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THE BEST USE OF FOREST LANDS

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Forest lands of the United States make up a highly important part of our resources. The areas involved are large; numerous forest products and services are produced; and many economic interrelationships with agriculture and industries exist. Forest areas comprise about 630 million acres according to reports of the National Resources Board, or nearly one-third the total land area. Lands used for agriculture, by comparison, amount to 415 million acres, and range land 530 million acres.

Any general forest area, such as the national forests, includes a variety of "wild land" or vegetation cover, with timber, brush, barren lands and types occurring in different patterns. Some of these types are used only for purposes such as watershed protection, grazing, or recreation. Most forest lands however, produce lumber and other wood products, and at the same time yield social benefits from these subsidiary uses.

The "best use", or the best combination of uses, on the 630 million acres of forest land is a rather broad problem, but will be considered in this paper as that which contributes most to social welfare. Forest lands should be put to their best use when they make the greatest possible addition to national income, considering both financial and non-monetary benefits, over long periods of time.

Utilization of forest resources is of importance to many social groups. Consumers have an interest in low-priced timber products and in supplementary services provided by forests; labor groups and communities depend on forest employment, while owners of industries are interested in raw material supplies and investment returns. Conflicts between different interests frequently occur. Certain private incomes are affected by scarcity of timber and high values, for example, but society as a whole when there is relative poverty of useful resources. Policies for forest use should consider populations receiving direct returns from forest use, others receiving indirect benefits or incurring the social costs of scarcity and depletion, and future generations dependent on the availability of resources which they will inherit.

Trends in forest land use have pointed toward more intensive forest management and utilization. As timber resources in the East, the Lake States, the South, and more recently the Pacific Northwest have dwindled, the swiftly moving migratory lumber industry, various steps have been taken to prevent further timber depletion. The pioneer attitude of regarding tree cover as an obstacle to agricultural expansion is now found only in limited regions. The forest conservation movement has steadily

ed momentum during recent decades and has in addition spread to other resources. Since 1891 the area of national forests has expanded through reservation of public lands and acquisition. Fire protection has been extended to most forest lands under the Weeks Law of 1911 and the McNary Act of 1924. Selective logging methods developed in recent years are leaving forest lands in better condition for producing timber. Some beginnings in sustained yield forestry have also been made.

While cutover land is now being left in a more productive condition, the forestry is barely launched on a policy of producing continuous crops. Most operating lumber companies are still geared to depletion of their virgin stands because of limited timber supplies in relation to their capacity or because of the financial advantages of quick liquidation. Nevertheless it is estimated that 20 percent of the private forest lands are now being managed under good forestry practices, and over 80 percent are in good condition for growing timber crops.

The past utilization of our forest resources has created many economic and social problems. Decadent communities mark the passing of logging operations and wood-using industries. In regions such as Oregon, Washington and California, local cutting exceeds local growth, indicating the process of abandoning sawmill towns and shifting populations to other occupations will continue. Remaining timber supplies are located far from market centers. Large fire losses still occur, with protection inadequate on more than 40 percent of the private forest lands. Problems of an overexpanded lumber industry and changing timber markets also exist.

In addition to timber utilization, supplementary uses yielding non-timber benefits are of increasing importance. Recreation in timber lands has expanded with amazing rapidity as highways have been extended to forested regions. Users of the national forests increased in number in the last few decades from next to nothing to several million persons annually. Pressure for hunting and fishing in forest areas continues to increase.

Grazing of livestock on the 334 million acres of forest lands available for usable forage is of outstanding importance, particularly to western livestock producers. Summer grazing on forest and mountain ranges supplements the winter grazing and crop agriculture in valley areas at lower elevations, and thus makes possible the continued existence of much of the western livestock industry.

Forest cover is also becoming of increasing importance for protection of watersheds. In areas such as southern California and in many western states the development of agricultural valley lands has intensified the need for flood control and the need for stable water supplies for irrigation, power, and domestic use. Expenditures for protecting watersheds have become increasingly necessary in many river systems to prevent the silting of reservoirs, to insure usable water supplies, and to protect farms, residences, and other investments from flood damage.

h these trends toward more intensive use of forest lands for creation, grazing, and watershed protection in mind, attention entered on two problems, that of the best alternative use of d, and that of the best intensity of forest management.

Alternative Use of Forest Lands

many regions such as the Pacific Northwest and the Sierra Nevada of California, timber growing, grazing, or crop agriculture are the uses. Historically, lands have usually been left for forest when deemed too poor for agriculture. Attempts to farm the so-called "marginal" areas have created such intense social and economic problems, however, that efforts have been made to determine the economically suitable alternative use.

A considerable expansion of crop agriculture into forested areas rather remote, judging from agricultural trends. In many regions, on the other hand, some crop lands are even reverting to forest. Numerous factors explain the relaxing of pressure for agricultural expansion, such as the relaxing of pressure for agricultural expansion, such as the relaxation of export markets, increased use of machinery, and the reduced population increase. An addition to the area of crop land of 30 million acres may be needed by 1960, according to the National Reclamation Board, but new crop acreage undoubtedly will be created from tillage and reclamation projects rather than forest lands.

Conflicts between grazing and forestry are somewhat more intense in forest regions of many states where there is pressure for livestock ranching and subsistence farming. Heated arguments "burning" signify the continued importance of this conflict. Much forest land has been converted into pasture by fire, indiscriminate burning in regions such as the Sierra Nevada foothills has no-mans land of brush which produces income for neither stockman or farmer. Intensified fire protection, on the other hand, has reduced capacities on some forest lands once used for grazing by the growth of trees rather than grass or browse.

Classifying lands in the marginal grazing-forest zones depends on the opportunities for the population involved, on trends in demand for native products, and on the criteria used. In general, the best marginal zones may be determined from the alternative net realizations realized by all groups affected by utilization of the area in question. The income distribution patterns and the permanence of the use are also involved in this criterion.

The need of present income for living often forces subsistence farmers to graze livestock on forest lands regardless of timber destruction and ultimate forest incomes. Pressure of population on resources is particularly acute in areas of low productivity, and population pressure

vid Weeks and H. R. Josephson. "Economic criteria for classifying rural-urban land according to probable best use." Journal of Farm Economics, May, 1939.

es depletion. To redistribute population, however, involves the task of developing alternative employment.

Classification of land for various uses depends, moreover, on comparing incomes. High rates of discount used in valuing forest incomes result in low values for forest use. On the other hand, low discount rates, possibly justified for long period valuation from the standpoint of society, may indicate values for long deferred uses equal to or greater than values for grazing use.

Governmental policies affect land classifications by influencing agricultural and grazing pressure on the remaining forest lands. Thus if the present problem gets bad enough to force a partial reversion to primitive conditions, the best use of some land now in forests might be for agriculture or farming. With such a movement subsidies would have to be provided to maintain anything but pioneer living standards.

Realizing best use of forest lands thus involves a land-use classification based on general economic trends and on prospective incomes from forest to all social groups. Making classifications effective usually requires legal controls such as zoning or other legislation.

In addition to competitive relationships, forestry and agriculture have supplementary uses. The system of permanent forestry in Europe is based to a large extent upon the use of resident labor deriving agricultural income from small farms in forest regions. In many parts of the United States, farm woodlots and well-distributed forests are common, more efficient utilization of agricultural labor can be promoted by appropriate policies. In our western states seasonal labor requirements for agriculture and lumbering coincide to such an extent that a close supplementary relationship usually does not exist. Nevertheless, income from agriculture or lumbering constitutes an important element in the support of subsistence ranchers located in or near forest areas.

On residual forest lands not claimed for crop agriculture or grazing, foresters have the task of balancing competitive and supplementary uses. Many combinations of timber production, recreation, water production, wild life production, and grazing occur on forested lands. These are "islands" of resources adapted to one specific use, as in the case of lakes or meadows in timber areas, the problem is primarily in administering the intermingled recreational or grazing uses by a forest management organization. Combining uses on given areas of forest land is often a difficult economic problem in forest administration. Recreational activities such as hunting and camping characteristic of forest areas are often found on areas used primarily for timber production. Other uses of subsidiary uses and timber growing frequently occur on a forest area. One of the main economic objectives in forest planning is to balance these various forest uses so as to obtain the optimum output of returns and indirect social benefits. Production of goods and services from several forest uses justifies spending funds for protecting and developing lands of relatively low values.

Intensity of Forest Land Use

The determination of best alternative land use and the best combination of forest uses is thus of major importance in forest planning, but a classification of the residual forest lands for management intensity is needed. We have approximately 460 million acres of "commercial" lands with wide variations in stands, growth and accessibility. Logging timber on these lands raises questions of the desirable intensity of management, and the allocation of areas between public and private ownership. Extreme variations in management are possible, varying from limited protection to an intensive forestry.

For a classification of management intensity accurate forest inventories of stands, growth, and drain are needed, together with economic data of prospective use and demands. The desirable intensity of management depends, like alternative uses, upon a number of economic factors.

One factor of major importance, for example, is the amount and distribution of timber supplies in relation to drain. Through the last few years warnings of timber famine have been frequent, some emanating from conservationists and others from industries producing wood substitutes. The alarm of 30 years ago was justified in view of the long upward trend in wood consumption, underestimates of timber supplies, and large increases. Since 1906, however, annual lumber production has fallen to about 20 billion board feet. Substitute materials have been increasingly used for products such as fuelwood, posts and poles. On the other hand, the use of wood for paper, rayon, plastics, and other cellulose products, though relatively small, has shown a strong upward trend.

As a result of reduced wood consumption and regrowth on cutover lands, timber growth and drain now practically balance for the country as a whole. Wood supplies are sufficiently plentiful that a future shortage is not probable. In contrast, fears are even expressed that future production may not absorb prospective timber production.

Although timber exhaustion appears remote, many economic problems of distribution and local depletion still remain. In eastern regions production exceeds local supplies, necessitating costly timber imports from regions such as the South and the Pacific Northwest. It would be socially economic to spend money for fire protection and reforestation in the deficit regions and at least reduce the amount and cost of timber imports. Total wood utilization is balanced by volume but large trees and valuable species are being used, whereas reforestation occurs on small trees of inferior quality.

Market factors are of particular significance in planning the use of residual forests, since the marketing of products must be recognized as the spring of industrial forestry. What consumers will pay for the conversion of trees into lumber, paper, and other products will determine the level of employment and capital returns. Investments in timber growing are governed by prospective demands for timber products, with an

adequate reserve of publicly-owned timber for emergencies or for production in response to new demands. In the light of present trends in wood use and population growth, it is estimated that future wood consumption will vary from recent levels of about 14 billion cubic feet up to 19 billion cubic feet of wood annually. Many national policies affecting population, employment or construction activity, however, will influence actual market demands for timber products.

The intensity of management on forest lands is also influenced by national policies such as those involving tariffs. The tariff increases in 1930 and subsequent foreign retaliation explained in part the loss of foreign markets by domestic producers of Douglas fir, redwood, and other lumber species. Proposals for tariffs to enable wood producers in the United States to supply all our pulpwood and paper requirements involve a choice between national welfare and benefits to forest industries. Since more than 50 percent of our pulp and paper consumption is imported, diverting demands to domestic forest industries would increase the intensity and profitability of forestry in this country, but at the same time exports of other products from the United States undoubtedly would be reduced.

The desirable intensity of management for timber-growing lands is also beclouded by a number of other economic factors. Over-optimistic investments have been made in the purchase of many large timber holdings. Subsequent installation of sawmills created capacity almost twice that required to produce even the peak lumber demands of the predepression years. The need for income to meet heavy interest payments on bonded indebtedness, taxes, and protection costs in turn necessitated either rapid timber liquidation or bankruptcy. At the same time declining demands for lumber in both domestic and export markets aided in bringing about lower prices and profits than expected. Low investment returns in an over-expanded lumbering industry have darkened the outlook for sustained yield forestry. The existence of thousands of small timber holdings as well as excess capacity has tended to intensify competitive conditions in the lumber industry.

The deflation of speculative timber values and an apparent need for reduction of plant capacity have many counterparts in agriculture and industry. If economists can find desirable means of curing agricultural "surplus" problems, perhaps foresters can adopt the same methods for solving these problems of timber production.

While short-run influences often make forest investments appear unattractive, economic incentives favor more intensive management and permanent forest industries. Frequent cutting by selective logging methods has been made possible in most timber regions by the development of roads and efficient tractor and truck equipment. Cutting the larger high-value trees usually makes possible the early liquidation of a large part of forest investments, and at the same time converts stands into growing stocks of vigorous trees capable of rapid value increment. Studies in regions such as the pine belt of the Sierra Nevada foothills indicate the feasibility of obtaining high rates of earnings on trees left in selectively cut stands. It is essential that owners initiate selective cutting methods before timber reserves are depleted, however.

Forest management for continuous timber crops is also being influenced by trends in interest rates. Low earnings in timber industries in the past have resulted in pressure to liquidate investments in order to invest in alternative enterprises promising greater returns. Declining interest rates, bringing about levels of 3 to 5 percent and even lower for industrial bonds, place even low earnings of forest investments on a more attractive light. These economic trends favoring continuous investment and incomes over long periods are of considerable importance for forest use on the large areas of private lands will be determined by the relative profit if private initiative is preserved.

In view of trends in timber consumption and prospective timber resources, it appears to be wise policy in the case of the depleted and overcut forest lands to provide only protection from fire in order to preserve watershed values and adjoining timber. Young stands on accessible areas, on the other hand, promise returns on investments in protection and stand improvement. Remaining virgin forests, in particular, often can be managed profitably for sustained yields when of high growth capacity and accessible to markets, and when excess plant capacity does not compel depletion. The better forest areas may be expected to yield a differential rent from the production of timber crops.

Large areas of depleted cutover and poor timber lands offer few returns to private management, since incomes will be limited and long-lived. With public ownership, there is a question as to how great the returns on present expenditures must be to become "profitable". Outlays to rehabilitate forest resources often show promise of net return, yet productive timberlands will benefit future generations. Many recent expenditures to maintain forest resources, moreover, have been made by public agencies as part of an emergency spending program, and standard cost accounting systems do not indicate the profitability of investments when unemployment of labor and capital is prevalent. Nevertheless, alternative incomes from investments of relief funds should be raised in a national planning program when expenditures can be made for hospitals, housing projects, or production of commodities.

The allocation of public funds for forest protection and management in various degrees of intensity is important in forest planning. Since privately owned lands are of greater area and value than publicly owned forest investments might be made most economically if concentrated on more productive private forests where returns are potentially higher. Spending public funds on private lands is justified by the benefits from cheaper forest products and from the supplementary uses which yield non-monetary returns.

Policies to Promote Best Forest Use

Forest policies to make effective the classification of lands for various uses and for intensity of timber management may be summarized briefly as (1) provide adequate fire protection on all forest lands to insure some kind of vegetation, (2) promote intensive forestry on more productive lands to produce timber for prospective demands,

expend funds for forestry purposes according to timber growing capacity prospective benefits, (4) foster permanent operations to maintain stable communities and industries.

Policies designed to attain the best use of forest lands apply chiefly to areas in private ownership. Privately owned lands make up three-fourths of the commercial forest area, and include the most valuable timber and the more productive sites. Farm woodlots alone comprise 30 percent of the commercial forest area. Sixty percent of the potential forest timber is privately owned. Ninety percent of the potential forest growing capacity and 95 percent of the forest drain is on private lands.

Public measures for obtaining the best forest land use and the best density of management include public ownership, cooperation with private owners, and regulation of forest practices on private lands.

Public ownership at present extends to only 120 million acres of commercial forest lands, or about one-fourth of the areas best suited for timber production. Additional public lands with forest cover but suited primarily for subsidiary uses other than timber production amount to about 100 million acres. Most public timber lands are in national forests, although state, community, and other federal ownerships are also important. These are generally of less value than private forests, most public areas are not managed for combinations of timber production, recreation and other land uses.

Moderate increases in the area of public forests appear probable, particularly for low value, depleted, and tax delinquent lands. Other wooded and public recreational areas should also be publicly owned. The returns are non-monetary and widely diffused. Public acquisition of the 340 million acres of commercial forest lands in private ownership at present of little more than academic interest, however, in view of the large transfer of funds that would be necessary.

Cooperation between public agencies and private landowners has become increasingly important, with public agencies resorting to subsidies to obtain better forest practices. Financial and other aids are given to provide forest protection, selective cutting, and permanent operations. In view of the public interests involved, this policy of assistance in maintaining forest lands in productive condition should be continued. Providing more adequate protection from fires, insects, and disease through Federal and State agencies is not only economically feasible but justified by social values in forest lands and in the case of heavy losses by responsibility of the public for causing heavy losses. A public program of low cost forest fire insurance would increase the security of forest investments. Federal credits at low interest rates, extended along farm credit lines perhaps, could promote permanent forest enterprises. Taxation of forest land should be adjusted for sustained yields. Cooperative producing and marketing associations could be organized as a means to better forest utilization. Research in forest management and marketing should be continued.

In addition to public ownership and public assistance, regulations obtain desirable forest practices may be applied where needed. Reasonably effective public controls to insure slash disposal and fire protection have been initiated by various states. The short-lived NRA attempted to improve forest utilization practices through "industrial self-government", uniformity of regulation and control of minority elements was found to be difficult. It is possible that additional public controls over forest management may be necessary, similar perhaps to those in countries such as Sweden. Intensive forest protection, approved cutting methods, and planting are compulsory and accepted features of forestry. Costs in excess of those for quick liquidation may be involved, but such expenses are borne by all forest owners and become part of the timber supply price. The social philosophy regarding regulation in the United States has not crystallized in favor of complete public control over the use of natural resources. Trends in zoning and urban regulations nevertheless indicate that public control of land utilization ultimately will replace the philosophy of laissez-faire in order to protect social values in forests or other natural resources.

The best use of forest lands may thus be approached through classifications for alternative uses, for combinations of supplementary forest uses, and for intensity of management. Such classifications should rest on economic analyses of the ultimate costs and benefits to all social groups. Land use policies involving a combination of public ownership, assistance to private landowners, and public regulation of forest practices appear desirable in order to realize productive forests, profitable and stable industries, and permanent forest employment.

Discussion by Paul A. Eke
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of

THE BEST USE OF FOREST LANDS

by

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There are at least two features of this paper that make it of unusual value to all those interested in land planning. The first is the array of goals which can be used as gauges of best use. These goals are equally applicable to appraising or planning other land uses. Desirable goals have been so much needed in many of the recent action programs that a review of those given here seems to be justified in the light of giving them the emphasis which they deserve. A broad general statement of these goals is given in this paper. To get a more specific statement, I am quoting from the May, 1939 Journal of Farm Economics. This issue, David Weeks and H. R. Josephson list the following goals:

1. Increased per-capita net real income.
2. Reduced dispersion of income.
3. Permanence of income."

These goals may well become the socio-economic philosophy of all economic planners, particularly, of those dealing with land. One example is, perhaps, sufficient. Trends in agriculture toward large mechanized farm units, which frequently go far beyond the point of the "best cost combination", could well be judged in the light of these goals. A land use program emanating from such an application might be rather startlingly effective in solving the surplus population problems in agriculture in areas which have the best farm lands. As a further result, subsistence farming on cut-over forest lands might not then be quite so necessary for some people. The second feature is the optimism concerning sufficient growth of timber, together with mature stands to adequately care for our immediate and distant future needs. This statement is a bright ray of light piercing the gloom which has been created by most writers on this subject during the last twenty or thirty years. Perhaps somewhat more emphasis should have been given to local exceptions. Depletion and lack of sufficient growth prevail in areas nearest to market.

Statements concerning required intensity of management for forests of different qualities are appropriately made. The theory of efficiency, elasticity, and productivity might well have been used in this connection. That public funds have not been spent on this basis is not over-emphasized. That rather poor national forests have had more than their share of public funds. In this connection, there seems to be a need for considering

its in public expenditures from public to private forest lands. These expenditures might be made to correspond with fulfillment of required forestry practices on the part of private timber land owners. This would be similar to payments to farmers for soil conserving practices under the Agricultural Adjustment Administration.

Questions are raised concerning the advisability of using relief for improvement of forests. This seems entirely proper. As an example, it appears that this labor might in some instances be used more productively in conserving human resources. This goal might result in providing subsistence communities found on cut-over lands by moving some of them to the best available lands, making closer settlement, and building roads and schools.

Statements on federal forest credits, fire insurance, and taxation seem all sound familiar to the agricultural economist. There seems to be no reason why similar measures might not be justified for forestry, particularly, to promote farm and small-scale forestry.

Sawmill "over-capacity" might well have been discussed along with the large element of monopoly price control which exists in many areas. Lack of price competition among retailers is another matter of grave concern in respect to "over-capacity" of sawmills.

The relation of tariff manipulation to foreign lumber demand has been treated briefly. Perhaps one should add to this statement the need for exchange by foreign nations if lumber is to be purchased from the United States. This will involve lower industrial tariffs to permit freer importations. The lumber industry is, it appears, in about the same position as wheat and cotton producers who must depend upon foreign markets for a large part of their income. From the same sources inspiring farmers to ask for higher tariffs, not a few lumbermen think that the cure for the evils of high tariffs is more high tariffs; particularly on their particular products.

Under the section entitled "Alternative Uses for Forest Lands", no consideration is given to settlement of cut-over lands for agricultural use. It is the conclusion that not much more will be cleared, to quote, "the unemployment problem gets bad enough to force partial reversion to pioneer conditions." The facts are that such conditions now prevail and have prevailed since 1933. These lands are being cleared now, by a local surplus of rural population, by drought-stricken farmers from prairies, and by some unemployed industrial people. Cheap improved lands mean nothing to any of them since they have meagre means with which to purchase. Farm lands in older areas reverting to other uses may offset this new clearing, but this clearing will, no doubt, continue indefinitely.¹ There is a serious need of preventing exploitation of these people by owners of cut-over lands, both as to prices asked

Recently Cooperative "Bulldozer" Associations have been formed through the Farm Security Administration, which are cutting costs of pulling stumps to one-fourth or less--as little as \$7.00 per acre in northern Idaho.