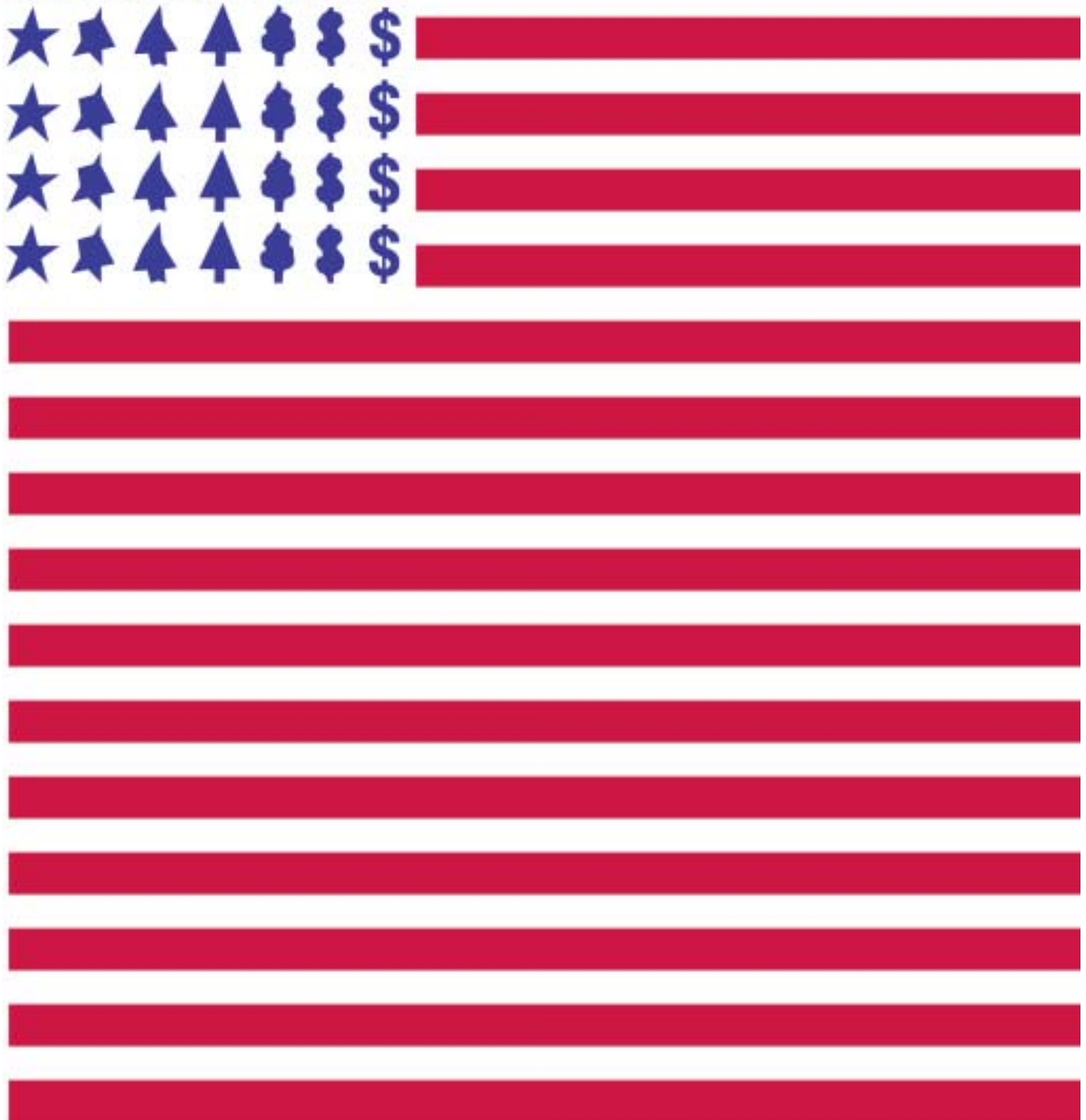


Changing Values— Changing Institutions

1991 Starker Lectures



1991 STARKER LECTURES

*Changing Values—
Changing Institutions*

Compiled by
J. R. Boyle and S. L. Arbogast

College of Forestry
Oregon State University
Corvallis, Oregon

Foreword

by James R. Boyle
Professor of Forest Resources

The physical, political and economic landscapes of forestry are changing in the Pacific Northwest and worldwide. These changes reflect a variety of expressions of societal values and restructured institutions involved in forestry. Yet, in the midst of these changes there are some “constants.” People still value traditional forest products—wood for home construction and many other uses. And numerous institutions, private and public, while changing “with the times,” still reflect stable commitments to sound, responsible forest management. There are many current approaches to the old “multiple use management” for public forests, i.e., managing forests for the variety of products and values that our society needs and wants. And most of us still use and depend on a variety of forest products in our daily lives, products that are provided by private forest industries.

So, our theme, “Changing Values and Changing Institutions” is not meant to convey “revolution” in forestry, but is intended to depict some viewpoints of the current, rapid “evolution” and articulation of values and institutions related to forestry.

The values and institutions of forestry in the Northwest and the world are being tested, challenged, and changed.

The Starker lecturers for 1991 represent a variety of institutions and articulate a variety of values associated with forests. Their lectures help us understand the changes that we are experiencing, and should help prepare us for changes yet to come.

Bill Gregory, civic-spirited entrepreneur and sawmill owner, was in the midst of selling his businesses when he talked with us and wrote his paper. Change! His business decisions, stimulated by changes around him, caused major changes in the lives of many.

Jeff Sirmon, veteran of a long and varied career in the U.S. Forest Service, was embarking on a new job in international forestry as he talked and wrote. His perspective had changed from focus on the Mt. Hood

National Forest to focus on the world.

Harold Steen, with roots in the forests of the Northwest, offers an historian’s views of Federal lands in the West and their meanings for forestry today.

In conclusion, Sally Fairfax, from University of California, Berkeley, an institution that has experienced an endless rainbow of values, challenges us with the concept of environmental justice—a definition of the environment that includes people—all people. She told us that if a discussion includes only white males, there is a significant probability that we are not discussing something truly important. As you ponder that thought and the rest of Sally’s ideas, consider your values and institutions.

The values and institutions of forestry in the Northwest and the world are being tested, challenged and changed. We think that these Starker lectures will help you think about and understand the changes—and the constraints—that we are living.

Dedication



T.J. Starker

In the midst of changes, it is reassuring to find some things that do not change. The Starker family and Starker Forests today reflect the long-standing values of land stewardship and civic responsibility that were basic principles of T.J. Starker and Bruce Starker. These Starker Lectures are sponsored by the Starker Family in memory of T.J. and Bruce.

T.J. Starker was born in Kansas and lived his youth in Burlington, Iowa (hometown of Aldo Leopold). He moved with his family to Portland in 1907 and soon began working in and studying forestry, graduating in the first class of foresters at Oregon Agricultural College in 1910. He then studied two years for a M.S. degree in Forestry at the University of Michigan and returned to Oregon to work for the U.S. Forest Service. Subsequent employment with the forest products industry, and a variety of summer jobs while he was teaching forestry at O.A.C./O.S.C., gave T.J. broad and thorough experience in all aspects of forestry. T.J. began purchasing second-growth Douglas-fir forest land in 1936, the beginnings of the current Starker Forests. Through his work experiences, teaching forest management, and extensive civic involvement, T.J. had a major influence on sound forestry

and community development in Oregon.

Bruce Starker studied for a forestry degree from O.S.C. in 1940 and an M.S. in Forestry in 1941. After service with the Coast Guard, Bruce joined his father, T.J., in acquiring and managing Oregon forest land, always with an eye for sound reforestation, management and conservation for multiple benefits and values. He worked with university, state, and federal forestry agencies, as well as with private industry, to advance reforestation, management and equitable taxation to encourage private forest management. Bruce continued the family tradition of active community service in many ways, including civic activities, regional forestry work, and contributing to writing the Oregon Forest Practices Act.

The sound, progressive forestry and community spirit of T.J. and Bruce Starker continue today. Forestry in Starker Forests has changed with advances in knowledge, technology and public environment, but the constant value of tending the land is unchanged. The Starkers and Starker Forests organization represent valuable responses to changing values and changing institutions. The Starker Lectures are dedicated to contributing to similar responses from all of us.



Bruce Starker

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Some Views of An Ex-Mill Owner

The Federal timber crisis has struck another community. What happened?

by *Bill Gregory*



Bill Gregory, *President of Gregory Forest Products, Glendale, Oregon*

We have laws being passed at an alarming rate which presume that Big Brother knows best.

I am President and owner of Gregory Forest Products. We operate two sawmills, a veneer plant, and a plywood plant in Glendale, Oregon, and a veneer plant in Klamath Falls, Oregon. We have employed up to 500 people. We now employ about 380. We also own 37,000 acres of timberland. Although during the past couple of years timber from our own land and other private sources have provided over 50% of our timber supply, historically Federal timber sources have been the primary supply, and, if the mill is to continue, will be a primary source in the future.

Wood products have been a major contributor to the economy of Glendale for over 100 years. I have given the employees of Gregory Forest Products notice that the mill will be closed on November 15, 1991. If no offers to

buy the mill are received, the mill will be auctioned in January 1992.

The Federal timber crisis has struck another community. What happened? Is this a result of changing values? Changing institutions? I don't know. It seems that values and institutions are in a constant state of change. On the other hand, like the ocean with the tidal forces on top creating an ever-changing expanse, the underlying scene remains relatively stable.

Forestry is changing. But what isn't? I have been serving on a commission appointed by the United States Secretary of Labor called the Secretary's Commission on Acquiring Necessary Skills (SCANS). Our research has pointed out the change that is happening to businesses here in the U.S. (Figure 1). It is a shift to what is called a "high performance" company, a company dedicated to quality and excellence. This shift creates a need for skills identified as the level needed for workers entering the workforce. This will result in changes in schools to also become "high performance" (Figures 1-3). These changes are real. They are happening because of two factors: The globalization of the world's economy and the advancement in technology. One feature of the "high performance" company is the move of decision-making to the lowest level possible. The person who

does the work probably knows what is to be done and how to do it best. But, as we recognize this need to let the people do their job, we have laws being passed at an alarming rate which presume that Big Brother knows best. This is happening in the practice of forestry. The forestry of the future will be set out in laws developed by non-foresters, presumably to reflect society's values. So we see a dichotomy. In some sectors, such as work, people are given more power; whereas, in other sectors, laws are being passed to take power away.

As Chairman of the Oregon Health Services Commission, I dealt with the issue of how to provide medical services to the thousands of uninsured Oregonians. In this case, the solution is thought to be in the recognition that you cannot do every medical treatment that's available because of a limitation of resources. Medical services were prioritized. The list considered the effectiveness of treatment and societal values.

I mention these examples to bring attention to what is already obvious. Times are changing and we are being challenged to consider values in coming up with solutions—in education, in medical treatment, in forestry, and in countless other areas.

Compromise Land Set-Asides

I would like to review the chronology of compromise land set-asides in the Pacific Northwest:

- Figure 4 displays the disposition of over 26 million acres of national forest land in Oregon and Washington. Removing national forest land from timber harvesting began nearly 100 years

ago with the establishment of Mt. Rainier National Park.

- By 1970, 4,433,000 acres (17% of the land base) had been set-aside by Congress for wilderness, national parks, and national recreation areas throughout the two states.

- Wilderness legislation in 1976, 1978, and 1984 withdrew

Most of this massive withdrawal is the result of the agency's response to public concerns over the management of the national forests.

another 1,947,000 acres increasing the no management portion of the national forests to 24%.

- The intensive forest planning effort prescribed by the National Forest Management Act of 1976 was completed in 1991. Decisions in the plans removed 9,088,000 acres from timber harvesting. Another 3,610,000 acres are managed for primary uses other than timber production, but some timber harvesting is allowed. Most of this massive withdrawal is the result of the agency's response to public concerns over the management of the national forests. After completion of the forest plans, only 29% of the original national forest land base was available for primarily timber production.

- The Northern spotted owl habitat conservation areas recommended by the Jack Ward Thomas Report increase the set-

asides by an additional 1,850,000 acres. These areas are presently off-limits to any timber harvesting.

- The U.S. Fish & Wildlife Service is currently designating critical habitat for the spotted owl. The original proposal would allocate an additional 959,000 acres for the spotted owl.

- All told, there remains only 18% of the original national forest land base that is available for intensive timber management. Proposals pending in Congress and agency actions to consider other wildlife species will further reduce the available areas.

Although Figure 4 shows 18% of the land available for multiple-use, in my view, there is no multiple-use left. For all practical purposes, there is not a timber sale program (Figure 5). If there happens to be a timber sale, most likely, it will be appealed.

Although there are several bills pending, I don't see a quick resolution to the situation. There are bills pending by those who would like to have more set-asides, as well as those that would favor timber harvesting. And even if the situation were remedied tomorrow by legislation favorable to timber harvesting, it would take months (and probably years) for the Forest Service and the BLM to replenish the pipeline of timber available for harvest (Figure 6).

I was on the Siskiyou Advisory Board set up to review timber sales that were going to be sold under Section 318, the Timber Compromise Bill of 1990. I was impressed with the amount of work that it took to prepare a timber sale. In the presentations that the Forest Service made to the Advisory Board, they esti-

mated that it took five years to prepare a sale. The problem now is that the rules are changing constantly, and it has made it very difficult for the agencies, no matter how committed, to try and figure out how they can prepare a sale that isn't going to be appealed for one reason or another (Figure 7).

An example of this is a report that was recently in *The Oregonian* telling about the Wesleyan University Environmental Interest Group which has filed protests on some 30 timber sales in the national forests in Oregon and Washington over the past two years. In each case, the group has charged the U.S. Forest Service with ignoring Federal environmental laws in approving timber sales in 19 national forests. Every appeal thus far has been denied, but it doesn't look like that is going to stop them.

The Effect of Federal Timber Legislation On Private Lands

O.K., there is no Federal timber left, so why can't we get along with the private timber? Well, the changes happening to Federal timber are also affecting private timber. First of all, California had proposals made by environmental organizations that scared the wits out of the forest products industry. Although they failed to pass the first time around, it got industry's attention. In order to keep further referendums from being proposed and enacted, the forest products industry decided to make proposals for changes to the Forest Practices Act that they hope will forestall further attempts to make regulations that would be even tougher and harder. Recent

changes in the Oregon Forest Practices Act limit the size of clearcuts to 120 acres, provide visual corridors on scenic highways, and state new rules for reforestation (Figure 8). An important effect of these changes is that now forestry is being prescribed by law—particularly in the areas of clearcuts. I haven't

I can look at the landscape and see lots of trees; others look at the landscape and see nothing but vast areas that have been cut.

seen a copy of the California Forest Practices Act, but according to newspaper reports, clearcuts have been severely limited so as not to exceed more than 20 acres. In addition, even if you can live with the new Forest Practices Act, the Fish and Wildlife Service regulations for the Northern spotted owl and other endangered or threatened species will severely limit forestry practices on private lands—like we have never seen before. Did you know there are 605 so-called threatened or endangered species in this country and 3,500 more plants and animals that special interest groups are trying to get listed? The environmentalists' goal, of course, is to lock up resources, including both public and private forests, not save species per se (Figure 9). We just got a hint of that in the Glendale area when the Fish and Wildlife

Service designated as "critical habitat" for the Northern spotted owl our mill and the town (that includes the tavern the football field, the schools, everything) as critical spotted owl habitat. Although that designation was dropped when they eliminated the designation for private property, it does indicate the thinking as it pertains to private property rights.

Now, I'm supposed to be talking about changing values; something has changed. Is it the values? I'm not sure. The values have been there all along. I think there is a concern that we are running out of resources. We have always felt this. I can remember in an economics course I took in college that they talked about the Malthusian theory (that the population of the world tends to increase faster than the food supply). Maybe this is a little fear that we all have in us. But, when we see massive clearcuts, even the most ardent logger starts to wonder if the end is coming. Indeed, I put the clearcut debate as the single largest factor in the public's attitude towards the forests products industry and the current limitations that are being foisted upon us. The public is told that clearcuts are necessary because Douglas-fir is shade-resistant and won't grow if we don't clearcut. I think that you can continue to come up with all the reasons that you want and give all the scientific facts that you want, but the public just isn't going to buy it. The public thinks that clearcuts are ugly, and they reinforce the fear that we are going to run out of timber.

Air travel has a lot to do with these fears also. As you fly over the Northwest, depending upon the route you take, you see a lot

of clearcuts. Sometimes I try to explain to people that it is like looking at the glass that is either half-empty or half-full. I can look at the landscape and see lots of trees; others look at the landscape and see nothing but vast areas that have been cut.

Unfortunately, the industry gets blamed for areas that appear to be clearcuts which were not caused by the forest products industry. There are large areas where fires caused the problem. Insect infestations are another cause. The Columbus Day blow-down also created large areas where the clearcuts resulted from salvage logging. Nevertheless, the total impression that is left is that the trees are going fast and they will never be replaced.

Good vs Good

I don't think that it is so much a change in values as it is a conflict in values, a tension between the values. It isn't necessarily a good-versus-evil situation, but more of a good-versus-good. Now what do I mean by that? It is this.

We recognize that the forest and the wildlife that lives there have rights. They have the right to be left alone, the right to be protected, the right to be used wisely, the right to be disturbed as little as possible, and the right to continue on in perpetuity. We feel that instinctively.

People have rights, too; those rights set forth in the Constitution and the Bill of Rights are a good start. We don't want to be sick or hurt without help. We have a right to physical comfort. We don't want to be too warm or too hot. We want to save something for future generations. We want to be well fed. We want to live without a lot of hassle. We

want to feel good and have a sense of well-being. And don't we have the right to use the earth's resources to achieve those things that we want (Figure 10)?

Trees are special friends. I like them, like to be around them, and I respect their rights. Trees help people and other animals. They provide fuel to keep us warm. Food to feed us. Lumber for shelter. Paper to help educate and inform us. Comfort. Material for chairs, tables and furniture. Recreation. Peace and quiet and a good feeling because of their beauty.

The challenge is to resolve the tension between the rights of the forest to be preserved and the rights of the people to use its resources for their benefit.

Jobs are often confused with values. A lot of the reasons being given by communities for continuing harvesting "as usual" is based on their argument that we need to do it to create jobs. Jobs are important, but I don't think that it is an effective argument; maybe it should be, but it isn't. The same argument is sometimes given for the drug growers in Columbia—that, if they didn't grow the drugs, it would ruin their economy. Does the public ignore the economic benefits from activities that go against its value system? Maybe that is the reason the argument for jobs hasn't been effective.

I find that it is interesting that the benefits of harvesting timber and the good that it provides mankind are usually ignored in the debate. A lack of harvesting timber would affect housing. Sometimes I think that is an issue which women understand, but men usually don't. Many times in conversation when we mentioned not harvesting trees, women will

bring up the issue that if we don't, how will we get homes? Whereas, men usually think of it in terms of that if we don't harvest trees, what will we do for a job? And this gets back to the points that we mentioned on the tension between values, not necessarily changing values or a conflict in values, it is the tension between providing materials for housing and other necessary items that we require to live versus not harvesting timber. The Shasta Costa project team stated the situation like this:

"While most everyone agrees that biological diversity is important, we're still working on how to conserve it and meet people's needs at the same time. Some people believe humans are just plain hazardous to nature's health and that the only way to guarantee biological diversity is to just leave the land alone. Others argue that people's need for resources must come first.

"Both the 'preservation-first' and the 'products-first' approaches lead to either/or decisions, assigning all lands to either, 1) hands-off protection or 2) production of resources. The problem is that neither one, in and of itself, can meet all our needs."

Part of the problem is caused because we don't know the answers to simple questions. I have often said that the big list of goals for a preservationist and myself would be the same (Figure 11). For instance, we both want to make sure that we are not harvesting more timber than we are growing. I think that is something which the general public wants. It seems that we have a disagreement on that answer. When I listen to the Forest Service, the Bureau of Land Management,

and industry, they tell me that we are not harvesting faster than we are growing timber, and I believe them. So if that is true, why are we curtailing harvesting? It is because the public really doesn't believe what they are being told. Another curiosity is the demand to protect old-growth. My problem there is that we don't know what old-growth is, and when we get a definition of it and decide to protect it, then the preservationists want even more protected.

What is the answer to resolve the conflicts? Well, one way would be to look at the forest, look at the values that we want to protect (such as wildlife, streams, unique botanical areas), identify areas where it would be difficult to grow trees and sustain timber yields, and then come up with a plan. That sounds like a sensible way, doesn't it? The frustration is that, that is what we have been doing! That is what happened with the Siskiyou National Forest Plan which was adopted (Figure 12). That is how we did it. The public participated, gave their input, argued, various scenarios were proposed, and finally a scenario was presented that was a compromise of various views. Industry wasn't happy with it, and environmentalists weren't happy. People are generally not happy with a compromise because it means that they don't get their way entirely. But eventually, we came out with a plan that consisted of documents that were almost a foot thick and set out sustainable quantities that could be sold for timber harvest. Did it happen? No, it still wasn't acceptable to those who will accept no less than "no timber harvest."

Several years ago, my wife, Marie, and I were invited to Sundance, Utah, to be a guest of

Robert Redford for a meeting between those representing the forest products industry and those representing the environmental groups. It was a large meeting, and we had the heads of virtually every major environmental group in attendance. I remember the head of one of the environmental groups pounding his shoe on the table in imitation

Forestry will be done on a basis that is "kinder and gentler." There will be more selective cutting and more concern for the landscape and the views

of Khrushchev telling us that they were going to bury us. It was clear to me after that meeting we weren't going to accomplish much. It also became clear that foresters were not going to be part of the solution. The environmental groups were represented mainly by attorneys, and industry was represented by CPA's, attorneys, and people with business degrees, and, with the exception of only a couple of individuals, foresters were absent in the debate. Here we were, lawyers and CPA's arguing about the definition of old-growth and how to harvest trees, and none of us knew what in the heck we were talking about (Figures 13-17.)

One result from the changes that we have been seeing is the harvesting of younger trees and use of species that weren't used before. We are presently using lodgepole pine, ponderosa pine,

alder, cottonwood, and just about any other species that we can find for manufacturing of plywood. This is something relatively new for us and other mills. In the future, the forest products industry will be looking for more composite products. The emphasis will be on fiber, as opposed to timber that can be cut into lumber without further processing (Figure 18). Look forward to genetic improvement in fast growing trees. Some companies are already planting plantations of cottonwood that can be harvested on a rotation of less than ten years. The use will be for paper, but I can see the use also being extended to other structural products. Forestry will be done on a basis that is "kinder and gentler." There will be more selective cutting and more concern for the landscape and the views. This new thinking is already being adopted by the Siskiyou National Forest in their Shasta Costa Project. In what they call "New Perspectives," they wrote:

Follow nature's lead

Mimic the natural disturbance patterns and recovery strategies in your area.

Think big

Manage for landscape diversity as well as within-stand diversity.

Don't throw out any of the pieces

Maintain a diverse mix of genes, species, biological communities, and regional eco-systems.

Side with the underdog

Prioritize in favor of the species, communities, or processes that are endangered or otherwise warrant special attention, such as the spotted owl, significant old-growth, and riparian areas.

Try a different tool

Diversify silvicultural approaches.
Reduce emphasis on clearcuts.

Keep your options open

Use existing roads whenever possible.

No forest should be an island

Minimize fragmentation of continuous forest. 1. Cut adjacent to existing clearcuts. 2. Nibble away at the edge of a stand instead of creating a new hole.

Encourage free travel

Create a web of connected habitats. Leave broad travel connectors for plants and animals, especially along streams and ridges.

Leave biological legacies

Select what you leave behind as carefully as what you take out, specifically, standing live and dead trees and fallen logs.

Leave it as nature would

Leave a mixture of tree sizes and species on the site. Restore naturally diverse forests after harvest.

Be an information hound

Use the latest studies and state-of-the-art technology to design, monitor, and evaluate new approaches.

Be a critical thinker

Use only the scientific findings that make sense for your region and social setting.

Monitor, monitor, monitor

It's the only sure way to tell if you really are conserving biological diversity.

The suggestions by the team provide a good list of where forestry might go in the future.

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FIGURES

TODAY'S AND TOMORROW'S WORKPLACES	
TRADITIONAL MODEL	HIGH PERFORMANCE MODEL
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Long production runs • End-of-line quality control • Fragmentation of tasks 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Customized production • On-line quality control • Work teams, multi-skilled
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> workers • Authority vested in supervisor • Minimal qualifications accepted 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Authority delegated to worker • Screening for basic skills abilities
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Workers as a cost • Advancement by seniority • Minimal training for production workers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Workforce as an investment • Advancement by certified skills • Training for everyone

FIGURE 1: Workplaces are changing from the traditional model to a “high performance” model stressing excellence and quality. Note the change in authority from the supervisor to the worker.

TODAY'S AND TOMORROW'S SCHOOLS	
SCHOOLS OF TODAY	SCHOOLS OF TOMORROW
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Focus on development of basic skills skills • Testing separate from teaching • Students work as individuals • Hierarchically sequenced—basics before higher order • Supervision by administration • Elite students learn to think 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Focus on development of thinking • Assessment integral to teaching • Cooperative problem solving • Skills learned in context of real problems • Learner-centered, teacher directed • All students learn to think

FIGURE 2: Schools are going to change. Like the workplace, they will change to “high performance” centers of excellence and quality. Like the workplace, authority will be placed in the teachers, rather than supervision.

FIVE COMPETENCIES

ALLOCATING RESOURCES
Schedules, budgets, staff

INTERPERSONAL BEHAVIOR
Teamwork, teaching,
serving customers

USING INFORMATION
Finding, evaluating, communication

WORKING WITH SYSTEMS
Understanding, monitoring,
improving

USING TECHNOLOGY
Selecting, operating, maintaining

THREE-PART FOUNDATION

BASIC SKILLS
The 3R's, listening, speaking

THINKING SKILLS
Creativity, decision making,
problem solving

PERSONAL QUALITIES
Responsibility, self-management,
integrity

FIGURE 3: The “high performance” workplace will need people to come to the workplace from school with a three-part foundation of skills and five competencies.

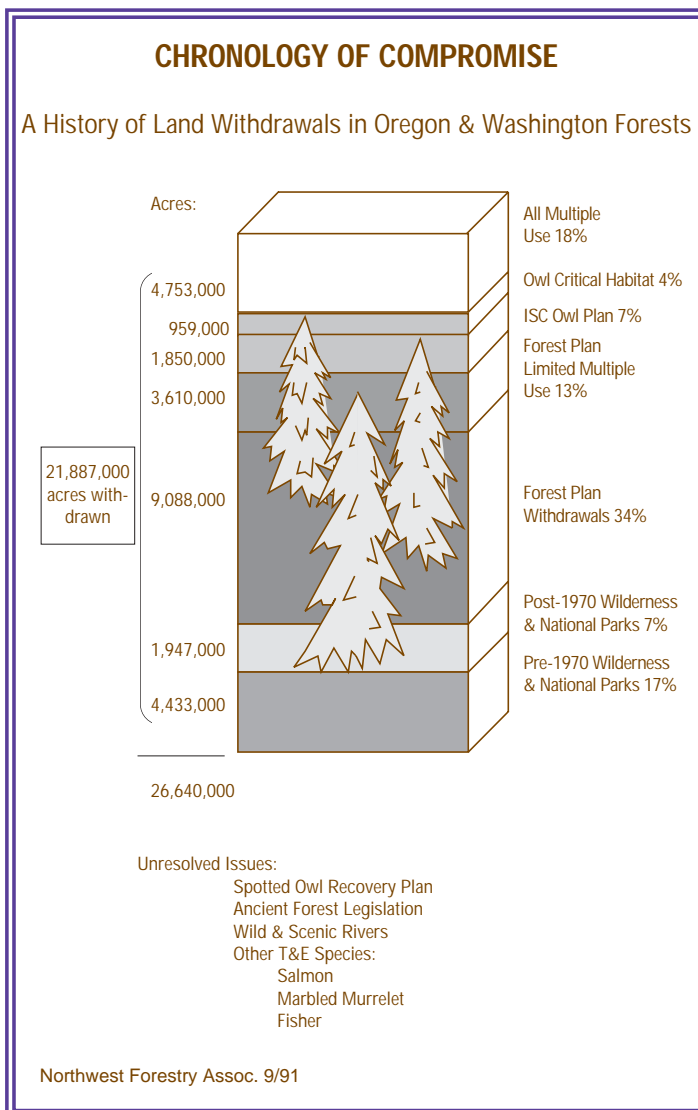
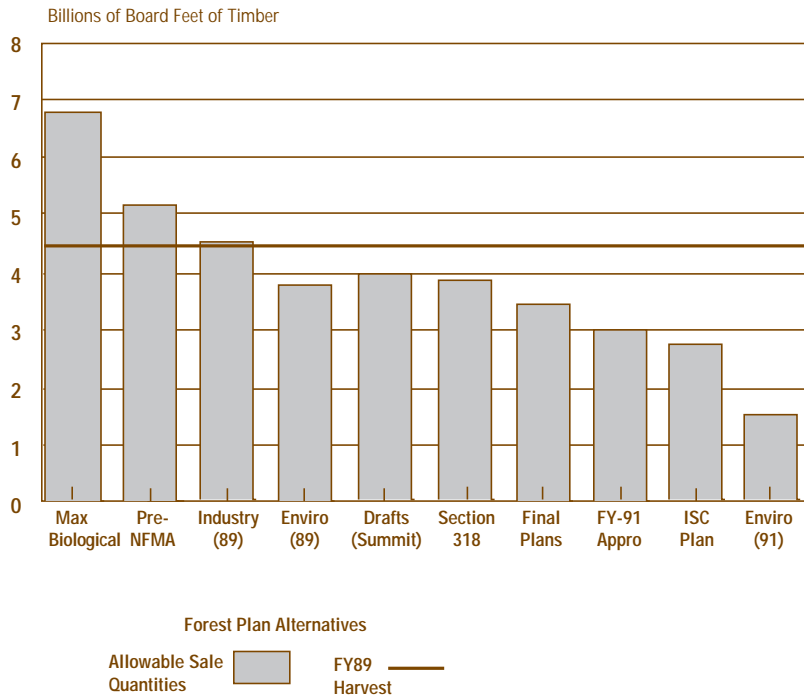


FIGURE 4: Only 18% of Oregon and Washington Federal forests remain available for general forestry.

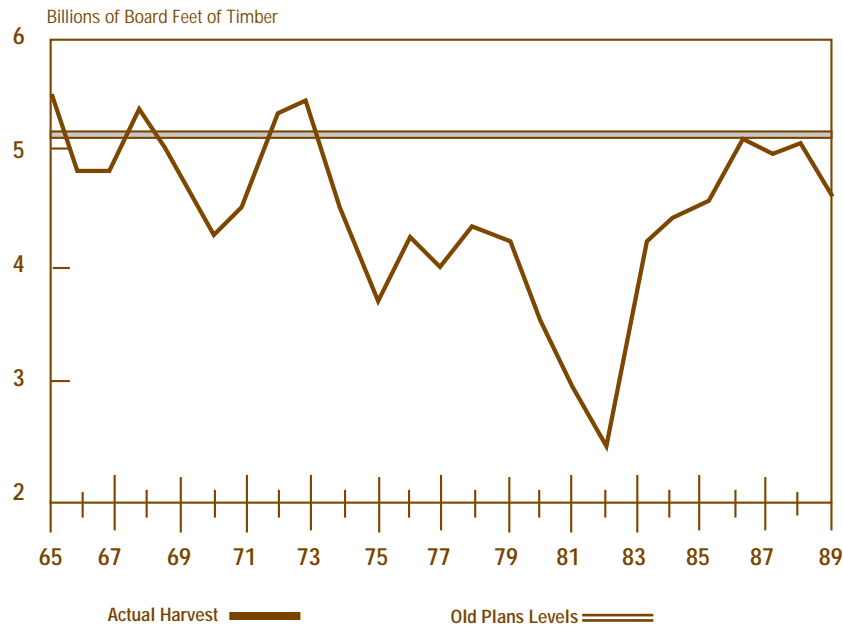
Forest Plan Alternatives Alternative Forest Service Timber Sale Programs of Washington & Oregon



Source: USDA Forest Service

FIGURE 5: The Forest Service timber sale program has been decimated by land set-asides and restrictions.

Annual Harvest Levels Region 6—Forest Service



Source: USDA Forest Service

FIGURE 6: I predict that these levels will fall as low as one billion feet within five years or sooner.

COURTS

- Judge Zilly — USF&WS — Spotted Owl/ESA
- Judge Dwyer — FS — Owl Management Plan
- Judge Frye — BLM — Owl Management Plan
- Judge Marsh — FS — Roadless Areas

Complexities of the Timber Supply Crisis

FIGURE 7: Lawsuits to appeal timber sales have used the courts to bring timber sales to the present lower level.

Consider the Resources of the Top Five Environmental Groups, Ranked by Membership, as Compiled by Bill Gifford in *Inside the Environmental Groups*

- Greenpeace—2.3 million members and an annual budget of more than \$50 million.
- National Wildlife Federation—975,000 members and a budget of \$87 million.
- World Wildlife Federation—940,000 members and a budget of \$35 million.
- The Nature Conservancy—600,000 members and a budget of \$156 million.
- National Audubon Society—600,000 members and a budget of \$35 million.

Then add to those environmental giants the resources of such other groups as the Sierra Club, Wilderness Society, Earth First!, Environmental Defense Fund and scores of others.

FIGURE 9: A clear picture emerges—the environmental lobby is a huge political force that having gained power, seeks to sustain and expand it.

OREGON FOREST PRACTICES ACT

Clear-cut harvest units:

- Size limited to 120 acres and up to 240 acres
- Snags and live trees 2 per acre, plus 2 logs
- Scenic highways—150 foot visual corridor
- Reforestation—start within 12 months and complete within 2 planting seasons
- 200 conifers per acre surviving “free to grow” five years after planting

FIGURE 8: The Oregon Forest Practices Act now limits the size of clearcuts. There will be pressure to lower the allowable acreage even further.

A TENSION BETWEEN VALUES

Protection of Forest and Wildlife

vs.

Social Benefits from Wood Products—
How about Jobs?

Example:

Pacific Yew

vs.

Saving Lives

FIGURE 10: The argument is not between good and evil. It is a tension between what creates the greatest good.



FIGURE 11: Significant values are shared by environmentalists and the forest industry. Extremists interfere with a consensus solution.

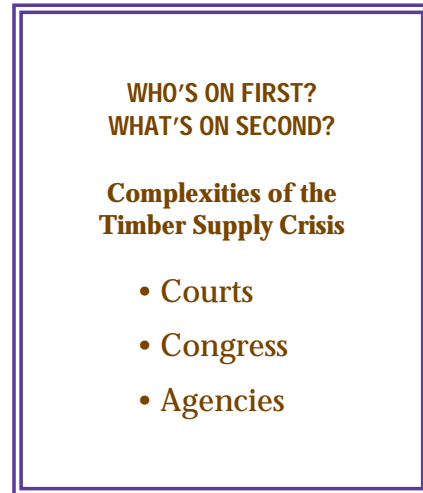


FIGURE 13: The action and sometimes lack of action has created a mess that is creating havoc to those managing forest lands.

Siskiyou National Forest Management Plan

No.	Management Area		Inventoried Area
	Acres	Name	Acres
1	232,495	Wilderness	232,495
2	5,029	Wild River	27,128
3	4,608	Research Natural Area	4,608
4	16,275	Botanical	19,632
5	2,015	Unique Interest	2,015
6	40,871	Backcountry Recreation	46,260
7	26,921	Supplemental Resource	30,930
8	50,287	Designated Wildlife Habitat	159,949
9	28,762	Special Wildlife Site	45,146
10	10,317	Scenic/Recreation River	23,931
11	96,623	Riparian	175,500
12	9,861	Retention Visual	40,407
13	133,931	Partial Retention Visual	202,700
14	434,307	General Forest	-

Land allocations showing inventoried and assigned acreages to each management area on the forest.

FIGURE 12: The Siskiyou National Forest Management Plan is an example of the effort to balance land resources after consideration of public values.



FIGURE 14: The overlap of laws has created a situation where compliance with laws is almost impossible, creating fertile opportunities for lawsuits and appeals.

CONGRESS

Complexities of the Timber Supply Crisis

- Labor/Management — Packwood/Huckaby
- Community Stability Act — Bob Smith/Packwood
- Ancient Forest bills — Vento & Jontz
- Non-Federal lands — Unsoeld
- Oregon bill — AuCoin
- Gang of Four bill — Morrison/AuCoin
- Enviro's bill — Adams/McDermott

FIGURE 15: Congress has proposed many bills that reflect a variety of viewpoints and values. The only solution lies here, but Congress appears incapable of doing what needs to be done.

AGENCIES

Complexities of the Timber Supply Crisis

- Critical Habitat — USF&WS
- Recovery Plan — USF&WS
- Timber Sale Review — USF&WS
- Revised Spotted Owl Management Plan — FS
- Land & Resource Management Plans — BLM
- State Owl Guidelines — DNR & ODF

FIGURE 16: The agencies try to react to the myriad of laws, lawsuits and possible pressure, sometimes successful, sometimes adding still more confusion.

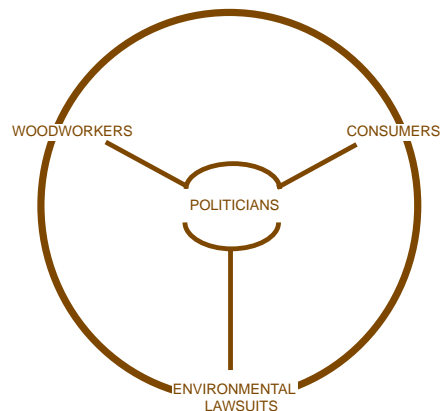


FIGURE 17: Politicians sit in the catbird seat.

CHANGES IN FORESTRY

“New Forestry” Techniques — Biodiversity Logging Prescriptions

Greater Commercial Use of All Species

Continued Search for Faster Growing Trees

As

Industry Retools for Products That Are Engineered to Maximize Use of Fiber

FIGURE 18: The impact of the timber supply crisis will see many changes in forestry.

Changing Values—Changing Institutions: The Forest Service

There is a ranking of needs and some can't be sought until others are satisfied.

by Jeff M. Sirmon



Jeff M. Sirmon, Deputy Chief for International Forestry, USDA Forest Service

One could say that a value change is taking place because of a threat to the forests of the world and hence, to life itself.

I consider it an honor to be asked to participate in the Starker Lecture Series.

Also, it is a pleasure to be back in Oregon where I spent four exciting and fulfilling years helping direct the Forest Service programs, an area extremely rich in natural resources and skilled and dedicated people. It's good to be at OSU to see old friends and to renew acquaintances.

I want to express my thanks and admiration to the Starker family for their dedication to public service and education.

It's appropriate that we discuss changing values, changing institutions in Oregon, a state that has the reputation as a bell-wether for value changes and taking a leadership role in responding to change, especially

change prompted by new environmental awareness.

Values

My remarks today will focus on three movements which have their roots in values; values which change the course of human endeavors.

It's clear to me that when we say, "changing values," we are not talking solely about an exchange or replacement of old values with new ones. I think we are dealing with values which for the most part are already there. We are just putting more energy into defining, defending, and demanding them. I'm reminded of Maslow's hierarchy of needs theory which says that there is a ranking of needs and some can't be sought until others are satisfied. Until our basic needs for protection, food, and shelter are cared for, one cannot put a lot of energy into satisfying high ego, intellectual or spiritual needs, or values.

There are some interesting twists within this theory that deal with a perceived threat to our basic needs for food and air; i.e., the threat of destruction of the ozone layer or dramatic climate change which may threaten even life itself.

Or the threat of losing the last stand of old growth, owl, grizzly

bear, etc. Things take on increased value if they are scarce or perceived to be diminishing.

When I use the term changing values, it relates more to the fact that people have satisfied a certain level of need and have the time, resources, and energy to pursue the latter values, those that have been there a long time but were not acted on for various reasons, or that life becomes so intolerable with the existing situation that certain values demand change.

I can't believe the millions of people in what used to be the USSR did not value freedom, democracy, and quality environment, all the time these values were denied them. Their system of government became so oppressive to those values and, in fact, could not even provide the basics in Maslow's hierarchy of needs, that they rebelled, causing change that a five-million person army could not achieve.

I will never forget a small conference in 1988 sponsored by Robert Redford's Institute for Resource Management where scientists, scholars, politicians, artists, and journalists from the USSR and the United States met to discuss global warming. Speaker after speaker from the USSR passionately described the situation in Russia and wondered how they could have been so blind to be led on by their government's actions and promises. With their explanations of the actions and mistakes associated with Chernobyl, Lake Baikal, and other environmental disasters, I was not surprised at subsequent events, only at the speed at which change took place.

We have the beginning of a similar movement regarding the forests of the world. Forestry has

emerged center stage as a major motor in the affairs and needs of society in this world. Life itself is dependent on an adequate amount and patterns of forest. One could say that a value change is taking place because of a threat to the forests of the world and hence to life itself.

I just returned from leading the U.S. delegation at the World Forestry Congress in Paris, a gathering every six years of forestry

Movements owe their origins to values, values which move masses of people to new thoughts and new paths.

educators, policymakers, and practitioners. This was an occasion to get a snapshot of what's happening and what's needed. One message came out of this Congress that was loud and unanimous, our forests, taken as a whole, are in trouble and the trend isn't good!

Movements

It's important in times of change that leaders have a broad context as they consider reaction to symptoms of the causes behind this change. It's critical to identify the beginning of "movements" as contrasted to isolated incidents of issues. Movements owe their origins to values, values which move masses of people to new thoughts and new paths. To many, this means painful change,

change which can last over long periods, years.

The biggest changes in the Forest Service organization have probably resulted from the environmental movement, starting with the Environmental Policy Act of 1969. Some changes have sprung from internal changes initiated by the agency, and others have been caused by external forces such as the courts, legislation, and national processes implemented by other Federal agencies. In some cases, both forces have converged to cause dramatic shifts in agency policies and behaviors.

Today, I want to talk about three movements which brought about or are bringing about dramatic changes in values and organizations . . . the civil rights movement . . . the environmental movement . . . and what I call the one world movement.

Civil Rights Movement

Yes, there were painful changes. It wasn't easy for those in male-dominated activities which required strength, stamina, dirt, sweat, etc., such as fire-fighting, smokejumping, construction, animal packing, etc., those groups with strong backs and colorful histories and pride of quality and tradition, to open their ranks and change their standards. Yes, we found we could buy fertilizer or seed in smaller than 100 pound bags, or we really didn't have to hike ten miles with a 125 pound backpack after every parachute jump on a fire; yet it wasn't easy for those who wrote the rules to revise them to what they considered lower standards.

The impact and change reached beyond the work place. There were wives who didn't like

their husbands working alongside women; some couldn't adjust to the thought of their mate spending eight to ten hours a day working alongside another female or travelling overnight to meetings and conferences.

I recall one particular situation in Utah. We hired two female wilderness rangers for the summer to help patrol the one million acre High Uinta Wilderness Area, a vast area stretching for almost 100 miles to the east of Salt Lake City. This job required remaining in the wilderness for many days and nights, travel by foot, and performing public information services, trail maintenance, sign repair, etc. Their needs for groceries, tools, and materials would be supplied about once every two weeks by a male Forest Service packer using horses or mules packed with the supplies. There were no roads. One trip would normally take at least a day with an overnight stay. Well, the packer's wife evidently laid down the law "You will not spend the night in the High Uintas with those women." A million acres, twice as big as the Siuslaw National Forest, and the two women could be 20, 30 or more miles from where he would leave the supplies. That didn't matter! Well, we had a packer doubling his production and risking his life along with his animals as they came out of the mountains over steep, rocky, precipitous trails at 2 or 3 o'clock in the morning. No, we didn't switch to helicopters. That's another story.

I could go on for considerable time with stories about change caused by the rapid entry of women and minorities into the Forest Service, or by the running of 18 Job Corps camps for kids

from poverty situations (mostly minority) in communities which fought against their establishment. Today, 30 years later, these communities would fight us if we tried to take their camp and kids away.

The Environmental Movement

The environmental movement isn't made up of just preservationists, liberals, or extremists. It's supported by mainstream America. No way could so much far-reaching legislation have been enacted or preserved by our Congress unless there was widespread and deep support.

Now for a few thoughts about values and the environmental movement. Some changes which emanated from public values were expressed in requirements to share decision making, sharing power which the agency held close for 65 years. Close on the heels of National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) came direction on how to make decisions about how national forests were to be used and managed. National Forest Management Act (NFMA) was established in 1975, with the strong direction for public participation in these decisions. NFMA was the first legislation President Ford signed after moving into the presidency, an aftermath of Watergate. The Congress wanted to ensure openness in government, and NFMA is filled with direction for daylighting Federal actions, proposals, and decisions.

These two laws have changed the institution of the Forest Service more than any since its founding in 1906. No longer would the leadership model of command and control work. Independent action by land man-

agers was restricted by national procedural requirements. Proof of adherence to numerous requirements was demanded. Changes of public values brought on new demands.

The switch to legal process requirements produced numerous handles for challengers to grab. The ability of an individual to enforce environmental law changed the Forest Service dramatically.

More experts and professionals joined the ranks of the Forest Service. This new openness for debate, coupled with new professionals with less organizational loyalty, presented new challenges to the managers and leaders in the Forest Service.

During the seventies and eighties, there was rapid growth in advocacy groups, both environmental and commodity related. Imagine the internal stress of not only accommodating new professionals within an old line agency with a proud heritage and record of accomplishments but also a demand and requirement to share power.

What ensued was a drastic change to less civil discourse and a rise in adversarial systems and processes. Add to this situation the wide philosophical swings between political parties that controlled the administration, Jimmy Carter and Rupert Cutler to Ronald Reagan and Jim Watt, with many shades in between. Those publics who felt they were losers because of decisions by land managers, legislative actions or even court decisions, kept up pressure on elected representatives, hoping the pendulum would swing with the next appointment or election or appropriations bill. And sure enough, they got relief often

enough that this became an ongoing mode of operation. After all, it's the American way. It sure plays havoc with the Federal land manager on the ground because one doesn't know how solid or tentative to act on a particular policy.

Third Movement—One World

The third movement is what I call the "one world" movement. Maybe it shouldn't be classified as a movement, but there is a kind of realization and behavior that leads one to call it a movement.

We have read much about what happened to our psyche after space travelers photographed the planet Earth and their pictures portrayed the fragility, aloneness, and dependence of our environment. The impact of the awareness that we are five billion inhabitants on a spaceship earth, and the analogy with space travel and its total dependence on a closed environment has had and is having an awakening effect on us.

This realization set the stage for the Bruntland Report, recorded in a paperback version called *Our Common Future*, one of the most powerful books I've read and perhaps one of the least read books.

Our Common Future is the popularized version of the report of the special, independent commission established by the Secretary General of the United Nations in 1983. The report was published in 1987 and had this message, "to serve notice to humanity, based on the latest and best scientific evidence, that the time has come to make decisions needed to secure the resources to

sustain this and coming generations."

The view from space, as well as our ability to measure, see, and experience, tells us that human numbers and their activities and possessions have the power to dramatically change and alter planetary systems. We see changes in air, water, soils, and

A movement is underway to search for ways to reverse the unfavorable trends, and instituted changes are in the making.

biological systems which reduce those global systems' capacities to serve a growing population; and in widespread areas of the globe poverty, the environment, and economic systems seem to be in an irreversible downward spiral. We are beyond the scare tactics phase of realizing what's happening to our planet. We are staring some stark facts in the face:

- This planet cannot sustain a population of nine to 14 billion people with the level of resource utilization, poverty, and environmental degradation we have today.

- We cannot continue to deforest 40 million acres of tropical forests year after year when adequate environmental services for the rest of the world depend on some level of tropical forests, not to mention 400 to 800 mil-

lion people who live in or among these forests and derive their daily needs for food, shelter, fuel, medicine, etc., from the forests.

- The level of ozone depletion cannot continue indefinitely.

- There is an accelerated rate of species extinction which cannot continue.

- Hundreds of millions of people are being adversely affected by drought and floods annually.

The list could go on! My point is that a movement is underway to search for ways to reverse the unfavorable trends, and instituted changes are in the making. We see them slowly unfolding.

The United Nations is sponsoring an international Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, next June. It is being billed as an "earth summit" to be attended by heads of state from most of the countries of the world and hopefully will further solidify the understanding and resolve to reverse the current trends and put human and environmental endeavors on a sustainable course. There is tremendous energy already being put into negotiating agreement and action plans which, hopefully, will be ratified at the conference.

From a forestry standpoint, there are three conventions (agreements) being developed, and the Forest Service is playing an active role in all three: biological diversity, climate change, and forestry.

The forestry convention got its impetus from President Bush's urging at the Houston G-7 Economic Summit for such an agreement.

Since Houston, there have been three international preparation conferences (called PrepCom), not only for forestry, but also the other major topics slated for UNCED, with the fourth and final PrepCom to take place over a three-week period in March in New York City. Over 100 nations are participants.

Some expectations of UNCED are that a plan of action will result (called Agenda 21), which will include not only agreements or frameworks for agreements, but an institution put in place or charged with Agenda 21 accomplishments. Another idea being discussed is an international data base on the environment and development.

I am convinced that there are enough facts of what is happening to our planet and enough understanding of the consequences that the nations of the world will be spurred into action. I am convinced, based largely on the rapidity and enormity of change in Europe and what used to be the Soviet Union, that the people of the world are going to demand more comprehensive leadership.

How the Forest Service Has Changed

It's a natural law that if living organisms can't adapt or adjust to change, they die. I think this is an organizational law also. If an organization, or community, or country is to remain vibrant, it must adjust to change.

Let me give you some of my thoughts about how the Forest Service has changed in response to the three movements I discussed earlier.

Civil Rights Movement

Let's look at some of the institutional changes caused by these changing values or movements. We are aware of the changes in many of our institutions resulting from the civil rights movement. There has been an emergence of human values. The increased role of women and minorities has forever changed the once male dominated Forest Service. We were initially driven by the law and a push to add numbers, to get more minorities and women in the Forest Service. We have been strengthened with the changes needed to become a multi-cultural organization where diversity is valued and appreciated, where there is a recognition that we should internally reflect the public we serve.

We have gone from an organization with 22 percent women and 8 percent minorities in the mid-1970s to 40 percent women and 15 percent minorities today.

This is almost a doubling in 15 years. These are the numbers, and they only tell a small part of the story. Behind those numbers are human stories of success, disappointment, courage, fear . . . the full range of human emotions.

We have female smoke-jumpers, one of the most daring jobs in the Forest Service, and yes, we rewrote the rules so as not to exclude women. We order bulk materials such as fertilizer and seeds in 50 pound rather than 100 pound bags. We have a variety of tool sizes rather than just heavy duty hammers and drills. Increased use of childcare centers, flexible work hours, dual careers, and other specialized

considerations are partially due to the civil rights movement.

Today, we, the multi-cultural Forest Service organization, can take the natural resource story to any segment of our society, the story delivered by one of their own kind. We can represent any member of society in our internal deliberations, whether they be policy formulation or project execution. We have an increased sensitivity and appreciation for cultural values and differences. We are not the white male-dominated fraternity of the 1950s.

Environmental Movement

The environmental movement had a dramatic change on the composition and structure of the Forest Service organization. There is far less force account work now than 30 years ago and much more emphasis in the planning and oversight of forestry activities. The openness and the responsibility for responding to public inquiry and public comments as a result of the Environmental Policy Act prompted the agency to add more disciplines. There are now over 100 professional disciplines in the Forest Service and many were added as a direct result of the Environmental Policy Act. The procedural requirements of NEPA further required new organizational entities specializing in environmental evaluation and public involvement. There is less power embodied in any one single individual in the Forest Service than there was prior to the environmental movement, yet at the same time we have more and better skills and more professional experts.

The environmental movement changed the way the organization communicates. There is much more structure and process prompted by national standards than before. Decisionmaking now is more democratic. There are more choices to explore which prompted even further the use of information, data gathering, and display technology. Now the agency must display its proposal and explain its action and reasons to those interested and affected publics.

The quality of decisions and the quality of management has improved as measured by the quality of decisions. Reaching conclusions is slower in coming, but usually results in the right things being proposed.

Adversarial systems and process seem to be a natural part of the environmental movement. There is less civil discourse plus more paid spokespersons for communities of interest. Many Forest Service employees have joined the organization during this movement and have far less organizational loyalty than those of the old Forest Service. The addition of many disciplines within the organization with less organizational loyalty has resulted in a reflection internally of the range and variety of interests externally.

One World Movement

Recognition that we are one world has prompted our country to pay more attention to forestry and natural resource related situations throughout the world. The direction in last year's Farm Bill for the Forest Service to take more of a leadership role in international forestry is a reflection of this increased sensitivity.

The direct appropriations to the Forest Service only two years ago for funds for tropical forestry is further recognition of our international role and has prompted

We have a responsibility for not using more than our fair share of the world's resources.

an organizational change. The direction in the Farm Bill is, in effect, establishing a fourth major mission for the Forest Service and has certainly resulted in an organizational as well as an attitudinal change on the part of the agency.

A slow but necessary change is coming because of the recognition that the United States is part of a global system and that we have a responsibility for not using more than our fair share of the world's resources and not thrusting the external cost of our consumption patterns on other countries, especially the third world.

Conclusion

I think the Forest Service is stronger now than any time in its history. It is stronger in a sense of total resource management. We have more skills, more information, and more experts because we have been forced to be in the eye of the storm and push problems to resolution. Yes, it has been difficult. Yes, we have scars. And, yes, I don't see much

relief. New values will continue to emerge and the struggle with the change from the old to the new will continue. We must accept the fact that there are messy parts of decision making and leadership in our kind of democracy. We need to accept the fact that things are messy, but we must have a willingness to continue the struggle. It will not get easier, cleaner, or more efficient.

This is the 100th year of the existence of our national forests and the 85th year of the existence of the Forest Service. We have a record of dealing with changing values over this period of time, guided by some principles which were essential during their time. We must now identify some fundamental principles and guidelines to lead us into the next century as we struggle with movements like the civil rights movement, the environmental movement, and the one world movement.

As long as we have those inalienable rights that are enumerated in our constitution—life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness—there will be values expressed, and these value expressions will cause change, painful change. But I wouldn't have it any other way.

Changing Values—Changing Institutions In Forestry

One of the many things we learn from history is that people at a given time often do not understand what is happening or what the real issues are.

by Harold K. Steen



Dr. Harold K. Steen, *Executive Director, The Forest History Society, Durham, North Carolina.*

Our values and institutions have changed through time, but mostly following a long, deliberative process.

By design, the United States is a very conservative nation. The constitutional separation of powers and congressional committee systems assures that the burden of proof is on those who propose change. For example, a bill in Congress may be defeated on any one of a dozen or more steps along the parliamentary trail. To be passed, a bill must successfully clear each hurdle. Thus, opposers to change can take many shots, while advocates can't miss even once. Our values and institutions have changed through time, but mostly following a long, deliberative process. Our nation's forested lands and their management agencies follow well this conservative path.

Land history for the United States begins with a predominance of Federal ownership and traces an incredibly complex process of disposal into state and private ownership. This disposal juggernaut was slowed at the end of the 19th century as some forested lands were withheld, and two decades later a repurchase program began. The proper role of the Federal government in all this was vigorously debated at both national and local levels, and is still debated.

Political Correctness

But, before I get to the topic, I want to set the stage. In these modern times with newfangled ideas popping up at every turn, it seems necessary to take a peek at what is going on in the general field of history. Like the rest of you, we historians have to be on our toes to keep up with "political correctness," the changes of labels—Indians vs. Native Americans or what have you—and at the same time remain true to the past when such sensitive points were not at issue, at least not with us European descendants.

But there is more to consider when talking about land history. The notion of frontier is clearly

European; to the Indian there was no frontier as such. How about wilderness? Another European concept that was absurd to those who met the boats. And this is only a start at rending the fabric of traditional history. The so-called “New History,” so ably spearheaded by Patty Limerick at the University of Colorado and Richard White at the University of Washington, is calling into severe question the way historians have been presenting the past. I can’t do more than warn you that my paper is “traditional,” with white, male Protestants making decisions based upon perceptions of empty, virgin land out west, because in fact they did. Now, to changing values for forested land.

Historical Perspective

Between the Revolution of 1776 and ratification of the Constitution in 1788, the Continental Congress tried valiantly to govern a cluster of former colonies that had just rebelled against central authority. The Continental Congress adopted an ordinance in 1785 that is still with us; you can see it as you drive, and you can especially see it as you fly; it is the chief ingredient of America’s cultural landscape—i.e. landscape resulting from human intervention such as farming or logging.

You might know that it began with a committee, with no less than Thomas Jefferson as chairman. It was vital to establish uniform measures for all components of commerce, including land. In the most general terms, the southern colonies had surveyed land according to metes and bounds, a narrative descrip-

tion of the often irregular property boundaries. Settlers took what looked good and left what didn’t. Northerners, being more uptight, systematically surveyed and settled land according to rectangular grids, in-filling as population increased to keep everything neat and tidy. A nation,

The Continental Congress adopted an ordinance in 1785 that is still with us; you can see it as you drive, and you can especially see it as you fly.

even a loose confederation, could not tolerate two fundamentally different land systems, and Jefferson’s committee took on the task of coming up with the process by which henceforth all land would be surveyed and subdivided.

What the prototype Democrat wanted were systems so simple that his favored yeoman farmers could manage without special training. Much of our weights and measures concepts stemmed from Jefferson. Thus, it was Jefferson’s insistence upon simplicity that caused his committee to recommend and the Continental Congress to adopt in 1785 an ordinance that caused essentially all of the U.S. west of the Appalachians to be surveyed in a grid. Any parcel of land of at least 40 acres can be precisely described and located on the ground according to a simple set of coordinates. The colossal

administrative headaches and environmental disruptions that have resulted are much more obvious in the mountainous West than in the fairly gentle East, so perhaps Jefferson is to be forgiven. Yet, the records of the Continental Congress show that even in 1785 it was understood the environment didn’t run north-south, east-west, and water holes were not equally spaced so that every forty acres had one, but those with the broader picture won out—settle the land first and sort out the details later, which we are still doing each land management day.

The Constitution, that remarkable document, affects my story in a variety of ways, but I will refer to only a couple. First, as noted above, it is the primary source of American conservatism. Second, when the Bill of Rights was adopted as part of final ratification, it included the Fifth Amendment. The last phrases of the Fifth go straight to the heart of property rights: “No person . . . shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.” Keep in mind that the Federal government is about to embark on the wholesale conversion of the public domain to private ownership, and it has just established what the owner’s rights are. A century later, that same government will begin to think about regulating that same private property, and run into Fifth Amendment protection.

The survey began. It was, as they say, an ambitious undertaking. Of course, there weren’t any engineering schools, except for West Point, so finding the small army of needed surveyors

was a problem. There were no standardized surveying instruments, so that, too, was a problem. There was no transportation infrastructure, so getting men and supplies hundreds of miles beyond settlement was a problem. In some areas, Indians were considered hostile, and that was a problem. The list of problems was long, but during the next century or so surveyors walked, marked, and made notes for nearly every north-south, east-west mile between the Appalachians and the Pacific Ocean, making it possible to dispose of the public lands according to the grand plan.

The above problems were compounded as the U.S. acquired western acreage in huge gulps. Louisiana, purchased from France in 1803, doubled the nation to the Rockies. Florida from Spain in 1819, the nation of Texas annexed in 1845, the Pacific Northwest from England in 1846, the Southwest and California in 1848 from Mexico, the Gadsden Purchase in 1853 from Mexico, and other boundary settlements with England rounded out the lower 48. The Continental Congress' Ordinance of 1785 now had ocean to ocean turf, and the Fifth Amendment property rights protection language had its work cut out.

Through the nineteenth century, customs duties constituted the bulk of Federal revenue, up to as much as 90 percent in any one year. The number two revenue producer was the sale of public lands, in some years as much as 20 percent of the total, a material amount. So initially, western land (Ohio, Alabama, etc.) was to be sold to generate revenue and, at the same time,

prompt settlement to establish sovereignty. After all, if we didn't occupy these vacant lands, the British would drift south from Canada or the Spanish would move north from Florida and set up house.

The mind-boggling magnitude of the task makes it easy to see

The rules of the game required that land be surveyed before settlement, but the system was overwhelmed by squatters, what we would call those good citizen pioneers who braved the wilds to establish American sovereignty.

why the surveys ran behind demand. The rules of the game required that land be surveyed before settlement, but the system was overwhelmed by squatters, what we would call those good citizen pioneers who braved the wilds to establish American sovereignty. After the tardy survey, it was time to pay for the land, and, not surprisingly, the settler cried hardship to a sympathetic Congress that enacted special bills to waive the sale price.

By 1835, the national debt had been reduced to only \$38,000 following a decade of budget surpluses, and Congress began reconsidering the notion of selling the public lands. After all, it was already forgiving sales to any that asked, and besides, the government could no longer

claim that it needed to retire debts stemming from the War of Revolution and the War of 1812. Resolution of the issue was delayed by broader North-South debates related to slavery, but by the 1860s, the public domain was to be given to those individuals and certain corporations that would assure settlement.

Of Homesteads and Railroads

The 1860s are the first turning point in my story and begin a major shift in values. For various reasons, the South had opposed or impeded legislation that would give land to settlers or grants to railroads. With the South out of the Union for the duration of the Civil War, Northern and Western sentiments in Congress easily prevailed. In 1862, Congress passed and Lincoln signed laws for homesteads—free land for settlers, grants of land and related subsidies for western railroads, and land grants to states for creation of colleges. This latter grant for education was only an extension of principles included in the by now well-known Ordinance of 1785 enacted by the Continental Congress, but the forthcoming A&M schools—agriculture and the mechanical arts—would be providing the professional cadre of engineers, geologists, hydrologists, and eventually foresters needed to operate the resource agencies that began to appear in the late nineteenth century.

Just as there were a series of homestead acts, there were several railroad acts, but let me discuss them in a generic fashion. First, the much-maligned railroad land grants. I'm not going to argue the railroad's case, but the thinking in Congress went some-

thing like this: Western land had no value, because there was no one there to give it value. Railroads could not rationally build westward, because there were no towns to take passengers to, no one to buy the freight, and neither commerce nor passengers to fill eastbound cars emptied of whatever they had carried west. Thus, if the government would give railroads land and obtain a promise to build a line, that, in the minds of bankers, would give value to the land. Subsequent loans would enable construction pending adequate population increase to provide adequate freight. Now here's the clever part, from the people's point of view. The grant was for only half the land along the track; the government kept half back in the public domain. And the railroad brought value to the public half at the same rate it did to the granted portion. If you accept this arithmetic, the government gave away something of no value and received something of great value in return, plus a railroad that would so greatly aid western expansion.

Economic analysis aside, what is important to us here is that a vast amount of public land became private land (about one-eighth of the nation) through the railroad grant process. According to plan, most of that land was sold to support the railroad until western population was adequate. The most famous sale was Northern Pacific's to a consortium headed by Frederick Weyerhaeuser; in 1900, nearly a million acres were sold at \$6 per acre. By this transaction, the railroad raised capital and encouraged commerce to generate freight.

By today, however, even more important than these earlier sales is a cumbersome ownership pattern that emerged because one-half of the grant area remained public. Tangled access and vulnerability to adjacent management practices are only a couple of headaches for owners on both sides of the property lines.

If historians generally do not approve of the grants to railroads, they do in fact like the grants to individuals who were to settle the land. The final tally shows that homesteaders received about one-eighth of the nation, the same amount as the railroads. There is a parallel between the distribution of land to the number of farms: in 1850, there were 1.5 million farms; in 1870, 4 million; in 1900, 5.7 million; and by 1925, there were 6.3 million farms as reported by the U.S. Census. This more than four-fold increase also reflects that much of the railroad land was sold to settlers, usually at a dollar or two per acre.

Conservation Movement

The numbers suggest that something happened. Fully one-half of the nation's two billion acres were converted into private ownership during the 19th century. Subtract from that the third that remains in Federal ownership today and the area of the thirteen original states, and we can see that the disposal process slowed greatly in the twentieth century. It's too pat an answer, but the Conservation Movement was a major factor in this loss of momentum and a major factor in changing values and creating institutions.

The Civil War was still raging when in 1864 George Perkins Marsh published *Man and Nature: The Earth as Modified by Human Action*. We historians like to lace our lectures with references to influential works, the books that prompted such-and-such events. As a student, I was always skeptical that French fish-mongers had really read Rousseau and got riled up enough to start the Revolution of 1789, because I always suspected that the working class in those days was probably illiterate. And there were other literary causes of extremely significant events that were laid out in lectures and assigned readings that were clearly linked to the final exam. So I played along and got my ticket, but secretly, I wasn't sure. However, Marsh's *Man and Nature* did influence history, and this is clearly documented in the reports of Cabinet officials, congressional committee reports, congressional debates, and contemporary scientific writing.

Although the most prominent, Marsh was but the first of many scientists who felt that the U.S. was abusing its western lands, and a degraded Mediterranean Basin offered graphic illustrations of what could happen. Changes in the way that public lands would be distributed run parallel to the evolution of the Conservation Movement; it's difficult to talk about one but not the other. Scientists' concerns about land use and abuse were the driving force behind both stories. The history of our public lands and the history of conservation in the late 19th century is really a history of natural and physical science, with an ever-thickening layer of political science.

So Marsh's *Man and Nature* began its streak across the sky, (it's still with us) in 1864, during the closing days of the Civil War. A nation at peace was able to turn its thoughts to the longer term, and settling the West was high on the agenda. Remember, by now, we had grants to railroads and homesteaders, and we were poised to move, literally and figuratively.

From the tier of states west of the Mississippi to the Sierra, water was crucial to successful settlement. Also, due to Marsh and others, it was well-understood in principle that forested watersheds played a vital role in water supply—protecting the flow of water and the stream channel itself. In the 1870s, Congress began considering a trickle and eventually a flow of bills that aimed to protect in some way forested watersheds, especially those at the headwaters of major rivers.

Someone at the time counted up and reported that by 1900, there were nearly two hundred such bills. While Congress was sifting bills to find a way to secure western water supplies, interest in forests per se picked up speed. In 1875, a small group met in Cincinnati to form the American Forestry Association, an organization that still exists, publishes *American Forests*, and, in fact, would go on to play a most significant role throughout the remainder of the 19th century and the first nine decades of the 20th.

A year later, in 1876, Congress attached a \$2,000 rider to the Department of Agriculture's seed distribution bill, funding for one year a "forestry agent" to investi-

gate the situation and prepare a report. Ultimately, Congress would be so pleased that it ordered 25,000 copies of the 600-page report, continued annual funding on an ad hoc basis, paid for three more reports, and by 1886, approved a permanent agency in Agriculture, the Division of Forestry. In 1905, this agency would become the U.S. Forest Service.

"Doing-a-land-office-business" is an expression one still hears today.

There were other activities. The General Land Office since 1812 had handled the paperwork for distributing land under various statutes. The transactions were so many and the technology so primitive, recording by dipping a quill pen into an inkwell, that the agency typically ran years behind in paperwork. "Doing a land office business" is an expression one still hears today, and it reflects just what the routine level of activity was as the Land Office disposed of the public domain.

After 1849, with creation of the Department of the Interior, the government accepted responsibility, at least on paper, for protecting the public lands until their disposal. By the 1880s, a handful of GLO agents more or less tracked down trespassers; their annual reports show value of timber stolen and other crimes, but by any measure, the effort was at best a token. The General Land Office con-

tinued its custodial responsibility for lands remaining in the public domain until 1934 when the Grazing Service was established. In 1946, the GLO and Grazing Service were merged into the Bureau of Land Management, which began to evolve into a professional management agency.

Back in the 19th century, we can see another important Department of the Interior agency, the Geological Survey. Perhaps because the U.S. had so much of it that was being explored for the first time, the nation led the world in geological science. Among other things, these scientists were interested in landforms and how they got that way. Since water was a primary forming agent, they became interested in water. Some, like Geological Survey director John Wesley Powell, became interested in having these landforms settled, in part because Congress would fund surveys if they led to some practical purpose like settlement. Others, like Arnold Hague, who was surveying Yellowstone National Park and fell in love with it, looked for means to have land withheld from disposal—the Federal government ought to keep some.

Powell worked his considerable magic with Congress and was able to create the Irrigation Survey, with responsibility to make an engineering study of the arid West. Location and quantity of water was mapped, water transport systems designed, and agricultural land suitable for irrigation located—all this to provide for the most efficient settlement of the West. It was all too logical for Congress; Powell was fired and the Irrigation Survey was restricted to purely scientific studies.

But during the four to five years that the Irrigation Survey operated as an aid to development, it accumulated solid data on the important relationship between forested watersheds and water supply. If Congress couldn't yet tolerate direct Federal involvement in water distribution, it could support more general protection of the source and allow the water users themselves to move the stuff around as they saw fit.

Shift in Values

During this same period in the latter 19th century, both the American Forestry Association and the U.S. Division of Forestry gained stature, to a significant extent because of one man, a German forester named Bernhard Fernow, who had immigrated in 1876. Since 1886, Fernow had been chief of the Forestry Division and he served as secretary to AFA. His superior technical knowledge—he clearly knew more about forests than anyone else in the U.S.—and his prominent positions enabled Fernow to wield much influence through correspondence, published writings, and testimony to Congress.

In an early version of the Iron Triangle, the science, the politics, and the bureaucracy hefted enough clout to a rather remarkable conclusion in 1891, my second turning point, and probably the most dramatic shift in values. They proposed that the U.S. should reverse its policy since 1785 to dispose of all the public domain and to keep some for the public good. These lands would be forest reserves, since 1907 called national forests, to be

set aside by presidential proclamation. Now, a century later, 190,000 million acres are in this system, which constitutes a little less than 10 percent of the lower 48 states.

Although the purposes of these forests have been greatly expanded in modern times, they were originally reserved primarily

And the two gentlemen, sort of the Batman and Robin for the environment, wielded their handy weapon skillfully and well—creating national forests, wildlife refuges, and national monuments.

to protect water and timber supplies. In the early 1970s, the courts decided that the Forest Service had misinterpreted congressional intent for seventy years and banned clear cutting in eastern national forests. This so-called Monongahela decision spawned the National Forest Management Act of 1976, which reversed a long trend of granting very substantial discretion to administrative agencies. The 1960 Multiple Use-Sustained Yield Act was scarcely more than a single page. Sixteen years later, Congress filled fifteen pages with prescriptive language concerning national forest management. No longer would Congress allow professionals on the ground to make all the decisions.

Also during the 1970s, the Supreme Court took another look at 1890s congressional

intent on water and brought into serious question just how water from Federal lands will be allocated. The decision has spawned subsequent litigation to sort things out, but the amounts of western water available for urban development, agriculture, and industry, as opposed to Federal land management uses, is still not clear. It seems certain that the Supreme Court will hear the issue again to make final judgment.

After Congress had authorized creation of Federal forests in the 1890s, mainly for water purposes, it sought the best way to get these waters to the users downstream—farmers, towns, or industries. Water transport infrastructure, it became quickly obvious, was too expensive for an individual or even a small town to manage. Also, those that did develop dams, canals, and ditches for irrigation too often tapped the main supply in ways that were inefficient. Congress still resisted Federal involvement and encouraged states to step in. But then as now, states claimed poverty and insisted then as now, that the Feds do it. So, in 1902, as a very important but often neglected component of the Roosevelt/Pinchot Conservation Movement, the Reclamation Act came into being.

The 1902 Reclamation Act was the western pork barrel counterpart of eastern harbors and rivers legislation; the West truly was gaining equal footing with its much older sister states. Revenues from public land sales were now earmarked to build dams to provide water for irrigation, and farmers with less than 160 acres (the size of a 19th century homestead) could buy this water for a fraction of the cost of

impounding and delivering it. This latter rule was never enforced, and western agribusiness today makes full use of this highly subsidized water. During the 1960s, the Kennedy Administration briefly challenged this largess but quickly accepted reality and quietly dropped the issue.

The special genius of the Roosevelt/Pinchot conservation movement was the unlikely linking of conservation and reclamation. Conservation was favored by the East and reclamation by the West; the two concepts together made a powerful political package. And the two gentlemen, sort of the Batman and Robin for the environment, wielded their handy weapon skillfully and well—creating national forests, wildlife refuges, and national monuments. They also created a myth; when environmentalists today lament that forestry has lost its roots, it shows mainly that they haven't read either Pinchot or Roosevelt in the original.

One of the things that the conservation movement did was strengthen the Executive Branch. As you can imagine, Congress took a dim view of all this, regained its balance, and in 1907 reasserted what it saw as its constitutional responsibility. Congress stripped the president of his authority to create western national forests by executive proclamation. Henceforth, Congress would do the creating, and if one looks at a map of national forests in 1907 and today, it is clear that there is little change in gross acreage. The free-wheeling process slowed to a walk. Large gulps of land would no longer be reserved for Federal

use and from disposition into private ownership.

As is often the case, there were a couple of exceptions and major ones at that. In 1911 after a decade of debate, Congress enacted the Weeks Law that authorized Federal purchase of certain forested lands in the East, and today there are 24 million

It took two hundred years for the feds to cross the line, the private property line, but cross they did, and they seem to be permanent.

acres of purchased national forests east of the Rockies. The other exception is the 1934 creation of the Grazing Service and the closing of the public lands to settlement by converting much of the remaining public domain into rangeland, until "final disposition." In 1976, Congress dealt with "final disposition" by making national forests permanent by repealing the Homestead Law and dozens of other disposal statutes. Public lands were here to stay. A few years later during the Reagan administration, there was talk of "asset management," or selling some categories of public land to generate revenue. Also, there was the latest incarnation of the Sagebrush Rebellion, but little came of either beyond the predictable posturing and rhetoric by western politicians and free-market economists. The American people, through Congress, would have none of it.

Closing Observations

That completes my overview of Federal lands. Let me close with a few more observations about changing values. As I have shown, essentially all land west of the Appalachians began as Federal land; since 1785, most has been distributed into either state or private ownership in generally 160-acre square parcels. State lands were to support local schools and government. I believe it is fair to say that is what happened.

Federal programs are tough to sort out. Conservation/reclamation activities supply much water for agriculture and industry at heavily subsidized rates. Underpriced water out West makes it possible to grow rice and cotton more cheaply than in the South with water supplied only by God. Southern farmland gained originally by clearing the forests has been recently abandoned because of western competition. These southern lands are now highly productive forests again, especially attractive to the paper industry. What will happen when western aquifers are finally mined dry and when subsidized surface water is no longer available to irrigate subsidized agriculture is, thank goodness, beyond the historian's ken. But one does not have to be a rocket scientist to suspect that the impacts will be substantial.

There is one final point that I want to make and that is the complex jurisdiction we have for our various land categories. For example, much of the land within national forests boundaries is privately owned, a result of railroad land grants and other events. Now one would logically

think that land within a national forest would be under Federal jurisdiction, but the private land is not. If one wants to build a house on this private land, one goes to the county seat and approaches the planning department for a permit. If one wants to log that same parcel, one approaches the state division of forestry for a logging permit. If one wants to hunt deer, a state license is required. If one wants to hunt elk, a Federal permit is required in addition to the state license. And so on.

Only recently (since the 1970s) has Federal jurisdiction, generally through water quality legislation, been extended to private property, amidst substantial protest about traditional rights being violated. One of the more dramatic protests was a logging truck carrying a redwood log shaped as a peanut that rolled eastward from California to Washington, D.C. during the Carter administration, air horns blaring at appropriate times. Until the 1970s, state and local laws governed private operations, but the Feds have since raced to catch up. We now have Federal regulations for municipal landfills, recycling requirements for newsprint, management of wetlands—so significant in the South—and management of municipal watersheds, to name just a few.

As you can imagine, in the land of Jesse Helms, our local newspaper is rather conservative. Yet, editorials cry scandal whenever Federal matching funds are missed due to local government's failure to meet Federal standards. It took two hundred years for the Feds to cross the line, the private property line, but cross they did, and they seem to be permanent.

One of the many things we learn from history is that people at a given time often do not understand what is happening, what the real issues are. Now this condition doesn't slow the debate, and those involved do hold strong views. But years later, when we know how it turned out, we can see that the antagonists didn't have it quite right. A recent example would be the declared truce following enactment of the National Forest Management Act of 1976 when those in industry and environmentalists pronounced satisfaction with the law. In case you haven't noticed, they are back at it. So history's lesson is do the best you can, but stay humble.

Recommended Reading

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Environmental Justice

What's in it for us—a new definition of the environment that includes people.

by Sally Fairfax



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If the only folks there are white males, you probably are not talking about something that is really important.

My topic for today is “environmental justice,” or, alternatively, “environmental racism.” These are terms that I hear more and more frequently. They refer to something that has been increasingly apparent for the last three or four years, but it is perhaps easier to talk about now that it has a name. Where I live and work this is a very real phenomenon in the discussion of environmental issues, and it is taking on all the trappings of a “movement.” I am going to talk a little bit about characteristics or artifacts, to identify what I am talking about. Then I will offer some alternative hypotheses regarding ways of understanding or interpreting what is going on. Third, I will talk

about what is in it for us as resource professionals, in terms of opportunities, costs, and impacts. And, finally, I am going to throw out a few ideas about what, in my College, we are trying to do about it. I would like you to consider my remarks heartfelt but tentative. One of the joys of being asked to come away from your campus to talk about something is that you get to try out new ideas. This is not an area in which I am deeply expert or experienced. However, it strikes me as a crucial topic that is worth discussing.

Characteristics

The characteristics of the environmental justice movement, as I understand them, are in principal part, as follows. First, the environmental justice movement is manifest primarily in local, grassroots, non-white community efforts to portray their issues as environmental issues. Second, the major concerns of the activists focus on environmental issues in the workplace and the community. They tend to concentrate on, but are not limited to, concern for health and safety issues. The major grassroots environmental justice movements that I have read or heard about

are concerned with the location of toxic dumps and superfund sites, the persistence of lead paint as a health hazard for children (this tends to be concentrated in urban areas with large concentrations of aging housing stock), and pesticides. The latter is clearly a “standard” environmental issue; however, in the environmental justice context, concern is more focused on worker health and safety issues than on food residues or environmental persistence/ *Silent Spring*-type concerns. Thus, although much of the activism to which I refer is urban based, or at least urban as opposed to “wildlands”-oriented, it also has a clear connection to agricultural labor and rural areas.

A number of interesting artifacts can be used to trace the evolution of the environmental justice movement. Let me just mention two. First is a major study that appeared in 1987 called *Toxic Wastes and Race in the United States*. This was a pioneering, not unique, not the first, but a pioneering effort to study the relationship between toxic waste dump locations and ethnicity. The pattern is clear and predictable. It will surprise none of you I am sure: the larger the concentration of non-white population, the greater the likelihood of a commercial and hazardous waste siting and Superfund sites. Race is, let me be clear in underscoring, found in these studies to be a much better explanation of location than low socioeconomic status. This report from the United Church of Christ, along with similar literature from such scholars as sociologist Robert Bullard, was a major precipitator in the evolution of what is now seen as not a set of discrete grass

roots protests, but rather a movement for environmental justice.

The second artifact, which some of you may have read about or in fact attended, is a major gathering which took place in the

The larger the concentration of non-white population, the greater the likelihood of commercial and hazardous waste siting and Superfund sites.

fall of 1991 in Washington, D.C., called the People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit. It was an attempt to get local grassroots activists together, have them know each other, see each other, and coalesce around an agenda, and to have them confront what is known as the “Big Ten,” the Natural Resources Defense Council, Sierra Club, National Wildlife Federation, and other major “environmentalist” organizations. This event received wide press coverage and ought to be a part of general awareness about developments in the environmental movement.

So, that is how I would characterize the environmental justice movement, or the attack on environmental racism. I am sure that all of that is going on. I am not sure what it means or how to interpret it or what to do about it. I am certainly not sure how to discuss it in a state or in a school that is all white. I mean that, of course, to apply to you, but having said that, I should admit

that although I come from a state that is *not* basically all white, I do teach in a school that is basically all white. I am interested in discussing ways to understand what is occurring, and then what I think is in it for us—some preliminary thoughts on what I think the impact will be on the natural resource professions, and what I think we ought to try to do in response.

Ways to Understand

So, let us start with a few hypotheses about how to interpret the phenomena that I have briefly described to you—some ways to view or understand the “environmental justice” movement. There are probably more ways than I, as a nice upper-middle-class, white, New York academic can think of, but let me try a few.

The first, perhaps the more obvious, is as testimony to the continuing “clout” and the political cachet of the environmental movement post-Earth Day. One could argue that the environmental stance—slogans, values, priorities, however you wish to characterize it—is so successful that it has emerged as an opportunity for urban populations to “sell” or frame their issues and concerns. Another way of stating this theme would be that the lexicon of the environmental movement is so compelling, politically or morally, that those seeking to get on the nation’s agenda must state their case in its terms.

To the extent that this interpretation has merit, it could be considered as bad news for the civil rights movement. One could suggest that the civil rights movement, for whatever reason, has come on such hard times that it is no longer possible to succeed politically by defining

issues in terms of the traditional civil rights agenda. It is, one could argue, more productive politically to sell them as environmental issues.

This interpretation would supply testimony on one point which everybody that I have heard discuss this phenomenon thinks is important. These issues are not new. Minority communities have always been interested in health, workplace, and lead paint issues. There is a tendency to regard the environmental justice movement as “new.” What may be new is to use the environmental rubric to make them more attention-getting. “Well,” you might hear someone (perhaps me . . . it’s really not for nothing that I try these issues out so far from home) say, “Blacks have never been particularly concerned about the environment, but now they are getting involved.” Understandably, this strikes many as insensitive, perhaps racist. It is also inaccurate. One way to understand this phenomenon, let me just say for now, is as testimony to the continuing importance of the environmental movement in defining the nation’s political agenda.

Not in My Backyard

A second, and not unrelated way to understand this movement, is as a variation on the familiar NIMBY notion. One could argue that the environmental justice movement means that people of color are now effectively empowered in the political life of American cities. A new group comes onto the stage, and like every other right-thinking group it says, “not in my backyard.” We could view this,

accordingly, as little different from the citizens of Santa Barbara attempting to avoid the unsightly paraphernalia of oil derricks in their coastal viewshed.

One could view this as a particularly upbeat interpretation, at least as I have framed the point: democracy on the march. Another way to view this same point is from a minimalist stance. The changes to which I point, that is the environmental justice movement, one could argue, are superficial; neither the terms of the debate nor its goals have changed; we are simply refitting the discussion to include a slightly altered set of actors. Pie slicing rather than redefining the recipe. I think not, as I will suggest in a moment. Either spin on this theme may offend some of the protagonists, but that is probably not a good reason for rejecting the arguments out of hand.

Another way to understand this phenomenon is as an extension of the crisis in accountability and representation in the environmental movement. Numbers of local activists, without regard to race, religion, creed, national origin or sexual preference, have been agitated about the Big Ten, or whatever, and the Big Ten’s unresponsiveness to local issues and issues which concern the lower classes. Maybe this is a response, at bottom, to the classism of the mainstream environmental movement. The environmental movement is predominantly urban, and middle-class or upper-class, and that excludes a lot of folks, not necessarily just the non-white.

One might view the environmental justice movement as an extension of Earth First! and the less delicate tactics and less yuppi-

fied priorities of their concerns. One could also view this, therefore, as a further infusion of class issues into the environmental movement and/or as a further elaboration of center/periphery issues in environmental decision making. Those things are all related. One could see the rush of nice upper middle class white folks such as myself to embrace this as an attempt to reject what some have characterized as eco-fascism. Those who oppose the Abbey-Foreman end of the spectrum may see this as a way to save face given the strangeness of some of our bedfellows.

Here we change tone a bit. The first two themes could be understood as evidence of success—success in democratic social change in general, and in the environmental movement in particular. This third notion is more like a critique. Numbers of local activists have been increasingly vocal that the Big Ten of the environmental movement, and the environmental movement in general, are upper-class and upper-middle-class white. There has, for example, recently been much in the news relating this concern specifically to hiring practices of major environmental groups. This is a good place to start framing an issue, but it is not the whole of it. The more profound problem is tied to the issue of who gets to define “the environment” and what is a priority for the movement. No rocket scientists are needed to help us notice that over the span of our lifetimes, the operation has been defined primarily by upper-middle-class and upper-class whites.

Crisis in the Quorum

One final way to think about

the crisis in accountability and representation signified by the environmental justice movement is in terms of a crisis in the “quorum.” I am indebted to Charles Jordan, Director of Parks in the City of Portland (believe it or not) for his emphasis on and insights into the notion of a quorum. I do not want to tar his reputation with my tawdry reinterpretation of his thoughts. However, I believe that I heard him argue that when we talk about social goals and priorities, as we frequently must when managing natural resources, it is good to look at who is in the room. It is not always true, but a good rule of thumb is that if the only folks there are white males, you probably are not talking about something that is really important. If you are talking about something and you cannot get a multiethnic group to turn out to talk about it, you are probably not talking about something that ought to be a priority. White women, let me point out, add some complexity, but they do not, whether one or two or even 50% of the group, transform a group of white males into an appropriate quorum. What Jordan was talking about, and what I believe the environmental justice movement means, is that we will ignore critical problems, misdefine issues, evaluate priorities and impacts incorrectly, and misunderstand the political environment and cultural impacts of our management efforts if we do not proceed with a deep awareness of the need for a quorum at the table when resource allocation and management issues are discussed.

One always wants to over-intellectualize and overanalyze. Let me not, therefore, overlook the obvious. One more way to under-

stand the environmental justice movement is as a reasonable response to the undeniable and unmitigated racism in environmental policy. Let me not forget that one in my haste to put an

Amber waves of grain to the contrary notwithstanding, we focus on purple mountains' majesty. Our environment is symbolized not by a garbage dump, or ditch rider, but by a Sierra Club calendar.

academic veneer on everything that is real and important.

So, why do I come to this lovely location and bring up these terribly troubling issues? Well, one of the reasons, obviously, is that I am afraid to discuss them at home. A better reason is so that we can puzzle together about what's in it for us. By that I mean what does the environmental justice movement mean to the forestry profession and land managers in general? What can we learn from this? What should we be paying attention to? How is it going to affect us that urban minorities are increasingly asserting their claim to a segment of the attention span that comes up under the heading of environmental policy?

I do not want to be a cynic, but I think that the response of my colleagues will likely be to ignore the environmental justice movement. This would be either because we do not notice at all—which is the most likely possibility

(and a particularly telling indictment of the profession)—or because of diverse reasons we actively choose not to notice. To fail to respond would be, in my opinion, deeply, deeply costly, a political oversight of inestimable consequences, as well as a missed intellectual opportunity of even greater import.

It is in the area of definitions that I believe the environmental justice movement has its greatest impact. I always tip my hand and identify myself as indelibly and irredeemably academic when I care more about intellectual opportunities than political consequences—this from a political scientist, mind you. But, so be it.

The first consequence is that I think that the environmental justice movement and the inevitable political response to it will force a redefinition of what constitutes the environment.

Environment, Policy and Management

Historically, the environment has always been defined by our profession generally, and by the environmental movement specifically, as where the people *are not*. My interpretation of our professional history is that we have been careful to identify what is worth conserving, preserving, or managing, and what has been valued by our profession precisely because people are not there. Our sacred lands are unpopulated. Our *most* sacred lands are wilderness areas. Our settlements are profane. Human interactions with the environment are increasingly restricted to the spiritual or recreational. Nature has nothing to do with where we live and what we eat. Anything that suggests a commodity use has become increasingly impermissible.

Amber waves of grain to the contrary notwithstanding, we focus on purple mountains' majesty. Our environment is symbolized not by a garbage dump, or a ditch rider, but by a Sierra Club calendar.

We can see this most clearly in our national parks policy. Not for nothing we call these the nation's "crown jewels." U.S. parks policy is peculiar in the notion that to "save" something specifically, precisely, means that you keep people out. If people are there using the land, you buy the land and you throw them off. We further assume that if we keep them out, the park will remain the same and be saved. People are not part of the environment, they are a vector of environmental destruction.

Our conservation and preservation heritage is profoundly and deeply misanthropic. It is also deeply anti-urban. The environment is where white people go to recreate. A very progressive forester will talk about, from time to time, the trees in cities. Urban foresters are, however, marginal in our profession. We abandon our settlements when we look for meaning and insight in life. For data to support that point, let me quote Henry David Thoreau who tells us, "I went to the woods because I wished to live deliberately, to confront only the essential things in life and not, when I came to die, discover that I have not lived."—What utterly cutsie rot!

I am arguing that a redefinition of what constitutes the environment would be extremely helpful. A definition of the environment that included urban areas and the linkages and interdependencies between rural

watersheds and urban water drinkers would be very helpful. But our notion of the environment historically excluded people and excoriated urban areas.

Our Ideology has also led us to separate the decisions from the consequences.

Finally, our definition of resource management is not only anti-people and anti-urban, but the progressive-era management regime, that catechism that all modern land managers have inherited from the great Gifford Pinchot, is profoundly anti-local. If you read the scripture that I prefer, Samuel P. Hays' *Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency*, you will see that the epicenter of progressive-era resource management, which is what we are all still more or less practicing, is that which is necessary in large scale, national, technically-based planning and management. It is specific in the catechism that the local user of the resource is the self-interested enemy of good management and is motivated by greed. Management must therefore be based on national values and professional scientific insight rather than the experience and knowing of long-term local but arguably non-professional managers.

This anti-local bias and the emphasis on national decisions to be implemented at the local level in order to protect the resource

from the putative greed and ignorance of local users has, quite apart from the environmental justice movement, allowed us to do a number of things which have had quite a negative impact on management.

The first is that it has allowed us to separate the risks from the benefits. And, although this is a generic observation, it is also very much manifest in the environmental justice movement which says, if you are going to enjoy the benefits of high-tech up there on the hill, do not make us live in the dump you create. This observation is at the core of the environmental justice movement's concern with the location of toxic dumps in minority communities.

Our ideology has also led us to separate the decisions from the consequences. This is not good pedagogically. The way we learn about our decisions is to participate both in the decision and the consequences thereof, and learn from them. But, if the consequences are experienced somewhere over there, and we enjoy the benefits here, it is not very helpful to us as managers. We cannot learn.

I happen to be one of those very few Californians who advocates drilling in the Santa Barbara Channel. Why on earth should we drill in Indonesia or New Guinea or wherever? If we want to drive cars to self-actualize, at least let's put the oil on our own beach. We would have a chance to learn about the consequences of our lifestyle. The anti-local bias of the progressive-era conservation movement has terrible consequences in terms of management, I am arguing, because it allows us to separate the risks from the benefits and the decisions from their impacts.

Another really costly outcome of our professional ideology is that we have been led to misdefine managers and management. If you are not a white guy with a college degree, we have told ourselves, you do not have data and you do not know what you are doing. You are simply out there mucking about, manifesting the greed that we are here to interdict. If you lay aside this set of assumptions about what constitutes the basis of management and what is a manager, you open yourself up to a whole set of experiential data, long-term observation, local insight and information that is absolutely essential to successful management of any resource.

Finally, our commitments as a profession have led us to seriously misunderstand our role as “scientific” managers. Our science frequently misleads us. Rather than prove this familiar point, I will tell a story. When I was younger, a frequently heard complaint among my peers was, “Why is a forester never head of a major forest industry?” What a silly question. That is sort of like asking why has a garage mechanic never been head of General Motors? One could argue that anything would have been better for General Motors than what they did get, but that is not my point. Our emphasis on science has fooled us into thinking that managing a forest is primarily, if not exclusively, a biological undertaking. We would never be so silly about anything else. Our catechism blinds us.

What’s in It for Us?

So, my tentative answer to “What’s in it for us” is a new way of looking at the world—a new

definition of the environment that includes people, which we are—and the urban areas where increasingly we all live together; a new set of relevant data, not the

Act with humility, act with open ears, and most important, become a high school or grade school teacher.

scientific and biological data that has long intrigued us, but data about human cultures and values and management impacts on humans which we have long viewed as “constraints” on biological management.

None of this has ever been hidden from us—I really haven’t said much that you haven’t heard a hundred times already—but, the environmental justice movement makes these obvious lessons almost impossible to ignore. What is in it for us is not simply the justice and the political necessity of having a quorum. I would favor that, but as a pained and frequently angry outsider in a traditional profession, I could be accused of self-interest. The opportunity for us as resource managers is in the learning. If we continue to confine the consequences of our management to where they are not seen or experienced, we cannot learn. It is that simple.

I will conclude with a few thoughts on what we are trying to do about all this. Again, I recognize that I am from California. I

believe that we must respond, seize these opportunities, or we will go out of business. Here, the situation is less compelling politically perhaps, but no less clear-cut. Our students are no longer farm boys but urban dwellers. Although minorities are the majority in California, this movement will have an impact in Oregon and Idaho and North and South Dakota as well. This is because urban areas—white, non-white, or otherwise—are the political constituency in which land managers must fight for political support. We as predominantly wildland managers cannot afford to continue for much longer in a society that is so environmentally illiterate as, say, Los Angeles. It is also worth noting that increasingly our managers are urban. We no longer recruit huge numbers of students from the social and geographic cadre that characterized the first major build-out in the profession, that is the alumni of the CCC. We increasingly get our students from the same urban areas of which I have been speaking. These changes will come whether they are seen in terms of a variety of non-white faces or not.

The Opportunity Is in Learning

Here, briefly, is what we are doing about this at my school. We are trying very hard to become involved in K-12 education in urban, predominantly minority communities. We are doing this under a number of umbrellas with a number of goals. One of them is enrichment—the collapse of the public education system in this country is utterly appalling. But, we are trying also

to make the point that there are careers that can serve the minority community in environmental management. We are working to develop programs that make the point that the environment is in Oakland, not confined to Yosemite and Point Reyes. We are also trying to emphasize the connections. If you must be interested in the wildlands, it is true, I believe, that they will continue to exist in the 21st century because of the connections we can draw between them and urban areas, not without and not in spite of those connections. But from my perspective, we have as much to learn as to share. We must learn more about the realities of life, which we have worked so hard to avoid, if we are to successfully understand and manage the connections between urban ecosystems and urban people and the earth's systems which sustain us all.

I remember reading once, probably in Irving Stone although I wish it were otherwise, about a conversation alleged to involve Michelangelo. Why, he was asked, did he study plants and bodies so closely before painting them? Is it because otherwise they would not look right? "No," was the response, "it is because if I did not know in detail how it looked, it would not work right."

This encapsulates my reason for being excited about the environmental justice movement. The mainstream environmental movement, precisely because it has not included and addressed all the parts, is not working right. We have defined the environment as way out there—the place to which we flee. Another piece

of upper middle class bull feathers is, "In wildness is the preservation of the world."

No. If we do not make our urban areas livable, then we will not long endure. The environment is where we live, and it is where we live together. And if we do not focus there, we will perish there, from the air that we have poisoned, the water that we can no longer drink.

So, how should an environmentalist, an upper-middle-class white environmentalist, act in the face of the environmental justice movement? I have three observations. One is to act with humility. Another is to act with open ears. And the third, and the most important, is to become a high school or grade school teacher. That is where the future is going to happen.