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Farm Follows Function: In Lancaster County Pennsylvania, Saving Farms Means Keeping a Lid on Growth

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Abstract
When I arrived in Lancaster County, in May of 1989, every acre of land seemed to be for sale. The county's farmland preservation program that I was to head had saved only 5,600 acres, less than one percent of the entire county.

Comments
Two-thirds of the land in Lancaster County is used for farming, and most of the towns (like Maytown, right) are small.
Farm Follows Function

In Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, saving farms means keeping a lid on growth.

By Thomas L. Daniels, AICP

When I arrived in Lancaster County, in May of 1989, every acre of land seemed to be for sale. The county’s farmland preservation program that I was to head had saved only 5,600 acres, less than one percent of the entire county.

But worse, the idea that a farmer might limit the use of land to farming by selling development rights to the government had split the farm community. Some frowned on the use of tax dollars, others claimed it was a bailout for poor farmers—but some thought that it was a way to keep development from overrun ning some of America’s finest farmland.

I had my own doubts. Already, the northeastern part of Lancaster County had come under the growing influence of suburban Philadelphia, roughly 40 miles to the east. The county population had recently topped 400,000, and Lancaster was touted as the fastest-growing county in Pennsylvania.

It soon became clear to me that Lancaster County had a lot to lose from uncoordinated growth: great expanses of carefully tended fields and farmsteads, quaint villages, and the clip-clop of Amish farmers’ horse-drawn buggies—small wonder that five million visitors a year came to witness what seemed like days gone by.
Collaring growth

The primary challenge under American planning law is how to accommodate growth without sacrificing those qualities that make a place good to live and work. Faced with the prospect of absorbing tens of thousands of new residents, the county planning commission in the early 1990s began promoting "growth boundaries" after the Oregon model.

County planning staff made population projections over the next 20 years for each township and borough (village). Staff then estimated land-use needs based on the expected population, drafted maps of possible growth boundaries, and met with local officials to negotiate the actual boundaries.

Amish and Mennonite farms attract five million visitors a year to the county.

Pennsylvania law makes no provision for growth boundaries, nor does the county government have any authority over planning and zoning in the townships and boroughs. So the 22 boundaries that have been agreed upon so far have been done by amending local comprehensive plans and by coordinating local zoning ordinances and public sewer and water service areas of the townships and the boroughs.

Significantly, developers bought into the growth boundary concept because it gave them predictable land to build on without costly rezoning and NIMBY battles. Even Wal-Mart, which proposed six new stores in the county in the 1990s, selected sites inside growth boundaries. Two stores have been built to date.

In 1999, the county planning commission undertook a "Growth Tracking" study of development development had occurred from 1994 to 1997. About 75 percent of the new residential units were built inside the growth boundaries, but 61 percent of the land developed was outside the boundaries.

Much as I supported the growth boundary strategy, I recognized that if development were going to be channeled inside the growth boundaries, then building in the countryside would have to become more difficult. Also, it was crucial to plot where the growth boundaries would expand over time. If the growth boundaries expanded into good farming areas, then the farmland preservation effort would be jeopardized.

In nine years, I helped to preserve 188 farms on more than 16,000 acres. The preservation effort involved several players: Over the nine years, the county contributed $12 million and the state $19 million to buy development rights, local officials continued to support the use of agricultural zoning, the nonprofit Lancaster Farmland Trust acquired

Resources

In Pennsylvania, for more information on Lancaster County, contact June Mengel at the Agricultural Preserve Board, mengelj@co.lancaster.pa.us, 717-299-8355, or Scott Standish at the Planning Commission, standish@co.lancaster.pa.us, 717-299-8353. Address: 50 North Duke St., P.O. Box 83480, Lancaster, PA 17608-3480.

Elsewhere. A good source of information on farmland protection is Farmland Preservation Report, 900 LaGrange Road, Steet, MD 21154; 410-692-2708, Marin County, California, combines agricultural zoning with purchase of development rights. Contact: Bob Berns, 415-662-1158, Marin Agricultural Land Trust, P.O. Box 809, Point Reyes Station, CA 94956. Montgomery County, Maryland, has preserved over 40,000 acres of farmland through the transfer of development rights. Contact John Zawisciak, 301-590-2831, Montgomery County Ag Services, 18410 Muncaster Rd., Derwood, MD 20855.

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contiguous blocks of preserved farmland—which helps to keep development away and to maintain a "critical mass" of farms that enables the farm support businesses to thrive—and preserving farms just outside of designated growth boundaries to protect high-quality farming areas.

The preserved farms also dovetailed beautifully with the local agricultural zoning, which now covers 349,000 acres and is found in 39 of the 41 townships. The zoning has greatly limited the amount of nonfarm development that could take place next to a preserved farm. It has also kept down the cost of the development rights to under $2,000 an acre on average, less than half the price of what suburban development rights cost in the rest of the county.

In 1998, the county planning commission asked 100 community leaders what was the best trend in the county over the previous five years. The most popular response: Farmland preservation.

Watch out
Lancaster County remains vulnerable to rapid population growth, weak planning, and shortsighted solutions to transportation problems. In 1998, the county planning commission estimated that the county's population will grow by 30 percent, to 600,000 people, by 2020.

An obvious weakness in the township zoning is the more than 150,000 acres zoned for rural residential development in one-to-three-acre lots. Meanwhile, the county planning commission has been lax in not pushing on conservation zoning, legal in Pennsylvania at one dwelling per 10 acres, in rural areas unsuitable for farming.

To be successful, according to the planning commission's Growth Tracking report, the growth boundaries will need to absorb about 80 percent of new development and at a density of 5-5 units per acre. But with many rural home sites available, these benchmarks will be difficult to achieve. The Growth Tracking report found that from 1994 to 1997 development inside the boundary has averaged about 2.5 to three units per acre, suggesting that the boundaries will fill up fairly rapidly and merely create contained sprawl.

The planning commission is advocating the creation of "livable communities" within the growth boundaries, based on nontraditional village designs. But so far there has been little progress, according to Scott Standish, head of long-range planning for the county.

Driving around Lancaster County is an adventure in congestion. Currently under study is the construction of a limited access highway that would run 30 miles from the city of Lancaster east to the Pennsylvania Turnpike. The road would cut through Amish farmland and make much of the country accessible to suburban Philadelphia. Mass transit in Lancaster County can only be described as severely limited.

The county's efforts to preserve its resilient farming community, growth boundaries, widespread local agricultural zoning, and an aggressive purchase of development rights program.

In 1999, the State of Pennsylvania authorized a total of $65 million for farmland preservation. Combined state and county funding will give the Lancaster County Agricultural Preserve Board about $10 million more than it has already spent, enough to buy development rights to another 5,000 acres. Since 1994, the acres of farmland preserved and the acres developed each year have been running neck and neck, according to June Mengel, Director of the Agricultural Preserve Board. In 1997, for example, more acres (2,852) were preserved in the county than developed (2,776), a fact that few places in America could ever imagine.

In short, the county is in a race against time, with a window of opportunity to maintain its balanced growth. Although I left Lancaster County in 1998, I look forward to returning every so often to see the farm fields that I so enjoy.

Tom Daniels is a former Director of the Lancaster County Agricultural Preserve Board and is now a professor in the Department of Geography and Planning at the State University of New York at Albany. Copyright by the author.

Will the growth management techniques be enough to maintain the farming industry and high quality of life? Or will sprawl steadily eat through the countryside?

Philadelphia counties without ag zoning have paid.

Property rights have not been much of an issue because the sale of development rights is a voluntary program and the Pennsylvania courts have affirmed the legality of agricultural zoning.

According to Bob Wagner of the American Farmland Trust, "Lancaster County is setting the pace for farmland preservation in the United States." Moreover, Lancaster County has shown that a conservative Republican stronghold can be a leader in growth management.

The county's experience illustrates the added strength of land-use regulation wedded to financial incentives. Land regulation is the foundation of growth management, but it is prey to politicians' whims. Buying development rights creates permanence in the landscape.

Land-use planning in America has basically involved planning for development. The Lancaster County combination of planning, regulation, and incentive payments taught me, among others, that it is not only possible