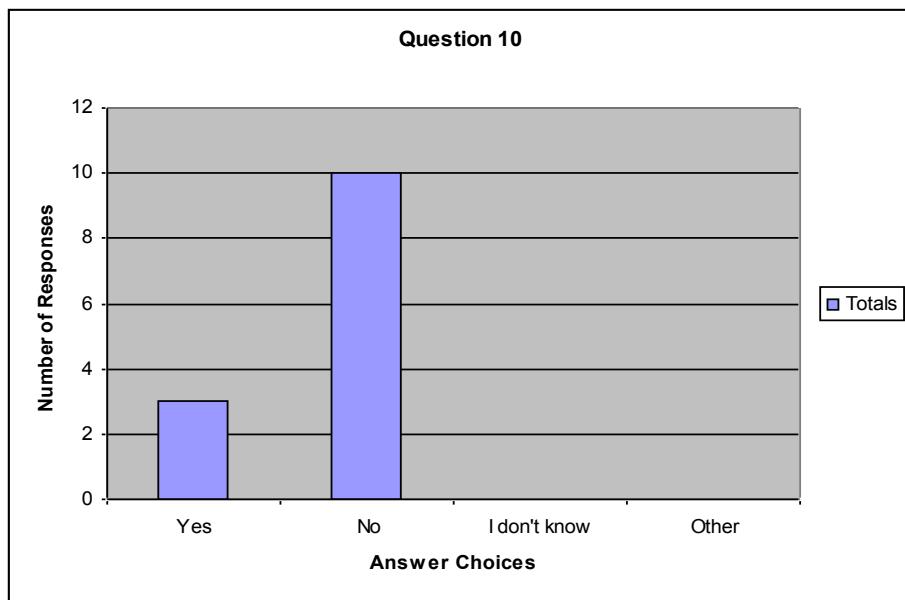


Figure 31. Question 10

In order to sustain a farm and a family, it is often necessary to supplement income produced by the farm. The purpose of question 10 was to determine whether Green Bluff farmers supplement their farm income. Figure 31 shows the result of the final survey question. Of the 13 farmers who responded to the survey, only 3 (23%) are exclusively dependent upon farm sales for their income. This figure is, however, misleading because some of the 10 respondents who answered “no” are actually semi-retired, full-time

farmers who, only after reaching retirement age, receive any income beyond what the farm produces.

The results of this survey provide a general understanding of the Green Bluff community's views on the future of farming and agriculture in the area and how receptive they are to certain protection and preservation techniques. In addition, the financial information given by respondents is insightful as to type of farm Green Bluff farmers operate (i.e. hobby or full-time farmer). The survey results are useful to formulating a protection and preservation strategy for Green Bluff.

CHAPTER VI: RATIONALE AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR PRESERVING CULTURAL RESOURCES ASSOCIATED WITH GREEN BLUFF'S AGRICULTURAL HERITAGE

This chapter answers the question: why protect and preserve Green Bluff's cultural, historical, and agricultural heritage and how are Green Bluff's valuable resources best protected and preserved? The reasons for protecting Green Bluff's resources are presented first. The second part of the question, regarding how to protect Green Bluff's cultural and agricultural resources, follows the rationale section. The proposed strategy is limited to planning and preservation tools and techniques. Even though economic development issues will be addressed in a general manner, the complexity involved in agricultural economics is beyond the scope of this thesis.

Rationale

American Farmland Trust (AFT) concluded in its 2002 report, *Farming on the Edge: Sprawling Development Threatens America's Best Farmland*, that the nation's quality agricultural land is being consumed by development at an aggressive rate.¹⁸⁷ According to AFT's analysis less than 1/5 of land in the U.S. is of a quality suitable for farming. This figure raises concern for two reasons. The first is that quality farmland is limited to this amount and second is the increasing rate at which farmland is lost;

¹⁸⁷ American Farmland Trust, *Farming on the Edge: Sprawling Development Threatens America's Best Farmland*, March 1997, http://www.farmland.org/farmingontheedge/major_allstates.htm, 2 June 2003.

especially considering the AFT estimate that two acres of America's farmland is converted each minute.¹⁸⁸

In its report, AFT presented figures on the amount of converted farmland and calculated the "rates of change" between the years 1987-1992 and 1992-1997 for every state. For Washington State, the statistics are as follows:

- Prime acres lost in the years 1987-92 totaled 35,200
- Prime acres lost in the years 1992-97 totaled 45,800
- Average annual acres lost per year between 1987-92 totaled 7,040
- Average annual acres lost per year between 1992-97 totaled 9,160

In Washington, loss of farmland increased by 30% between the years 1987-1992 and 1992-1997.¹⁸⁹ This number indicates that the land conversion rates, from farmland to a nonfarm use, are increasing in Washington State.

Another reason for protecting and preserving Green Bluff's agricultural resources is that most farms are not irrigated. In recent years, draughts and limited water for crop irrigation have been at the forefront of agricultural concerns. In fact, Capital Press, in its article, "The Top 10 Stories of 2002" listed "water problems" as number two.¹⁹⁰ As noted in the article, "across most of the West, irrigation water is the lifeblood

¹⁸⁸ American Farmland Trust, *Farming on the Edge: Sprawling Development Threatens America's Best Farmland*, March 1997, http://www.farmland.org/farmingontheedge/major_allstates.htm, 2 June 2003.

¹⁸⁹ American Farmland Trust, *Farming on the Edge: Sprawling Development Threatens America's Best Farmland*, March 1997, http://www.farmland.org/farmingontheedge/major_allstates.htm, 2 June 2003.

¹⁹⁰ Capital Press Staff, *Capital Press*, 3 January 2003, 1-3. The news staff at Capital Press voted on the list "based on the effect they had on readers of [Capital Press], which is published in four Western states" (Washington, Oregon, Idaho, and California).

of agriculture.” This topic may hit the top 10 list again in 2003 as well since articles continue to surface in the press including a recent *Capital Press* article presenting the results of a four decade study on snowpacks in the Northwest. Researchers at the University of Washington recently concluded a study on “water supplies from Northwest mountain snowpacks.” The researchers’ analysis is “that higher temperatures have been taking a toll on water supplies from Northwest mountain snowpacks for four decades.”¹⁹¹ This means less water for homes and less for irrigation in the coming years. This does not present a significant problem for Green Bluff’s agricultural production. Although some irrigation has been introduced to increase production and product quality in terms of marketing appeal, it is not a necessity on Green Bluff as it is for farmland in central Washington, central Oregon, southern Idaho, and most of California.¹⁹²

In addition to the above, Green Bluff agriculture, like all farmland, has a lower impact on the environment than suburban development. There are several benefits to retaining farmland and open space since they “provide many environmental benefits, including wildlife habitat, water recharge areas, scenic views, and the conservation of historic landscapes.”¹⁹³

¹⁹¹ Seattle AP, “Water in snowpack on decline, research shows,” *Capital Press*, 28 February 2003, 23.

¹⁹² Water is not just an agricultural issue. As populations increase in the Sunbelt, especially cities in California, Arizona, and Nevada, water will be at the root of the competition between water to service new homes and water to irrigate agricultural land. For more information on water issues in the West refer to Marc Reisner’s book *Cadillac Desert*.

¹⁹³ Daniels, *Holding Our Ground*, 21.

The reason for protecting and preserving farmland and America's agricultural heritage goes beyond its environmental benefits. Farms and farmland, or working lands, are not only valued as scenic landscapes, but because they are a valuable part of our American heritage. Statistics reveal that farms and working lands "demand fewer public services and, therefore, cost taxpayers less than sprawling subdivisions."¹⁹⁴ Sprawl diverts capital funds away from cities and older suburbs.¹⁹⁵ Farmland, therefore, is important to "keep taxes down and maintain the legacy of our agricultural heritage."¹⁹⁶

Another social benefit of protecting and preserving Green Bluff's farms and farmland is that without the availability of locally grown produce in this community, "residents are entirely dependent on food grown elsewhere, and on cheap and plentiful supplies of energy to produce, package, and transport food to them. A local food supply conserves on energy and can offer fresh fruit, vegetables, milk, meat, and grains."¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁴ Edward Thompson, Jr., "Agricultural Sustainability and Smart Growth: Saving Urban-Influence Farmland," Funders' Network For Smart Growth and Livable Communities, Translation Paper Number Five, April 2001, 2.

¹⁹⁵ *Smart Growth Online*, at <http://www.smartgrowth.org/search/default.asp>, lists several articles on the subject of sprawl development costs including the following: Natural Resources Defense Council, "Another Cost of Sprawl: The Effects of Land Use on Wastewater Utility Costs," at <http://www.nrdc.org/cities/smartgrowth/cost/costinx.asp>, 28 March 2002; and Evan D. Richert, AICP, Director of Maine State Planning Office, "The Cost of Sprawl," at <http://www.state.me.us/spo/landuse/docs/CostofSprawl.pdf>, May 1997.

¹⁹⁶ American Farmland Trust, *Farming on the Edge: Sprawling Development Threatens America's Best Farmland*, March 1997, Executive Summary, <http://www.farmland.org/farmingontheedge/Farming%20on%20the%20Edge.pdf>, 2 June 2003, 2.

¹⁹⁷ Daniels, *Holding Our Ground*, 20.

The most important reason for protecting and preserving Green Bluff's farms, farmland and agricultural heritage is that the community wants it to continue (refer to question 1 in the previous chapter). The desire for saving Green Bluff farming and agriculture suggests that preservation efforts will find strong advocates in the community.

Other reasons include that fact that the area continues to retain a sense of community, rural culture, and viable agricultural industry, as discussed in Chapter III. These assets will be saved by implementing a protection and preservation strategy. Even though a majority of Green Bluff farmers and nonfarm residents want farming to continue on Green Bluff, 10-acre lots are still being sold for nonfarm rural estates. As evident in the issues presented in Chapter III, Green Bluff farmland has substantial development potential because of its proximity to the metropolitan fringe and because of its rural character. At least 90 parcels are developable according to current zoning regulations; if these are sold for residential use, Green Bluff will change into a low density suburb of 10-acre rural estates. If current development trends continue, Green Bluff will no longer retain its agricultural base or rural character because conflict between farmers and new residents will increase and farmers, whose very livelihood is derived from working the land, will retire or simply move out of the area. If farmers are unable to make a profit and nuisance complaints and lawsuits continue, farming will disappear along with its valued attributes. In addition, increased development will lead to increased taxes so that

the County can provide the needed infrastructure. Green Bluff is the only remaining farming area of its type near the City of Spokane and by implementing a preservation plan, Green Bluff will avoid further development into 10-acre rural estates and the destruction of Spokane's most valuable agricultural resources.

Recommendations

Prior to implementing this strategy, Green Bluff farmers and residents must first deal with the local political climate outside and inside the community. Farmers have been proactive in developing new marketing strategies and image making techniques that have helped farming to continue in the area. However, they have been reactive when it comes to planning issues. It is necessary for farmers and residents to be proactive and built political capacity if their intent is to continue as a farming community. If this is the community's goal, then it is important to support and choose political leaders who are sensitive to farmland preservation. To be proactive, it is necessary to continue to gain knowledge of planning and politics and to have a citizen representative. This representative can act as a liaison between the community and government agencies. By doing this, the community will be better informed about planning issues and conversely, government agencies will have a greater understanding of the community's interests and goals.

To build strong leadership within the community, citizens must first reach a consensus and define the goals for the area. According to the questionnaire sent to a representative sample of residents, 80% of Green Bluff residents want farming to continue in the area. This may likely be the common catalyst that will bring the community together. This can be done with the help of mediation and arbitration. Through mediation, citizens can learn how each community member or group can help in bringing their mutual goals to fruition. Washington State Cooperative Extension's Human Relations and Educational Services has a well-respected program that may help the community through this initial step. Once this has been done, the Green Bluff community will have a far greater chance of successfully protecting its farms, farmland and agricultural heritage.

A strategy for Green Bluff farmland and cultural and agricultural heritage protection is noted in Figure 32. This strategy is based on Tom Daniels' second strategy for the following reasons: Green Bluff has a strong farming community, retains much of its historical integrity, and is increasingly under development pressures. Most importantly, Green Bluff will be protected and preserved if the tools and techniques listed in Figure 32 are adopted.

Strategy for Protecting and Preserving Green Bluff's Cultural and Agricultural Heritage

- Agricultural historic district designation

- Comprehensive plan development by the township or county
- Mitigation
- Urban growth boundary
- Agricultural zoning of one building lot per 20 acres; maximum building lot size of 2 acres
- Conservation easements through purchase of development rights, transfer of development rights or donation
- Agricultural district designation
- Preferential farmland taxation with a stiff rollback penalty for conversion to a nonfarm use
- Relief from sewer and water assessments
- Right-to-farm law
- Agricultural economic development, such as farmers' markets and community-supported agriculture projects

Figure 32. Green Bluff Protection and Preservation Strategy.

Agricultural Historic District Designation

Farmers would benefit if Green Bluff was listed on the National Register as an agricultural historic district. The advantages of National District designation may include the following:

- making properties eligible for grants-in-aid, when available;
- offering federal income tax credits (20%) for rehabilitating income-producing properties;
- increasing awareness of historic properties and promoting a sense of pride in past achievements;

- increasing a district's standing, visibility and ability to withstand outside threats.¹⁹⁸

Designation as an agricultural historic district is a protection and preservation measure that would help to ensure Green Bluff's working landscape as well as its history and culture.

Being listed on the Spokane Register of Historic Places would provide Green Bluff with benefits and incentives as well as restrictions or controls. The benefits are similar to those at the Federal level and would likely include added visibility through Spokane County's Historic Preservation website, pamphlets, and self-guided tour brochures. Although the term "restrictions" has a negative connotation, these controls are often advantages and are negotiated between the Historic Preservation Office and affected community residents. One common control or restriction is design controls. Preserving and protecting the rural character of Green Bluff also means protecting those features that create this character. These may include the road networks, view corridors, agricultural heritage, cultural heritage, and agricultural operations. The agricultural and ranching industries evolve and, therefore, this type of evolution should be beyond the scope of the controls agreement unless it adversely affects the area's historic integrity. A specific

¹⁹⁸ BRW. Inc., *Inventorying, Managing and Preserving Agricultural Historic Landscapes in Minnesota*, June 1999 at <http://www.mnhs.org/preserve/shpo/landscape/landscape1.html#top>. <http://www.mnhs.org/preserve/shpo/landscape/landscape3.html#sec6>. Minnesota's approach to planning and preservation in an historic agricultural area is innovative as preservation and land use planning are developed concurrently and work in conjunction with each other. This is the appropriate approach for land use and preservation planning on Green Bluff.

example of design controls would include incompatible residential construction. As 10-acre lots are sold, new, nonfarm residents construct a residential building. Massing, location, and style may adversely affect existing historic buildings and landscapes. An example of this is Figure 33. This recently constructed residential home's massing is out of scale with the historic farmstead (Figure 34) in the background. The metal shed and roofs of the house and other outbuildings are just visible to the left of the new house.



Figure 33. New Green Bluff residence. Photo by author.



Figure 34. Beck-Walker Farmstead. Photograph by author.



Figure 35. Beck-Walker family's original house. Photo by author.

Furthermore, this new structure dominates the landscape around it. Figure 35 is of the original Beck-Walker home which was constructed c. 1889. In the foreground, to the right of building, is the new residence. When viewed from the vantage point of the photographer, this building's scale does not appear out of character because of the trees that diminish its massing. Landscaping this residence would shield this building's massing thereby lessening its obtrusive impact on the landscape and surrounding historic farmsteads.

National Register listing essentially provides no assurances of protection and preservation for Green Bluff's resources. However, by listing Green Bluff on the local register, the probability of protecting and preserving the area's valuable assets increases. In addition, being listed on the local level may protect Green Bluff from developing into museum-type farms. Green Bluff is a dynamic landscape. This is taken into consideration when controls and incentives on the local level are discussed and negotiated. Preservation of existing buildings and landscapes that contribute to the integrity of the area would be included as "contributing" features but agriculture and farming techniques evolve and in order to compete, Green Bluff farms must do so as well. It is vital that Green Bluff's farms and agricultural industry are protected and preserved so that the area does not develop into vestiges of its farming past, as occurred

in the case of Magnolia Dairy in Bothell, Washington. Magnolia Dairy perches on a bluff within the Bothell city boundary and its 80-acres are surrounded by suburban development. Plans are underway to create an “urban demonstration farm” on the site.¹⁹⁹ Even though these educational facilities are useful, Green Bluff is currently a vital farming area and should remain so with the help of protection and preservation measures.

Public participation is critical to pursuing listing on the National Register of Historic Places and the Spokane Register of Historic Places. Farmers are the most affected stakeholders. Their farmsteads and farmland are the sites involved and, therefore, negotiations should begin with farmers and those who own contributing resources. Key constituents include Green Bluff Growers’ Association members, independent farmers, and Green Bluff Grange #300 members.

Comprehensive Plan Development

Comprehensive planning exists in Spokane County and, as noted in Chapter IV, is mandated by the state. Spokane County’s Comprehensive Plan follows the requirements set forth in Washington State’s Growth Management Act. The portion of the Act dealing with agriculture and natural resources, as it was finalized in the early 1990s, is currently being revisited by the State legislature. A movement is currently underway to revise the State’s Act to better address farmland protection. Senator Mary Margaret Haugen for

¹⁹⁹ Magnolia Dairy Acres (Agrarian Cultural Resources and Education Society) website at <http://www.scn.org/acres/>

District 10, which covers Camano Island, Island County and portions of Skagit and Snohomish Counties, is at the forefront of this movement. She recently contributed an article to *Washington State Grange News* in which she discusses a new bill that may rectify the Act's lapses pertaining to farmland protection and preservation. In her article titled "Growth management is destroying the farms it was intended to save," she writes, "my bills attempt to get us back to my original goal for GMA, which is to protect our state's valuable farmland. To do this we must keep our agricultural land in the hands of private farmers, where it belongs." Among these bills, is Senate Bill 5353 which is to "provide protection for the continued use of agricultural lands."²⁰⁰

It is essential that one of Spokane County's goals be to protect and preserve its agricultural land and limit sprawl. If Senator Haugen's bills pass the legislature, Spokane County and other counties around the state will have better tools with which to do so.

In determining and prescribing a protection and preservation strategy to Green Bluff farmers and Spokane County planners, it is important to recognize that

one of the potential dangers in protecting farmland and open space is that protection may create islands of protected land. Housing and commercial development then encroach upon these islands and render them almost useless for farming, forestry, or wildlife habitat. It makes good sense to coordinate protection efforts with existing and planned park systems. The farmland buffers the parkland and vice versa, keeping development at a

²⁰⁰ Senator Mary Margaret Haugen, "Growth management: It's destroying farms it was meant to save," *Washington State Grange News* 92, no 4, April 2003, 2.

manageable distance and providing contiguous wildlife habitat and watershed protection.²⁰¹

As it stands now, the County's comprehensive plan has zoning, outside the urban growth boundary, set up for low-density sprawl consisting of 5-, 10-, and 20-acre lots. It is not likely that these minimum acreages will change due to concerns over constitutional takings unless communities like Green Bluff come to a consensus on any proposed zoning changes.

Tom Daniels writes that "in the comprehensive plan process, it is common to hear many people speak about the need to protect "rural character," [meaning open space, the farms, the unhurried pace of life, and the older buildings]. "Yet when decision makers suggest strong zoning measures, landowners and others often respond, 'We want to keep our rural character without land-use controls or with as little control as possible.'"²⁰² There must be some negotiation if area's such as Green Bluff want to continue in the business of agriculture. If new homes and infrastructure improvements continue, Green Bluff will no longer exist as an agricultural area, but a series of 10-acre rural estates.

In addition to the comprehensive plan, the subarea plan for Green Bluff should be created concurrently with a preservation plan (i.e. the creation of an historic district). In

²⁰¹ Daniels, *Holding Our Ground*, 21.

²⁰² Daniels, *Holding our Ground*, 54.

doing so, Green Bluff's existing integrity will be identified, which will make it easier to create a planning strategy that complements protection and preservation measures.

Mitigation

Spokane County should adopt an ordinance similar to that of Davis, California, in which developers are required "to protect one acre of farmland for every acre of agricultural land they convert to other uses."²⁰³ Developers may either pay a mitigation fee or "place an agricultural conservation easement on farmland in another part of the city."²⁰⁴

The preferred method of determining where development should be concentrated and where farmland protection efforts should be focused involves a thorough study of the County's productive agricultural land. This study should include an ecological plan which focuses on the "biophysical and socio-cultural systems." Soil classification plays a major role in ecological planning. Natural Resources Conservation Service developed the land evaluation and site assessment system (LESA) that "rates the quality of land for farming and then rates the surrounding economic, social, and geographic features that indicate development pressures on the farm and farm viability."²⁰⁵ Soil quality ratings range from high quality Class I soil to poorer quality Class VIII soil. This classification

²⁰³ American Farmland Trust, *Fact Sheet: The Farmland Protection Toolbox*, September 1998, 6.

²⁰⁴ American Farmland Trust, *Fact Sheet: The Farmland Protection Toolbox*, September 1998, 6.

²⁰⁵ Daniels, *Holding Our Ground*, 77-78.

system provides a sound scientific basis for protecting farmland. Unfortunately, Spokane County's soil survey is currently underway and will not be completed until 2007. The previous soil survey was completed in 1968. The information from this survey is outdated and not reliable for use in this type of plan. As soon as this data is available for Green Bluff, it should be used to buttress protection efforts in this area.

Urban Growth Boundary

The purpose of an urban growth boundary (boundary) is to control sprawl. By increasing densities and promoting more compact development within the boundary and direct development, Spokane County can protect farmland and open space. Compact development is "cheaper and easier to service, and reduce[s] sprawl by keeping urban services from stretching into the countryside."²⁰⁶ Unfortunately, transportation plans within Spokane County include widening of and lane expansion on main routes, which promote sprawl. It is evident from the expansion of Highway 2 that sprawl follows closely behind infrastructure improvements. Several years ago, this highway was widened to four lanes with a turn lane from the north end of the City limits to approximately 5 miles past Green Bluff. This has contributed to an increase in suburban type residential housing in and around Green Bluff and other rural communities further north. The planned construction of a north-south freeway in Spokane is to relieve traffic

²⁰⁶ Daniels, *When City and Country Collide*, 175.

congestion on major north-south routes such as Division Street and Market Street. In Portland, the Freeway bypass was also constructed to relieve the congestion within the city. Along the entire bypass route are suburban developments and the commercial centers that support them. The result of this freeway is congestion in the city and on the bypass. When the north-south freeway is completed, suburbia will soon follow.

In order to reduce sprawl, Spokane planners would need to focus on improving existing road networks. Spokane is notorious on the local level for the poor condition of its streets due mostly to the seasonal changes. Improving local infrastructure may encourage revitalization of existing urban neighborhoods. The planned north-south freeway is inconsistent with Spokane County's Comprehensive Plan goal of protecting agricultural land. Any inconsistencies of this type should be rectified in order to spur sprawl. In addition, by establishing a scientifically based rural or countryside planning package, Spokane County planners may be able to limit sprawl by steering development toward areas with poor soil quality that is less desirable as farmland.

Agricultural Zoning

Currently Green Bluff is zoned as small tract agriculture with a minimum lot size of 10-acres. In order to increase this minimum lot size, Green Bluff residents need to agree to this change otherwise Spokane County may be liable of a constitutional takings. Even without this minimum lot change, Spokane County's zoning ordinance for Green

Bluff needs revision. These revisions should include regulations for dwellings on nonfarm lots so the new buildings are built away from established farms and are “located on the least productive farmland wherever practical.”²⁰⁷ In addition, the ordinance should include a vegetation setback requirement and agricultural nuisance provisions. The former requirement is to ensure that shrubs and trees do not adversely affect agricultural land. The introduction of the agricultural nuisance disclaimer is to notify newcomers that commercial agriculture production occurs in the area, thereby, decreasing the chance of newcomers filing nuisance complaints.

Conservation Easements

According to Tom Daniels, conservation easements “serve to stabilize the land base.”²⁰⁸ If the goal is to protect and preserve Green Bluff’s farmland, conservation easements are the appropriate solution if there is a choice between this solution or cluster zoning. Cluster zoning allows local jurisdictions to circumvent the Fifth Amendment to the United States Constitution’s takings clause, but it promotes development and

²⁰⁷ Daniels, *Holding Our Ground*, 266.

²⁰⁸ Daniels, *Holding Our Ground*, 243.

preservation of recreational open space, not necessarily farmland. More dwellings results in less farmland and likely an increase in nuisance complaints. Protecting and preserving Green Bluff farmland with conservation easements ensures that the land remains open and farmable in perpetuity. However, it is vital that Green Bluff farmland is considered as a unit as opposed to individual parcels. The intent is to protect and preserve farms and farmland not simply open space around which 10-acre (or less) rural estates develop. Green Bluff's landscape consists of working lands, and, therefore, having conservation easements on one, two or three farmsteads would inevitably spur development. This type of protection results in museum-type farmsteads not commercial farming operations. Preserving a few farmsteads would save vestiges of Green Bluff's past not its future as an agricultural area. According to 2002 Spokane County GIS data on vacant land and zoned agricultural land (Figures 14 and 16), enough farmable land exists to make the protection and preservation of Green Bluff's farmland through conservation easements a viable option. If funds are unavailable for conservation easements, cluster zoning may be one of the only alternatives to retaining farmland or recreational open space beyond increasing the minimum parcel size. A model program to refer to is Ebey's Landing. This is a successful example of how cultural resources can be protected and preserved through National Register listing and purchase of development rights even within a dynamic agricultural landscape.

Agricultural Districts

Green Bluff, with the assistance of Spokane County Planners, should develop a plan to create an agricultural district in which “landowners agree to maintain the land in farm use and not subdivide for commercial or residential uses” for a specified period of time (often it is for five years).²⁰⁹ These districts are often necessary to “make landowners eligible to sell their development rights to the county and state.”²¹⁰ As an agricultural district, Green Bluff farmers would be able to work with the local land trust and Spokane County to develop a proactive plan to protect and preserve the area’s farmland using conservation easements. The most well-known model for establishing an agricultural district exists in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. Lancaster County employs this approach in conjunction with several other protection tools.²¹¹

Preferential Farmland Taxation

Washington State’s preferential farmland taxation program is typical in terms of its provisions. By increasing enrollment periods, which is currently 10 years, and

²⁰⁹ Daniels, *Holding Our Ground*, 242.

²¹⁰ Daniels, *Holding Our Ground*, 242.

²¹¹ For more details on Lancaster County’s protection strategy, refer to Strategy One listed on page 81 of this document.

increasing the rollback penalty for conversion to a nonfarm use Washington State may deter sprawl. Current land conversion penalties do little to prevent farmland from being turned into unproductive residential lots. Unfortunately, increasing restrictions and penalties may deter farmers on the metropolitan fringe, like Green Bluff, from entering the program. This may be an unavoidable drawback in the short term. In the long run these revisions will likely improve farmland protection. Although initially farmers on the metropolitan fringe may not enroll, some will and those farmers further from the fringe will enroll. Enrollment in the program equates to lower taxes, an important factor in keeping farm expenses low. This is a beneficial program for farmers and the long term effects of revising it will only increase Spokane County's ability to protect farmland.

Relief from Sewer and Water Assessments

In addition to providing farmers with relief from sewer and water assessments, road improvements should be added. If any of these should come to pass, farmers' assessments would be limited to the portion of their property on which their house sits. In general, public investment increases land values in areas like Green Bluff that are in close proximity to urbanized areas. One author noted that "in urban fringe areas over the last thirty years, the market value of farmland has increased more because of public investments in roads, schools, and sewer and water lines than because of farmers' investments in farm buildings and

land improvements.”²¹² Fortunately, Green Bluff requires no infrastructure improvements at this time.

Right-to-Farm Laws

Washington State has a right-to-farm law, but Spokane County does not. A way to strengthen the State’s law is to add a provision that allows farmers to “recover legal costs from plaintiffs who lose a nuisance suit.”²¹³ This revision is to deter newcomers from filing frivolous suits against farmers.

As for a local ordinance, agricultural areas like Green Bluff would benefit from this because it would strengthen the state law by educating purchasers of rural land about agricultural activities that are likely to occur in the area. In Carroll County, Maryland, for example, a local right-to-farm ordinance “requires sellers of real estate to notify potential buyers about nearby farming operations, and the county set up a five-member panel to help settle disputes between nonfarm homeowners and farmers.”²¹⁴ This method of alternative dispute resolution would help keep legal costs low in comparison to having legal issues dealt with in the court system. In addition, Agricultural Use Notice/Nuisance

²¹² Daniels, *Holding Our Ground*, 69.

²¹³ In 1995, the state of Michigan revised its right-to-farm law to include this provision. Daniels, *Holding Our Ground*, 91.

²¹⁴ Daniels, *Holding Our Ground*, 242.

Disclaimer would define agricultural activities to newcomers, thereby, diminishing the chances of lawsuits being filed against farmers.

Agricultural Economic Development

Agricultural economic development is, perhaps, the most vital part of any farmland protection program because “farming is a business [and] if farming is not profitable, farmland protection programs ultimately will not be successful. Both farmland protection and economic development measures are needed to bolster the future prospects of agriculture as an industry.”²¹⁵ Fortunately for Washington’s farmers, Governor Gary Locke recognizes the value of locally grown products. He signed House Bill 2657 in March of 2002 “which encourages state and local government agencies to buy Washington fruit, vegetables and other local agricultural products when available.”²¹⁶

House Bill 2657 may well help Washington’s farmers’ profitability and so too will grants from the state to farming operations to help with marketing. Green Bluff received one such grant. In February 2003, the Green Bluff Growers’ Association, in conjunction with Spokane Regional Convention and Visitors Bureau, received \$15,000 from Washington State Department of Agriculture to

²¹⁵ Daniels, *Holding Our Ground*, 102.

²¹⁶ American Farmland Trust, *Gov. Locke Signs Bills That Will Protect Washington Farms: Washington Voter Intent Satisfied by New Agricultural Conservation Easement Program*, (http://www.farmland.org/news_2002/040202_wa.htm), 2 April 2002.

increase profitability, livability and economic viability for the Green Bluff agricultural community in Spokane County by promoting the community as a destination for agricultural products, activities and events. Funding will provide for directional and promotional signage for the region.²¹⁷

The money has gone to creating a new logo and brochure for the Association (Figure 36).

What is interesting about the new design is its symbolism. The farmer is not on the tractor by himself but with a child whose hands are on the wheel along with the farmer's. This new logo represents the tradition of family farming: the established farmer passing on the tradition of farming to future generations. The image is set against a muted palette of red, green and yellow reminiscent of the 1920s and 1930s: an era during which Green Bluff products were emerging in the national and local markets.

Unfortunately, because not all farmers participate in the Association and since the grant is for the Green Bluff Growers' Association exclusively, not all Green Bluff farmers benefit. Any divisions in the Green Bluff farming community only act to further undermine viable agriculture. Working together to further the economic development of the entire agricultural community is a necessary piece of the package to save Green Bluff farms. The Association should consider admitting members at a lower, associate member rate or working together with farmers in Green Bluff Grange #300.

²¹⁷ Washington State Department of Agriculture, *News Release*, 4 February 2003, <http://agr.wa.gov/News/2003/03-09.pdf>, 2 June 2003.

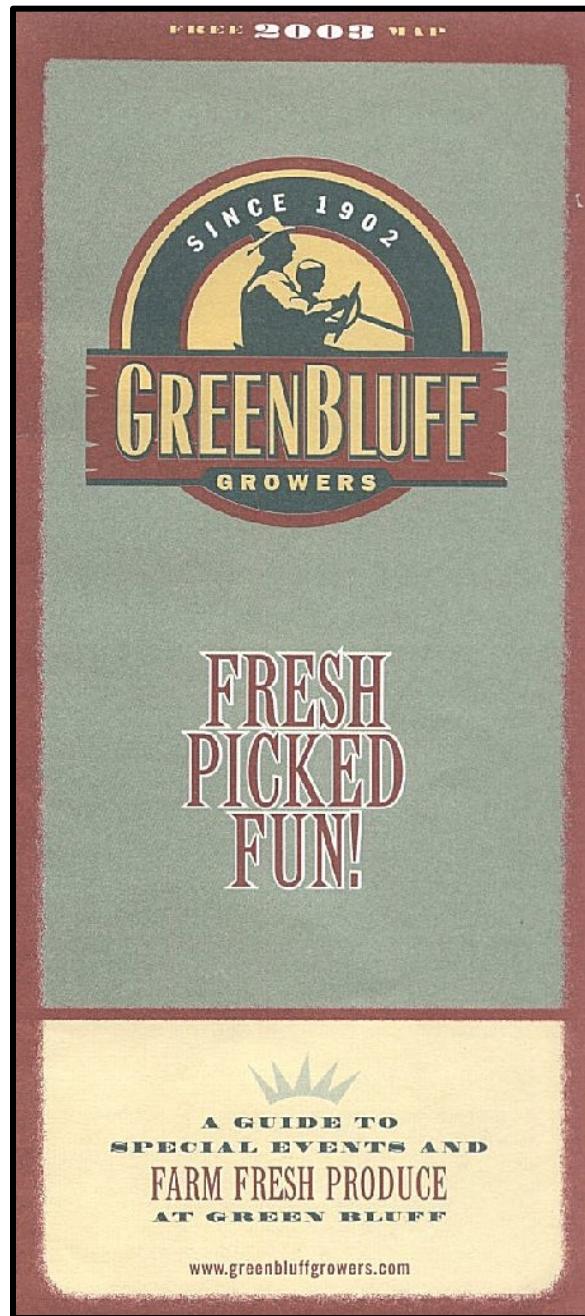


Figure 36. Green Bluff Growers' Association 2003 Pamphlet.

Along with the programs listed in Chapter III, Spokane County needs a farm-link program similar to King County's. By implementing this type of program, aging farmers who wish to sell their property, would have the opportunity to sell to beginning farmers. Since the average age of farm operators in Spokane County is 53.7 years, without incoming farm operators to take over for those who are retiring or have decided to sell, local farming operations will decrease in Spokane County.²¹⁸

In addition to this program, State and County government agencies should streamline permitting processes for farmers and provide relief from ergonomic standards. Agricultural production and sales are time sensitive. Therefore, time away from farming equates to economic losses. As farming profits decrease, the likelihood of farmland conversion to nonfarm uses increases. By streamlining permitting processes for farmers, less money is taken away from the farming operation. The recently adopted ergonomic standards for businesses may increase the loss of farmland due to implementation costs for farmers. Washington State's House of Representatives recently voted down legislation that would have made ergonomics voluntary. Following the House's vote, a lawsuit was filed to "invalidate the standards [because] they are vague and not based on

²¹⁸ National Agricultural Statistics Service, *Spokane County, Washington Demographics*, <http://www.nass.usda.gov/wa/counties/cnty063.htm>, 2 September 2002.

sound medical principles.”²¹⁹ The results of this suit are still pending. By re-evaluating their programs, Washington State as well as Spokane County can better support farming activities.

Green Bluff farmers and residents can also support their local farms and farming operations more effectively. One suggestion is to view any Green Bluff sponsored event as a marketing opportunity. For example, every spring, either in March or April, Green Bluff Home Economics Club has a community potluck and quilt raffle. The quilt is the pièce de le resistance of the evening because it is generally pieced and quilted by hand by the women in the Green Bluff Home Economics Club who continue this local and gender-based tradition. However, approximately 90% of raffle tickets are sold to nonfarmers and non-Green Bluff residents. Other items raffled off include a variety of hand-made items. Because the majority of ticket purchasers are not local, certificates for Green Bluff products should also be included as raffle items.²²⁰

Economic development programs can assist local agricultural associations in creating advertising strategies and in adopting new marketing programs and events. Advertising, marketing, and local festivals and events are vital to enticing consumers to Green Bluff. Without these, profitability decreases and land is sold to nonfarming, rural

²¹⁹ Cookson Beecher, “Washington House votes down legislation to make ergonomics voluntary,” *Capital Press*, 28 February 2003, 3.

²²⁰ This suggestion came from a conversation with Kevin Chapin, a non-Green Bluff resident 21 April 2003.

estate seekers, thereby destroying Green Bluff's farms, farmland, and agricultural and cultural heritage.

Plan Implementation Strategy

Spokane County and Green Bluff farmers and those who support them must play participatory roles in protection and preservation efforts in order to save Green Bluff's farms, farmland, agricultural and cultural heritage, and its farming economy. A cohesive group determined to protect and preserve their way of life will manage to do so. A divided group, however, is likely to fail.

Community members can work through existing organizations to pursue the proposed strategy. Most farmers are already members of either Green Bluff Grange #300 or Green Bluff Growers' Association or both. Once the community has organized and decided on a community goal or vision, an individual (or individuals) could be selected to represent the farmers at Spokane County Commission hearings and planning meetings. The County will then have a definitive contact and will be well aware of farmers' views. Farmers can no longer remain aloof from the planning process. By being involved, farmers' concerns and interests are more likely to be addressed.

CHAPTER VII: CONCLUSION

Green Bluff is not just a scenic landscape but, a working one. The Spokanes were the first to modify this landscape by burning the underbrush to establish a hunting ground. The European-American agrarian-based community that ensued continued to transform the land by de-foresting the landscape and creating commercially viable agricultural land. As the landscape was transformed to farmland, the community was burgeoning. Green Bluff's community evolved into a cohesive group connected by common beliefs, goals, and hardships. This same agrarian-based community exists today. However, its location on the metropolitan fringe is beginning to take a toll. Farmland is being sold for nonfarm use and as more nonfarm, single family residential lots are established, farmland and farming will decrease.

In the past decade, Green Bluff's agricultural and marketing methods have come under greater scrutiny by Spokane County's planning department. This interest is due, in part, to internal conflicts regarding agricultural and marketing practices. Former urban residents who move into an agricultural area often have unrealistic ideas about rural life. Working landscapes can be offensive to an urban person's senses. It is unfortunate that this unrealistic view often leads to community conflict between newer, nonfarm residents and long time residents and farmers. As the number of newer residents increase, Green Bluff's farmers and farmland will decrease resulting in the loss of the area's viable

agricultural land, rural landscape, rural character, and historic farmsteads. Perhaps the development of 10-acre residential estate would leave some of the area's historic architecture intact as a vestige of its past, but without the farmers and the farmland, the culture and its intrinsic value are gone – replaced by the sounds of rural estate owners and their children commuting to and from work and school, respectively. The rumble of tractors, the bellow of livestock, those sounds, smells and views provided by farmers and their working landscape will disappear as non-farmers move into agricultural areas.

The choice is left up to current Green Bluff's landowners and farmers and Spokane County Planners. This result can be avoided if a protection strategy is implemented for Green Bluff so that the area's farms, farmland, and cultural resources are protected. The first step to implementing this plan is to bring primary stakeholders together to work toward creating an historic district. If Green Bluff is listed on the National Register it will provide improved protection for the agricultural community. The other approaches can be implemented concurrently with National Register listing or soon thereafter.

Implementing a protection strategy will help to save Green Bluff's farms and farmland, which are important not just for their historical and cultural value, but for their value to society. Agricultural areas like Green Bluff, located on the metropolitan fringe, provide urban centers with fresh fruit and vegetables as well as open space. A study by

the American Farmland Trust titled *Farming on the Edge* “found that more than half of America’s food production takes place in metropolitan counties, in counties adjacent to major cities, and in counties with both high population growth and higher than state average agricultural production.”²²¹ This study suggests that protecting and maintaining these local farm operations benefit the same population that is encroaching upon them.

Agricultural areas are admired often by the urban population for their picturesque landscapes, but they should also be admired for the simple fact that they are working landscapes. Humans work the land to produce food vital for human survival. John B. Jackson wrote, “The older I grow and the longer I look at landscapes and seek to understand them, the more convinced I am that their beauty is not simply an aspect but their very essence and that that beauty derives from the human presence.”²²² The beauty of Green Bluff was provided by nature and the hand of humankind. Green Bluff of today is an image of its past and a reflection of its future only if the area’s farms, farmland, and cultural resources are protected. Without this protection, Green Bluff will develop into 10-acre residential lots. The result of this would be a loss of rural culture, viable farmland, farmers’ livelihoods and the ability for Spokane consumers to purchase locally

²²¹ Daniels, *Holding Our Ground*, 24.

²²² John Brinckerhoff Jackson, *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), xii.

produced fruit, berries, and vegetables. More importantly, the beauty and bounty, for which Green Bluff is known, would no longer exist except in memory.

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APPENDIX A: GREEN BLUFF SURVEY

Dear Green Bluff Farmer/Resident: The following is a survey to determine your views on Green Bluff. I will be using the results in my University of Washington master's thesis. If you wish to further explain your answers, please do so. At the end of this survey you may indicate your name and phone number.*

1. Do you want farming and agriculture to continue on Green Bluff?

- a) Yes
 - b) No
 - c) I don't know
 - d) Other. Please explain: _____
-

2. Are farming and agriculture on Green Bluff in jeopardy of disappearing (i.e. developing into 10 acre single family residences)?

- a) Yes
 - b) No
 - c) I don't know
 - d) Other. Please explain: _____
-

3. What is the biggest threat to farming and agriculture on Green Bluff?

- a) 10 acre minimum zoning
 - b) County, State and Federal Governmental Policies
 - c) Non-farmers
 - d) There is no threat
 - e) Other. Please explain: _____
-

4. Are you interested in having alternatives to the 10 acre lot minimum?

- a) Yes
 - b) No
 - c) I don't know
 - d) Other. Please explain: _____
-

5. Are you interested in having alternatives to the 10 acre lot minimum if this would help to save Green Bluff farming and agriculture.

- a) Yes
 - b) No
 - c) I don't know
 - d) Other. Please explain: _____
-

6. Are you interested in Green Bluff being listed on the National Register of Historic Places as an Historic Rural Landscape (there are no owner/property restrictions).

- a) Yes
 - b) No
 - c) I don't know
 - d) Other. Please explain: _____
-

7. Are you interested in Green Bluff being listed on the National Register of Historic Places as an Historic Rural Landscape if this would help to save Green Bluff farming and agriculture.

- a) Yes
 - b) No
 - c) I don't know
 - d) Other. Please explain: _____
-

8. If you are a Green Bluff farmer, what is the average gross annual income produced by the farm?

- | | | |
|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| a) \$0-\$4999 | e) \$20,000-\$24,999 | i) \$40,000-49,999 |
| b) \$5000-\$9,999 | f) \$25,000-\$29,999 | j) \$50,000 or more. |
| c) \$10,000-\$14,999 | g) \$30,000-\$34,999 | |
| d) \$15,000-\$19,999 | h) \$35,000-\$39,999 | |

9. What are your annual farm expenses?

- | | | |
|--------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| a) \$0-\$1999 | e) \$8,000-\$9,999 | i) \$16,000-\$17,999 |
| b) \$2,000-\$3,999 | f) \$10,000-\$11,999 | j) \$18,000-\$19,999 |
| c) \$4,000-\$5,999 | g) \$12,000-\$13,999 | k) \$20,000 or more. |
| d) \$6,000-\$7,999 | h) \$14,000-\$15,999 | |

10. If you are a farmer on Green Bluff, are the sales from farming your only household income?

- a) Yes
 - b) No
 - c) I don't know
 - d) Other. Please explain: _____
-

Thank you for taking the time to fill out this survey.

*If you are willing to be contacted if I have questions regarding the information that you provided, please fill in the information below. Please note that individual surveys will not be seen by anyone other than me or my advisor. Thank you, Lisa Kalhar Melton

Name

Phone #