

**Valuing the social and environmental contribution of woodlands and trees
in England, Scotland and Wales**

Second edition: to 2018

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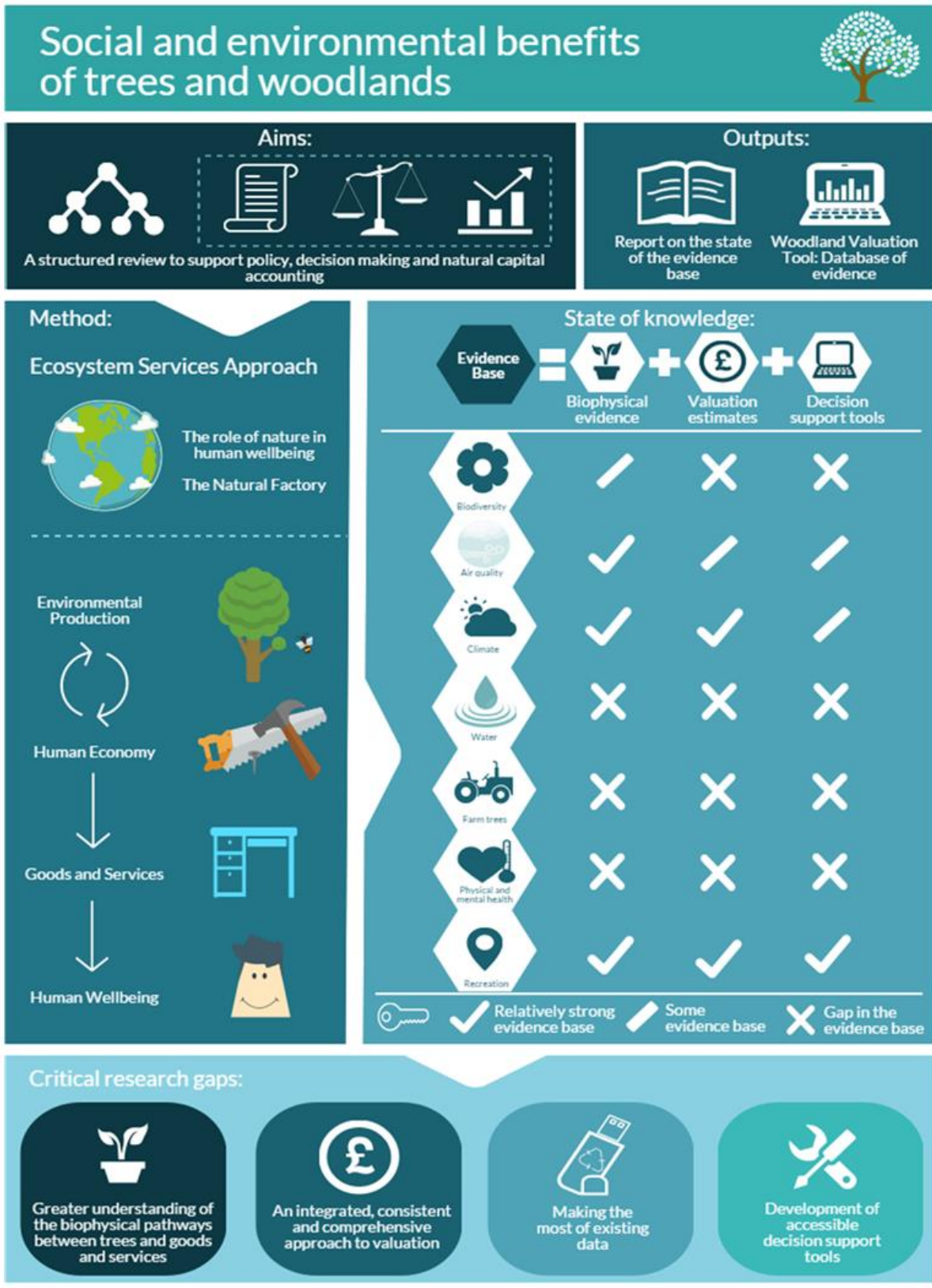
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1. Executive Summary



1.1. Introduction

Woodlands and forests constitute arguably the most diverse environments on earth; diverse not only in terms of the plethora of characteristics and habitats they embrace, but also through the variety of benefits and values that they offer to people. For centuries forests have been valued as a source of timber for the fibre, construction and fuel industries. However, recent decades have seen a growing appreciation of the value of woodlands as a source of a much wider array of benefits. In some cases this is because the woodland function has changed in value over time, particularly as humans have overloaded natural systems. For example, the value of forests for the sequestration and storage of carbon has only become apparent since humans began to overload the atmosphere with greenhouse gases, causing climate change. However, these increasing values are often more a product of growing awareness of forest services, rather than a fundamental change in that function. For example, the role of woodlands in removing airborne pollutants and reducing related health risks has become more important as our awareness of different forms of air pollution has risen. This change in awareness has led to an increased appreciation of the value of woodland services, even when those services are long established. So woodlands have always influenced the water environment, providing water purification services (enhancing water quality and reducing the costs of treatment) and water regulation services (such as the reduction of flood risks). Forests also offer superb recreational opportunities, in turn generating physical and mental health benefits to visitors. Trees also generate visual amenity, helping deliver highly valued landscapes and views. Woodland environments also provide habitat for many of the country's most treasured flora and fauna, thereby supporting biological diversity, which in turn both enhances the quality of recreational visits, and generates benefits for woodland users and non-users by ensuring the continued existence of species.

While this diversity of benefits is now widely recognised, incorporating these values into decisions regarding the management and extension of woodland remains a challenge. While the value of some forest products, such as timber, is readily reflected within market prices, this is the exception rather than the rule. Most of the benefits provided by woodlands are not traded through markets and are therefore unpriced public goods¹. Benefits such as the removal of pollutants from air and water, flood control, or the provision of biodiversity habitats – just to mention a few - are all public goods delivered without the intervention of markets. While these non-market benefits have been shown to be very substantial, their value is not reflected in market prices and can therefore easily be omitted from decision making.

The UK Forestry Commission have for many years directly addressed the problem of incorporating the non-market benefits of woodland within conventional economic decision making through the application of techniques to estimate the economic value of these benefits (e.g. Willis, et al., 2003). As part of this initiative, in 2015 the Forestry Commission began working with the authors of the present report to provide a review of the research, policy and grey literature concerned with the economic valuation of the social and environmental benefits of woodlands and trees. This review, subsequently published as Binner et al., (2017) also included the development of a spreadsheet based decision support

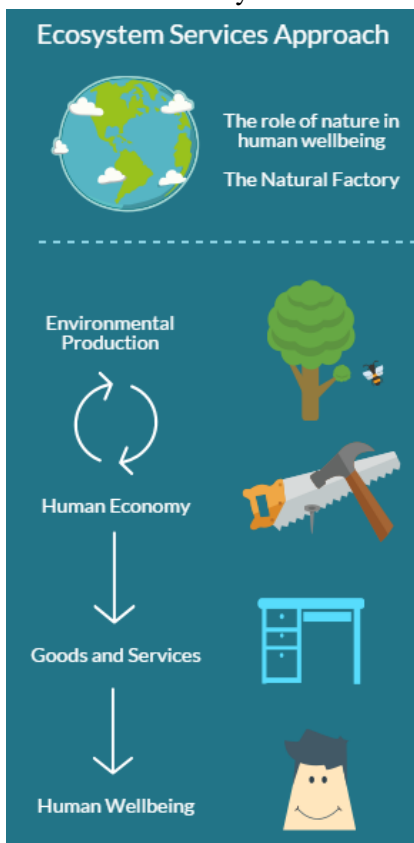
¹ The definition of what is, and what is not, a public good has recently been highlighted through a number of Government and government agency documents, stating that the future focus of public spending should be confined to the production and protection of public goods. Reviewing a number of key documents reveals the Government's thinking on this issue is clustered around goods such as soil health, water quality, flood risk reduction, climate change mitigation, recreation, etc. (H.M. Treasury, 2018; H.M. Government, 2018; Defra, 2018; Environment Agency, 2018).

tool to facilitate the use of valuation estimates within decision making. The present report provides a second edition of that report, updating both the literature review and the accompanying spreadsheet decision support tool.

As the emphasis upon public goods has risen up the policy agenda, so has interest in the measurement and valuation of those goods. The past five decades have seen the development of a range of methods for estimating the economic value of non-market benefits. These developments have been accompanied by a rapid growth in their empirical application across a range of non-market goods and services. A common focus for such studies has been the valuation of woodland benefits and a substantial, if diverse literature has grown up around the world. This scoping study provides a structured review of the state of knowledge regarding the economic valuation of social and environmental benefits derived from trees and woodlands, in order to support policy and practice. Particular (although not exclusive) attention is paid to recent extensions to the literature since previous reviews (especially Eftec, 2011 and Binner et al. 2017).

In preparing this study, the research team at the University of Exeter undertook a structured reviewed of how technical and methodological developments are transforming the potential for robust valuation of non-market benefits and allied decision-making. The methods, data and modelling techniques, which underpin the existing evidence base on the value of woodlands and trees were critically evaluated, so as to provide a practical set of actionable options for enhancing that evidence base and improving decision making.

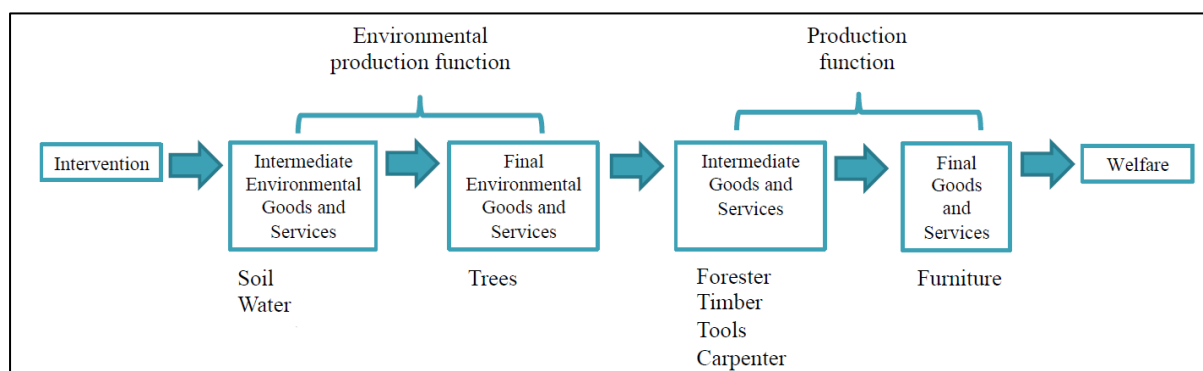
The benefits provided by trees and woodlands are methodically examined in the report using the ecosystem services approach. Unlike the 2005 Millennium Ecosystem Assessments classifications – which divides ecosystem services into provisioning, regulating, supporting and cultural services – the



ecosystem services approach establishes a structured method for valuing environmental and social benefits. This approach attempts to clearly identify and understand the pathways (and environmental production processes) that affect the provision of final goods and services and to acknowledge that economic value comes directly from the consumption of these final goods and services. For example, people derive value from a house but would find it practically impossible to disaggregate that value into the independent contributions made by individual inputs such as the bricks, timber and concrete that went into its construction. Likewise, a water company derives value from the purity of the raw water it extracts from the environment, but has no direct perception of the value of the trees, soils and biotic community that contribute to the quality of that water. The ecosystem services approach is grounded in economic theory and provides a structured method for identifying how benefits are provided, who benefits and what value they place on these benefits.

The central idea behind the ecosystem services approach is to characterise the role of nature in delivering human well-being, using the same concepts that are applied to describing the economy. In this sense, the environment can be characterised as a complex natural factory, engaged in a myriad of productive

processes. These natural productive processes² combine environmental inputs to produce final environmental goods and services, which have direct and immediate consequences for productive activities in the human economy. To understand the role of nature in delivering human well-being, it is important to understand how these environmental production functions feed into the production activities of firms and households. A woodland-based example of these processes is captured in the diagram below, which shows how a final good – furniture – is the product of environmental inputs such as soil, water and seeds, from which trees are grown. Trees are an environmental good and feed into the human production functions to produce timber, using labour input from a forester. Timber is then crafted by a carpenter using tools to produce furniture, which is sold on to consumers, who gain welfare from its use.



Conceptually, by adopting an ecosystem services approach, the review builds upon recent developments that have sought to enhance the valuation evidence base, through improving the integration of natural science, economic and social science methods. To achieve this, a sound understanding of the biophysical pathways influencing the physical provision of goods and services that are heavily dependent upon the natural world, is just as crucial for robust valuation as the contribution of appropriate economic methods. Given the crucial importance of the natural environment in the generation of woodland benefits, this harmonisation of knowledge and approaches is considerably assisted by the conceptualisation of the environment as a stock of ‘natural capital’ (such as soil, air, water and living things), which generates flows of ‘ecosystem services’ that contribute to human well-being. These underlying principles are discussed early on in the report and frame the subsequent review.

The review itself considers the range of unpriced benefits associated with trees and woodlands. By presenting a structured review of the values of woodland-related goods and services, the intention of this report is to offer a platform to better inform public and private decision-making. Governments will find information about woodland values useful to compare potential environmental investments with spending in other areas such as transport, defence and so on. Businesses will also be interested to see how changes in their company plans can potentially affect social values, what are the trade-offs arising between private and public interests and what is the potential for altering this balance in ways that could generate social benefits, enhance the company’s own status and improve its profitability (Bateman et al. 2015). As part of this review, we seek to highlight areas where the evidence base is incomplete or missing. Alongside gaps in the underpinning natural science base, we find a significant requirement to

² These productive activities of nature are described by *environmental production functions* and include processes such as the transpiration and the absorption and deposition of particles.

improve, standardise and integrate evidence regarding the value of the multiple benefits delivered by trees and woodlands. Building upon this, the scoping study culminates with a clear, prioritised set of realistically actionable options for enhancing the evidence base to generate valid, robust, and comprehensive valuations of the social and environmental benefits of trees and woodlands.

1.2. Structure: Report and Woodland Valuation Tool

The report is organised in chapters which group together topics. [Chapter 2](#) provides the conceptual frame for the report, by developing the Ecosystem Services paradigm in relation to trees and woodlands (a detailed theoretical appendix is also provided to yield a comprehensive resource reference). The ecosystem services framework provides the structure for the other chapters in the report. [Chapters 3 to 9](#) review the economic assessment of the impact of trees and woodlands on a wide range of values associated with water quality, water availability, flood alleviation, air quality, climate, recreation, physical and mental health, biodiversity and agriculture. [Chapter 10](#) addresses the issue of tree health and how this influences the social and environmental benefits provided by woodlands. Given that the majority of the population live in towns and cities, [Chapter 11](#) reviews the existing evidence and decision making tools relating specifically to urban trees.

Each of these chapters follows a common structure. It opens with a colour-coded graphical summary of available evidence and the existing research gaps. For each topic, the knowledge base is evaluated by considering the quantity and quality of literature, focusing on the biophysical pathways of impact and the economic values. In addition, the colour-coded assessment also evaluates the availability of decision support tools and the degree to which the available evidence specifically focuses on urban settings, which attract particular interest, given that most of people live in towns and cities. More details on each of the categories considered in the colour-coded assessment of research gaps are provided in the next sub-section on ‘Priorities’. A ‘traffic light’ approach is considered in the assessment of the knowledge base: green signals the availability of a strong evidence, with few gaps; orange indicates that some evidence is available, with significant gaps; and red refers to the existence of major gaps in the literature. This colour-coded assessment is not the product of systematic analysis, for which a statistical assessment (through, for instance, a meta-analysis approach) would have been required. Rather, it is based on a qualitative judgement of the available evidence and it draws upon the expertise of the authors. In each chapter, following the opening summary, a more detailed description is provided of the biophysical and valuation literature reviewed, along with any information on tools available for public planners to support decision-making. Each chapter ends with a text summary of the priority areas for future research, which reflect the colour-coded assessment.

In [Chapter 12](#), a critical discussion is presented of the issues arising from the biophysical, economic and psychological differences between gains and losses in relation to trees and woodlands. [Chapter 13](#) reviews recent innovations in integrated modelling and decision support tools, while [Chapter 14](#) explores current issues and debates in relation to Natural Capital Accounting. Finally, [Chapter 15](#) presents a prioritised list of research gaps and where possible, suggestions for addressing these gaps.

The results of the study are also organised in the supporting ‘Woodland Valuation Tool’, developed in Excel. This enables users to search for the existing literature relating to different forest goods and services and filter entries by method, beneficiary or other categorizations related to trees and woodlands. The literature contained in the tool relates specifically to trees, woodlands and forests and as such, is appropriate for use by analysts involved in forest management decisions. However, the system has been set up to facilitate and encourage easy extension to consider other natural environment resources. The tool has been designed to be easy to use, multiplatform, accessible using open source software and

simple to update and extend. The tool is compatible with Microsoft Excel v.2007 and above, as this is a familiar and easily accessible program for the target users.

1.3. Research Gaps: Public goods, locations and generic issues

The results of the scoping study revealed a number of research gaps regarding specific public goods, the effect of location upon those goods (specifically the impact of considering urban, as opposed to rural settings) and various generic issues. Within this section, we collate and present these research gaps. With respect to each of the public goods, both holistically and in their urban context, we further disaggregate research gaps into the following categories:

- **Biophysical pathways:** The scoping study explored both the existing biophysical literature and the valuation literature. Although, we were generally able to find separate evidence relating to both biophysical processes and values, the usefulness of these existing studies is severely hindered by the absence of rigorous evidence linking the biophysical processes associated with trees, to quantifiable changes in the provision of goods and services.
- **Valuation literature:** The existing literature is patchy, incomplete and uses a plethora of different units, years and scales, making a coherent approach to valuation extremely difficult, particularly because study design plays a large role in determining the valuation estimates. An integrated, consistent and comprehensive approach to valuing all of the benefits and costs associated with tree and woodland land use and management is needed and a meta-analysis could be undertaken to fulfil this goal. This would attempt to convert all valuations into common units and show how values vary across goods and contexts. This is a substantial undertaking, requiring a further review of the literature. Furthermore, it is likely that a proportion of studies would not report the characteristics of values (e.g. size of forest concerned), which would ideally be required for meta-analyses; nevertheless, such an undertaking should be considered.
- **Accessible decision support tools:** There is a general need for the development of up-to-date, easy to use decision support tools. These tools need to be technically sophisticated enough to incorporate the most recent advances in data, methods and modelling, yet also amenable enough for use by non-analyst decision-makers, following relatively brief (e.g. one week) training. There is an abundance of existing but fragmented data relating to social and environmental benefits; with advances in computing power and cross-disciplinary collaboration, there is clear potential for these data sources to be brought together and used to develop sophisticated models for valuation. In order to achieve this, access to the broad range of data available will be required. Additionally, a new class of integrated ecosystem service mapping tools is beginning to emerge, including InVEST, LUCI, MIMES and The Integrated Model (TIM) and its successor, the Natural Environment Valuation Online (NEVO) tool (www.leep.exeter.ac.uk), currently under development by the authors at LEEP (Land, Environment, Economics & Policy Institute), based at the University of Exeter and due for release by the end of 2018. These tools incorporate biophysical models to reflect interactions between multiple ecosystem services, at various spatial and temporal scales.

For the purposes of policy making and valuation, NEVO has certain advantages:

- It contains an economic behaviour model, which details how decision makers (e.g. farmers) respond to changes in the market, policy and the environment. This allows the policy maker to see how changes in policy, prices or regulation influence land use decisions and prevent the use of scenarios that do not clearly explain how future land uses arise.

- Alongside quantitative analyses of the integrated effects of land use change, NEVO also delivers economic values for these changes, allowing the policy maker to conduct cost-benefit analyses of changes.
- NEVO contains an optimisation routine, which allows policy makers to explore the best way to achieve their objectives. The model also provides the ability to adjust the definition of what constitutes a ‘best’ outcome. Ongoing work seeks to examine issues such as, the distributional implications of different decisions.
- **Urban tree literature:** given that the majority of people live in towns and cities, the scoping study also specifically explored existing evidence and research gaps in urban settings. Based on our review, the understanding of the biophysical mechanisms, through which urban woodlands provide benefits to people, is growing for some ecosystem services (i.e. recreation), but is relatively poor for others (i.e. air quality, water quality and quantity, physical and mental health). Similarly, the valuation evidence in urban settings seems to be mixed; relatively strong evidence is available regarding the values of some ecosystem services (e.g. climate regulation, air purification or water quantity regulation), while much less attention is paid to other ecosystem services.

The study also allowed the identification of knowledge gaps specific to each benefit valuation area. Top priorities are summarised below and discussed in further detail within [Chapter 15](#).

1.3.1. Water quality

- **Biophysical pathways:** Many valuation studies fail to link water quality outcomes to woodland management or planting actions. This makes it difficult to establish causality and limits the usefulness of existing studies for investment appraisal, where the objective is to achieve specific improvements in water quality.
- **Multi-impact, multi-scale valuation:** There is a need to extend the valuation of different pollutants and their removal from waterways. This needs to be flexible in terms of the scale of analyses, embracing both catchment and national levels.

1.3.2. Water availability and flood alleviation

- **Biophysical pathways:** There exists a variety of evidence on the biophysical relationships between tree cover and water quantity (e.g. through modelling studies and, to a much lesser degree, through observed data at catchment level). To fully quantify the effect of afforestation or deforestation, data is required in order to validate models, especially at catchment level. Some recent studies at UK level have explored the effect of changes in vegetation on catchment hydrological processes. Despite this recent contribution, there is still scarcity of robust biophysical evidence quantifying the relationship between local woodland management, location and forest design, with changes in the quantity of water available. This constitutes a significant barrier to reliable valuation and decision-making, particularly as scale increases. Some evidence is beginning to be produced, regarding the impact of rising CO₂ levels and climate change on water use by trees. However, literature in this field needs to be progressed further, as climate change will affect the services (dis-services) provided by woodlands in the future.
- **Flood alleviation:** The current literature linking trees and woodlands to the prevention of flooding is growing, but due to the wide variety of other factors involved in flood events,

there is still much work to be done to be able to fully quantify the effect of upstream tree planting and woodland management changes, on the probability of downstream flooding.

- **Integrated valuation of water:** There is a definite need to integrate the variety of values associated with water resources in woodland areas.

1.3.3. Air quality

- **Valuation and spatial proximity to populations:** The impact of air pollution upon human health depends upon the number of people being exposed; for example, a tonne of SO₂ in a densely populated area causes more damage than a tonne in a sparsely populated area. Given this, the value of pollution absorption by trees should reflect population exposure.

1.3.4. Climate

- The Forestry Commission has a well-established model of **carbon accounting** called CARBINE (Edwards and Christie, 1981, see <http://www.forestry.gov.uk/fr/infd-633dxb> for further details). CARBINE estimates stocks of carbon stored in trees and released through harvesting, as well as avoided greenhouse gas emissions through the use of wood products that displace fossil fuel intensive materials. These models can scale from individual trees to entire woodlands, taking into account a range of management practices, such as thinning and felling.
- The nature of **carbon** as a perfectly mixing pollutant means that the value of one tonne of sequestered carbon does not depend, in principle, upon the location of the sequestration. This should allow the social cost of carbon or other estimates of the social values of carbon sequestration to be applied with ease.
- **Economic valuation:** Improved estimates of the social cost of carbon based on abatement costs (carbon price), or based on primary valuation, are increasingly available. This is an active area of research, which is unlikely to be fully resolved in the short or medium term. Employing UK government carbon prices is a straightforward compromise, which will allow current research efforts to focus on higher priority issues.

1.3.5. Recreation

- **Decision support tools:** the Outdoor Recreation Valuation (ORVal) Tool synthesises information on the recreational value of outdoor greenspace (including woodlands), in England and Wales. It is available online, open-access and free of charge at www.leep.exeter.ac.uk/orval/. At present this Tool focuses on day visitors, but in the future it could be expanded by considering tourists visiting the greenspace as part a multi-day and multi-destination holiday.

1.3.6. Physical and mental health

- **Measurement challenges:** There is no commonly applied generic measure for mental health. This makes comparison between biophysical studies difficult and the lack of a well-defined and commonly understood mental health good or service poses a challenge for valuation. A more fundamental challenge is the need to establish causality, substitution and response behaviours between trees/woodland (as opposed to other environments) and

mental and physical health. For example, if new woodlands generate visits, to what extent are these genuinely additional visits, as opposed to substitution of other activities? To what extent are there net health gains? Does enhanced engagement with nature generate positive or negative co-impacts (e.g. does outdoor exercise stimulate improved mood, or give individuals a perceived licence to indulge in other unhealthy lifestyles)?

- This and other related physical and mental health valuation challenges are considered further in relation to urban trees below although many of these issues also apply to rural contexts.

1.3.7. Biodiversity

- **Economic valuation:** The requirement for improvements in the economic valuation of biodiversity, needs to be matched by better data and natural science understanding of the physical impacts of afforestation upon measures of biodiversity. In both the UK-NEA and UK NEA-FO analyses, biodiversity was assessed through bird species indices. This approach was adopted due to the relatively poor cross-sectional and time-series data available for wider measures of biodiversity; this is a factor which depicts a significant research gap for future assessments. Similarly, understanding of the relationships between woodland biodiversity and human health requires more accurate and quantified assessment of the underpinning physical pathways of effect, than is currently available. A particular problem arises in the estimation of the non-use benefits of biodiversity, where the lack of behavioural action precludes the use of revealed preference methods. In this context, stated preference methods should be considered. Despite relying on stated behavioural intentions, rather than upon observed conduct, these techniques are widely recognised to offer good and reliable indicators of people's values. In the case of non-use benefits, stated preference methods represent the only alternative available for consideration.

1.3.8. Trees and woodlands on farms

- There is a need to understand the biophysical links between trees, woodlands and agricultural output; in particular, more needs to be investigated regarding the spatial and temporal differences, as well as the relative merits of different species and management practices. For example, important areas of research include:
 - Understanding the importance of the species, age and location of trees on farms for the provision of soil stabilisation, particularly in the context of increased frequency of extreme weather events, due to climate change.
 - Exploring the importance of habitat configuration and connectivity to support biodiversity and, conversely, to reduce risks from pests.
 - Understanding the relationship between different species and management practices, as well as between different pollinators and their combined impact on agricultural yields.

1.3.9. Plant (tree) health

- The evidence base regarding the impact of tree health upon the value of the benefits provided by trees and woodlands, is small but emerging. There remains a substantial need for research in this area, in particular to address difficulties in understanding the counterfactual – i.e. What would have happened if the trees were healthy?

1.3.10. Urban trees

- While not a unique category of public good, the urban context modifies considerations regarding many of the goods mentioned above. To account for this, we additionally review the available evidence focusing on each of the above public goods in urban settings.

1.3.10.1 Water resources:

- i-Tree Eco provides a useful resource for estimating the impact of urban trees and woodlands upon storm water drainage. However, since the hydrological models were developed in the US and are closed within i-Tree Eco, it is difficult to assess the transferability of the model to the UK setting.
- There is limited existing information on the relationships between urban trees and water quality, including their role in reducing sewage treatment costs and improving urban recreation. Estimates of the impact of urban trees on water resources at recreational sites and the resultant impact on the value of recreational visits, could be constructed by using general biophysical studies on the impact of trees upon water quality and valuing the impact of change in water quality on recreation, whilst taking into account the location of the recreation site (allowing to control for distance decay and proximity to the population).

Adopting this approach requires an implicit assumption that the biophysical process is the same in urban and rural areas, or that any important scaling factors (such as tree density, nutrient concentration, flow rates and distance from sewage works), were represented in the sampled data and have been accounted for.

- More needs to be understood on the impact of forests upon water quality and flow control both upstream and downstream. Given that urban centers, (where the majority of people live), are often located downstream, this is an area that requires future attention.

1.3.10.2 Air quality:

- The literature relating urban trees to air quality suffers from the same limitations as the literature around water resources. Although there are simulation models relating individual tree species (controlling for maturity) to air filtration (Donovan et al., 2005), these models are based on underlying biophysical studies, which sample larger woodlands (greater than 2 ha). Moreover, there is uncertainty over the rates of absorption and deposition, as well as very little discussion as to whether these rates are likely to be the same in urban and rural areas (Powe and Willis, 2002; 2004). Despite the recent development of a natural capital account for air regulation services in the UK (Jones et al. 2017), more efforts are required in the future to better understand the functional relationship between woodlands, air regulation and health impacts.

1.3.10.3 Physical and mental health:

- The physical and mental health benefits of trees and woodlands are not confined to urban contexts. Nevertheless as these benefits arise principally from the use of woodlands both directly (e.g. for recreation) or indirectly (e.g. through the medium of air quality improvements etc.), proximity to populations is a key determinant of these values

- A key challenge in valuing the physical and mental health benefits provided by trees and woodlands lies in developing a clear understanding of the biophysical processes at work.
- There is some existing evidence on the **physical health** benefits provided by trees and woodlands; there are studies linking green space to exercise and physical health and evidence of links between trees and water quality, air quality and climate (see [Chapter 3, 4](#) and [5](#) for further details).
- Evidence of the **mental health** benefits provided by trees and woodlands is undergoing substantial, but slow development. A major challenge in this area is presented by the need for a common, generic and comparable metric for measuring mental health. In addition, the existing evidence is often highly localized and difficult to interpret without a suitable control study. A significant gap in this area is the development of rigorous generalizable and comparable studies of the biophysical processes.
- A further major research challenge concerns the need to establish clear causality between the presence and/or use of trees and woodlands and changes in physical and mental health. Related to this is the problem of displacement - the extent to which woodlands actually induce net changes in health as opposed to just displacing and substituting for other sources of health improvement such as time spent in gyms.
- **The Health Economic Assessment Tool (HEAT)** is available from the World Health Organisation Regional Office for Europe. HEAT provides values for the benefits derived from habitual walking and cycling, as recreational activities, using the UK Value of Statistical Life, discounted using a default discount rate of 5%³. However, the tool does not disaggregate the benefits by particular types of green infrastructure. As a result, reporting the total value will overstate the benefits from urban trees and woodlands, but alternatively scaling for the proportion of total green infrastructure comprising of trees and woodland, makes the assumption that all types of green infrastructure are perfectly substitutable.

1.3.10.4 Climate:

There is significant evidence regarding the climate-related benefits of urban trees and woodlands.

- There is a broad literature on the biophysical processes and economic values related to **urban cooling** services by shade trees in the US (Akbari, 2002; Nowak et al., 2010, 2012). Using data on indoor and outdoor temperature and humidity, wind speed, wind direction, and air-conditioning/cooling energy use, Akbari et al. (1997), demonstrates that shade trees near houses can yield seasonal cooling energy savings of approximately 30%. Given the relative temperatures and prevalence of air conditioning in North America relative to the UK, it is possible that energy savings may be lower in the UK. However, if future studies also incorporated potential health impacts (of reducing urban heat islands during summer heatwaves, reduced dehydration and heat stroke), the overall value of urban cooling services from trees could remain substantial.

³ Users are able to override this default value, we recommended using the official UK Treasury procedure for discounting.

1.3.10.5 Recreation:

- Urban trees and woodlands provide opportunities for recreational experiences in an urban landscape, which provides a mosaic of different land uses, in close proximity to densely populated residential and commercial areas. The evidence for recreational values from urban trees and woodlands is relatively robust (Brander and Koetse, 2011; Perino et al., 2014). Some information on the recreational value of greenspace in urban settings can also be obtained from ORVal.
- Bateman, Abson et al. (2011) and Bateman, Day et al. (2014) demonstrate the importance of the location of recreational sites. A recreational site can generate a significant range in values, which depends significantly upon where it is located. The critical determinant of this range is, perhaps not surprisingly, proximity to significant conurbations; thus the study of recreation values in urban areas is particularly salient.

1.3.10.6 Biodiversity:

- Johnston, Nail and James (2011) discuss the debate among urban forest professionals, regarding the role of exotic versus native tree species and their contribution to urban biodiversity in Britain. They assess the current evidence and conclude that an automatic preference for native species cannot be justified and that biodiversity, including the wide range of services provided, will be restricted by just selecting from the few native species that thrive in urban environments.
- Croci et al., (2008) suggest that effective management of urban woodlands could be a good option for promoting biodiversity in towns. Davies et al. (2009) and Cameron et al. (2012) suggest that domestic gardens also provide an important contribution to UK biodiversity habitat and hence conservation. The important factor in management and new planting decisions is a scientific understanding of the roles of particular species and the complex interactions in urban ecosystems. While there is some evidence to suggest that urban woodlands and domestic gardens promote biodiversity, the related benefits and values are not thoroughly understood.

1.3.11. Generic issues

The scoping study also revealed a number of generic issues and challenges facing the valuation of social and environmental benefits of woodlands.

1.3.11.1. Gains and losses

- People tend to value gains and losses in private goods differently and in particular they tend to be more sensitive to losses rather than equivalent gains. Within the valuation literature, only little is known regarding the values that people attach to gains and losses in the quality of trees and woodlands. Shedding more light on this would be important to better understand the benefits that people derive from forests. Hence, more efforts are needed in this area of research in the future. A notable gap exists, especially in the recreational valuation literature. This presents a challenge, if we believe that the value of woodland recreational sites is related to the endowment, in terms of quality of trees at the site (e.g. species type, canopy size, tree density and tree health).

1.3.11.2. Integrated modelling and valuation

- Perhaps the most fundamental research gap concerns the need to integrate natural science, economic and social science understanding of the multiple net benefits provided by changes in the extent and management of trees and woodlands in the UK. The current incomplete and fragmented science and valuation literature suggests that the diversity and integrated nature of woodland benefits leads to their systematic under-reporting. This in turn is likely to result in under-investment and substantial foregone values. A thorough understanding of these issues is therefore a significant priority, in order to achieve informed decision making.

1.3.11.3. Natural capital accounting

Accounting for woodland assets and related flows of ecosystem goods and services raises many of the same challenges encountered when considering other types of natural capital or habitats. However, the unique functions and characteristics of forest and woodland assets, the way that they are managed and the types of services they provide mean that special consideration is required in a number of areas. The current research gaps include:

- **Addressing spatial dimensions of woodland assets:** In most instances, accounting systems do not need to incorporate a high degree of spatial detail. For instance, the System of National Accounts (SNA) records the same value for the sale of a chocolate bar, whether that transaction takes place in London or Manchester. However, the market and non-market value of services generated by forests and woodlands can vary substantially over distances as small as 1 km. Spatial configuration, connectivity, overlap with other ecosystems and natural capital assets (e.g. lakes and rivers) and distance from human populations are important determinants of the value generated by woodland assets. Location and spatial configuration determine the provision of flood defence services; connectivity has implications for wildlife habitats and susceptibility to pests and diseases; overlap with lakes and rivers has implications for the supply of water purification services; and distance from human populations impacts recreation values. Depending on the intended policy uses of woodland natural capital accounts, some or all of these spatial dimensions may need to be included⁴.
- **The importance of mapping and physical accounting:** Closely related to the spatial dimensions mentioned above, accurate biophysical data is crucial for identifying and understanding trends in ecological function, for designing management responses and for assessing the impact of environmental and policy change. Moreover, they are a necessary first step for developing monetary natural capital accounts. One key issue, also related to spatial dimensions, is the scale at which maps and biophysical data are collected and organised. Depending on who is developing the accounts, and for what purpose, appropriate

⁴ The SEEA-EEA (2014) identifies three scales of analysis for ecosystem accounting:

1. Basic Spatial Units (BSUs) tessellations (grid squares) of e.g. 1km² or cadastres (land polygons of varying shapes reflecting things such as ownership)
2. Land cover/ecosystem functional units: a contiguous set of BSUs constituting a particular type of land use or ecosystem.
3. Ecosystem Accounting Unit: a larger scale/fixed area taking natural features (e.g. topography and river catchments) and/or administrative units and boundaries (e.g. national parks).

See also, Eftec (2015).

scales might include watersheds and river catchments, land-use categories, or administrative boundaries.

- **Estimating marginal vs. stock values:** Most environmental valuation methods are designed to estimate the value of small (marginal) changes rather than large (stock) changes. This is appropriate for most decision making purposes (including project appraisal and investment decisions), where for example it may be necessary to value the likely impact of afforesting or deforesting a specific unit of land, without having a significant effect on the country's total woodland stock. The values estimated in such instances are *marginal*, in that they represent a relatively small change when compared to the UK's total stock of woodland. However, those marginal values are unlikely to remain constant when we consider large-scale changes in the stock, where increasing scarcity rents and threshold effects may need to be incorporated.
- **Ecological tipping points, resilience and functional redundancies:** One of the greatest obstacles to valuing forest assets is our incomplete scientific understanding of ecosystem resilience, the existence, location and severity of threshold effects and the extent to which functional redundancies exist within an ecosystem. Over time, improved scientific understanding and new data collection may provide useful insight. However, in the interim, risk registers based upon existing information (Mace et al., 2015) may assist in identifying trends, defining meaningful metrics to describe asset-benefit relationships and identifying assets under the greatest pressure.

2. Ecosystem services: the paradigm and the terminology

In this chapter, we will present and discuss the ecosystem services approach, which constitutes the conceptual framework that will be considered in this report. At the core of this approach is the idea that the environment is a factor that contributes to people's wellbeing. Nature is compared to a 'natural factory' which produces environmental goods and services that are 'consumed' by individuals (households and businesses). By combining natural capital (or the stock of natural assets), including air, water, fertile soils and so on, and biophysical processes occurring in the environment (such as climate regulation, water and nutrient cycling), flows of different environmental goods and services are produced (such as trees, wild species or crops), which are of value to people. Sometimes these environmental goods or services have a value on their own (e.g. the wonder inspired by wild species). However, more often, the value to humans is derived through their combination with a range of social, manufactured and other capital within economic production (to generate, for example, stable supplies of food and water, materials or defence from hazards).

The relevance of environmental goods and services to people could be assessed by considering a wide variety of good-specific biophysical units and metrics. For instance, it would be possible to say that a woodland is more valuable if it sequesters more tonnes of CO₂ or if it supports more wild species. However, while these metrics are important measures of output and provision, their use is challenging. They make comparability across environmental goods and services difficult and, additionally, they do not say anything about the impact that changes in such goods and services have on human wellbeing. A wide variety of methods have been developed to translate good-specific biophysical metrics into common units conveying information on the variation in wellbeing generated by changes in environmental goods and services. While in principle these metrics could be assessed using any transferable, comparable unit of wellbeing, by far the most common approach is to use economic values (expressed in monetary terms).

The use of economic values readily allows government and business decision makers to understand the costs and benefits of alternative investments, appraise the net value of a given action and guide decision-making. For government this allows common unit comparison of potential environmental investments with their spending in other areas such as transport, defence, etc. For businesses this approach allows to show how changes in their own investments affect social values, the trade-offs between the two and the potential for altering this balance in ways that could generate social benefits, enhance their own status and improve their profitability (Bateman et al. 2015).

In this Chapter and in the rest of this report we will rely on economic values as measures of the benefits that the environment provides to people. One important point is worth noting at this stage, though. Economic valuation is generally used to assess the welfare impacts of changes in environmental goods or services. Hence, this methodology focuses on the flow of ecosystem services, rather than the stock. This doesn't mean that the stock of natural resources (or natural capital) is not important to affect human wellbeing. On the contrary, the economic value provided by environmental goods and services is often driven by the quantity and quality of existing natural capital. For instance, a given change in environmental quality is valued more if there is scarcity in the stock of natural resources. This suggests that it is important to account for natural capital when assessing the benefits provided by environmental goods and services. We will come back to this point in [Chapter 14](#) on natural capital accounting.

In the following sub-sections we will present the different components of the ecosystem services framework. We will start by revising the concepts of goods and services, and production processes, in the 'human economy'. Then, we will introduce the idea of 'natural factory' by explaining, step by step,

how the environment contributes to human wellbeing: we will discuss the concepts of environmental production functions and environmental goods and services and how these latter contribute to generate value to people. We will conclude this chapter by presenting the list of environmental goods and services and environmental production functions on which we will focus in the remaining Chapters of the report. An extended version of this Chapter is provided in [Annex 1](#). Interested readers may refer to the annex and progress to [Chapter 3](#) without loss of information.

2.1. The human economy

Understanding the contribution that trees and woods make to human well-being is not a straightforward undertaking. Trees and woods impact upon the environment in a multitude of ways, which through a multitude of pathways, benefit a significant number of people in a vast array of ways. The ecosystems services approach provides a framework within which we can simplify this complexity and organise our thinking when approaching the task of valuation.

Central to the ecosystem services approach is the idea that we can characterise the natural world as a production system; a production system akin to those that we observe in the human economy. In the human context, perhaps the most familiar production system is that of a business. Put simply, a business gathers together various inputs in order to produce one or more outputs. In the language of economics those outputs are termed ‘goods and services’. Furthermore, economists distinguish between two forms of goods and services:

- An *intermediate good and service* is one that is sold on to another business and acts as an input to the other business’ productive activity.
- A *final good or service* is one that is sold on to consumers, who gain welfare from its consumption.

That final point is worth reiterating. Human welfare is enhanced by the consumption of final goods and services. Intermediate goods and services do not generate welfare; rather, they contribute to the economy’s ability to produce final goods and services. For example, timber, an intermediate good, produced by a lumber company, is not a direct source of well-being for humans. However, when accompanied by other intermediate goods and services, including skilled labour and carpentry tools, timber can be fabricated into a table - a final good from which humans derive well-being.

In addition to the productive activities of businesses, economists recognise a second form of productive activity: that undertaken by households. The service flows from which households gain welfare are generated through individuals using their time and money to combine a particular set of final goods and services. For example, the benefit gained from watching a film at the cinema arises through the household combining travel, time and a cinema ticket; removing any of these items from the household production process and the household does not experience a gain in welfare.

Accordingly, our simple way of understanding the workings of an economy is to imagine households and businesses engaged in productive activities. Those activities involve utilising a variety of goods and services, in order to produce an output. The relationship between the use of inputs and the creation of outputs is described as a *production function*, where the term *household production function* is used to distinguish household productive technology from that of businesses.

2.2. The natural factory

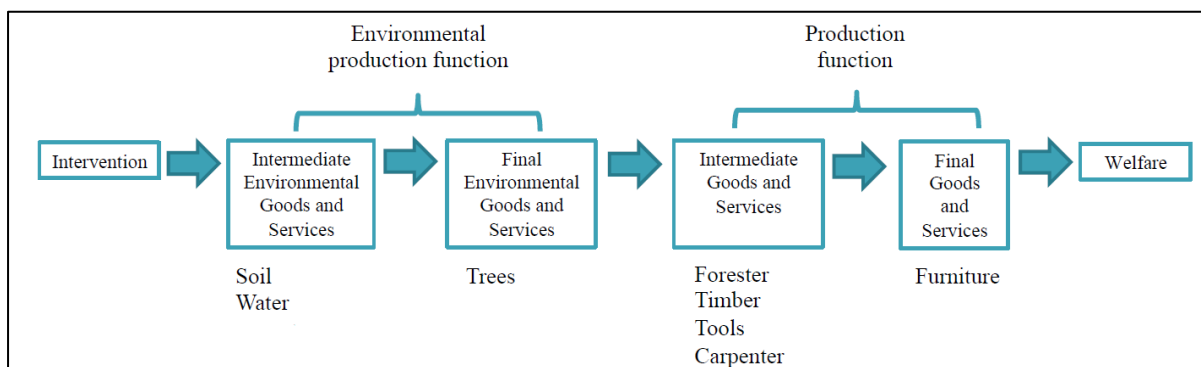


Figure 1: The ecosystem service approach

The central idea behind the ecosystem services approach is to use the same concepts, in order to structure our understanding of the workings of the natural world. More concisely, the ecosystem services approach characterises the environment as a complex natural factory, engaged in a myriad of productive processes. Unlike the productive activities of businesses and households, the productive processes of the environment are not organised by humans, but arise spontaneously in nature; indeed that is their defining characteristic. In an exact parallel to the human economy, the productive activities of nature are described by *environmental production functions*. Just like their human-controlled counterparts, environmental production functions require inputs and deliver outputs. In areas of the literature, particularly outside economics, these outputs are called *ecosystem services*. For a number of reasons we prefer to use the more inclusive term *environmental goods and services*.⁵

Notice the clear distinction in this terminology between the process and the output. To clarify; environmental production functions are to flows of environmental goods and services, as economic production functions are to flows of goods and services (Brown, Bergstrom and Loomis, 2007). For example, water purification is not an environmental good/service. Rather, it is the environmental production function that delivers the environmental good/service of pure water.

2.3. Final and intermediate environmental goods and services

Another crucial distinction clarified by the ecosystem services characterisation of nature, is between intermediate and final environmental goods and services (Boyd and Krupnick, 2009):

⁵ Firstly, environmental production functions span a range of natural processes that may be physical (e.g. coastal erosion) and chemical (e.g. low-level ozone generation) in nature as well as ecological. The emphasis placed upon ecological functions by the term ‘ecosystem services’ is arguably somewhat narrow and may cause confusion, given the important contributions of abiotic resources to human wellbeing. Secondly, environmental production functions can result in both tangible and intangible outputs. To an economist, it would seem more appropriate to refer to tangible outputs as ‘goods’ rather than services.

- *Intermediate environmental goods and services* (IEGS) are environmentally produced goods and services that act as inputs to some other environmental process.
- *Final environmental goods and services* (FEGS) are environmentally produced goods and services that enter household or business production functions, without further biophysical translation. Alternatively, FEGS are those particular subset of environmental goods and services that have direct and immediate consequences for productive activities in the (human) economy.

This distinction is particularly important in the context of valuing the contribution of nature to human well-being. In particular, households and businesses perceive value as resulting from the flow of FEGS that they enjoy. While the supply of those FEGS is underpinned by environmental processes that draw on a variety of IEGS, people do not have preferences for IEGS anymore than they have preferences for intermediate economic goods and services. For example, people derive value from a house but would find it practically impossible to disaggregate that value into the independent contributions made by the bricks, timber and concrete that went into its construction. Likewise, a water company derives value from the purity of the raw water it abstracts from the environment but has no direct perception of the value of the trees, soils and biotic community that contribute to the quality of that water.

In practical terms, the distinction between FEGS and IEGS is critical. It identifies the fact that attempts to value the environment must focus on FEGS, since households and firms can meaningfully deduce the benefit that they derive from those environmental goods and services. In contrast, the value derived from IEGS is not immediately apparent to households and firms. In understanding the value provided by IEGS, an extra step is required which first determines the contribution of those IEGS in the delivery of FEGS.

The distinction between IEGS and FEGS is not always straightforward. The same environmental good or service may act as an input to both human and environmental production systems. For example, pure raw water is a FEGS for water supply companies who extract it from rivers and reservoirs. However, it is also an IEGS to the environmental production process, through which freshwater fish reproduce. The output of fish reproduction is fish, which might act as a FEGS in the human activity of recreational fishing.

Another point of note, is the fact that what some people may consider to be and refer to as ecosystem services, actually arise from processes that are not naturally occurring. This is the case, for example, of food from agriculture or timber from a plantation forest. Both of these goods and services result from human-organised production processes, which require significant inputs of produced capital and labour in addition to crucial inputs of FEGS from nature including soil, rainfall, sunshine and pollinators.

2.4. Natural capital

The discussion about environmental goods and services inevitably also requires the consideration of the role played by natural capital. Unfortunately there is confusion about the meaning of the word natural capital. Often natural capital and ecosystem services are terms used interchangeably. However, natural capital refers to the stock of physical assets (e.g. such as air, water, fertile soils and so on) constituting a given ecosystem and it underlies the production of the flow of ecosystem goods and services. If natural capital is in good condition, it will support the provision of abundant flows of goods and services that people appreciate. However, if natural capital is not in good condition, only lower levels of provision of goods and services will be supplied. This is an important consideration because the underlying condition of natural capital will then affect how people value given changes in the environment. For

example, people value more a given environmental change if there is scarcity in that good or, in other words, if the underlying natural capital is in poor condition.

Despite this, though, natural capital is not often accounted for when assessing the benefits provided by woodland ecosystems. As we will explain in more detail below, economic valuation generally only focuses on measuring the welfare implications of changes in the flow of ecosystem services, regardless of the underlying stock of natural assets. Accounting for natural capital in the process of economic valuation is possible, and advisable, by adopting a natural capital accounting framework, as we will explain more extensively in [Chapter 14](#).

2.5. The Welfare implications of environmental interventions

The primary purpose of the ecosystems services paradigm is to provide a framework within which, the welfare implications of an environmental intervention might be appraised. An environmental intervention is defined as any project or policy that has impacts on the natural environment. In the simplest case, such an intervention might just reduce the quantity or quality of flow of a FECS. The task of evaluating that change is relatively straightforward; an analyst only requires an estimate of the value that households or businesses attach to the change in the supply of a FECS. More information on how those values are established is presented in [Annex 1](#). Here we summarize the key concepts for understanding what economic valuation is (and is not):

- Valuation reflects the benefits people derive from the natural environment. Values are determined by human preferences, which are subjective; as human preferences change, so do the values placed on goods and services. This may be driven by social and cultural context, public opinion or changing technologies⁶. Valuation incorporates these changes.
- Scientific underpinning is central to economic valuation, which relates biophysical changes to impacts on human welfare, measured in monetary terms. Thus, economic analysis is only ever as good as the natural science upon which it is based.
- Economic value has been criticized because it fails to add separate elements that record shared or communal values (defined as values that are enjoyed by a community rather than an individual) and other-regarding values (values derived from benefits that accrue to others). To economists, those criticisms appear ill-founded; a community is not an entity that can experience well-being independent of the humans from which it is constituted. Those humans may experience different levels of economic value as a result of being part of a community, but that additional value will be captured by their own expressions of economic value. Likewise, if an individual's sense of well-being is in part determined by the well-being experienced by others, then this will also be reflected in their expressions of economic value.
- Prices and values are not the same. While public parks may be unpriced at the point of use, they clearly have value to people. Economic analyses assess these values to help inform decisions. Valuation is not an attempt to commoditize nature.

⁶ For example, cultural shifts in preferences can be seen in the rise in interest in wilderness areas (Nash, 2001); while technology shifts have in part been responsible for a resurgence in the use of fuelwood (Couture et al., 2012).

- Economic values are typically expressed in monetary units. A unit of monetary value is worth the same regardless of its origin, meaning environmental costs and benefits should be considered equally with the myriad of competing demands on government budgets. In principle, this means that monetary units can be compared like for like; for example, £1 of biodiversity benefits has the same value as £1 of timber.
- Economic valuation is not the same as environmental accounting. Valuation assesses the impact on human wellbeing (the value) of marginal changes in the provision of environmental goods and services. In contrast, environmental accounting attempts to measure natural capital stocks so that annual changes and trends over time can be identified. From the identification of changes in stocks of natural capital and in the resulting flow of ecosystem goods and services, economic valuation can inform upon the importance (value) of such changes taking place over time.

Some aspects are worth noting regarding the valuation of changes in FEGS, resulting from any decision-making process. More often than not, the impact of an environmental intervention is to perturb some environmental production process; in which case, appraisal becomes more difficult. An analyst, must first turn to the natural sciences to understand how the perturbation, brought about by the intervention, impacts on the output of FEGS from that process. Once that relationship is established, the welfare impact of the intervention can again be established, by applying estimates of the value that humans attach to that change in supply of FEGS. Further complexity is added if the perturbed environmental process results in outputs of IEGS that in turn feed into other environmental production functions. In this case, analysts require even greater input from natural scientists; the welfare impacts of the intervention can only be determined by tracing the impacts of that intervention, through the natural factory and establishing the resulting changes in supply of potentially multiple FEGS.

Let's take, for example, a planned intervention, seeking to establish continuous cover forestry in an area of woodland previously managed as a conventional clear-felled plantation forest. That management change has a number of effects; for instance, in averting clear-felling, the supply of the FEGS 'visual amenity' is increased, a benefit that is enjoyed by humans who take pleasure in beholding an intact forest. In this case, there is a direct relationship between the intervention and FEGS; we simply require a measure of the added visual amenity value of continuous cover forest, compared to clear-felling.

A more complex consequence arises from reductions in soil erosion, when switching from clear-felling to continuous cover. According to the ecosystem services paradigm, it is the consequent impacts of reduced soil erosion (through the natural factory on the delivery of FEGS), that delivers welfare improvements, not the reduction in soil erosion, which is an intermediate service. For example, eroded soil might be transported overland to watercourses and be deposited as sediment in a downstream reservoir. In this case, the FEGS is the rate of deposition of sediment in the reservoir, a good (or more correctly a bad) perceived by the reservoir's managers, when considering their requirements for dredging. The analyst must establish the natural science that links continuous cover forestry with reduced rates of sedimentation. The value of the intervention in this regard is the reduction in costs associated with dredging.

2.6. Valuing final environmental goods and services (FEGS)

A number of attributes determine the value of final environmental goods and services. These include:

- **Characteristics:** These are the nature of the FEGS, as it is delivered by the environmental production function. The characteristics are the dimensions of the FEGS that are recognised by

humans and determine the value that people attach to the supply of FEES. One can think about the characteristics as the units in which the FEES are measured.

- Context: The value of the FEES is not only determined by the way in which it is produced, but also by the way it is consumed. We must understand how the FEES fit into a potentially complicated human production function that has many other arguments. We describe the current levels of those other arguments as *context*.
- Aggregation: How many people enjoy value and how is this mediated by proximity?

While most of the externalities generated by forests are positive, some are negative; for example, a reduction in water availability provides flood alleviation and reduced siltation, but also imposes a negative impact upon water companies and their customers. To understand the net effect on society (i.e. to a broader set of beneficiaries), all externalities should be considered simultaneously, including impacts upon recreation, views, biodiversity, health and non-use values.

2.7. Production functions related to trees and woodlands

Throughout this report, we organise the social and environmental benefits provided by trees and woodlands and the economic production functions that they enter, into categories. To ensure consistency, these categories were based on the US EPA classification, as presented in Landers and Nahlik (2013). The full set of categories is summarised below in Table 1, where crosses indicate the areas in which there is evidence that trees and woodlands provide benefits (or costs).

Table 2 and Table 3 provide descriptions of the categories.

Table 1: Categorising the social and environmental benefits of trees and woodlands

| | | Production functions | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|------------------------|----------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|------------|----------------|----------------|-------------------|---------|-----------------|---------------|------------|----------|----------|------------------------|---------------|
| | | Timber products | Food (agriculture and subsistence) | Industrial production | Pharmaceuticals | Hydropower | Drinking water | Transportation | Flood alleviation | Housing | Physical health | Mental health | Recreation | Artistic | Learning | Spiritual and cultural | Non-use value |
| Final environmental goods and services | Water quality | | X | X | | X | X | X | | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X |
| | Water quantity | | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X | | | X | X | X | X | X |
| | Air quality | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Flora, fauna and fungi | X | X | | X | | | | | X | X | X | X | | X | X | X |
| | Environmental amenity | | | | | | | | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| | Views | | | X | | | | | | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| | Soil | | X | X | | | | | | X | | | X | | X | X | X |
| | Timber and fibre | X | X | X | X | | | | | X | | | X | X | X | X | |

Table 2: Description of final environmental goods and services categories

| Final environmental goods and services categories | Description |
|--|---|
| Water quality | The condition of water in terms of its chemical, physical, biological, radiological and/or aesthetic characteristics. |
| Water quantity | The volume and flow of water. |
| Air quality | The condition of the air including chemical composition, (e.g. NO _x , SO ₂ , and scent). |
| Climate | Temperature, rainfall and greenhouse gas concentrations |
| Flora, fauna and fungi | Plant and animal life. |
| Environmental amenity | Characteristics of the surroundings and/or conditions in which a beneficiary lives, works or recreates. |
| Sound and scent | Sources of sounds and scents as well as the magnitude of the emission. |
| Soil | Measures of the condition of the soil including soil type (e.g. clay, loam, sand), acidity (pH), moisture. |
| Timber and fibre | Measures of the direct timber and fibre produced by trees and woodlands. |
| Views | Visible characteristics in which a beneficiary lives, works or recreates. |

Table 3: Description of Production Function Categories

| Production function | Description |
|------------------------------------|--|
| Timber products | The physical timber and fibrous material. This includes timber for extraction (e.g. wood for construction, fuel etc.) and timber used for subsistence (e.g. wood for construction, fuel). |
| Food (agriculture and subsistence) | The edible substances as well as indirect benefits (e.g. pollination). This includes the extraction of edible substances from trees or woodlands both commercially and for subsistence (e.g. mushrooms, fruits, and nuts) and indirect benefits, such as habitat for healthy populations of pollinators or trees providing shelter for crops. |
| Industrial production | The benefits trees provide to commercial and industrial businesses. This includes the impact on water and the atmosphere, for example providing industry with the opportunity to discharge waste. |
| Pharmaceuticals | The medicinal products and inputs. This includes the extracted wood, bark, roots, leaves, flowers, fruits or seeds used in medicines. |
| Hydropower | The benefits trees provide through the impact on the water environment for hydroelectric power producers. |
| Drinking water | The benefits trees provide through the impact on the water environment for water suppliers. |

| | |
|------------------------|---|
| Transportation | The benefits trees provide through the water environment for the transporters of goods or people. |
| Flood alleviation | The benefits trees provide through the water environment for the alleviation of floods. |
| Urban heat islands | The benefits trees provide in terms of shade, temperature regulation and energy savings |
| Carbon sequestration | Carbon storage and sequestration, and greenhouse gas emissions |
| Housing | The benefits trees provide to residential households. This includes the benefits through the impact on water and the atmosphere (including health benefits), opportunities for recreation and amenity value. |
| Physical health | The benefits trees provide to the physical health of the population through improvements in air quality, water quality, opportunities for exercise and so on. |
| Mental health | The benefits trees provide to the mental health of the population. |
| Recreation | Opportunities for recreation activities. This includes nature viewing (e.g. bird watching), hiking, and the opportunities to experience views, sounds and scents. |
| Artistic | Opportunities for amateur and professional artists. This includes the use of the environment to produce art such as the opportunities to experience views, sounds and scents. |
| Learning | Opportunities for educators, students and researchers to learn from and experience the environment. |
| Spiritual and cultural | The benefits trees provide for spiritual, ceremonial or celebratory purposes. |
| Non-use value | The benefits trees provide for people who care about existence value of the environment (those who think it is important to preserve the environment for moral/ethical connection or fear of unintended consequences) or bequest values (those who think it is important to preserve the environment for future generations). |

3. Water resources




Trees and forests provide a variety of water regulating services (and in some cases dis-services), which can be broadly divided into services affecting the quality of waterways and those affecting the quantity and flow of water. These services provide benefits to a variety of beneficiaries and valuing them requires an understanding of the biophysical processes at work, the relevant units of measurement and the specific beneficiaries. The two main subsections here divide water resources into these two broad categories of quality and quantity and review the existing evidence base for valuing them both. Our presentation is structured around the ecosystem services approach, relating woodlands to the final environmental goods and services they yield and the various production functions that were identified by the steering group as priority issues.

While some studies focus directly upon water quality or quantity protection benefits, others incorporate water quality or quantity within a suite of benefits (arising from say, the conservation of green spaces, recreation opportunities, biodiversity and habitat preservation and environmental education), or relate it to broadly defined ‘environmental programs’.

3.1 Water Quality

Table 4: Colour-coded summary assessment of available evidence on the role of forests and trees on water quality

| Biophysical evidence | Valuation evidence | Decision support tools | Urban tree literature |
|--|---|--|---|
| Many studies fail to link water quality outcomes to woodland management or planting actions, but some evidence is starting to be produced on this area of study. There are still research gaps concerning the relationship between forested areas and better water quality and the factors affecting or mediating this relationship. | There is relatively scarce research on the non-market benefits of water quality linked to forests. More research is also needed to understand the appropriate geographical scale at which forest impacts on water quality should be studied (i.e. small scale versus catchment scale). More should be explored on the valuation of different pollutants and their removal from waterways. | More biophysical and valuation evidence needs to be produced to facilitate the development of accessible support tools that incorporate water quality. | There is limited existing information on the relationship between urban trees and water quality (e.g. their role in reducing sewage treatment costs and improving urban recreation). Special consideration is required for upstream versus downstream impacts, given that urban centres are often located downstream. |

Key:  Strong evidence, with few gaps  Some evidence, but with significant gaps  Major gaps in evidence

3.1.1. Biophysical Pathways

Trees and woodlands impact on water quality via a number of pathways, as illustrated in Figure 2.

Examples of these biophysical pathways include:

- By providing **above-ground vegetation**, trees act as a wind barrier, which reduces wind erosion, stabilizes sand dunes and reduces the loss of topsoil into waterways (Nisbet, Orr and Broadmeadow, 2004). Riparian woodland has been found to be particularly efficient at intercepting aerial drift of pesticides and trapping pesticides bound to sediment in runoff (McKay, 2011). Both mature managed woodland and newly restored woodland have been shown to achieve pesticide reductions; in some cases this reduction can be substantial (Vellidis et al., 2002). Also woodland creation was found to play a significant role in reducing diffuse pollution resulting from agricultural activities, by acting as a barrier to intercept suspended solids/sediments, nitrates, ammonium, phosphate and pesticides (Pérez-Silos, 2017). In addition, studies have found that the shade provided by riparian trees can significantly reduce peak summer temperatures in rivers and streams, which can be good to minimize algal blooms and sustain freshwater biodiversity (Broadmeadow et al., 2011). Along evidence showing a positive effect of forests on water quality, some studies also suggested that woodlands can influence water quality negatively. For example, coniferous (Nisbet and Evans, 2014) and broadleaf (to a lesser extent) woodland expansion have both been associated with stream acidification (Gagkas, 2007; Gagkas et al., 2011; Ryan et al., 2012). Despite increased acidification depends on tree species and acid sensitivity, in general, it was found to be strongest where tree density is high. In addition, floodplain and riparian woodland can reduce diffuse pollution by enhancing siltation and sediment retention (Jeffries et al, 2003; Nisbet et al., 2011) and nutrient removal (Gilliam, 1994).
- **Below ground**, tree root networks can stabilise banks preventing erosion, especially near to waterways, where they typically reduce the amount of sediment entering rivers. Reducing sediment runoff has both direct benefits, such as improving conditions for fish breeding, (Carling et al., 2001) and indirect benefits, for example by reducing some forms of nutrient runoff, as phosphates bind to soil particles, which may then be transported into waterways (Hutchings, 2002). Despite most studies recognizing the beneficial effect of woodlands in terms of reducing sediment runoff in water, this effect has also been acknowledged to vary substantially depending on the forest management regime. For example, increasing disturbances can lead to increased soil erosion, which is bad for water quality (Seidl et al. 2016). As a result, forest plantations are sometimes less effective than natural forests in regulating sediment fluxes into water. This is though not the case in the UK, where the UK Forestry Standard (<https://www.forestry.gov.uk/ukfs>) is specifically designed to prevent such negative impacts from forest plantations

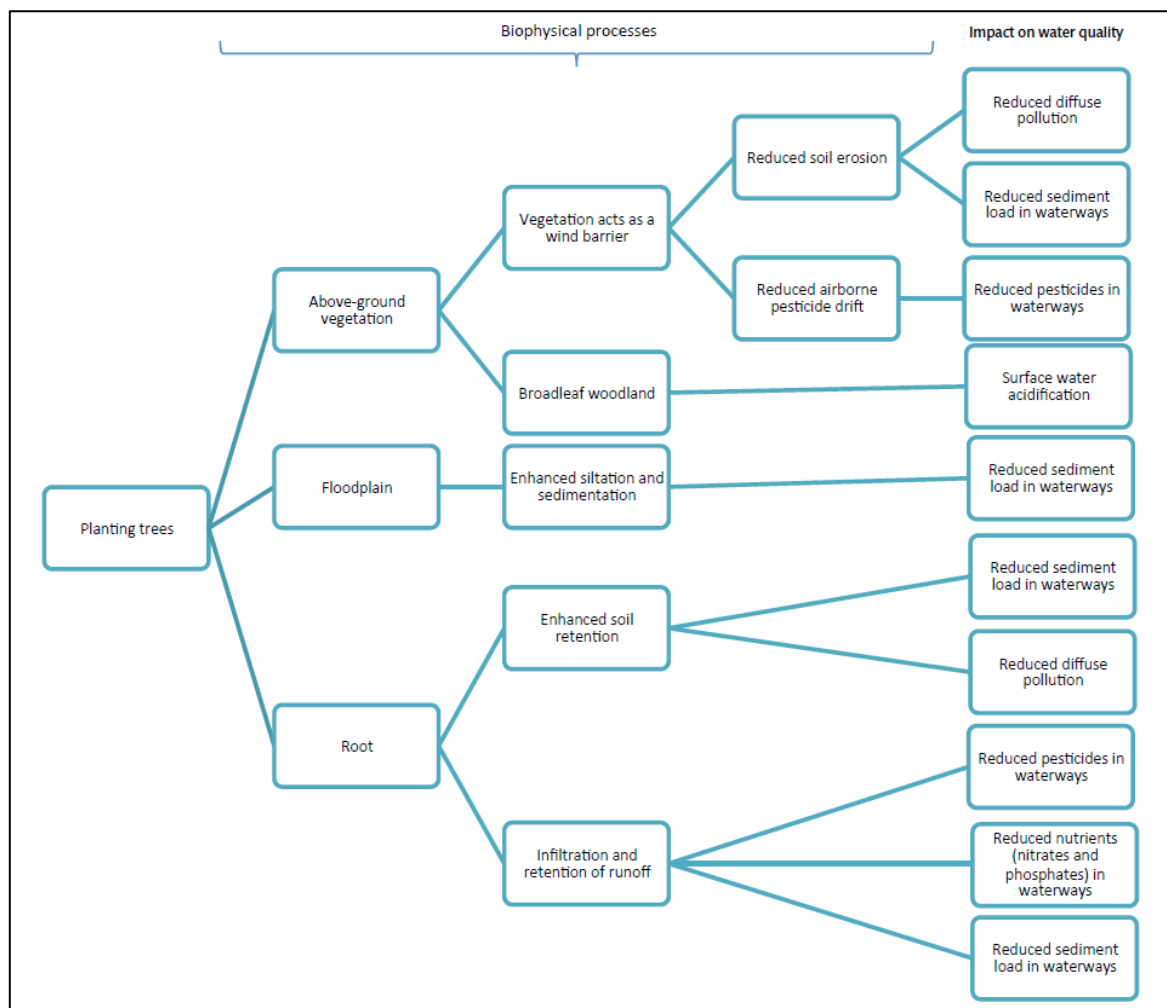


Figure 2: Biophysical processes of woodland influencing water quality

3.1.2. Final environmental good or service

The final environmental good is the change in water quality, which can be attributed to woodlands. These goods and services are presented in the “impact on water quality” section of the biophysical pathways in Figure 2.

There is strong evidence to suggest that well located woodland planting can lead to improvements in both surface water quality (Calder et al., 2008) and groundwater quality (Yamada et al., 2007). These improvements include: the uptake of excess nutrients, such as nitrates and phosphates; the interception and reduction of pesticide concentrations and sediment run-off; and temperature regulation (Nisbet, Silgram et al., 2011, Broadmeadow et al. 2011). However, trees have also been linked with negative impacts, including increased acidification from coniferous trees (Nisbet and Evans 2014).

3.1.3. Water quality units

The extant literature defines water quality in a range of ways, using information on metrics such as: the concentration of sediments; nutrients, including nitrates and phosphates; pesticides; the proportion of

water that requires treatment; and classifications, such as the Water Framework Directive's ratings for ecology, aesthetics and riverbanks. The most appropriate unit for any given study or valuation depends upon how the change in water quality flows through various production functions to influence specific beneficiaries. Many studies value the changes in specific units (e.g. nitrate in mg l^{-1} , temperature in degrees Celsius, and sediment in mg l^{-1}), whereas others assess changes between broad categories of water quality (e.g. pristine, good, fair, poor). The latter approach enables researchers to relate physical units to those relevant for measuring values. This has been the case, for example, of recreational values in revealed preference (travel cost) studies (e.g. Bateman, Day et al., 2014), or stated preference surveys. Particularly in this latter case, it was possible to estimate visitors' preferences for water quality without specific reference to detailed scientific measurements, which are unlikely to be understood by the public (e.g. Bateman, Brouwer et al., 2011).

3.1.4. Economic production functions

Water quality impacts the following production functions:

- Food (agriculture) – through abstraction for irrigation
- Industrial and commercial production – by affecting water treatment and filtration costs
- Reservoir - port and river authorities incur costs from sedimentation and dredging
- The costs and productivity of downstream commercial and recreational fisheries are dependent upon water quality
- Hydropower – sedimentation affects the operating costs of hydropower plants
- Drinking water – the operating costs of water companies are affected by water treatment for nutrient, pesticide and sediment concentration
- Transportation – siltation affects running costs for transportation companies
- Housing – amenity values related to the quality of nearby waterways are incorporated into property values
- Physical health – water contamination leads to health impacts, through the use of water for recreation and consumption
- Recreation – through the immersive use of water for recreation (e.g. swimming, windsurfing), contact use of water for recreation (e.g. kayaking, boating, rafting) and the indirect use of water for recreation (aesthetic part of landscape)
- Artistic – as an input to or inspiration for the production of art by amateur and professional artists
- Learning - opportunities for educators, students and researchers to learn from and experience the environment
- Spiritual and cultural - for spiritual, ceremonial or celebratory purposes
- Non-use value - the benefits trees provide for people who care about existence value of the environment (those who think it is important to preserve the environment for moral/ethical connection or fear of unintended consequences), or bequest values (those who think it is important to preserve the environment for future generations).

3.1.5. Beneficiaries

Water companies, water bill payers, agricultural workers, fisheries, energy producers, the general population and recreational users are all potential beneficiaries from improvements in water quality.

3.1.6. Valuation methods

The majority of the surveyed valuation literature on woodlands and water quality either; i) uses cost based methods to explore the impact of woodlands on the price of water, or; ii) uses stated preference methods to estimate the recreational value of water quality improvements. However, specifically attributing increased recreational values to forest services is difficult and remains understudied. The literature review revealed a variety of permutations of these approaches including: cost based methods using water bills and stated preference methods, such as choice experiments and contingent valuation. Recent studies have seen a resurgence of interest in using revealed preference methods for estimating recreation related values.

3.1.7. Valuation Scale

Studies have been conducted at both the local, regional (e.g. river, basin, municipality and water supply system level) and national scale (for the UK, France and Ecuador).

In principle, valuations should be transferable across locations. However, attempts to transfer stated preference valuations of water quality have met with mixed success (Hanley, Wright, Alvarez-Farizo, 2006; Bateman, Brouwer et al., 2011; Ferrini, Schaafsma and Bateman 2014). A key issue is the extent to which spatial context (i.e. the location of substitutes, population, transport infrastructure etc.) can be adequately incorporated into valuation functions and hence transferred⁷. In cases where such incorporation is poor (e.g. where information regarding the availability of substitutes is unavailable), then errors may be lower if relatively simple valuation functions (e.g. ignoring some contextual factors) are used for transfer purposes (Bateman, Brouwer et al., 2011). However, the increasing availability of highly detailed spatial data (Bateman, Day et al., 2014; Sen et al., 2014) raises the potential for transferring more detailed valuation functions, yielding more accurate estimates of value. In general, the cost of analysis and the degree of accuracy required for robust decision making should guide the choice of the transfer approach.

3.1.8. Valuation Estimates

The Woodland Valuation Tool (WVT) currently contains 19 valuation studies or reviews and 31 references to biophysical studies, relating to water quality. This literature examines the value of water quality changes to a variety of beneficiaries and across multiple contexts, a summary of which is given below.

Water companies

Woodlands generate water quality improvements, which in turn benefit water companies, through reductions in the treatment costs associated with the production of drinking water. These potential gains are only realised if water companies are able to respond to improvements in water quality, by altering water treatments. In areas where water quality is relatively good, this could be achieved by reducing mixing (i.e. the volume of clean water added), or by reducing chemical cleaning. All, some portion or

⁷ A related issue concerns the transfer of valuations across periods. There is a developing literature on this issue and while much of this concerns water quality (see for example Brouwer and Bateman, 2005), to date, little relates to woodland.

none of these benefits may be retained by the water company as profits, or passed on to consumers in the form of reduced water bills. In areas where quality is poor, large investments (i.e. sunk costs) in technology (e.g. carbon filters) may have already been made, which limits the cost saving opportunities, thus reducing the benefits to water companies.

Willis (2002) disaggregates water treatment costs into energy costs and expenditure on chemicals (see Table 5). These costs are identified on the basis of personal communication with McMahon (2001) and applied uniformly across all companies in England and Wales (Willis 2002). However, actual costs are likely to vary (possibly substantially) between companies and across regions, due to differences in water treatment technologies, capacity and availability of substitute water sources. Moreover, per unit treatment costs may not be constant, due to different sources and types of pollution.

Table 5: Treatment costs per million litres treated (from Willis 2002)

| Cost expenditure category | (Approximate) treatment cost per million litres treated by water companies |
|--|---|
| Power | GBP 25 |
| Chemicals needed to treat water from 'good groundwater' sources | GBP 1 |
| Chemicals needed to treat water from groundwater sources that require enhanced treatment | GBP 2 |
| Chemicals needed to treat surface water sources | GBP 15 |

Long run marginal costs for water supply and water treatment costs were obtained by Willis (2002) and Willis et al (2003), via OFWAT and direct communication with water companies. However, due to the confidential and preferential nature of water treatment and abstraction cost information, marginal costs and water treatment costs are not publicly available and are scarcely reported in academic literature. It should be noted however, that there are significant issues with this work; for example, effects were examined within 1 km squares but not across them and, as a result, the values are likely to substantially under-estimate the benefits. Furthermore, since the Willis (2002) values were obtained, there have been a number of changes to the regulation of water companies; for example, through the introduction of the future price limits system in 2011 and the 2014 pricing review⁸. The economic value of clean water should be invariant to these regulatory issues; however, since the values reported in Willis (2002) and Willis et al. (2003) are related to market costs, they are not independent of such issues. Additionally, water abstraction costs are strongly related to the flow of water at abstraction points. Flow rates, and indeed the location of abstraction points, are likely to have changed over the last decade, implying that the costs reported by Willis (2002) and Willis et al (2003) are potentially unreliable and should be interpreted as imperfect estimates.

Consumers

Water quality improvements generated by trees benefit consumers, by reducing treatment costs in the production of drinking water. All, some portion or none of these benefits may be retained by the water company as profits, or passed on to consumers in the form of reduced water rates.

⁸ <https://www.ofwat.gov.uk/pricereview/pr14/>).<https://www.ofwat.gov.uk/pricereview/pr14/>

The following list gives recent examples considering the value of water quality improvements to households through surveying the resident population or collecting data on their water bills:

- Figuepron, Garcia and Stenger (2013) developed a cost-based econometric model to assess the benefits provided by forests in France, in terms of improved water quality; they estimated that on average, 1 ha of afforestation would generate a saving for French domestic users of around EUR 22 per year for all domestic users (in 2004 Euros).
- Abildtrup, Garcia and Stenger (2013) developed a spatial econometric analysis of the effect of forest land use on the cost of drinking water supply in Vosges, France; in their analysis, they found a reduction in household water bills of EUR 98.93 – 138.46 (in 2008 Euros), per year, per hectare of new forest.

These estimates reflect the benefit to consumers through reductions in the cost of clean water. However, it is feasible that cost savings are not fully passed on to consumers and so there may also be benefits in terms of increased profits to water companies. Our review did not find any studies that attempt to calculate changes in profits and so it is possible that the published literature on changes to consumer bills, does not capture the full monetary value of the impact of woodlands on water quality. Similar conclusions can be drawn when considering the market price of domestic water because this does not allow us to capture the full value of forest-dependent water quality. This is because market prices only reflect the private benefits of water to buyers and sellers, but does not reveal anything about the social benefits of having access to good quality drinking water and reducing the incidence of waterborne health problems. An example of study using this approach is Häyhä et al. (2015).

Agriculture and fisheries

Reductions in the quantity of water available clearly have the potential to impact negatively upon agricultural output; with respect to water quality, the literature is dominated by studies examining the impact of farming upon quality, as opposed to the effect that reduced quality may have upon farm output (Shalhevet, 1994). Internationally, the impact of woodland loss upon water quality and thereon upon agriculture, has been prominent in areas subject to saline intrusion. For example, in South East Australia trees can protect topsoil by keeping saline aquifers sufficiently discharged, thereby allowing crops to be cultivated. However, the felling of trees in such areas has allowed saline intrusion and the loss of arable produce (Walker et al., 2010). While examples such as the above provide useful guidance as to the valuation of water quality impacts upon production (see also Bateman, Mace et al., 2011), our review failed to find examples relevant to woodland-induced water quality effects upon UK agriculture⁹.

Riparian and floodplain woodland improves water quality by acting as a physical buffer, preventing sediment, pesticide and nutrient runoff (Nisbet, Silgram et al. 2011); additionally, the shade produced by trees can help reduce water temperature and has been associated with increased oxygen levels, benefitting aquatic life. An example from Oregon, USA, shows woodland planting being used to reduce

⁹ Willis (2002) argues that, because of subsidies, the marginal social cost of agricultural production exceeds its marginal value to society. So the cost of reduced water quality is likely to be low at the margin. However, water quality problems may not be confined to marginal farms. A separate argument may be that the lack of literature in the UK context is symptomatic of this being a minor issue. While gaps in the literature should not generally be interpreted as indicators of low values, in this case it may be true.

water temperature. The waste water from a water treatment plant had the effect of increasing the temperature of the river to levels that negatively affected the salmon population. Rather than paying an estimated US\$ 150 million on cooling technology, the water treatment company instead paid farmers to plant trees along the river to increase levels of shade and therefore, reduce the water temperature (Bienkowski 2015). In the UK, riparian shade was found to have a substantial influence on water temperature for certain species, such as the brown trout; for such species, water temperatures above a threshold amount can be lethal and riparian shade was found to be an effective way of moderating the extremes in temperature during the summer months (Broadmeadow et al. 2011).

Hydroelectric producers

The prevention of sediment runoff from the physical buffer created by riparian and floodplain woodland may also affect hydroelectric producers. The main cost to hydroelectric companies from sediment is likely to be a reduction in storage capacity, from the build-up of sediment in the reservoirs. In addition, sediment is one of the factors which ultimately determines the lifespan of a reservoir (Halcrow Water, 2001). The management of sediment levels has a financial cost for hydroelectric companies, through activities such as dredging and sediment flushing. Riparian trees may therefore reduce the running costs of such activities; however, our review failed to find examples relevant to the effect of woodland-induced sediment reductions upon UK hydroelectricity.

Recreational users

Tree-induced improvements in water quality benefits recreational users through enhanced enjoyment of outdoor activities, including swimming in lakes and rivers, boating, and recreational fishing.

A number of studies relate UK water quality to values derived from recreation (Hanley, Wright and Alvarez-Farizo 2006; Metcalfe et al, 2012; Sen et al, 2014) and related activities, such as recreational fishing (Butler et al., 2009).¹⁰ A variety of approaches have been used to estimate values, including revealed and stated preference methods (see for example, Bateman, Abson et al., 2011). Both methods tend to yield values for the amalgam of attributes that constitute water quality, as perceived by visitors and it may be difficult for the analyst to identify the relative weights placed on specific attributes. For example, changes in clarity might be clearly perceived. However, other issues - such as aquatic biodiversity impact on health and pollutant concentrations - might be progressively more difficult to

¹⁰ In an extensive meta-analysis of water quality values in the USA, Van Houtven, Powers and Pattanayak (2007) map water quality changes from 90 studies onto a 10-point water quality index (WQI), where for instance a score of 2.5/10 referred to 'boatable', 5.1 referred to 'fishable' and 7.0 was 'swimmable'. They found the average value per unit of a change in water quality (on their composite WQI) ranged from \$2.6 - \$155, with a mean of \$30.6 (in 2000 USD). A more recent meta-analysis of the value of forest conservation for water quality protection in the US (Kreye, Adams and Escobedo 2014) found several important drivers of willingness to pay for water quality: type of conservation instrument (tool), aquatic resource type, geographic context, spatial scale, time, and household income. The values provided in Kreye, Adams and Escobedo (2014) and Van Houtven, Powers and Pattanayak (2007) focus exclusively on willingness to pay generated through stated preference studies. While this may simplify the process of conducting meta-analyses, it excludes all revealed preference and cost-based techniques which may hold greater validity for a range of final environmental goods and services and beneficiary combinations. Incorporating many of the key variables identified in these studies, Sen et al (2014) value recreational visits to freshwater and floodplain ecosystems in the UK, reporting an average value of GBP 1.82 per person per trip.

disentangle (although a given project appraisal may not require such fine distinctions in order to assess a given investment option).

Values have been found to be responsive not only to changes in quality, but also a variety of factors including, socioeconomic variables (e.g. income), the use of the resource by the individual, geographical region, program scale, type of water body and the specific conservation tool proposed (Kreye, Adams and Escobedo, 2014). Incorporating many of these variables in a recent UK-based study, Sen et al (2014) used the MENE database (Natural England, 2010) of over 40 000 household surveys to predict recreation visit numbers to different types of natural resource across the UK. This is combined with a new meta-analysis of the recreational value literature, which estimated an average value of GBP 3.34 per person, per visit to woodlands and forests and a value of GBP 1.82 per person, per visit to freshwater and floodplains. However, the contribution of woodland to water quality and its role in supporting recreational values was not disentangled.

3.1.9. Research gaps




Relatively few studies focus on water companies, hydroelectric power generators and industry as beneficiaries of the water quality improvements generated by forests and woodlands. The relative lack of robust cost information makes this a priority area for future research. For instance, Willis (2002) resorts to using water treatment costs derived from personal communication with relevant companies (reflected in Table 5). This cost information underpinned Willis et al (2003) and Eftec (2011), but it is not clear that these costs are necessarily representative across England and Wales. Expanding and formalizing the evidence base in this area is a necessary first step towards a deeper understanding of the potential impact of forestry induced water quality changes upon water companies.

- There is a need to extend the valuation of different pollutants and their removal from waterways. This needs to be flexible in terms of the scale of analysis, embracing both catchment and national levels. For example, there is a gap in the literature with respect to explicit valuation of sediment impacts, acidity and turbidity in the UK, although various studies appraise the overall benefits of woodland-related water quality changes.
- Many valuation studies fail to link water quality outcomes to woodland management or planting actions. This makes it difficult to establish causality and limits the usefulness of these valuation studies in supporting investment decisions, where the objective is to achieve specific improvements in water quality.
- Most of the literature concerning trees and water quality focusses upon the impacts of new afforestation programmes, rather than changes in management applied to existing woodlands (as an example of the latter, see the study of preventing deforestation by Kreye, Adams and Escobedo, 2014). For example, recent research at UK level has focused on the effect of woodland creation, in reducing the concentration of various diffuse pollutants in water (including suspended solids/sediments, nitrates, ammonium, phosphate, atrazine [pesticide]).
- Reliable, representative data on treatment costs faced by water companies across the UK are essential to understanding the benefits of water quality improvements. This would require detailed treatment cost data, information on upstream land use and catchment management (spatial configuration of forested areas) and sedimentation rates.
- Once valuation functions linking woodland to water quality are established, there remains a literature gap in terms of determining the most appropriate approach to transferring results across locations and time periods.

3.2. Water Availability and Flood Alleviation

Table 6: Colour-coded assessment of available evidence on the role of forests on flood regulation

| Biophysical evidence | Valuation evidence | Decision support tools | Urban tree literature |
|---|--|---|---|
| Some studies have explored the link between woodlands and water quantity and the mechanisms through which services of water flow control are provided by forests. However, data is needed to validate models. Robust biophysical evidence is also needed on the quantification of the relationship between local woodland management, location and forest design and changes in the water quantity available. The impacts of climate change will also need to be better understood. | There is some research on the non-market benefits of water quantity linked to forests. However, more research is needed to understand the appropriate geographical scale at which forests affect water quantity. The benefits of water quantity regulation for potential beneficiaries such as agriculture, the energy sector, the manufacturing and industry sectors are not robustly understood. | There is a clear need to integrate the variety of values associated with water resources and the role that woodlands can play in enhancing these. | Some evidence is available on the benefits of water quantity regulation supplied by urban forests. Given that flooding can potentially affect a high number of people in urban centres downstream, more attention should be given to the role of forests in water flow regulation, upstream and downstream. |

Key:  Strong evidence, with few gaps  Some evidence, but with significant gaps  Major gaps in evidence

3.2.1. Biophysical Pathways

Trees and woodlands impact on water quantity via a number of pathways, although the effect varies substantially over space and for different species of trees; for example, the benefits vary depending on whether the area is wet or dry, while conifers use more water than broadleaf species. The key pathways are illustrated in the diagram in Figure 3.

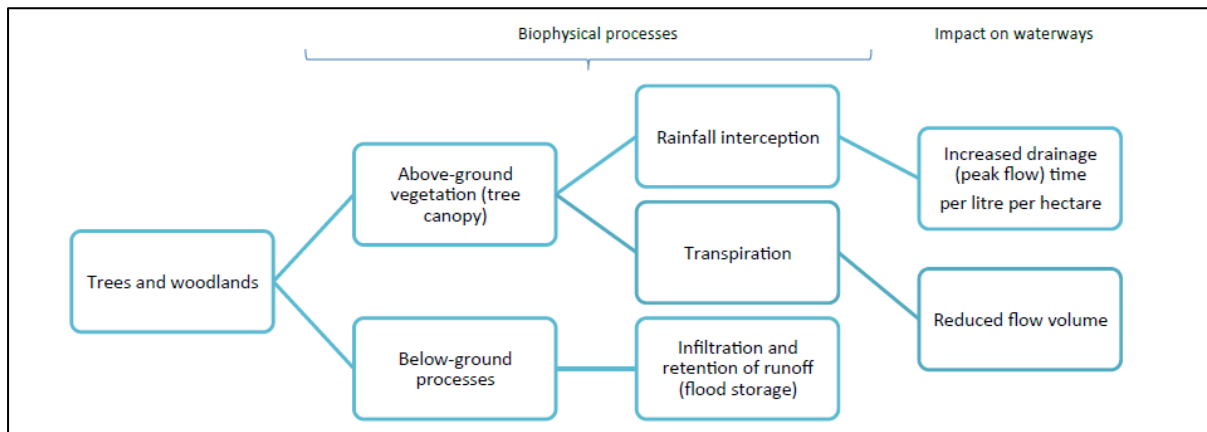


Figure 3: Biophysical processes of woodland influencing water quantity

Examples of these biophysical pathways include:

- As **above ground vegetation**, trees and woodlands increase surface roughness, which reduces the overland flow of water, and they are known to use more water than many alternatives (e.g. grass); the tree canopy intercepts rainfall and trees have low water losses through transpiration (Calder et al., 2008). As a result, well positioned trees and woodlands can help to reduce surface water flow volume and the time taken for one litre of rainwater to be drained through one hectare of land during peak flooding events (peak flow time). The impact of trees and woodlands on water availability depends on woodland type, tree species and location. In some circumstances planting woodland can increase water availability, for example planting broadleaved woodland on chalk (Roberts, Rosier and Smith, 2005). The planting of trees also affects precipitation through evapotranspiration; to fully understand the effect of afforestation or deforestation it is necessary to understand the full hydrological cycle. As a consequence, the overall role of forests on the supply of water quantity is still an open empirical question. The absence of robust biophysical evidence to quantify the relationship between woodland and changes in the quantity of water available, constitutes a significant barrier to reliable valuation and decision-making. (Ellison et al, 2012).
- **Below ground**, tree root networks increase the retention of water in soils through a ‘sponge effect’ (Thomas and Nisbet, 2007; Calder et al., 2008; Armson, Stringer and Ennos, 2013). Once again, as a result, well positioned trees and woodlands can help to regulate flow volumes and decrease the risk of extreme peak flows.

Recent flooding in the UK, coupled with predicted increases in the number of flood events due to climate change, has stimulated an interest in the potential for woodlands, as a source of flood prevention and alleviation (Nisbet, Marrington et al., 2011; Nisbet et al., 2015). However, the results of studies that have attempted to quantify this potential have been varied (Van Dijk et al., 2009). Some forest hydrologists have argued that woodlands have a limited impact on flood prevention, while others have concluded that there is a substantial effect. The potential to alleviate flood risks declines with prolonged

and heavy rainfall¹¹ and depends on many factors. These factors include aspects such as scale, location, type and management of woodlands. For instance, increasing man-made interference with natural processes in woodlands was found to reduce the capacity of these ecosystems to provide a buffering effect on water run-off (Seidl et al. 2016). Available evidence seems to suggest that woodlands have a role to play, even though such evidence is mostly based on modelling studies, rather than observed data at the catchment level.

Literature generally supports the hypothesis that woodlands can provide flood alleviation through reducing runoff and slowing flood peak travel times (i.e. delaying the arrival of floodwater at entrances to waterways). Armson, Stringer and Ennos (2013) found that trees reduced runoff by up to 62% in comparison to asphalt. However, this comparison might not be universally applicable as the alternative land use may not always be asphalt. In addition to alternative land uses, the spatial configuration of trees has been shown to be another important factor in determining the flood reduction services that forests provide. For example, Thomas and Nisbet (2007) developed simulation models to show that the spatial configuration of trees had substantial impacts on the depth of floodwater within woodlands, the flood storage volume upstream, velocity of water flow across the floodplain, and the timing of the flood peak.

To shed more light on the role of woodlands on water quantity regulation, a recent study for the Forestry Commission (Dixon and Pettit 2017) investigated the impact of woodland creation on catchment hydrological processes in Southwell (England). To estimate the hydraulic models, both above-ground and below-ground processes were considered. Woodland expansion was found to reduce flood risks by: increasing infiltration of water into the soil profile: maintaining soil macroporosity; increasing rain interception before it reaches the land surface; and reducing (through the presence of tree trunks and woody material) the speed at which the flow travels through wooded areas. Flood risk reduction, translating into a decrease in the numbers of properties removed from flood risk due to woodland creation, was found to be significant, particularly in the presence of medium and larger flood events (25 to 7-year return period) rather than lower order events (<25-year return period). Interestingly, for the case study area considered, flood risk rate was found not to be statistically related to the type of woodland cover (i.e. conifer versus broadleaf).

3.2.2. Final environmental good or service

The final environmental goods or services are woodland-induced changes in the quantity of water, particularly in surface waters. These goods and services are presented in the “impact on waterways” section of the biophysical pathways in Figure 3. Benefits include flood alleviation, flood prevention and water storage (Calder et al., 2007; Nisbet, Silgram et al., 2011). Costs include the potential to limit water availability for direct abstractors, including water companies, the agricultural, industrial and manufacturing sectors.

¹¹ In these, cases the woodland canopy will reach a threshold in terms of the quantity of water that it is able to intercept, as such the soil beneath the canopy is likely to become fully rewetted, despite some rainfall being intercepted (Calder et al., 2008).

3.2.3. Water Availability Units

Flow speed (m s^{-1}), volume (m^3), number of properties affected or protected and the degree and value (GBP) of impact.

3.2.4. Economic Production Functions

Water quantity affects the following production functions:

- Food – availability of water for agriculture (including rain-fed systems and abstraction of water for irrigation) and reduced flooding of land
- Industrial and energy production – abstraction of water for production, cleaning and cooling (coal and nuclear power) and reduced flooding of infrastructure and buildings
- Hydropower – use of water for the direct generation of power
- Drinking water – potable supplies for domestic consumption
- Transportation – siltation effects
- Flood alleviation – volume and timing of flood flows
- Housing – flooding risks in a particular residential area are incorporated into property prices
- Recreation – through the direct use of water for recreation (e.g. swimming, windsurfing, kayaking, boating, rafting) and indirect use for waterside recreation (e.g. riverside walking and picnics)
- Views – as a part of the landscape
- Artistic – as an input to or inspiration for the production of art by amateur and professional artists
- Learning - opportunities for educators, students and researchers to learn from and experience the environment
- Spiritual and cultural - for spiritual, ceremonial or celebratory purposes
- Non-use value - the benefits trees provide for people who care about existence value of the environment (those who think it is important to preserve the environment for moral/ethical connection or fear of unintended consequences), or bequest values (those who think it is important to preserve the environment for future generations).

3.2.5. Beneficiaries

Water companies, consumers, residential property owners, industrial producers, energy producers, manufacturers and farmers are all beneficiaries of water availability and flood alleviation services provided by woodlands.

3.2.6. Valuation Methods

Where studies relating to changes in water quantity attributed to woodland exist, the majority use cost-based methods to either estimate the cost savings to the consumer through avoided costs (associated with treating water by mixing in quantities of clean water), or estimate the avoided flood damage to properties. Such methods fail to measure the full economic value of these benefits. For example, in the case of flooding, the market price of repairing flood damage (i.e. its avoided cost) ignores the wider

psychological and trauma effects of experiencing a flood. These are captured in the full economic cost of a flood (or the benefits of its avoidance), which are reflected in an individuals' willingness to pay¹². Methodological advances are still required to enable the biophysical modelling to make robust (e.g. validated, repeatable and scalable) predictions of changes in water quantity attributed to woodlands. Projects such as 'Slowing the flow at Pickering' (Nisbet et al., 2015) provide a useful initiative for extending the knowledge base, but a robust understanding of the relationship between changes in woodland planting and management, and their consequences for water availability and flooding remain a research gap.

3.2.7. Valuation Scale

The majority of evidence reviewed assesses the effect upon water quantity at local region or city level. Extrapolating these findings becomes difficult as the scale increases. Indeed, Calder et al. (2008) comment that extending findings to a large catchment scale requires an understanding of a range of complex, interacting factors, such as the diversity of the woodland structure and species; land-management practices; location of precipitation; run-off pathways; the topography; geology and soil structure.

3.2.8. Valuation Estimates

The Woodland Valuation Tool currently contains 17 valuation studies or reviews and 18 references to biophysical studies relating to water quantity. These relate to a number of beneficiaries, as follows:

Water companies

Changes in water availability due to trees could affect water companies, if increased scarcity impacts water abstraction costs for the production of drinking water. Willis (2002) uses hydrological models to assess the impacts of lower water availability upon water companies, noting that greater water scarcity may increase abstraction costs. Increased scarcity can affect short-run costs, if companies have to expend greater effort (e.g. energy costs) abstracting from existing sources, and long-run costs, if they need to move the location or expand the number of abstraction points¹³.

Willis (2002) and Willis et al. (2003) argue that across most of England and Wales, there is sufficient water availability to meet demand from both forests and water companies and thus forest-induced reductions in water availability impose zero costs on water companies. However, due to the spatial heterogeneity in water availability, weather patterns and demand (from humans and forestry) for water across the UK, there are areas and times of year during which water scarcity imposes costs on water

¹² The difference between the customers' willingness to pay and the cost price of a good is known as the consumer surplus.

¹³ This latter option may in turn alter the costs of treating water for quality purposes. For example, if water companies are forced to react to lower availability of water by abstracting within poorer quality watersheds then this might increase treatment costs.

companies. Aggregating information on water availability and forest water demand to the county level, Willis (2002) estimates that the externality costs range between GBP 0.13¹⁴ (in Cleveland) and GBP 1.24¹⁵ (in Dorset) per m³ of water abstracted¹⁶ with a mean of GBP 0.50¹⁷ per m³. Willis (2002) notes that these are upper bound costs for each county and reports a current value of the aggregate externality cost¹⁸ to water companies of GBP 52.5 million for England and GBP 35.4 million for Wales, with an annual externality cost of GBP 5.3 million. These net costs incorporate both the negative externality (in terms of reduced water quantity) and a positive externality (in terms of improved water quality and hence lower treatment costs within abstracted waters).

For urban trees, Rogers, Jaluzot and Neilan (2012) estimate the value of the avoided water runoff by calculating the energy saved from water companies not having to treat that water, in addition to the carbon value of that energy saving. In the Victoria Business District (London), the value of avoided surface water runoff is estimated at GBP 29 000 per year in energy savings and nearly GBP 21 000 per year in carbon savings. These estimates reflect either an increase in profits for the water company or savings to consumers, through reductions in the cost of clean water, depending on whether these savings are passed on to the customers.

Consumers

Reduced water availability due to trees could affect consumers, if increased scarcity influences the drinking water costs that are passed from water companies to consumers. However, consumers may also benefit from avoided surface water run-off leading to reduced sewerage charges.

A number of UK studies have valued the ecosystem services provided by urban trees. Five of those studies include a valuation for avoided surface water runoff. Avoided sewerage charges have been estimated at GBP 1.1 million per year in Glasgow (Rumble et al., 2015), GBP 0.46 million per year in Wrexham (Rumble et al., 2014), GBP 142 894 in Southampton (Mutch et al. 2017), GBP 17 200 in Petersfield (Moffat et al. 2017) and GBP 113 000 in Ealing (London) (Rogers et al. 2018). To calculate these figures, the authors first estimate the total amount of water interception attributed to urban trees, using an i-Tree Eco survey (see discussion in [Chapter 13](#)) and then multiply this by the rate charged by the local water company for sewerage.

¹⁴ This and all values in this paragraph are reported in 2001 GBP.

¹⁵ Eftec (2011) rounds these to GBP 0.10 – GBP 1.25.

¹⁶ This only refers to water abstracted by water companies across England and Wales.

¹⁷ Calculated by CSERGE (2015) based on Willis (2002) Tables 1 and 2.

¹⁸ Calculated using a 25 year time horizon and using the then treasury discount rate of 6%. Note that Willis et al. (2003) state that they assume “a direct one-to-one trade-off between forestry and water availability” (p.26). It is presumed that a 1m³ uptake of water by forests, translated directly to a 1m³ reduction in water availability for abstraction. Note also that Willis et al (2003) could not calculate an externality value for Scotland, due to a lack of data on water supply costs.

On a larger scale or in non-urban areas, there are very few studies; one exception is from Chile in which Nuñez, Nahuelhual and Oyarzún (2006) model a change in forest cover from native to plantation forest, which they claim would result in a reduction in the quantity of water available for abstraction. The authors value the change in water available using the average unit cost of water over the research period. The authors report a mean value of US\$ 86.5 per hectare of native forest per year in 2004 US\$¹⁹. Our review found no large scale studies in the UK, which attempt to value tree-induced changes in water quantity for water bill payers.

Residential property owners

Flood regulating services generated by trees benefit residential property owners, by reducing the likelihood and intensity of flood events.

To establish if changes in land use and land management can help reduce flood risk, a modelling, monitoring and evaluation programme was set up in 2009 by Defra, known as ‘slowing the flow at Pickering’ (Nisbet, Marrington et al., 2011). Since Phase I of the study has previously been documented in Eftec (2011), we instead focus our attention on the recently published final report for the extension of the project (phase II) (Nisbet et al., 2015).

The specific land-management changes in the Pickering catchment included: new planting of farm and riparian woodland; changes to existing forests and management, including some small scale felling and restoration; construction of large flood storage bunds and small timber bunds; and the construction of large woody debris dams. In total, the programme has created 19 ha of riparian forest and nearly 15 ha of farmland forests.

The authors conducted an economic analysis of seven ecosystem services including flood regulation, the value of which was calculated as the avoided damage savings over a 100-year period (from the avoidance of flood damage to properties). For the riparian woodland planting and creation of 129 large woody debris dams in the Pickering Beck catchment, the estimated avoided damage savings over 100 years are between GBP 55 000 and GBP 1 100 000 (in 2015 GBP), based on a range of values (provided by personal communication with Dean Hamblin, Environment Agency) for annual savings per cubic metre of flood storage and discounted over the 100 years at the Treasury Green Book rate of 3.5%.

More evidence for the UK is available from a recent study (Holt and Rouquette, 2017), focusing on the benefits of woodland creation in terms of flood alleviation. The study focuses on a specific catchment area in Marston Vale (England). The value of the flow control services provided by woodlands is estimated from information on avoided costs. Data on the relationship between woodland cover and peak flow reduction, as well as data on the decrease in annual fluvial flood expenditure, was taken from Smithers et al. (2016). The average reduction in annual fluvial flood expenditure per hectare of woodland created, was reported to be GBP 24.30. With respect to this figure, several caveats need to be acknowledged. Information on flood expenditure comes only from one study, which focused on an upland area in a specific part of the country. Based on this, reported values could be very different for different settings, as acknowledged by Smithers et al. (2016) and Holt and Rouquette (2017). In

¹⁹ The average is calculated by CSERGE (2015) from the summer value of US\$ 162.4 and rest of the year value of US\$ 61.2 per ha reported in Nuñez, Nahuelhual and Oyarzún (2006).

addition, as noted elsewhere in this Chapter, focusing only on savings in flood-related investment costs is likely to under-estimate the social value of reduced flood risks.

A similar study by Dixon and Pettit (2017), prepared for the Forestry Commission, focuses on the benefits of reduced flood damages that can be achieved through woodland creation. The study focuses on the Southwell area (England). Based on a detailed hydraulic model, estimating the effect of woodland expansion on flood risk reduction, the authors estimate the monetary value of reduced flood-related damages by considering valuation data available from the published literature. For example, the authors report the value of avoiding health and wellbeing impacts, linked to fluvial flooding, to be GBP 286 per household, per year. Such figure refers to the value of avoiding the stress of flooding and of preventing other flood-related general health impacts. There is some disagreement, though, regarding the accuracy and reliability of this figure. In fact, it doesn't consider the risk to life which, whilst rare, has a significant impact on the calculation of the full benefits of reduced flood risk for health and wellbeing.

Industrial producers, energy producers and manufacturers

Direct abstraction of water benefits a number of different sectors of the economy, as an input into cooling systems and waste dilution. Reduced water availability due to trees, could affect direct abstractors if increased scarcity impacts water abstraction costs.

In 2011, 58.1% of water abstracted in England and Wales was for public water supply with the remaining 41.9% directly abstracted by various sectors of the economy (ONS, 2015). The energy production sector abstracted the largest proportion (over half of all direct abstraction including hydropower). In addition the agricultural, forestry, fishing and manufacturing sectors also abstracted significant amounts. Byers, Hall and Amezaga (2014) and Byers et al. (2015) investigate potential future changes to water use, with regard to electricity generation across the UK²⁰. They use regional demand and supply of freshwater with respect to climate change projections and a range of decarbonising pathways. In general, demand for freshwater abstraction for cooling is predicted to decrease; however, this pattern could be reversed in a future with a large uptake of carbon capture and storage (CCS) technology. The location of new power plants is also important; for example, by shifting power generation to estuaries or coastal environments the freshwater demand can be reduced. Under certain scenarios (for example high levels of new CCS) and assumptions (new capacity located inland), the Byers et al. (2015) models predict that certain regions will face water scarcity. In such predicted scenario, future demand exceeds future supply and the reduced water availability due to trees could exacerbate this problem and cause increased costs for the direct abstractors of freshwater.

Farmers

Farmers benefit from water quantity, as an input to rain-fed and manual irrigation systems, which are used to increase crop yields²¹.

²⁰ Thermal power stations abstract water to use for cooling; in the UK, thermal power stations are responsible for approximately 5% of the UK's freshwater use.

²¹ This is particularly relevant for potato farming, the most intensively irrigated crop in the UK (MacKerron, 1993).

To quantify the effects that woodlands have on water flow in a catchment, detailed modelling is required. The exact positioning of the woodland in the landscape determines how much water is intercepted; soil type determines the storage of water in soils; in addition other variables such as topography, geology and climate are also important.

As with water companies and other direct abstractors of water, there may be costs to farmers from a reduction in water available for abstraction (Kijne, Barker and Molden 2003). However, the higher water interception and retention of wooded landscapes, compared to other land-uses, may reduce problems with flooding (Nisbet, Marrington et al., 2011). The costs and benefits to farmers are likely to be highly specific to the precise location and time, and therefore it is difficult to say whether the net effect of trees are positive or negative for farmers. The higher interception rate of wooded landscapes may reduce the available water for direct abstraction; at the same time, forest and woodland soils have been shown to store more water than other land-use types (Bird et al., 2003) potentially increasing the soil moisture of agricultural land close to woodlands, as well as reducing the risk of flooding. The potential for modelling this relationship between woodlands and water quantity was outlined as part of ADAS and Eftec (2014) for the UK.




3.2.9. Research Gaps

- There is a clear need to integrate the variety of values associated with water resources, with the role that woodlands can play in enhancing these.
- A variety of evidence exists on the biophysical relationships between tree cover and water quantity (e.g. through modelling studies and to a much lesser degree, through observed data at the catchment level). To fully quantify the effect of afforestation or deforestation, data is needed to validate models, especially at the catchment scale. Some evidence is starting to become available on this topic, but the absence of robust and systematic biophysical investigations quantifying the relationship between local woodland management, location and forest design and changes in the quantity of water available, constitutes a significant barrier to reliable valuation and decision making, particularly as scale increases. There is also a gap in the evidence base, in terms of the impact of climate change and rising CO₂ levels on the water use of trees, which will affect the services (dis-services) provided in the future.
- The current literature linking trees and woodlands to the prevention of flooding is growing. However, a wide variety of other factors are involved in flood events. A full economic valuation would need to take into account the availability of substitutes, the effect of trees and woodlands on the timing and severity of flood events and catchment level impacts, in order to fully quantify the effect of upstream tree planting or woodland management changes on the probability of downstream flooding. This issue is particularly relevant when considering that the majority of the population live in urban areas located downstream.
- Evidence on the economic valuation of changes in water quantity associated with woodlands, is lacking for a variety of beneficiaries. Key business interests, such as manufacturing and industrial production, agriculture and the energy sector are all potential beneficiaries for whom values are not robustly known.

4. Air Quality

Table 7: Colour-coded assessment of available evidence on the role of forests and trees on air quality regulation

| Biophysical evidence | Valuation evidence | Decision support tools | Urban tree literature |
|--|---|---|--|
| The biophysical pathways through which trees affect air quality are relatively well understood for both rural and urban trees, although debate remains regarding the efficacy of urban forests for improving air quality through pollutant disposition and absorption. | The health impacts caused by air pollution depend upon the number of people being exposed; a tonne of SO ₂ in a densely populated area causes more damage than a tonne in a sparsely populated area. The value of pollution absorption by trees should reflect this population exposure. | Although i-Tree and integrated analyses such as UK NEAFO's TIM provide some assistance, decision support tools which account for the spatially varying impact of air quality improvements are needed. | i-Tree Eco computes the value of removal of air pollutants (NO ₂ , PM ₁₀ and SO ₂) using a constant value per tonne, based on social damage costs for the UK. However, human health impacts of air pollution removal are based on US specific models, which are not necessarily applicable in other countries. |

Key:  Strong evidence, with few gaps  Some evidence, but with significant gaps  Major gaps in evidence

4.1. Biophysical Pathways

Trees and woodlands impact on air quality through a number of pathways, as illustrated in Figure 4

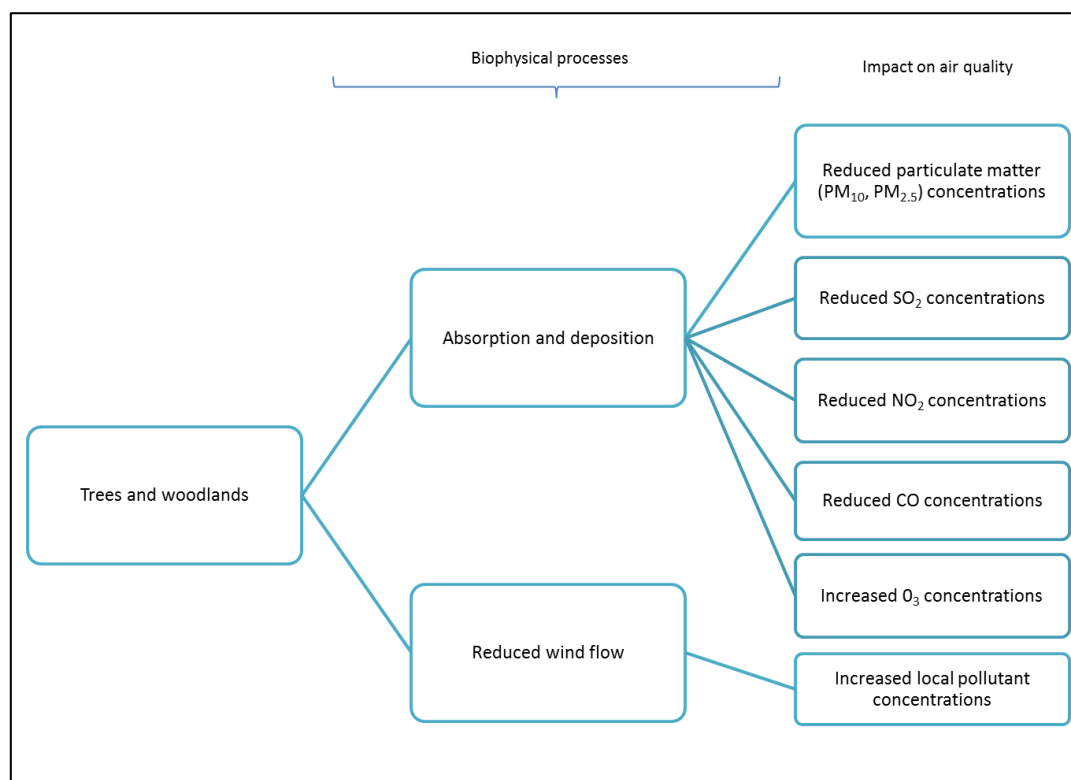


Figure 4: Biophysical pathways of woodland influencing air quality

Trees can act as biological air filters; their large leaf area relative to their ground footprint and the absorption properties of their surfaces enable them to remove certain airborne particles and improve the air quality of polluted environments, through absorption and deposition (Beckett, Freer-Smith and Taylor, 1998, 2000):

- Urban tree planting can reduce PM₁₀ (particles smaller than 10µm) concentrations (Bealey et al., 2007). The World Health Organisation note that the primary health effects of PM₁₀ include damage to the respiratory and cardiovascular systems. Due to the small size of PM₁₀, they can penetrate the deepest parts of the lungs. McDonald et al. (2007) predict that increasing the total tree cover in the West Midlands from 3.7 % to 16.5 % could reduce PM₁₀ concentrations in the West Midlands by 10 %, removing 110 tonnes per year of primary PM₁₀ from the atmosphere.
- Tallis et al. (2011) provide evidence from the Urban Forest Effects Model to support the hypothesis that targeted planting of broadleaved trees, to expand the urban canopy of the Greater London Authority, would provide a large benefit to future air quality through the removal of 1109-2379 tonnes of PM₁₀ from the urban boundary layer. In particular, targeting of street tree planting in the most polluted areas would have the greatest benefit to future air quality. The increased deposition would be greatest if a larger proportion of coniferous to broadleaved trees were used.
- The potential air quality improvements provided by each tree depends on the species and maturity of the tree; Donovan et al. (2005) quantified this using a series of model scenarios to develop an urban tree air quality score. They consider 30 species and find that pine, larch, and silver birch have the greatest potential to improve urban air quality, while oaks, willows, and poplars can worsen downwind air quality, if planted in very large numbers.

However, it should be noted that significant debate remains regarding the efficacy of urban forests for improving air quality through pollutant deposition and absorption. Furthermore, there are also pathways through which trees have been found to reduce air quality. For example, Vos et al. (2013) note that urban trees can reduce wind flow, thereby preventing dilution and creating increased *local* pollutant concentrations. Other potential localised air quality problems associated with trees include, the production of allergens, such as tree pollen and the release of volatile organic compounds that can increase ozone (O₃) concentrations (Owen et al., 2003; McDonald et al., 2007).

Perhaps the greatest effort undertaken so far to understand the beneficial effect of woodlands on air quality in the UK is Jones et al. (2017). The authors have calculated the amount and value of air quality regulation services provided by forest habitats (among other types of vegetation cover) for the whole of the UK. The study, produced for the Office of National Statistics explored the role of forests in capturing several pollutants, which are bad for human health: PM₁₀, PM_{2.5}, SO₂, NH₃, NO₂ and O₃. The analysis relied on the use of the EMEP4UK atmospheric chemistry and transport model, which estimates pollutant concentrations directly from emissions and dynamically calculates pollutant transport and deposition, whilst taking into account meteorology and pollutant interactions. The study reports that the UK woodlands, extending over 2 887 500 ha, have contributed towards the capture of 315 500 tonnes of pollutants per year in 2015, namely 0.1 tonnes of pollutant per ha of woodland, per year. When focusing only on UK urban woodlands, which for the year 2015 covered a surface of 99 400 ha, the total amount of pollutants captured equals 38 210 tonnes, namely 0.38 tonnes of pollutant per ha of urban woodland, per year. With these results in mind, the study highlights the importance of urban trees for human health. In fact, urban woodlands are responsible for the majority of pollution removal in cities or towns.

4.2. Final environmental good or service

The final environmental goods are changes in air quality attributed to woodlands.

4.3. Air quality units

The existing literature considers the effects of trees upon concentrations of a number of major air pollutants, including; CO, NO₂, O₃, PM₁₀, PM_{2.5}, and SO₂. Not all studies incorporate all of these pollutants. Studies that apply monetary estimates to reductions in these pollutants, typically refer to the mass (kg, tonnes) absorbed by trees over a particular period of time (usually annual). Some studies provide monetary estimates in terms of reduced mortality and morbidity (often referring to delayed deaths and avoided hospital stays due to respiratory illness).

4.4. Economic production functions

Air quality affects a number of production functions:

- Agriculture – air pollution can affect crop yields and quality
- Housing – residential properties located in areas of poor air quality (e.g. those exposed to emissions from road traffic) have lower property prices (Bateman et al., 2001)
- Physical health – air pollution is associated with respiratory illnesses/diseases, hospital visits and early deaths (Powe and Willis, 2002; 2004)
- Mental health – bad air quality has negative effects on mental health, for example through stress and anxiety caused by exposure to air pollution

- Recreation – air quality at recreational sites could alter the benefit derived from a trip, for example through reducing the aesthetic value of the site or by exposing recreational visitors to increased health risks
- Learning - opportunities for educators, students and researchers to learn from and experience the clean air. Exposure to air pollution has also been shown to affect the educational attainment and attendance of children (Gilliland et al., 2001; Mohai et al., 2011; Miller and Vela, 2013)
- Spiritual and cultural – bad air quality can alter the value derived from the use of sites for spiritual, ceremonial or celebratory purposes
- Non-use value – the benefits trees provide for people who care about existence value of the clean air in the environment (those who think it is important to protect air quality for moral/ethical connection or fear of unintended consequences), or bequest values (those who think it is important to preserve good air quality for future generations).

4.5. Beneficiaries

Beneficiaries of improved air quality include all those affected by air pollutants. Those in urban areas may be most influenced by improvements, but rural populations may also benefit along with those visiting recreational resources. Residential property owners may also benefit, where improved air quality increases their property value. The localised dose-response nature of the impact of changes in air quality on health, means that benefits accrue to people with respect to their individual level of exposure, accruing to those who live in the locality, those who visit for work or leisure and those who pass through the area on a regular basis. It is important to note that most of the research reviewed focuses on highly localised (1km²) benefits from tree-induced air quality improvements. Further study is needed to determine impacts on a larger spatial scale.

4.6. Valuation methods

There are several potential methods for deriving monetary estimates of the benefits of improved air quality due to trees and forests. Two methods are commonly utilised: the first attempts to estimate a value for a marginal tonne of a pollutant and multiply that value by the change in pollutant; the second attempts to model the dose-response relationship between air quality and health impacts. The first method is employed in the US Forest Service's i-Tree Eco tool for valuing trees and forests, in that per unit values for pollution reduction (e.g. GBP per tonne of PM₁₀, PM_{2.5}, NO₂) are multiplied by the volume of pollutant reductions by trees and forests. There are however a number of issues which should be considered when using a constant value of pollutant method: (i) it is important to define what benefits or costs are considered in calculating the constant value and how they have been valued; (ii) the value of a marginal tonne may depend upon the baseline pollution concentration (so for example a unit of pollution in a low pollution area might have a lesser effect than an additional unit which pushes concentrations over some toxicity threshold); and (iii) the health effects of the pollutants are clearly related to the number of people exposed (so for example a tonne of SO₂ in a densely populated area causes more damage than a tonne in a sparsely populated area), and a unit value which does not vary by population exposure is a substantial simplification. The second method is employed in Powe and Willis (2002), in that the dose-response relationship between air quality improvements and reduced mortality and morbidity is modelled. By applying pre-determined monetary values for these effects the value of air quality changes can be estimated. Again there are a number of issues which should be considered when using this method, most notably how is the dose-response modelled and then how are those changes in mortality and morbidity valued? The physical and mental health Chapter of this report covers these issues in more detail.

In addition to the above there are alternative options for valuing changes in air quality, such as the hedonic pricing methods that relate differences in house prices to differences in air quality or stated preference methods which attempt to estimate the general public's willingness to pay to avoid harmful pollutants.

4.7. Valuation scale

Most studies are highly localised, focussing on urban trees and woodlands. The i-Tree model, developed by the US Forest Service, has been applied from the level of individual trees to city-wide assessments (Hutchings, Lawrence and Brunt 2012; Rumble et al., 2014; 2015; Mutch et al. 2017; Moffat et al. 2017; Rogers et al. 2018). At a national scale, Powe and Willis (2002) assess air quality effects of trees at the 1 km² scale, focussing on woodlands of 2 ha or more. Only recently, Jones et al. (2017) has produced a nation-wide account synthesizing the role of UK woodlands on air quality. However, compared to other final environmental goods and services, relatively little research has valued the impact of trees and woodlands on air quality.

4.8. Valuation Estimates

The Woodland Valuation Tool currently contains 18 valuation studies or reviews and 21 references to biophysical studies relating to air quality.

The economic value of woodland-induced air quality improvements is difficult to assess due to the long and complex chain of environmental and human production functions through which these improvements are generated and 'consumed'. Moreover, air quality is often implicitly included in broader ecosystem service valuation exercises. For instance, if part of the benefit people derive from urban woodland recreation sites is due to improved air quality, this may or may not implicitly be captured in a recreation valuation study, even if the study does not identify a value for air quality specifically. Similarly, an analysis of housing market prices may show a price premium for homes located near trees and woodlands, but may not specify the share of this premium that may be attributed to improved air quality versus recreation or visual benefits. A key issue in the use of such revealed preference valuation methods concerns the extent to which air quality benefits are perceived by individuals purchasing associated goods. So, in the case of (hedonic) property price studies, while a potential house purchaser may readily appreciate the visual amenity value of nearby trees, they may be unaware of the potential air quality benefits those trees may offer.

Given these challenges, there are two chief pathways through which the economic effects of woodland-induced air quality improvements have been identified and quantified: (i) estimate a constant unit value for a marginal tonne of a pollutant and multiply that value by the change in pollutant; (ii) model the dose-response relationship between air quality and those health impacts and multiply that by estimated values for a reduction in the risk of the health effects (mortality and morbidity).

1. Hutchings, Lawrence and Brunt (2012) in Edinburgh, Rumble et al. (2014) in Wrexham, Rumble et al. (2015) in Glasgow, Rogers, Jaluzot and Neilan (2012) in London, Mutch et al. (2017) in Southampton, Moffat et al. (2017) in Petersfield, Rogers et al. (2018) in Ealing

(London) all applied Defra social damage costs²² (a constant unit value for a tonne of pollutant) to estimate the value of pollutant removal by urban trees. Table 5 details the GBP per tonnes social damage costs for three pollutants (NO₂ PM₁₀ and SO₂) in 2010 prices.

Table 8: UK social damage costs (Dickens et al. 2013)

| Pollutant | UK social damage costs GBP per tonne (2010 prices) |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| NO ₂ | 955 |
| PM ₁₀ Transport (large) | 70 351 |
| PM ₁₀ Transport (medium) | 55 310 |
| PM ₁₀ domestic | 28 140 |
| SO ₂ | 1 633 |

All seven studies (Edinburgh, Wrexham, Glasgow, London, Petersfield and Southampton) utilise i-Tree Eco to estimate the reduction in these pollutants from trees located in the cities; these reductions are then multiplied by the per tonne UK social damage cost values to determine the value for society of the air quality purification services provided by trees in the selected areas. The social damage values for the pollutants are derived using representative dispersion and exposure modelling and reflect health impacts (morbidity and mortality) for all the pollutants; the PM₁₀ and SO₂ estimates, in addition, include building soiling costs and the corrosive effect of SO₂ on building materials. For NO₂ and SO₂ a single fixed per tonne value is given, while for PM₁₀ the damage cost depends on the location and the sector it is produced by (e.g. electricity supply, domestic, transport, agriculture). For urban environments the PM₁₀ the most appropriate sector is likely to be domestic or transport. Hutchings et al. (2012), Rumble et al. (2015), Rogers et al. (2015) all use different PM₁₀ values: Hutchings, Lawrence and Brunt (2012) in Edinburgh use the large urban transport value of GBP 70 351 per tonne, Rumble et al. (2014) in Wrexham use the medium urban transport value of GBP 55 310 per tonne, Rumble et al. (2015) in Glasgow use the domestic value of GBP 28 140 per tonne and Rogers, Jaluzot and Neilan (2015) use UK social damage costs of GBP 273 193 per tonne of PM₁₀ for inner London and GBP 178 447 per tonne of PM₁₀ for outer London. It is important to note that these figures do not fully coincide with the definition of economic value set out in [Chapter 1](#). These fixed values per tonne do not reflect marginal changes and therefore assume that the value of a unit of pollution reduction is entirely independent of the initial concentration. Furthermore, in the case of NO₂ and SO₂ they do not reflect the size of the population exposed to the pollution change.

2. Powe and Willis (2002, 2004) and Willis et al. (2003) adjust Department of Health estimates for the willingness to pay to reduce the risk of mortality and morbidity in motor vehicle accidents (the adjustment is in order to more accurately reflect the mortality and morbidity risk profile from air pollution). Powe and Willis (2002), Willis et al (2003) and Eftec (2011) report

²² See Dickens et al. (2013) for guidance on valuing the UK's social damage costs on air quality.

estimates of about GBP 125 000 for each death avoided by 1 year due to PM₁₀ and SO₂ absorbed by trees, and GBP 600 for an 11 day hospital stay avoided due to reduced respiratory illness (Willis et al. 2003).

Both of these strategies require strong natural scientific underpinnings to generate valid estimates of pollution absorption by trees. Changes in estimates of the absorption rates of trees for specific pollutants will of course be reflected in corresponding estimates of the value generated. Table 9 illustrates this point by contrasting two valuations of the air pollution value of trees, which adopt differing estimates of absorption rates. As can be seen the chief feature of these results is the order of magnitude difference in estimated SO₂ absorption between the two studies. This in turn leads to order of magnitude differences in mortality and morbidity impacts, as well as on the upper and lower bounds of monetary benefits. This emphasizes the sensitivity of valuation to the underpinning natural science evidence base. Reported absorption in the earlier study (Powe and Willis, 2002) is relatively high at 1.2 million tonnes of SO₂ absorption per annum. According to Defra statistics (Defra, 2014) and the National Atmospheric Emissions Inventory, UK SO₂ emissions in 2002 totalled about 1.0 million tonnes. Thus, Willis et al. (2003) and Eftec (2011) may overstate air quality values as they are based on an analysis that suggests trees in Great Britain extract more than 100% of Britain's annual SO₂ emissions. Using the later study (Powe and Willis, 2004) may offer a more conservative estimate. The disparity suggests that clarifying SO₂ absorption rates by urban trees is an important area for research.

Table 9: Sensitivity of air quality impacts to natural science evidence: annual estimates in GBP 2002

| | | Total benefits (‘000 GBP) | | | | | |
|--|---------------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---|------------------------|------------------------|
| | | PM₁₀ (‘000 kg) | SO₂ (‘000 kg) | Deaths brought forward | Hospital admission numbers | Lower Bound | Upper Bound |
| Days with >1mm rain excluded | Powe and Willis (2002) | 391 664 | 711 158 | 65 | 45 | 222 | 8 198 |
| | Powe and Willis (2004) | 385 695 | 7 715 | 5 | 4 | 17 | 629 |
| Days with >1mm rain included | Powe and Willis (2002) | 617 790 | 1 199 840 | 89 | 62 | 305 | 11 213 |
| | Powe and Willis (2004) | 596 917 | 11 216 | 7 | 6 | 25 | 901 |

Sources: Powe and Willis (2002; 2004). All values in 2002 GBP.

Note also that the Powe and Willis (2002, 2004) and Willis et al (2003) studies all confine their focus to PM₁₀ and SO₂ concentrations only, omitting effects on levels of PM_{2.5}, NO₂, CO and O₃. A more complete analysis of the air quality benefits generated by trees and woodlands should incorporate these additional pollutants.

To partly address this research gap, Jones et al. (2017) focused on the health benefits of reduced concentrations of several other air pollutants (PM_{2.5}, SO₂, NO₂, and O₃). The authors first estimated the number of avoided hospital admissions, life years lost or deaths that can be attributed to better air

filtration resulting from woodlands' expansion. To estimate the relationship between one or more pollutants and health outcomes at population level, several models were considered, including those developed by the UK's Committee on the Medical Effects of Air Pollutants (COMEAP). To calculate the monetary value of these air quality-related improvements, following the Powe and Willis (2002, 2004) approach, the authors considered published figures of willingness to pay to avoid hospital admissions, death or life years lost. For 2015, UK woodlands - occupying a surface of 2 887 500 ha – were estimated to capture 315 500 tonnes of air pollutants, which generated associated benefits in terms of avoided deaths, avoided life years lost, fewer respiratory and cardiovascular hospital admissions which were calculated to be worth GBP 736 360 000. This means a value of GBP 255.02 per ha of woodland.

4.9. Research gaps




There are several areas in which estimates of the value of improved air quality due to trees and forests could be enriched:

- Improving the natural science understanding of pollutant absorption and deposition in urban and non-urban forests.
- Consideration of the wider remit of air pollution impacts in assessing the benefits of tree-related reductions of pollution should include health benefits both directly (in terms of the avoidance of morbidity and mortality impacts) and indirectly (e.g. by generating greater potential for beneficial outdoor activity and exercise). Also the effects of reducing air pollution on avoided damage to infrastructure such as building material damage and reductions in agricultural losses, should be included.
- Moving away from a reliance upon unit values towards an approach which relates values to both the change in pollution levels and the baseline concentrations to which they are added would allow for non-constant marginal effects of pollution and reflects the changing conditions across locations.
- Allow for the fact that the health impacts of air pollution depend upon the number of people being exposed. A tonne of SO₂ in a densely populated area causes more damage than a tonne in a sparsely populated area. The value of pollution absorption by trees should reflect this population exposure.

5. Climate

Table 10: Colour-coded assessment of available evidence on the role of forests and trees on climate regulation

| Biophysical evidence | Valuation evidence | Decision support tools | Urban tree literature |
|---|---|--|---|
| There is good knowledge of the biophysical processes affecting carbon sequestration in forests. Increasingly, the impact of climate change on the growth and biophysical functioning of trees (along with its effects on the services and disservices provided by trees) is explored. | Valuation evidence on the social benefits of carbon sequestration is expanding. There is increasing research using the social cost of carbon, as well as primary valuation, which has the potential to improve the knowledge base in this area. | Decision-making tools, which take account of the impact of climate on trees and woodlands and the goods and services provided by them, are needed. | The impact of trees on temperature regulation through shading has been incorporated into i-Tree Eco. However, because this model was originally developed in the US, there may be limits in terms of its applicability and accuracy outside the US. |

Key:  Strong evidence, with few gaps  Some evidence, but with significant gaps  Major gaps in evidence

5.1. Biophysical pathways

Trees and woodlands impact on climate through a number of pathways, as illustrated in Figure 5:

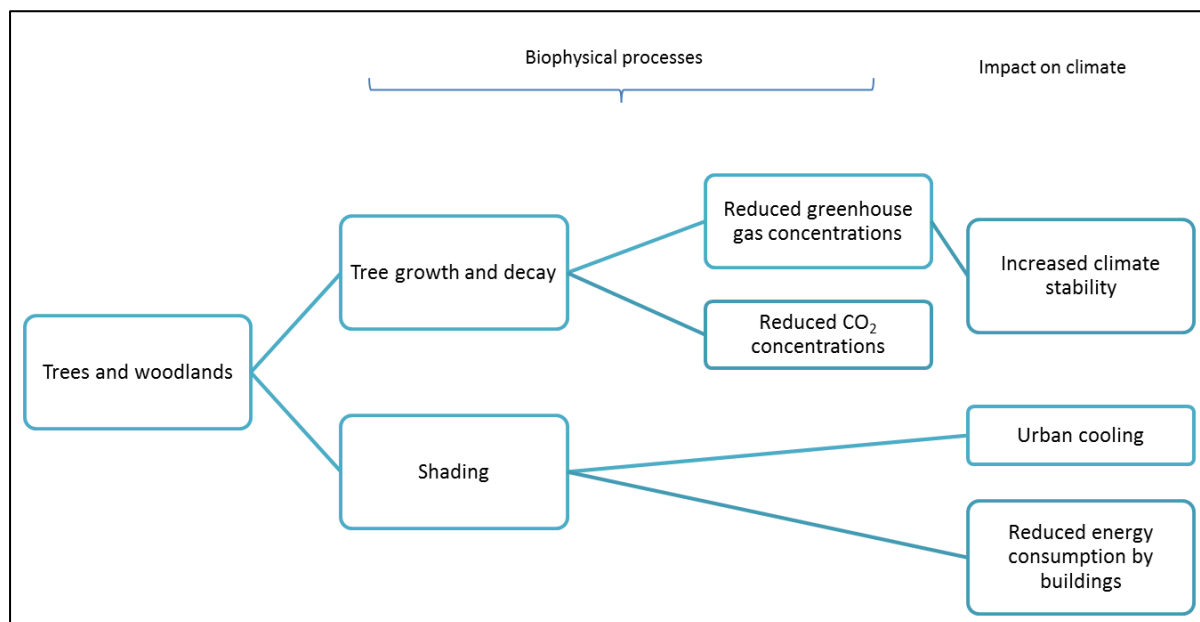


Figure 5: Biophysical pathways of woodland influencing climate

There are several pathways through which trees and forests affect climate, both locally and globally, and on both short and long-term time scales. The best understood relationship relates to greenhouse gas (GHG) flows, where GHGs, including CO₂, are exchanged between forest ecosystems, timber production and consumption and the environment through tree growth, decay and harvesting. Forest carbon is stored above ground within the trees, ground vegetation and litter, and below ground in the roots and soil (Sing et al. 2017). The capacity of woodlands to store carbon is highly variable. It varies naturally depending on the type of tree, the size of the tree and the stage of growth (Sing et al. 2017). However, it can vary greatly also depending on forest management regimes and human-induced disturbances, which can contribute to rapidly release carbon back to the atmosphere (Seidl et al. 2016). For example, forests can store more carbon if they contain deadwood and if trees are grown into mature, while relatively short rotation lengths for timber production result in lower long-term forest carbon stocks within the forest (Sing et al. 2017). Increasing deforestation alone is responsible for decreasing carbon sequestration and increasing carbon emissions (Sloan and Sayer 2015). However, if felling is coupled with growing new trees, more sequestration could be achieved over the long term relative to leaving trees standing to age, as this latter process tends to reach a point of equilibrium over time, where carbon gains and losses are roughly in balance. In addition, forests managed for greater plant diversity were observed to have higher carbon sequestration capacity (Verheyen et al. 2016). The deleterious effect of GHGs on global climate stability means that GHG emissions have an economic cost, and sequestration services generate economic value. The full, discounted value of the net losses induced by emitting a unit of carbon today is known as the social cost of carbon.

In addition to impacts on GHG flows, trees have short-term localized effects on climate, both directly (e.g. through the urban cooling effect of shade trees) and indirectly (if shade trees reduce carbon intensive energy consumption by buildings). As discussed in [Chapter 3](#), trees form an integral part of the water cycle and large scale planting of trees can affect precipitation (Zhang et al., 1997; Ellison, Futter and Bishop 2012).

5.2. Final environmental good or service

The final environmental service is climate regulation attributed to woodlands.

5.3. Climate units

Common units for carbon flows include pounds per tonne of carbon ($\text{GBP t}^{-1}\text{C}$), pounds per tonne of carbon dioxide ($\text{GBP t}^{-1}\text{CO}_2$), pounds per tonne of carbon dioxide equivalent (this is useful for converting non- CO_2 GHGs into CO_2 equivalent units based on the degree of radiative forcing induced by various GHGs; $\text{£/tCO}_2\text{e}$). A common mistake is to confuse $\text{GBP t}^{-1}\text{C}$ with $\text{GBP t}^{-1}\text{CO}_2$ (or CO_2e). These are not equivalent, as a tonne of C contains one tonne of carbon, whereas a tonne of CO_2 contains 0.2727 tonnes of carbon.

Common units for the benefits of urban shade trees include: temperature (degrees C or F); and units of energy saved (kW or kWh d^{-1}). By using information on relevant energy costs (which will vary according to time and location of the study), it is possible to link energy savings to monetary figures.

5.4. Economic production functions

Climate enters into a number of economic production functions:

- Food – through its effect on agricultural crop yields and livestock management
- Industrial production – through energy costs and requirements for cold storage
- Flood alleviation (amplification) – climate change has been linked to an increasing incidence of extreme events including flood events
- Housing – through energy costs and exposure to flood risk
- Physical health – through heat stress and exposure to extreme temperatures
- Recreation – climate change and associated weather conditions affect opportunities for recreational activities.

5.5. Beneficiaries

Changes in climate influence the general public in both rural and urban areas, as well as residential property owners and energy bill payers.

5.6. Valuation methods

In a world of perfect information, cost-benefit analyses would use the social cost of carbon (SCC), defined as the cost of total global damages caused by an incremental unit of carbon emitted today, summed over its entire time in the atmosphere and discounted to present value terms (Price, Thornton and Nelson, 2007). However, given the extent of uncertainty surrounding the precise impacts of climate change and their values, estimates of the SCC vary widely (Tol, 2013). Moreover, given the timescales involved, estimates of SCC are particularly sensitive to the discount rate used, as well as a multitude of other assumptions regarding consumption growth rates, projected CO_2 emissions, the carbon cycle and environmental sensitivity to CO_2 concentrations and temperature change. Tol (2013) analyses 588 estimates of the SCC from 75 reviews, finding that the mean estimate is US\$ 196 per tonne of carbon, while the mode is US\$ 49 per tonne of carbon (for emissions in 2010, expressed in 2010 US\$). This suggests that the average values are driven by a few very large estimates.

Given the wide range and inherent uncertainties surrounding the SCC (estimates span three orders of magnitude), there is justification for adopting alternative approaches. One such alternative entails setting an emissions cap or reductions target relative to some base level, and then estimating the cost of meeting it (Dietz and Fankhauser 2010). Broadly, this is the marginal abatement cost (MAC) approach, where the MAC is the cost to polluters of reducing emissions by an incremental amount. Of course, significant uncertainties exist here as well, not the least of which entail the changing costs and efficacy of abatement technologies; but the uncertainties surrounding MAC estimates are narrower than those around the SCC, perhaps by as much as an order of magnitude (see Dietz and Fankhauser (2010)).

In 2009, the UK adopted a target consistent MAC approach to estimating carbon values for use in UK policy appraisal (DECC 2009). Here, targets refer to artificial constraints on carbon emissions imposed by a regulatory authority (e.g. the UK Government, EU, UN or other international agreement) and are commonly expressed in terms of quantity of emissions (as in the EU Emissions Trading Scheme; EU ETS), or percentage reductions relative to the base year (as in the UK Climate Change Act 2008). In the UK context, there are separate carbon values for traded and non-traded sectors. This is justified by the fact that traded sectors are subject to the EU ETS and thus face an implicit target determined by the cap on EU allowances, while the non-traded sectors fall outside the EU ETS and face targets set elsewhere, for example by the UK Government. These values are updated periodically and the most recent revision is reported in Table 11. The nature of carbon as a perfectly mixing pollutant means that the value of one tonne of carbon sequestered does not depend on the location of the sequestration. This allows the social cost of carbon to be applied with ease.

Another recently adopted approach to calculate the social value of reducing carbon emissions also includes the use of stated preference methods and in particular, choice experiment techniques (see [Annex 1](#) for more details on the methods). This research, mostly focusing on international case studies, relied on the use of surveys presenting different hypothetical future woodland scenarios, associated with different levels of provision of goods and services, including carbon sequestration. Starting from the statistical modelling of individuals' choices for their preferred scenarios, information could be inferred about individuals' willingness to pay for increased levels of provision of forests' goods and services (including carbon sequestration). Examples of studies taking this approach include Roesch-McNally and Rabotyagov (2016), who designed a choice experiment study to estimate individuals' willingness to pay for a 1% increase in the carbon storage capacity of forests in Oregon and Washington States (USA). Willingness to pay was estimated to be between US\$ 0.76 and US\$ 1.54 per household per year. Similarly, Balderas Torres et al. (2015) studied individuals' willingness to contribute to a carbon offset program in Mexico. For each additional tonne of CO_{2eq} sequestered, the value was estimated to be between US\$ 5.57 and US\$ 11.39 (one-off). By means of a choice experiment in Catalonia (Spain), Varela et al. (2017) estimated that the general public's willingness to pay for a marginal increase in tonnes of CO₂ sequestered is EUR 0.0005 per person, per year.

The heterogeneity in the magnitude of values obtained by international stated preference studies suggests that, even though the value of one tonne of carbon sequestered should not depend on the location of the sequestration, preferences for carbon sequestration can still be context-specific. Important factors driving differences in values may be related to differences in people's income levels, individual preferences or in the carbon sequestration potential across woodland types. In this sense, the possibility to apply willingness to pay figures obtained in other countries to a UK setting should be appropriately explored by means of meta-analysis or through the estimation of benefit transfer functions (see [Annex 1](#) for more information on the methods). Without appropriate adjustments, these values are unlikely to be readily applicable to a UK context.

5.7. Valuation scale

Existing literature on the climate impacts of trees covers multiple spatial and temporal scales, ranging from monthly energy savings at individual houses (Akbari et al., 1997) to annual energy savings aggregated across major cities (Konopacki and Akbari, 2000; Nowak, 2010; Nowak et al., 2012) and finally to impacts on global GHG flows over extended periods of time (depending on the time to maturity, which varies by species).

5.8. Valuation estimates

The Woodland Valuation Tool currently contains 30 valuation studies or reviews and 15 references to biophysical studies, relating to climate.

Unfortunately, there is no globally agreed value for carbon storage and published estimates range from US\$ -6.6 to US\$ 2 400 per tonne of carbon (US\$ -24.2 t⁻¹CO₂ to US\$ 52 800 t⁻¹CO₂), thus making comparisons across studies difficult (Tol, 2008). Identifying the appropriate value for a tonne of carbon storage remains a central challenge and is in itself, an active area of research (see Tol, 2011; Greenstone, Kopits and Wolverton, 2013; Nordhaus, 2014).

In response to the wide variation of SCC estimates, the UK Government now publishes a range of carbon values based on the abatement costs of meeting target emissions reductions for use in UK policy evaluation, with low, central and high estimates for both the traded and non-traded sectors (Table 11²³). The distinction between traded and non-traded sectors is important, as only the latter fall under the remit of the EU ETS. DECC guidance (DECC, 2009) assumes that these prices will converge (due to international policy developments) by 2030. The central estimate is expected to peak in 2077 at a value of GBP 341 t⁻¹CO_{2e} (in 2014 GBP) and fall thereafter. All values reported in Table 11 are in 2014 GBP per tonne of CO_{2e} and therefore need to be multiplied by 44/12 in order to be compared with values reported per tonne of carbon.

²³ Annual revisions to traded-sector prices are available from <https://www.gov.uk/government/collections/carbon-valuation--2> and a spreadsheet-based toolkit with DECC long-term carbon price projections is available from <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/valuation-of-energy-use-and-greenhouse-gas-emissions-for-appraisal>

Table 11: Carbon prices and sensitivities (2010 – 2030) for UK policy appraisal,

2014 GBP per tCO₂e

| | Traded | | | Non-traded | | |
|-------------|--------|---------|------|------------|---------|------|
| | Low | Central | High | Low | Central | High |
| 2010 | 13 | 13 | 13 | 29 | 57 | 86 |
| 2011 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 29 | 58 | 87 |
| 2012 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 30 | 59 | 89 |
| 2013 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 30 | 60 | 90 |
| 2014 | 0 | 4 | 12 | 30 | 61 | 91 |
| 2015 | 0 | 5 | 16 | 31 | 62 | 93 |
| 2016 | 0 | 5 | 20 | 31 | 63 | 94 |
| 2017 | 0 | 5 | 21 | 32 | 64 | 95 |
| 2018 | 0 | 5 | 27 | 32 | 65 | 97 |
| 2019 | 0 | 5 | 34 | 33 | 66 | 98 |
| 2020 | 0 | 5 | 40 | 33 | 67 | 100 |
| 2021 | 4 | 13 | 47 | 34 | 68 | 102 |
| 2022 | 8 | 20 | 55 | 34 | 69 | 103 |
| 2023 | 12 | 27 | 63 | 35 | 70 | 105 |
| 2024 | 16 | 34 | 70 | 36 | 71 | 107 |
| 2025 | 19 | 42 | 78 | 36 | 72 | 108 |
| 2026 | 23 | 49 | 86 | 37 | 73 | 110 |
| 2027 | 27 | 56 | 93 | 37 | 74 | 112 |
| 2028 | 31 | 63 | 101 | 38 | 75 | 113 |
| 2029 | 35 | 70 | 109 | 38 | 77 | 115 |
| 2030 | 39 | 78 | 116 | 39 | 78 | 116 |

Source: DECC Modelling (2014). This table supports the DECC/HM Treasury Green Book guidance on valuing GHG flows. The ‘low’ and ‘high’ columns represent bounds for sensitivity analysis. Traded values for 2010–2013 reflect actual prices. The remaining values are modelled. All values are reported in GBP 2014.

A recent study by Holt and Rouquette (2017) used the UK Government’s non-traded carbon price for 2015 (GBP 62) to estimate the value of carbon sequestration linked to a 1 141 ha woodland expansion project in Marston Vale (England). With respect to market prices, the authors argue that the Government’s non-traded carbon price is a better reflection of the ‘real’ value of carbon sequestration, if it were to be exchanged. Market prices reflect the current institutional set up of carbon markets, but do not reflect the true value of carbon sequestration (see Eftec 2015). Based on this, Holt and Rouquette (2017) reported that woodland expansion taking place in Marston Vale between 1995 and 2015 was responsible for the average sequestration of 4 917 tonnes of carbon dioxide annually. The total value of these carbon sequestration services was calculated to be GBP 304 855, which is equivalent to GBP 267 per ha of woodland created and per year.

Several approaches have been adopted when valuing the carbon benefits of trees and woodlands including i) valuing annual carbon sequestration, ii) valuing additional carbon sequestration provided by projects and iii) calculating the net present value of carbon storage.

The annual value of carbon sequestration services is found by multiplying official UK values per tonne of carbon sequestration, by the mass of carbon sequestered by trees each year. The UK carbon value per tonne assumes that the carbon is removed from the atmosphere permanently and is equivalent to the value of avoiding the release of one tonne of carbon into the atmosphere today. Permanence is a very important consideration in the valuation of carbon benefits; more accurately, the present value of the carbon at the point at which it is re-released to the atmosphere must be subtracted when valuing current gross sequestration. However, as a simplification, permanence issues can be ignored providing the total carbon stock in UK woodlands is expected to remain at the current level as a minimum in perpetuity once carbon substitution benefits (associated with using wood instead of fossil fuels, or more fossil fuel intensive materials) are also accounted for. This assumption is supported by the current upward trend in carbon stocks in UK woodlands and existing government targets to increase woodland (Valatin and Sterling, 2010).

In project appraisal, carbon benefits are often valued in line with the concept of additionality, meaning that only the net benefits in comparison to the status quo (what would have happened in the absence of the project) are valued. For example, for Woodland Carbon Code projects, carbon sequestration for the created woodland is valued up to the long run average level for the type of woodland created but carbon sequestration provided by existing woodlands is not counted because this would have been provided in the absence of the project.

The carbon sequestered by trees (and woodlands) is stored in tree biomass (trunks, foliage, and roots) and soils. This represents a large stock of carbon that is stored in trees and woodlands. For accounting purposes, the total stock of carbon, and associated net present value taking into account emissions from the burning and decay of wood products, have been calculated. For example, Davies et al (2011) estimate that 97.3% of the total 231 521 tonnes of carbon stored in vegetation in Leicester is associated with trees. Likewise, Strohbach and Haase (2012) estimate that urban trees in Leipzig provide 316 000 tonnes of above ground carbon storage. There are many complexities involved in calculating the value of carbon storage; conventional methods relate timber volume to dry weight using individual species densities and then converting this into carbon content. Calculations can be tailored to account for carbon in non-stem components based on tree species, age and woodland management practices. However, additional challenges are raised by leaf biomass, ground vegetation, litter, soil carbon stocks, and emissions from harvested wood products.

The Forestry Commission has a well-established model of carbon accounting called CARBINE (Edwards and Christie, 1981, see <http://www.forestry.gov.uk/fr/inf-d-633dxb> for further details). CARBINE estimates stocks of carbon stored in trees and released through harvesting as well as avoided greenhouse gas emissions (through the use of wood products that displace fossil fuel intensive materials). These models can scale from individual trees to entire woodlands, taking into account a range of management practices, such as thinning and felling.

In the National Ecosystem Assessment-Follow-On report (Chapter 5a), it is estimated the additional carbon benefits provided by new planting of Sitka spruce and pedunculated oak woodlands were constructed using CARBINE for carbon in biomass and harvested wood products and information on soil carbon relative to agricultural land use.

Urban cooling

In the urban context, trees and shrubs provide protection from heat and ultraviolet radiation by providing shade (Potchter, Cohen and Bitan, 2006). For instance, using the high emissions scenarios based on the UK Climate Impacts Programme (UKCIP02) predictions, Gill et al. (2007) project that increasing the

existing green infrastructure in Greater Manchester by 10% in areas with little or no cover, could reduce local temperature by up to 2.5 degrees Celsius.

Several US-based studies estimate economic values for cooling services by shade trees in urban settings (Akbari, 2002; Nowak et al., 2010, 2012). Using data on indoor and outdoor temperature and humidity, wind speed and direction and air-conditioning cooling energy use, Akbari et al. (1997) show that shade trees near houses can yield seasonal cooling energy savings of approximately 30%. Similarly, Konopacki and Akbari (2000) found that the cooling effects of trees (from both shading and evapotranspiration) could generate “net annual dollar savings in energy expenditure of US\$ 6.3 million, US\$ 12.8 million and US\$ 1.5 million for Baton Rouge, Sacramento and Salt Lake City, respectively” (Akbari, 2002). More recent studies in Chicago (Nowak, 2010) and Toronto (Nowak et al., 2012) identify annual residential energy savings, due to shade trees, of US\$ 360 000 per year and CAD 9.7 million per year, respectively.

The figures on residential energy savings from North American studies are sufficient to suggest that this could be a useful area of study for the UK. Given the relative temperatures and prevalence of air conditioning in North America relative to the UK, it is possible that energy savings may be lower in the UK. However, if future studies also incorporated potential health impacts (of reducing urban heat island during summer heatwaves reduced dehydration, heat stroke), the overall value of urban cooling services from trees could remain substantial.

5.9. Research gaps




The effect of trees on global climate is relatively well studied, particularly in terms of GHG flows. However, for the UK there is a need for more valuation research on the impact of trees on urban heat islands, as well as on reducing building energy use. Future research needs include:

- Improved estimates of the social cost of carbon (carbon price). This is an active area of research, but is unlikely to be resolved in the short or medium run. As such, employing UK Government carbon prices is a straightforward compromise.
- Estimating the effect of trees on urban heat islands (through shading and evapotranspiration) in UK cities.
- Linking urban cooling services in UK cities to energy savings.
- More efforts should be made to explore the extent to which international evidence on the value of carbon sequestration in woodland areas can be transferred across locations and if any adjustments are need before such evidence can be specifically applied to the UK context.

6. Recreation

Table 12: Colour-coded assessment of available evidence on forests recreation

| Biophysical evidence | Valuation evidence | Decision support tools | Urban tree literature |
|--|--|---|---|
| There is a good knowledge of the relationships between site characteristics and recreational visits. This is also thanks to the availability of large-scale, time-series studies, such as Monitoring of Engagement with the Natural Environment (MENE) | Valuation evidence on the social benefits of recreation in forests is relatively rich. Complex valuation methods for analysing recreational behaviour are available. These methods make use of spatially explicit data and are able to account for substitute sites and provide information on use and non-use values. | The Outdoor Recreation Valuation (ORVal) tool synthesises information on the recreational value of greenspace (including woodlands) in England and Wales. Possible improvements for the future include the consideration of tourists in addition to day visitors. | The evidence for recreational values from urban trees and woodlands is relatively robust (Brander and Koetse 2011; Perino et al. 2014); In addition, some evidence on the recreational value of urban woodlands is provided by the Outdoor Recreation Valuation (ORVal) tool. |

Key:  Strong evidence, with few gaps  Some evidence, but with significant gaps  Major gaps in evidence

6.1. Biophysical pathways

Trees and forest are connected to recreation through a number of pathways:

- **Trees are recreational site characteristics:** Trees and forests are defining characteristic of recreational sites and as such, enter the production of recreation directly. In this capacity, trees and forests facilitate a wide range of recreational pursuits including walking, cycling, horse riding, camping, fishing and bird watching.
- **Trees modify the quality and availability of sites:** Recreational demand has been shown to vary according to the nature of the forest recreation site such as, the size and type of woodland, facilities and the recreational activities available on site (Jones et al., 2010). Woodland also indirectly influences recreation through its modification of other final environmental goods and services that affect the quality and availability of recreation sites. These include water quality (through opportunities for recreational fishing, swimming or boating), air quality (through health effects or visibility), climate/temperature (through shading, cooling and shelter from extreme weather) and biodiversity (through bird watching or nature viewing).
- **Recreational activities affect the biophysical functioning of trees and woodlands:** Recreation as an activity can also affect the natural environment and the provision of final environmental goods and services. For example, recreational activities can cause wildlife and habitat disturbance (Marzano and Dandy, 2012). This conflict between habitat conservation and recreation can be exacerbated at open access sites due to visitor preferences to avoid overcrowding (Tratalos et al., 2013).

6.2. Recreation units

Two units of measurement are key to valuing the contributions of trees and forests to recreational experiences—the marginal (per visit) value of the site and the quantity of visits to each site:

- **Value:** The marginal contribution that environmental quality makes to the value of recreational experiences is frequently estimated using the travel-cost method (Willis and Garrod, 1991; Benson, 1994; Zandersen and Tol, 2009). The travel-cost method models the environmental quality of recreational sites, along with a series of complementary site characteristics and market goods, most notably the cost of travelling to the site. Since the quality of the natural area cannot be enjoyed without these market purchases²⁴, those purchases provide information on the value households place on environmental quality. Accordingly, people's expenditure on travelling to sites provides information that can be used to deduce economic value.
- **Trips:** The quantity of visits made to a site has typically been estimated through the undertaking of large-scale visitor surveys. However, this form of data collection is a very time consuming and expensive process. More recently, researchers have developed models to predict visitation rates. For example, Jones, Bateman and Wright (2003) and Jones et al. (2010) developed a model, which takes account of the accessibility, facilities, availability of substitutes and variation in population characteristics. They found that accessibility (defined by travel time) was the strongest predictor of visitor numbers, but also observed significant substitution effects for alternative recreation sites and activities. Similarly, Sen et al. (2011) developed a trip generating function to predict the annual number of visitors that would arrive at a new woodland. Combined with national population and geographic databases these models can provide estimates for the quantity of visits to recreational sites, without the need for costly visitor surveys.

6.3. Economic production functions

Recreational activity also affects a number of other environmental, household and firm production functions, for example:

- Biodiversity – recreational activity impacts on conservation and habitat and is a source of disruption to wildlife
- Housing – access to recreational sites and urban green space is a sought after amenity and this is reflected through property premiums
- Physical health – through the use of green space for physical exercise
- Mental health – access to and recreational use of green space has been linked to reductions in stress and tension
- Artistic – as an input to or inspiration for the production of art by artists
- Learning - opportunities for educators, students and researchers to learn from and experience the environment
- Spiritual and cultural - for spiritual, ceremonial or celebratory purposes
- Non-use value - the benefits trees provide to people who care about existence value of the environment (those who think it is important to preserve the environment for moral/ethical

²⁴ Travel cost methods tend to focus purely on the cost of travelling to the site however, it is also likely that access to recreational sites is capitalised into property prices. As a result, residents living in close proximity to woodlands may pay a premium on their property prices, which provides them with access and eliminates the need for expenditure on travel. For these residents, a pure travel cost method will tend to underestimate the recreational value of woodlands however, the omitted value would be captured through hedonic price analyses; although it may be difficult to disentangle the recreation component from other social and environmental benefits provided by proximity to trees and woodlands (e.g. amenity value and health benefits).

connection or fear of unintended consequences), or bequest values (those who think it is important to preserve the environment for future generations).

6.4. Beneficiaries

The beneficiaries of improvements to recreational sites are broadly categorised as recreational businesses, recreational users and members of the general public who benefit through non-use values.

6.5. Valuation methods

In modelling demand for woodland recreation the key methodology is the travel-cost approach. The travel-cost method models the environmental quality of recreational sites, along with a series of complementary market goods, most notably the costs of travel to the site. Data is often collected on-site and frequently at locations close to on-site facilities, such as car parks, visitor centres and toilets. The approach to data collection is important for the analysis of travel-cost data, in particular, the quality of on-site facilities needs to be accounted for and care should be taken when scaling up the number of trips across areas of the site with different (or no) facilities. A second limitation of the travel-cost method is that it does not extend easily to situations in which consumers are faced by an array of substitute recreational sites. In those circumstances, the consumers are as concerned with the choice between sites, as the choice of the number of trips to take to one particular site. The standard method applied in the case of multiple sites is provided by the random utility model; a discrete choice modelling technique, in which consumers are assumed to choose a particular site to visit, based on the qualities of and costs of travel to, the different sites available to them.

One particularly useful dataset for creating models of woodland recreation valuation in the UK is the one utilised in the UK NEAFO project—the Monitor of Engagement with the Natural Environment (MENE) survey. The survey takes a representative sample of English adult residents and uses diary records of their recreational trips in the week running up to the interview date. The survey started in 2009 and every year since over 45 000 interviews are recorded. It gathers national level data for all forms of recreation involving the natural environment, this allows for discrete choice models to be built (as in the UK NEAFO project) that capture the impacts of substitute availability; therefore, the model avoids the over-estimation of values, which would arise if substitution effects were ignored. In addition, the survey records data not just for those people who undertake recreational activity but also for those people who do not undertake any; this is different to typical travel-cost surveys, in which only those people who visit the recreation site are included in the survey.

An alternative to the travel-cost approach is to directly value the recreational benefits, using stated preference techniques such as, the contingent valuation or the choice experiment methods. These approaches are often considered to estimate economic values in the face of future, hypothetical scenarios where the travel-cost method is not an option. This is because the travel-cost method needs to rely on observed choices that people have made in a real settings, while stated preference methods are more flexible and allow individuals' to elicit preferences both in real, as well as in future and hypothetical, scenarios. Because of this, stated preference methods are particularly useful to estimate non-use values, which refer to those values that individuals experience from knowing that a given forest is preserved, regardless of whether they will ever intend to visit that forest. Despite the flexibility that stated preference methods offer, there are some limitations that need to be accounted for when using these methods to estimate recreational values. Often, stated preference studies include attributes of the woodland or forest and individual characteristics but fail to account for off-site characteristics such as, substitute sites and the geographical distribution of sites. This causes two problems: (i) value estimates, which do not take into account that accessibility of substitutes may be biased; and (ii) value functions

based on small scale on-site surveys may have limited transferability outside of the specifics of the study. Stated preference techniques are in some cases the only available valuation method. However, where multiple methods are available, stated preference techniques should be used particularly in situations where individuals are familiar with the good in question, understand the consequences of change and have strong incentives to answering questions in an unbiased manner (Day et al. 2012). This is because under such circumstances, stated preference techniques provide more robust and reliable welfare estimates.

Another option to infer recreational values in woodlands is to transfer the economic values from a previous study. Of course, it is highly unusual that an existing study will provide the perfect fit in terms of both attributes and context. Indeed, the usual procedure would be to attempt to adjust values from the original study, in order to account for differences in the attributes and context of the situation in which they are to be applied. Ideally, we would like for those adjustments to be driven by empirical evidence, perhaps in the form of a transfer function, that is to say, a function that indicates the relationship between levels of value and different levels of attributes and context. A second approach to developing transfer functions is provided by the method of meta-analysis. Meta-analysis is a statistical approach, in which valuations drawn from multiple original studies are combined and analysed, in order to identify how estimates differ, as a result of differences in the attributes of the final environmental goods and services being valued and differences in the context in which they were consumed. Meta-analyses will often also examine whether the values differ systematically, according to the valuation method used in the original studies and/or differences in the methods of data collection and analysis.

6.6. Valuation Scale

- Bateman, Abson et al. (2011) and Bateman, Day et al. (2014) show how location of recreational sites matters. A specific and moderate-sized nature recreation site, for example, might generate values of between GBP 1 000 and GBP 65 000 per annum, depending solely on where it is located. The critical determinant of this range is, perhaps not surprisingly, proximity to significant conurbations. Put another way, woodlands in the ‘right’ place (i.e. relatively close to potential visiting populations) are likely to give rise to higher social values (other things being equal), an insight of particular importance if policy-makers are contemplating new investments in these nature sites.
- Bartczak et al. (2008) show the dangers of transferring values across different countries in their travel-cost national study of Poland. They show that forest recreation is valued highly in Poland (EUR 0.64–6.93 per trip per person) with trip frequency and values higher than Western Europe, despite lower income levels.

6.7. Valuation Estimates

The Woodland Valuation Tool currently contains 46 valuation studies and 8 biophysical studies relating to recreation.

Recreational users

Valuing the contributions of trees and forests to recreational users is a well-studied problem. In **Error! Reference source not found.** we present the marginal (per visit), per person values for recreational users of woodlands and forests from a number of recent UK studies. The values are estimated using a range of techniques. For example; Scarpa (2003) use two stated preference techniques (an open-ended contingent valuation survey and a dichotomous choice contingent valuation survey); Christie et al.

(2006) combine stated and revealed preference techniques, including the travel-cost method; Eftec (2010) apply two constant values, depending on whether the recreation site has a high level of facilities or a low level; and Sen et al. (2012) and Sen et al. (2014) use a meta-analysis to transfer previous value estimates. The recent contribution by Day and Smith (2018), who estimated a travel cost model for England and Wales, is not included in this table, but will be extensively discussed in a separate subsection in this Chapter.

Table 13: Recreation values from the existing evidence base

| Source | Value per visit (converted to 2014 GBP) | Values for | Method/notes |
|--------------------------------|---|---|--|
| Scarpa (2003) | 2.23 - 3.69 | Forests and woodlands only | Contingent valuation (open ended and dichotomous choice willingness to pay surveys). |
| Christie et al. (2006b) | 9.75 - 18.50 | Forests and woodlands only | Travel-cost method to estimate the value of improvements to recreational facilities in forests. Range depends on type of recreation activity (e.g. cycling, hiking etc). |
| Eftec (2010) | 2.69 | Forests and woodlands only | Low facility sites; constant value applied per trip. Does not vary with size of woodland, distance from populations, household incomes, availability of substitutes etc. |
| Eftec (2010) | 13.45 | Forests and woodlands only | High facility sites; constant value applied per trip. Does not vary with size of woodland, distance from populations, household incomes, availability of substitutes etc. |
| Sen et al. (2012) | 3.35* | All outdoor recreation types across Great Britain, including forests and woodlands. | Meta-analysis of over 100 studies, combining revealed and stated preference valuation techniques. Develops detailed Trip Generation Function (TGF**). Expressly models travel time and cost from each potential outset area to each recreation site, availability of substitute sites and household characteristics (e.g. income). |
| Sen et al. (2014) | 3.59 | Forests and woodlands only | Combines TGF with meta-analysis of 297 values from 98 studies to estimate per visit values. Expressly models travel time and cost from each potential outset area to each recreation site, availability of substitute sites, household characteristics (e.g. income). |

Notes: conversion to 2014 GBP using HM Treasury GDP Quarterly Deflators 30 September 2015 Update, available from: <https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/gdp-deflators-at-market-prices-and-money-gdp-september-2015-quarterly-national-accounts>

* Based on Sen et al (2012) base case scenario with 3 231 000 visits totalling GBP 10 040 000 in value.

** The TGF developed in Sen et al (2011) relates the number of trips observed to a variety of predictor variables including site type (e.g. mountain, lake, grassland); study details (sample size, treatment of substitutes, valuation methods); demographic details (population density). Some studies excluded due to age

The values reported in Table 13 range from GBP 2.23 up to GBP 18.50 (in 2014 GBP). The environmental valuation literature has demonstrated that there are many determining factors of forest recreational value (Scarpa, 2003; Scarpa et al. 2007), including the accessibility, facilities and variation in population characteristics and socio-economic factors. The highest values reported in the table are for specialist users of the woodlands from Christie et al. (2006b); they show that cyclists, horse riders and walkers all value forest recreation highly. Furthermore, Christie, Hanley and Hynes (2007) employ a combination of revealed and stated preference methods to value the component attributes of forest recreation, valuing specific enhancements for different recreational users. For example, they report the largest increase in value would be for new family play areas (GBP 8.75 per visitor, per year in 2005 GBP) and new wildlife hides for nature watchers (GBP 7.89 per visitor, per year in 2005 GBP). In addition, they report expected changes in the number of trips to the recreational forest; the largest proportional changes in trips come from investing in new family play areas (10.2% increase) and investing in new trail obstacles for cyclists (5.0% increase). The fact that recreational users appreciate not only the environmental attributes of forests, but also the infrastructure available to them is also reflected in other recent international studies. Examples are Giergiczny et al. (2015) and Czajkowski et al. (2017) who found, through a choice experiment exercise in Poland, that forest visitors have positive preferences for increasing parking spaces and picnic sites, in addition to improving paths and interpretative walking trails.

Forest users have also been found to display different benefits depending on the structural and ecological attributes of the woodland. In a recent choice experiment study conducted in Scotland, Glenk, McVittie and Faccioli (McVittie and Faccioli 2017) focused on the preferences of forest users for woodlands' attributes - including forest type, tree height, tree age structure and amount of deadwood present. Willingness to pay figures are not yet available from this work, but preliminary results show that sampled respondents prefer higher (to lower) numbers of tree species in a woodland; taller and more mature (to shorter and less mature) trees; single-aged (to multi-aged) forests; and greater (to lower) amounts of deadwood in the woodland. Other studies conducted in Denmark (Filyushkina et al. 2017) and in Poland (Giergiczny et al. 2015) have examined preferences for similar forest attributes, even though results seem to display some degree of heterogeneity, possibly linked to country or context specific effects.

Of particular interest is Giergiczny et al. (2015) who, in the framework of a choice experiment study, focuses upon the trade-offs that individuals are willing to make between forest attributes and distance travelled to visit the site. This reflects the role that spatial aspects play in shaping values. Capturing the economic values of individual forest sites requires knowledge not only of the site characteristics, the socio-economic profile of individuals and the preferences of the population. It also requires consideration of the spatial locations of the recreational site and of substitute sites. Figure 6: Annual welfare benefits from access to current set of outdoor recreation opportunities, which is from the UK NEAFO (Bateman, Day et al., 2014), maps the current annual welfare for the set of outdoor recreation opportunities available across Great Britain. The figure shows that significant differences occur across Britain (values range from a low of GBP 258 to a maximum of GBP 959 per person, per year in 2014 GBP), reflecting the differences in the availability of recreational opportunities.

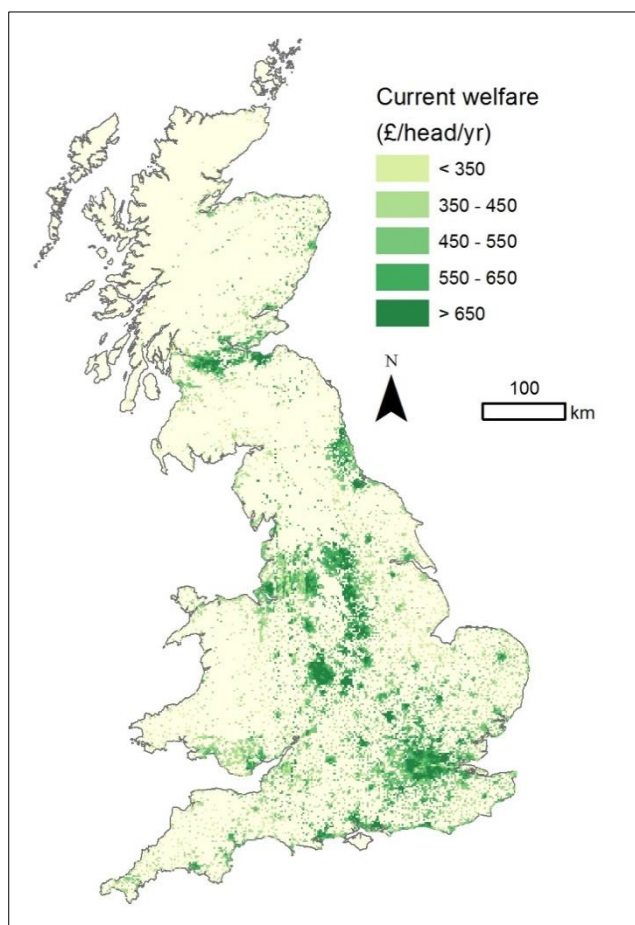


Figure 6: Annual welfare benefits from access to current set of outdoor recreation opportunities

As part of the UK NEAFO project, a model was developed, which distinguishes between the benefits that come from woodland recreational sites in the context of all alternative outdoor recreation opportunities (substitute sites). To make that distinction, the model has to be able to capture distance decay (that the benefits enjoyed from a recreational woodland decline with increasing distance) and the availability of substitute recreation sites (that the benefits decline with an increased availability of alternative recreation opportunities). Figure 7 illustrates a hypothetical scenario of 100ha of new planting, planted at a distance of 10 minute travel time (for driving) from each population centre on the left and 20 minute travel time on the right. The average annual welfare gain for the woodland located 10 minutes from population centres is GBP 3.02 per person per year in 2014 GBP; whilst the average annual welfare gain for the woodland located 20 minutes from population centres is GBP 0.29 per person, per year in 2014 GBP. This shows clearly the importance of spatial location, particularly proximity to heavily populated areas, upon the economic value of new woodland recreation sites. In addition, the per person welfare gains vary across Britain; for example, the per head welfare gains appear to be relatively lower in London than in areas of Northwest England or South Wales and this can, at least partly, be explained by the differences in availability of substitute outdoor recreation opportunities.

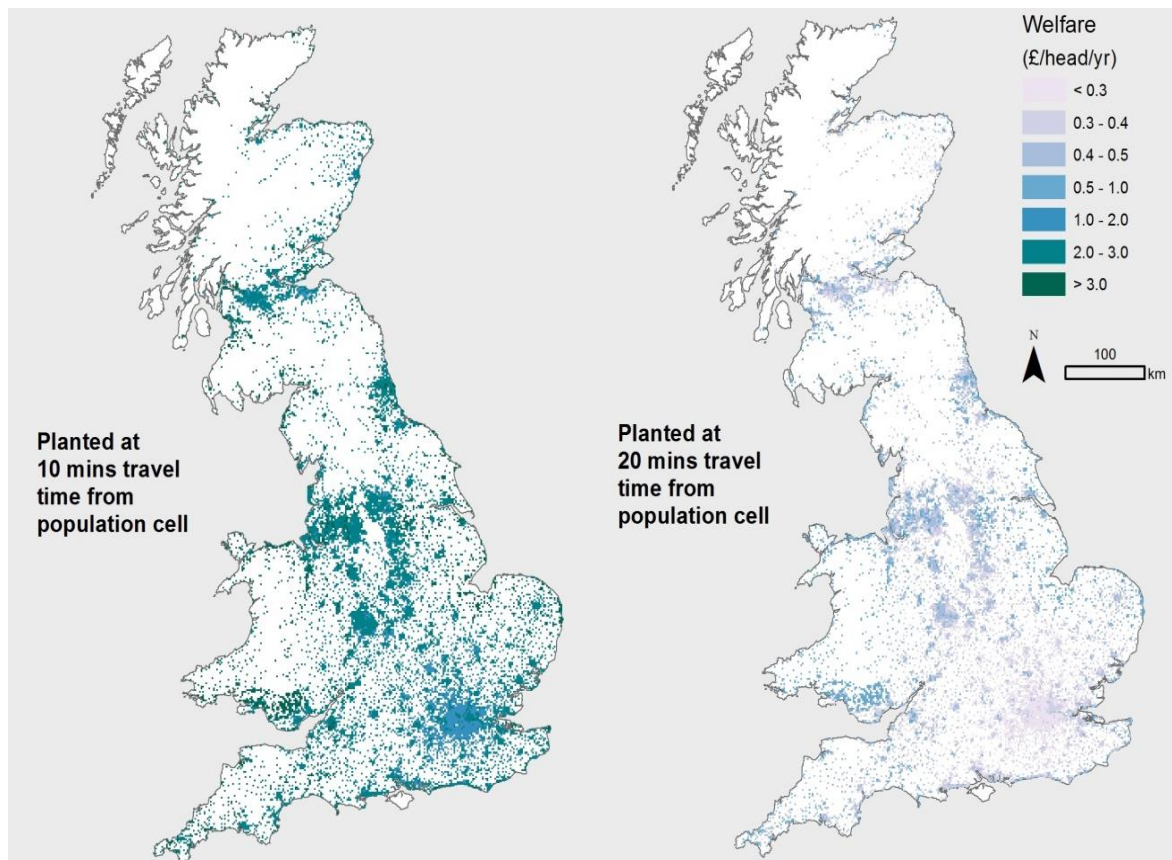


Figure 7: Annual per person welfare gains from access to newly planted woodland

While the vast majority of studies included in the Woodland Valuation Tool report individuals' preferences for benefits associated to woodland goods and services and report that visitors would be willing to pay for increasing accessibility to woodland sites for recreation, a few studies also focused on the negative externalities (e.g. noise or litter) associated with high visitation rates in forests. For example, Czajkowski et al. (2017), by means of a choice experiment in Poland, found that visitors would be willing to pay EUR 17.69 per household per year to substantially reduce the amount of litter in Polish forests. Calleja et al. (2017), by means of a contingent valuation study, found that visitors of the Retiro Park in Madrid (Spain) would be willing to pay EUR 6.36 per person to reduce noise and increase tranquillity in the urban woodland.

6.8. Decision support tools

The Outdoor Recreation Valuation tool (ORVal) represents the main decision support tool available at UK level to provide information on the recreational values of greenspace (including forests). This tool was developed by Day and Smith (2018) at the Land, Environment, Economics and Policy (LEEP) Institute at the University of Exeter, with funding support provided by DEFRA. The primary purpose of this web-based application (available at: <http://leep.exeter.ac.uk/orval>) is to provide information that might be useful to government, businesses and communities, in understanding the benefits that are derived from accessible greenspace in England and Wales.

The ORVal tool is based on a sophisticated model of recreational demand for outdoor greenspace, estimated from data collected in the annual Monitor of Engagement with the Natural Environment

(MENE) survey (Natural England 2017). The model can be used to estimate the levels of visitation to existing or newly created greenspaces and to derive monetary measures of the value households attach to the recreational opportunities provided by those sites.

ORVal makes probabilistic predictions about how likely it is that people with particular characteristics, in particular locations, visit a particular greenspace, given the characteristics of the greenspaces available and the cost of travelling to them. To estimate the recreation value of new sites, the welfare gain for each individual is calculated when adding a new site to the overall set of sites available for individuals to visit. That welfare gain is converted into an equivalent monetary amount and then aggregated over the whole England and Wales adult population and over an entire year.

Because ORVal is linked to information on land cover types, it is possible to estimate information on the recreational value provided by specific habitats, including woodlands. Based on this, ORVal estimates that each trip to a woodland in England and Wales is worth, on average, about GBP 3.33. ORVal also allows to disentangle information on the recreational value of a trip to a woodland site by type of woodland (including whether it is a coniferous, broadleaved, young or felled forest) and based on whether the greenspace is a park or a path.

ORVal has three key functions:

- (1) It allows users to explore the usage and welfare values that are generated by currently accessible greenspaces. Welfare values can be viewed at individual site level or aggregated by regions.
- (2) It allows users to estimate how usage and welfare values might change if the characteristics of a recreational greenspace were changed.
- (3) It allows users to draw new recreation sites on the map, define their characteristics and estimate the usage and welfare values that might be generated by creating that new greenspace in that particular location

ORVal has recently been incorporated into the UK Treasury's Green Book the official government's guidance for project appraisal and evaluation (HM Treasury 2018) and features in the government's 25 Year Environment Plan (Defra 2018).

6.9. Research Gaps




- Values associated with recreation need to be broken down to reveal differences in willingness to pay for different recreational users (e.g. joggers, cyclists, fishermen/women, hunters). In addition, the role of perceptions and attitudes towards forests, plus the effect of such attitudes and perceptions on recreational values, needs to be better understood.
- Urban trees and woodlands provide opportunities for recreational experiences in an urban landscape, which is a mosaic of different land uses and in close proximity to densely populated residential and commercial areas. The evidence for recreational values from urban trees and woodlands is relatively robust (Brander and Koetse, 2011; Perino et al., 2014).
- Bateman, Abson et al. (2011) and Bateman, Day et al. (2014) show how location of recreational sites matters. A recreation site can generate a significant range in values, depending on where it is located. The critical determinant of this range is, perhaps not surprisingly, proximity to significant conurbations, and thus the study of recreation values in urban areas is particularly salient.

- ORVal offers useful information on the recreational value of woodlands and trees, in urban and non-urban areas. In the future, this tool can be expanded by extending the consideration of greenspace users to tourists, in addition to day visitors.
- A greater understanding and modelling of the contextual drivers of recreational demand, including weather, are needed.

7. Physical and mental health

Table 14: Colour-coded assessment of available evidence on the physical and mental health benefits provided by forests

| Biophysical evidence | Valuation evidence | Decision support tools | Urban tree literature |
|---|---|--|---|
| The understanding of the mechanisms through which woodlands provide mental and physical benefits to people is still scarce. A fundamental challenge remains to establish causality, substitution and response behaviours between trees/woodland and mental and physical health. | Valuation evidence on the mental and physical health benefits of spending time outdoor in woodlands is very limited and more attention should be given to this in the future. There is no commonly applied generic measure for mental health; this makes the understanding of mental and physical health insufficient and poses considerable challenges to valuation. | The evidence base needs to be progressed to facilitate the development of accessible decision support tools that incorporate mental and health impacts resulting from activities beyond habitual exercise. | The key challenge in valuing the physical and mental health benefits provided by urban trees and woodlands lies in developing a clear understanding of the biophysical processes at work. |

Key:  Strong evidence, with few gaps  Some evidence, but with significant gaps  Major gaps in evidence

7.1. Biophysical Pathways

Woodlands have been shown to affect physical and mental health through their impact on final environmental goods and services including clean air, clean water and the presence of natural environment. Mourato et al. (2010) identify three pathways, through which environmental amenities and the natural environment affect physical and mental health. These are:

1. Through the absorption of pollutants (e.g. air pollutants including SO₂).
2. By acting as a catalyst for healthy lifestyle choices, such as exercising regularly.
3. Through health benefits provided by exposure to a natural environment (e.g. reduced stress and tension).

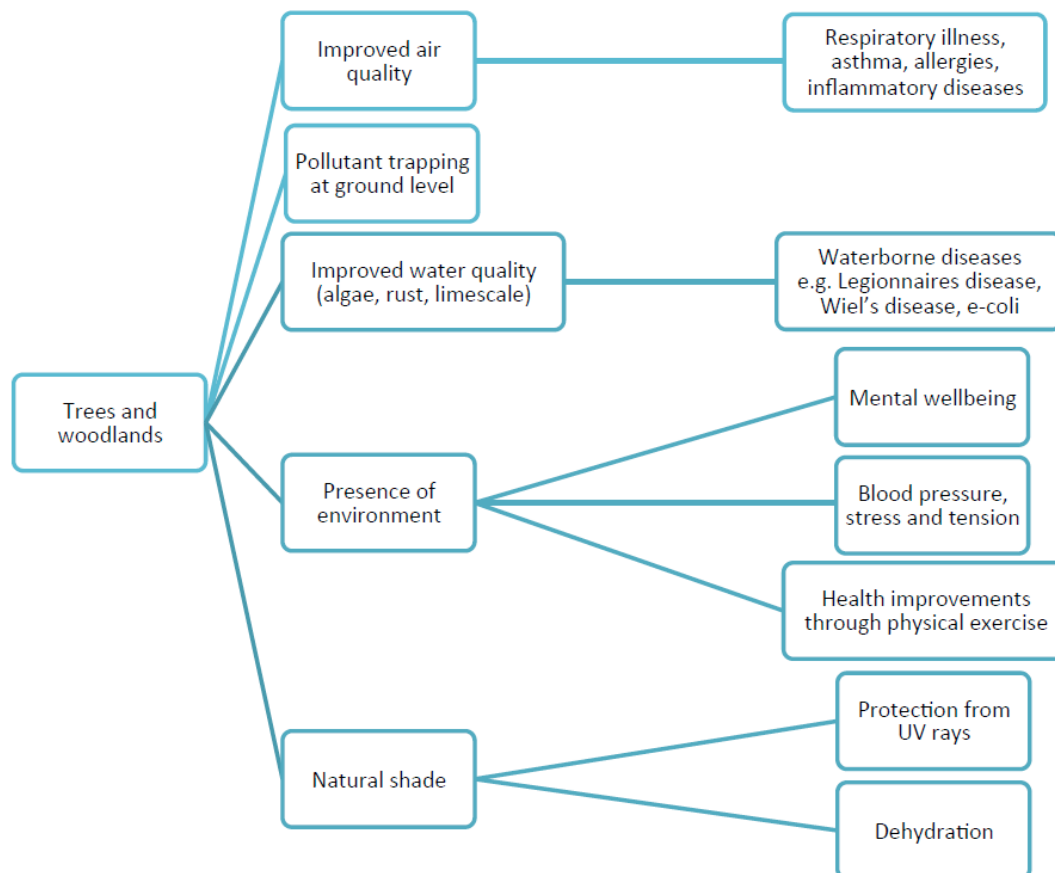
The direct health benefits associated with trees and woodlands include:

- Fewer respiratory illnesses/diseases, hospital visits and early deaths associated with air pollution (Powe and Willis, 2004, 2002).
- Reduced incidence of asthma, allergies and chronic inflammatory diseases in children Ruokolainen et al (2015).
- Better health through improvements in water quality at recreational sites and thus fewer instances of waterborne diseases such as Legionella, Escherichia coli and Weil's disease.

- Fitness-related benefits associated with outdoor exercise, including recreational activities such as biking, walking and fishing. These benefits include reduced risks of heart attacks, type 2 diabetes, stroke, breast and colon cancer, osteoarthritis, obesity, depression and dementia (Bird et al. 2003; Pretty et al., 2005, 2007; Cook, 2015). Mitchell and Popham (2008) found that circulatory diseases and mortality rates from all causes were decreased in populations exposed to greener environments (including woodlands).
- Reduced ultraviolet radiation (Potchter, Cohen and Bitan, 2006).
- Less dehydration – through the provision of shade and protection from heat (Potchter, Cohen and Bitan, 2006).
- Fewer mental health problems, including stress and anxiety (Hartig et al., 2003; Maller et al., 2006; Annerstedt et al., 2012; Alcock et al., 2014). However, Milligan and Bingley (2007) show that woodlands can create anxiety and uncertainty in some people and that benefits or losses to welfare from woodlands vary depending on the individual.
- In addition, tree diseases and losses due to pests have recently been associated with increases in cardiovascular disease in women (Donovan et al. 2013, 2015), suggesting a link between the health of trees and the rate of cardiovascular disease in humans.

The pathways through which trees and woodlands affect health are depicted in Figure 8.

Figure 8: Biophysical processes of woodland influencing health



7.2. Physical and mental health units

As discussed in the earlier Chapter regarding air quality, physical health is often directly valued by calculating the change in the number of hospital visits, deaths avoided in a one year period, changes in quality of life years and/or changes in morbidity and mortality risks (Powe and Willis, 2002; Willis et al. 2003). Mental health outcomes are measured less uniformly. The Department of Health's Expert Group on mental health outcomes identified a number of widely used measures, including HONOS, CORE-OM, GHQ, BDI, Lancashire Quality of Life Scale, CAN, FACE, MHI-5 (from the SF-36) and MANSA. These measures are often used in clinical trials; some relate to specific mental health illnesses and were not designed with valuation in mind. Some useful psychometric scales are available from the environmental psychology literature, which focus for instance, on perceived restorativeness or other mental wellbeing constructs. However, more effort should be made within the environmental psychology discipline to develop more robust and behaviourally-grounded scales, suitable for valuation studies. The size and complexity of the above measures makes them unsuitable for use in preference elicitation studies. Brazier (2008) argues that the development of a generic preference-based mental health measure for valuation is a much needed and important advancement.

7.3. Economic Production Functions

Physical and mental health can also enter a number of other production functions as contextual variables. For example, the health of a labour force affects their productivity and, as a result, has an impact on the production of goods and services. A simple way to think about this is to see health as a type of technology in a production function, this technology can enhance or hinder the productivity of labour (output per hour of labour) and can alter the structure of (or preferences in) a utility function.

For example, health can affect:

- Food and industrial production – productivity levels are dependent on the health and wellbeing of the labour force.
- Recreation – ability to take part in and the value derived from recreational activities can be affected by physical and mental health.
- Artistic production – the production of and value derived from art is dependent on the health and well-being of the artist and of the audience.
- Learning experiences - opportunities for educators, students and researchers to learn from and experience the environment.
- Spiritual and cultural experiences - for spiritual, ceremonial or celebratory purposes.
- Utility functions – health has been shown to affect willingness to pay for reductions in mortality risk in US stated preference studies (Krupnick et al., 2002).

7.4. Beneficiaries

The general public and health care providers benefit from improvements in physical and mental health.

Physical and mental health are controversial; there is an ongoing debate about whether they enter a person's utility function directly, as a final good or service (i.e. people derive value from the fact that they are healthy), or whether they enter indirectly, through altering the production of utility from other goods and services. For instance, the utility derived from a recreational visit to Thetford forest depends upon a person's health and they will derive less utility from the visit if their asthma is bad due to poor air quality, or if they are suffering with hay fever due to high levels of pollen in the air. Of course, it is possible that both of the explanations are true.

The existing empirical and valuation literature approaches good health (or the avoidance of bad health) as though it is a final good and service and largely ignores any impact that health may have on the value of other goods and services. As a result, gains in economic value that could be achieved through improving health and indirectly increasing the value of existing consumption are being overlooked.

7.5. Valuation methods

Stated preference methods, social damage cost functions, replacement cost methods and cost-efficiency measures (e.g. National Institute for Health & Care Excellence (NICE) guidelines for medical treatments) have all been used to value health benefits.

Economic assessment tools for valuing health benefits are also available. For example, the Health Economic Assessment Tools (HEAT) is available from the World Health Organisation Regional Office for Europe. HEAT provides values for the benefits, in terms of mortality rate improvements derived from habitual walking and cycling as recreational activities using the UK Value of Statistical Life, discounted by a default discount rate of 5%²⁵. However, the tool does not disaggregate the benefits by particular types of green infrastructure. As a result, reporting the total value will overstate the benefits from urban trees and woodlands, or alternatively, scaling for the proportion of total green infrastructure comprising of trees and woodland makes the assumption that green infrastructure is perfectly substitutable. In addition, HEAT does not include broader physical health benefits, such as improvements to quality of life, or mental health benefits, and is not suitable for valuing the benefits of one-off activities (e.g. non-habitual cycling).

7.6. Valuation scale

Studies linking tree and woodlands to health tend to be highly localised, for example Powe and Willis (2002), assess air quality effects of trees at the 1km² scale, focussing on woodlands of 2ha or more. Similarly, the i-Tree model developed by the US Forest Service has been applied from the level of individual trees, to city-wide assessments (Hutchings, Lawrence and Brunt, 2012; Rumble et al., 2014; Moffat et al. 2017; Mutch et al. 2017; Rogers et al. 2018). Willis (2015) examines the relationship between woodlands and mental health through a case study in Scotland. However, estimates of the monetary value of improved health, be it reductions in hospital visits, medical bills or risk of mortality, are more frequently conducted at a national scale where an average unit value is applied.

7.7. Valuation estimates

The Woodland Valuation Tool currently contains 18 valuation studies and 21 biophysical studies relating to physical and/or mental health.

The existing values relating woodlands and trees to physical health and mental health, can be divided into those relating to the general public and those relating to healthcare providers.

²⁵ Users are able to override this default value, we recommended using the official UK Treasury procedure for discounting.

7.7.1. Physical Health

General Public

- Stated preference based values for avoided illness: as discussed in [Chapter 4](#), the health benefits of improved air quality have been estimated by Powe and Willis (2002; 2004). Both Willis et al. (2003) and Eftec (2011) report the Powe and Willis (2002) values of GBP 124 998 for each death avoided by one year due to PM₁₀ and SO₂ absorbed by tree, and GBP 602 for an 11-day hospital stay, avoided due to reduced respiratory illness (in 2002 GBP).

Likewise, the HEAT available from the World Health Organisation Regional Office for Europe provides values for the benefits derived from habitual walking and cycling as recreational activities. The values in HEAT are calculated using a stated preference derived UK Value of Statistical Life, which is discounted using a default discount rate of 5%. However, the tool does not disaggregate the benefits by particular types of green infrastructure. As a result, reporting the total value will overstate the benefits from urban trees and woodlands, alternatively scaling for the proportion of total green infrastructure, comprising of trees and woodland makes the assumption that green infrastructure is perfectly substitutable.

Health Care Providers

- Social costs of pollutants: these are calculated by estimating the externalities and social damage costs for a given unit of pollution reduction. The social damage costs incorporate health costs associated with the pollutant. One common example is the social cost of carbon (see section [5](#) on climate for further details) and similar values are employed in i-Tree, which applies a monetary value in pounds per tonne of PM₁₀, PM_{2.5} and NO₂ SO₂ and O₃ (Hutchings, Lawrence and Brunt, 2012; Rumble et al., 2014; Moffat et al. 2017; Mutch et al. 2017; Rogers et al. 2018).
- An alternative approach to estimating benefits to health care providers is to consider cost savings in relation to alternative medical treatments (e.g. reduction in medical bills, prescriptions). This approach is generally foregone in favour of per unit social costs, due to their ease of use and standardisation. The cost savings approach was employed in a recent study by Holt and Rouquette (2017) on the positive physical effects of active visits to the Forest of Marston Vale (England). In this study, ‘active’ visits were defined as those where individuals do ‘active’ physical activity, equal to or more than 30 minutes in duration and with a Metabolic Equivalence of Task (MET)²⁶ of 3 or more. For example, activities with a MET of 3 or less include walking slowly, fishing (sitting) and so on. In Holt and Rouquette (2017), the health benefits generated by active visits of 30 minutes of moderate to intense physical activity taken 52 weeks a year, were reported to be equal to 0.0107 quality-adjusted life years (QALYs). For each additional QALY achieved, the authors reported that the cost savings faced by the NHS correspond to GBP 20 000 per year.

²⁶ MET is the ratio between the metabolic rate associated with an activity and the resting rate

7.7.2. Mental health

General Public

Stated preference methods have been adopted as one way of monetizing the health benefits provided by the environment, including trees and woodlands. Some studies, such as those employed in HEAT (see previous sub-section) are derived from stated preference questions relating to general health benefits, therefore potentially encompassing both physical and mental health benefit. Such willingness to pay estimates also underpin the Department of Health's monetary values for the health benefits associated with reductions in PM₁₀ and SO₂ (Powe and Willis, 2002, 2004; Chanel and Luchini, 2014). Other studies attempt to estimate the general public's willingness to pay, specifically to avoid mental illnesses (for example, Smith, Damschroder and Ubel, 2012 report a monthly willingness to pay to avoid depression of US\$ 76.90 in 2006 US\$, or for reductions in mortality risk, Krupnick et al., 2002).

Brazier (2008) provides a concise review of which aspects of health and wellbeing should be valued, how they should be described and how they can be valued. In particular, Brazier (2008) discusses the potential to develop mental health QALYs (Quality Adjusted Life Years) from an existing measure of mental health, the CORE-OM, using modern psychometric methods to construct health states amenable to valuation. Initial evidence suggests that generic measures may be adequate for capturing preferences for avoiding depression and anxiety, but not for psychotic and complex conditions.

An additional complexity in the valuation of mental health benefits arises due to the fact that reported willingness to pay appears to be different for healthy members of the general public versus patients, with those suffering from mental illness willing to pay more to avoid mental health issues (Brazier, 2008). This can cause a divergence between willingness to pay values aggregated from stated preference studies and has implications for evaluating the cost-efficiency of interventions/schemes.

Health Care Providers

An alternative approach to estimating health related benefits is to consider the financial impact on health care providers, by estimating the cost savings achieved from, for example, a reduction in medical bills and prescriptions (including antidepressants and counselling for mental health illnesses), when people choose other forms of health care and treatment.

More recently, the relationship between woodlands and mental health have been explored through case studies. For example, Willis (2015)²⁷ provides a Scottish case study, exploring health related quality of life improvements from woodland group-based activities. Willis (2015) finds that "The Branching Out" programme leads to a QALY improvement in the short term.

The evidence base relating woodlands to mental health improvements is weak but developing. Individual case studies require the collection of detailed information, sustained over a long period of time, for both treatment and control groups. The introduction of a generic mental health measure could also serve to facilitate comparisons across studies and reduce the number of control groups required.

²⁷ Willis (2015) Health benefits and green space, presented at EAEREs 21st Annual Conference, 24 – 27 June

7.8. Research gaps

Eftec (2011) identified the key gap in this area in relating the dose-response biophysical information on the natural environment and health outcomes, to the specific influence of trees and woodlands. This gap remains the most challenging for valuing the health benefits of woodlands; however, there are a number of additional gaps and challenges for both physical and mental health and these are noted below:

Physical health

- **Waterborne diseases:** the risk of disease is likely to be an element of willingness to pay for improvements in water quality at recreational sites; however, waterborne diseases have not been studied directly in the literature surveyed in this document.




Mental health

- **Compounded values and double counting:** health is included in recreation and may form part of values for the consumption of other goods and services by altering preferences. The health related values are difficult to disentangle from values in the existing literature and there is a risk of double counting these values; for example, willingness to pay for recreational visits may be combined with willingness to pay for health benefits associated with the use of recreational spaces.
- **Measuring mental health units:** there is no commonly applied generic measure for mental health. This makes comparison between biophysical studies difficult and the lack of a well-defined and commonly understood mental health good or service poses a fundamental challenge for valuation.

8. Biodiversity

Table 15: Colour-coded assessment of available evidence on the role of forests and trees for biodiversity

| Biophysical evidence | Valuation evidence | Decision support tools | Urban tree literature |
|--|--|--|--|
| Need for better data and natural science understanding of the impacts of afforestation upon biodiversity and human health. Biodiversity knowledge is limited to the consideration of specific species and it does not rely on the existence of a standardised and comprehensive indicator. | There is some evidence available on the benefits of biodiversity and, increasingly, on the related non-use values. However, the lack of well-developed biodiversity indicators represents a major challenge in the valuation of biodiversity as a whole. | The measurement of biodiversity, biophysical evidence base and robust valuation methods need to be established before decision support tools that incorporate biodiversity can be developed. | While there is some evidence to suggest that urban woodlands and domestic gardens promote biodiversity, the related benefits and values are not well understood. |

Key:  Strong evidence, with few gaps  Some evidence, but with significant gaps  Major gaps in evidence

The concept of biodiversity refers to the variety of life forms that are supported by and in part define an ecosystem. Forests are important to provide habitat for a range of different species, including both animals and plants, common species as well as native and endemic ones (Alarcon et al. 2015; Petersen et al. 2016). Biodiversity, though, is a measure of an ecosystem's biological complexity and should be distinguished from the constituent forms of life (including flora, fauna and fungi) that exist in that ecosystem.

Despite the clear definitional difference between wild species and biodiversity, a number of studies focus upon the former rather than the latter. Biodiversity is often measured through the presence and abundance of species in an ecosystem. Otherwise, it is also frequently measured in terms of species' richness, namely the number of different species out of the total number of species present in an ecosystem (Papanastasis et al. 2017). Some studies also deliberately use certain wild species as proxy indicators for wider biodiversity, such as birds and large mammals. This is a common simplification and it is clearly empirically appealing, given the complexities of evaluating and measuring biodiversity; however, we should remember that specific species are only a subset of biodiversity and indeed the choice of the appropriate indicator species is often contentious.

A somewhat different issue arises where the focus of a valuation study is not biodiversity but rather some individual 'iconic' species. From an economic perspective, this might be perfectly reasonable if that single species is the object which generates value. In such cases, biodiversity may only be of value to the extent that it supports the provision of that particular species. However, the relationship between the biodiversity of an ecosystem and a given species is typically complex. Food webs and other

intermediate environmental services mean that species typically depend on a variety of inter-relationships. For example, the endangered Sumatran tiger has been the focus of valuation studies (Bateman et al., 2009), but is highly dependent upon a variety of other species such as the wild pig. Damaging one element of this web can generate far reaching impacts on multiple species, which are often difficult to predict²⁸. In such cases, the conservation of biodiversity might provide a necessary element of ensuring the continued existence of a valued individual species.

8.1. Biophysical Pathways

Woodlands and forests embrace an amalgamation of complex, long-standing ecological relationships between different trophic levels, which are reflected in the biodiversity of such environments. Within Great Britain, woodland assemblages have developed in relation to climate, soils, biotic interactions and long standing human interference. Changes to environmental and human determinants are likely to lead to changes in woodland ecosystems and their biodiversity. Here we briefly consider three key drivers of change: (i) the planting of new woodlands and trees; (ii) the management of woodlands and (iii) the effect of climate change. These drivers affect forest biodiversity and its role as an intermediate and final ecosystem good and service.

(i) Planting new woodlands and trees

Within the UK context, the most recent interdisciplinary assessment (linking natural science with economic valuation) of the impact of woodland planting upon an indicator of biodiversity was undertaken as part of the UK National Ecosystem Assessment (UK-NEA, 2011) and its ‘follow-on’ (NEAFO) programme (Albon et al., 2014). In both of these analyses, biodiversity was assessed through indices of various indicator bird species (Hulme and Siriwardena, 2011; Bateman, Harwood et al., 2013, 2014). This approach was adopted, due to the relatively poor cross sectional and time series data available for wider measures of biodiversity - a factor which demonstrates a significant research gap for future assessments. Both the UK-NEA and UK NEAFO programmes consider estimates of the impacts of land use change up to the 2060’s. A baseline counterfactual is established, in which land use only responds to expected changes in climate. This analysis reveals substantial losses across all indicator species, as growing seasons become warmer and drier. This baseline can be criticised for focussing upon native species and failing to consider the impact of new species migrating to the UK as the climate changes. Nevertheless, from an economic perspective, the former losses are relevant if preferences favour the preservation of native species.

Building on this baseline, the UK-NEA analysis considers a number of scenarios of land use change. For all cases envisaging an increase in woodlands, the analyses (unsurprisingly) predict relative increases in woodland bird species and declines in other species. The UK-NEAFO analysis adopts a somewhat different approach, in that it seeks to optimise the value of land-use changes, subject to a localised ‘no-loss’ constraint upon biodiversity. However, even within this, the impact of afforestation favours woodland over other species once again. This is hardly surprising, but underlines the basic systems nature of biodiversity: the advancement of one species or group will often be to the detriment

²⁸ As an example, the decimation of the Californian sea otter in the 19th Century removed a key predator of sea urchins whose population duly exploded causing devastation to the kelp forests upon which it lived and the eventual collapse of the ecosystem.

of others. Of course there are many forms of land use which, to some extent or other, will cause the detriment of most or even all aspects of biodiversity.

(ii) Management impacts upon woodland and tree-related biodiversity

No truly natural woodlands remain in Great Britain today (Forestry Commission England 2010). Therefore woodland biodiversity is, to a greater or lesser extent, a product of human intervention, with some land-use decisions having more significant effects than others. For example, agricultural expansion as well as road construction are mentioned to be among the most important sources of land fragmentation and degradation, which can lead to the loss of forest habitat and species (Sloan and Sayer 2015). Similarly, intensive cattle farming or logging operations are often mentioned to be important drivers of stress for biodiversity (Alarcon et al. 2015). In assessing the effect of forest management on biodiversity, Paillet et al. (2010) conducted a meta-analysis of differences between managed and unmanaged forests in Europe, using species richness (defined simply as the number of species present) as a measure of biodiversity. They found species richness to be slightly higher in unmanaged forests than in managed forests, with species who rely on continuous forest cover, deadwood or large trees (such as nonvascular plants, fungi and beetles) adversely affected by forest management. In contrast, certain vascular plant species were positively affected. Paillet et al. (2010) did not distinguish between the types of management activities used in managed forests and there exists a gap in knowledge about the specifics of forest management that adversely affects species richness.

Relative to other European forests, in Great Britain there is a lack of diversity in the dominant canopy tree species (Berry, Onishi and Paterson, 2012). Indeed, planted forests dominated by coniferous tree species, such as Sitka spruce and Scots pine, make up over half of the 3.16 million hectares of woodland in the UK. This does not necessarily translate into a lack of diversity in the flora, fauna and fungi supported by those forests. However, as pointed out by some authors (Humphrey, Ferris and Quine 2003), there is scope for improving habitat quality and contributing to UK biodiversity through investments in expanding planted woodland. Furthermore, Brockerhoff et al. (2008) note that the question of whether plantations enhance or deplete biodiversity is not a simple one to answer. They propose a series of essential questions that should be considered including: What was the land use that preceded the plantation? How does plantation forestry compare with alternative land uses for that particular location? Does the plantation lead to reduced harvesting of native tree species? How old and well established is the plantation? And are conservation management goals being implemented?

Quine and Humphrey (2010) specifically consider exotic planted species and whether they facilitate or inhibit native biodiversity in Britain. Traditionally, it has been assumed that plantations of exotic conifer species have little relevance as a habitat. However, Quine and Humphrey (2010) conclude that emergent ecosystems of exotic conifer can support substantial native biodiversity, in particular where these exotic conifer species are already well-established or if native woodland is scarce.

It is not just large rural forests that contribute to biodiversity and the environmental goods and services they provide, trees and woodlands located in urban areas are also important. Johnston, Neil and James (2011) discuss the debate among urban forest professionals, regarding the role of exotic versus native tree species and their contribution to urban biodiversity in Britain. They assess the current evidence and conclude that an automatic preference for native species cannot be justified and that biodiversity and the wide range of services provided will be restricted by just selecting from the few native species that thrive in urban environments. Croci et al., (2008) suggest that effective management of urban woodlands could be a good option for promoting biodiversity in towns, and Davies et al., (2009) and Cameron et al. (2012) suggest that domestic gardens also provide an important contribution to UK biodiversity habitat and hence conservation. To better inform management and new planting decisions,

it is important to possess a good scientific understanding of the roles of particular species and the complex interactions taking place in urban ecosystems.

(iii) Climate change impacts upon woodland and tree-related biodiversity

It has been suggested that the diversity of trees within woodlands and the variation in woodlands across landscapes enhances their resilience (here defined as the ability to withstand future shocks) and thereby maintains the provision of ecosystem services (Pascual et al. 2010). Nevertheless, the integrated systems characteristics of most natural habitats makes it difficult to predict the consequences of complex drivers of change, such as those induced by climate change. Woodlands are no exception to this challenge. Complex biotic interactions exist, such as the competition between various species operating at different trophic levels. As such, changes to forest ecosystems resulting from climate change (and other drivers) may be poorly understood with potentially serious impacts on a range of different species of flora, fauna and fungi.

In an attempt to address this complexity, a developing literature is examining the effect of climate change upon the suitability of regions for certain native tree species. For example, Berry, Onishi and Paterson (2012) examine how recent changes in precipitation patterns have started to affect some species in southern Europe, such as the beech in northern Spain. Further evidence is provided by the Woodland Trust's 'Nature Calendar' survey, which tracks phenological events for animals and plants in Spring and Autumn. This data reveals substantial increases in the growing season; for example, the Common Oak is now producing new leaves 10 days earlier on average than in the 1980's (Woodland Trust 2015b).

To investigate the effect of climate change on woodland tree, shrub, plant, mammal, bird and insect populations, Berry, Onishi and Paterson (2012) developed a bioclimatic envelope model. In total they studied 178 woodland species, using analyses which incorporates predictions regarding changes to temperature, growing days and moisture, along with species distribution data²⁹. The model assesses the potential changes to the climate space for each species (the land suitable for future distributions of species governed by the climate). Berry, Onishi and Paterson (2012) conclude that different species have different responses to climate change. The authors show that some species will be 'winners' (gaining bioclimatic space) and some 'losers' (losing bioclimatic space). It is common in the literature to refer to the first as 'generalist' and to the second as 'specialist' species. 'Generalist' species, being spread over a wide range of habitats across different geographic areas, are expected to struggle less to adapt to new circumstances than 'specialist' species, which rely on specific habitats usually in limited geographic areas. In this respect, Berry, Onishi and Paterson (2012) show that certain species in the Southeast of England will lose suitable bioclimatic space, due to increased water stress. However some of the species that are currently dominant in the South of England will, in the future, modify their range to be more successful competitors further north.

The relative lack of diversity in the dominant canopy tree species of Great Britain may lead to exotic or introduced species becoming more competitive. These exotic species may well provide some important

²⁹ Two main climate change scenarios from the Special Report on Emissions Scenarios (SRES) (A2 and B1) were used, which cover much of the range of possible driving forces of future greenhouse gas emissions. These two scenarios were then used at three different time-periods (2011–2020, 2041–2050 and 2071–2080) and were derived from two global climate models (HadCM3 and PCM).

ecosystem functioning roles such as shade, views and timber productivity; however, whether they can provide the biodiversity conservation role of native trees is still an open question (Mace, 2013). Competitive interactions between dominant tree species are often reliant on small differences in climate, soil type or moisture. It is therefore difficult to predict if replacement of lost species will occur and if so, then what species would actually be successful replacements. This is vital for understanding how the woodland and its biodiversity supporting services would be affected in the future by such a change.

8.2. Final environmental goods and services

The variety of inter-relationships between species within an ecosystem means that the role of biodiversity in the environmental goods and services framework ([Chapter 2](#)) is also complex. Woodland biodiversity delivers a range of intermediate goods and services. For example, if afforestation leads to improved soil microbial biodiversity, then this in turn provides the vital underpinning for final environmental goods and services, such as carbon storage and the values associated with an equable climate. Woodland also provides habitat for pollinators, the final environmental goods and services of which (pollination services) contribute towards agricultural values (Smith et al. 2011) and food production, including fruit (berries), vegetables, seeds, mushrooms (Lakerveld et al. 2015; Baral et al. 2016), or forage (herbaceous biomass). However, the pollination example illustrates a further important principle of the economic valuation of biodiversity. Unless those who hold values are concerned about the particular species providing a service, they may be indifferent about changes within an ecosystem (including the structure of its biodiversity), if these do not lead to variations in the level of the service provided. For example, let's think about a situation when there is substitution between species supplying a pollination service (Mace, Norris and Fitter 2012). In the absence of specific preferences for pollination by honeybees, if bees suffer a decrease in population and are replaced by other pollinating insects, there should be no loss in value, as long as the level of services produced is maintained. It is only when the particular species of pollinator itself becomes of value, that its loss generates a value other than that associated with a reduction in pollinator services.

Woodland biodiversity networks also support key individual species, such as pheasants, which are the focus of hunting and shooting sport values. Similarly, woodlands yield the habitats for specific species that are appreciated for specialist recreational activities, such as nature and bird watching (the impact of woodland upon recreational visits is discussed in the chapter on recreation, [Chapter 6](#) of this report).

All of the above final environmental goods and services are associated with use values. However, maintaining biodiversity in forests also provides non-use benefits (Pearce and Turner, 1990). These can include values associated with the knowledge that a species is safe from the threat of extinction ('existence value') and the benefits of being able to conserve species for others, both now and in the future ('bequest value'). Note that these values are entirely independent of whether the person expressing those values will have any interaction with the species of interest.

Finally woodland biodiversity may improve an ecosystem's resilience to shocks, such as climate change, through the ability to adapt and persist into the future (Pascual et al., 2010).

8.3. Biodiversity quality units

Widely used biodiversity indicators include:

- number of species
- diversity of species
- distribution of species

- DNA genetic difference-based measures of ecological diversity (Purvis and Hector 2000)
- abundance and population distribution

A more encompassing definition of biodiversity, such as that given by the Convention on Biological Diversity³⁰, would consider the diversity of the natural environment, including species, alongside habitat and ecosystem diversity. However, the empirical tractability of any definition is a key issue and metrics for a rapid and effective assessment of biodiversity are a recognised requirement with techniques such as eDNA sampling being the subject of considerable ongoing research³¹.

As discussed before in this Chapter, individual or groups of species are frequently used as indicators for wider biodiversity. Conceptually, such approaches still address the valuation of biodiversity. However, studies of iconic species refer only to those particular species (even where the conservation of wider biodiversity is a pre-requisite for the conservation of the iconic species). Studies of iconic species, rather than general biodiversity, may well provide a better reflection of most people's preferences regarding wildlife.

8.4. Economic Production functions

Woodland- and tree-related biodiversity affects the following economic production functions:

- Agricultural production – through improving soil fertility and delivering pollination services
- Direct food production – through forest foods such as fungi and berries.
- Sport (hunting) – by supporting species which are hunted.
- Physical health – there is recent evidence to suggest that certain microbes associated with greenspace and woodlands may enhance human immune systems and promote health (Sandifer, Sutton-Grier and Ward 2015).
- Nature watching – a substantial number of people derive benefits from observing wild species (most prominently birds).
- Recreation – biodiversity supports species appreciated in general recreation
- Artistic – as an input to or inspiration for the production of art by amateur and professional artists
- Learning - opportunities for educators, students and researchers to learn from and experience the environment
- Spiritual and cultural - for spiritual, ceremonial or celebratory purposes
- Non-use value - the benefits trees provide for people who care about existence value of the environment (those who think it is important to preserve the environment for moral/ethical connection or fear of unintended consequences), or bequest values (those who think it is important to preserve the environment for future generations).

³⁰ <http://www.biodiv.org/>

³¹ NERC has recently announced the funding of research into the use of eDNA techniques, see <http://www.nerc.ac.uk/latest/news/nerc/highlight-topic/>

8.5. Beneficiaries

The variety of production functions supported by biodiversity results in a variety of beneficiaries. Farmers benefit from the enhancements to agriculture, which biodiversity brings through improving soil fertility and delivering pollination services. Recreationists benefit both from the enjoyment provided by visits and from health enhancements. Other users include artists, educators, students and those obtaining spiritual and cultural benefits from the contemplation of forests and its underlying biodiversity. Furthermore, a substantial proportion of the population also derive non-use values from the conservation of biodiverse habitats, such as woodlands.

8.6. Valuation Methods

A number of valuation methods have been applied in the area of biodiversity:

- Pollination and fertility services to agriculture can be assessed through production function methods (see [Annex 1](#)).
- Health enhancements derived from a more biodiverse microbial environment can, in theory, be assessed through the health valuation methods reviewed elsewhere in this report. However, this requires more accurate and quantified assessment of the physical pathways from woodland biodiversity to health effects than is currently available.
- Sporting values are amenable to assessment via market prices for shooting and the purchase of land with shooting rights.
- Both general and wildlife orientated recreation should be amenable to valuation via revealed preference (e.g. travel cost) methods or stated preference methods.
- Non-use values can only be directly assessed via stated preference methods, although some recent studies have examined the use of cost-based approaches to delivering set standards (e.g. no-loss) for biodiversity. However, the latter costs cannot be taken as being estimates of non-use value benefits.

8.7. Valuation scale

Valuation studies focusing on forest biodiversity have been conducted from the very local scale of small woodlands, up to the national scale.

8.8. Valuation estimates

The Woodland Valuation Tool currently contains 87 valuation studies or reviews and 36 references to woodland biophysical studies, relating to biodiversity (referring to the range of flora and fauna species present in the environment). The valuation literature ranges from studies of use-values, such as pollination, to non-use (existence and bequest) values.

8.8.1. Use values

Pollination

Forests act as reservoirs of insects that perform pollination and seed dispersal functions, both within the forest and the wider environment.

The UK National Ecosystem Assessment (2011) uses the methods set out in Gallai et al. (2009)³² and reported that the contribution of insect pollination to the crop market was GBP 430 million (in 2007 GBP). In another study, Breeze et al. (2011) reported a value equal to GBP 1 058 million (in 2007 GBP), with insect pollination covering 20.4% of total UK cropland. Regionally, Southeast England has the greatest area of insect pollinated crops, occupying approximately 30% of cropland, due in major part to the large areas of fruit growing within the region. In contrast, Southwest Scotland has the smallest proportion of pollinated crops, at about 2%. Breeze et al. (2011) used national level data for all food and non-food crops reported in the 'Agriculture in the UK Report' (Defra 2010). The total crop market value is calculated using 2007 farm gate price (the price of produce sold from the farm). It is important to note that the value presented should not be interpreted as the value that might be lost if insect pollination ceased. This is because even in the absence of insect pollination, some production would still occur through wind pollination. In addition, although trees and forest environments act as reservoirs for pollinating insects, other environments can also provide those services (e.g. meadows, grassland, moors and heathland and domestic gardens). As such, trees and forests should only be assigned a proportion of the total value. The specific proportion is an ecological question regarding the contribution of woodlands to the overall supporting services of pollinating insects.

Of course some trees are themselves highly dependent upon biodiversity based pollination. This is particularly true for fruit trees where insect pollination can directly influence yields. Garratt et al. (2014) conducted field experiments on apple orchards in Kent, UK, and found that insect pollination of both Gala and Cox apples resulted in greater yields than wind pollination alone. This was estimated to be worth an additional GBP 11 900 in output per hectare for Cox and GBP 14 800 per hectare for Gala apples, compared with wind pollination. Output is valued at 2013 farm gate prices and takes into account changes in both quantity and quality of apples produced. The value is likely to overstate pollination benefits, as increases in other inputs may also achieve an increase in yields.

Non-timber forest products

Non-timber Forest Products (NTFP's), such as fruit, nuts and fungi are harvested every year from forests, both commercially and non-commercially. As part of the UK NEA, Valatin and Starling (2010) review the available evidence and find that deer contribute around GBP 12 million gross value added to the Scottish economy and directly or indirectly supports over 2 000 full-time equivalent jobs. It should be noted that this includes the value for recreation hunting, in addition to the value of the venison meat, with recreational hunting making up the majority of that value. Following a similar approach, Forest Enterprise England (FEE) reports that all woodlands managed by FEE supplied 12 000 wild game, for the year 2015/2016, worth GBP 40 000. Valatin and Starling (2010) also note that there can be conflicts between timber and non-timber production in woodlands. They outline the negative impact of deer on timber production, from the stripping of bark from trees. Ward et al. (2004) provide an estimate of the cost of bark stripping by deer at around GBP 60 per hectare, per year (in 2004 GBP) for softwood. Apportioning the costs and benefits of non-forest products is complicated by the fact that these products may be supported by several habitats. For example, the benefits associated with deer in woodlands (game shooting, venison and as an enhancement to recreation values)³³ rely in part on the

³² Gallai et al. 2009 estimated that insect pollinators were directly responsible for 9.5 % (around EUR 153 billion) of the total value of the world's agricultural food production.

³³ These need to be offset against the very considerable costs imposed by deer, most particularly through the damage they inflict upon young trees (Mayle, 1999).

time and resource that deer spend in non-forest habitats. Allocating all of that benefit to woodlands alone risks the potential of over-estimation. To address this, the principle of additionality requires that we apportion this value across the various habitats responsible for its production (Valatin, 2012).

Both the costs and benefits of non-timber forest products have so far been subject to relatively little research in Britain. Internationally, however, there has been a more concerted effort to value non-timber forest products. Despite a few examples in Europe, most of the evidence comes from developing countries. For example, in Tanzania, Schaafsma et al. (2012; 2014) show that the total benefit flow of charcoal, firewood, poles and thatch to the local population has an estimated value of US\$ 42 million per year (in 2010 USD), suggesting that woodlands provide an important source of additional income for the poorest local communities. Ojea et al. (2016) estimated the value of food and fibre provided by forests to be US\$ 1 268 per hectare, per year, using a global-scale meta-analysis. Through a contingent valuation study in Ethiopia, Gelo and Koch (2015) estimated the value placed by the general public upon the establishment of a community forest plantation for sustainable grazing and fuel wood collection, to be ETB 80.52 per person. Rai and Scarborough (2015) designed a choice experiment exercise in rural Vietnam to estimate the preferences of the general population for increasing the provision of subsistence products in forest ecosystems. They found that each person would be willing to pay NR 695.61 for reducing, by one hour, the time needed to collect subsistence products in nearby forests.

Among the reviewed valuation studies, only one was found to focus on the value of plants for pharmaceutical uses. Through a contingent valuation study in Iran, Amiri et al. (2015) estimated the value attached by the general public to the preservation of the myrtle plant for medicinal purposes to be IRR 26 820 per household, per month.

Recreation

The direct appreciation of wildlife can generate substantial recreational benefits. The use values of participation in activities such as birdwatching and nature viewing are considered in the recreation section ([Chapter 6](#)) of this report.

8.8.2. Non-use values

A good amount of the valuation evidence reviewed in the Woodland Valuation Tool reflects the non-use benefits provided by woodland-dependent biodiversity to people. The non-use value from biodiversity is the value humans assign to the continued existence of species or habitats; non-use values include, for example, the benefits that individuals derive from knowing that a species exists, even if they are unlikely to see it (existence value). Similarly, non-use values can also refer to the benefits that people obtain from knowing that biodiversity will be preserved for the enjoyment of other people or future generations (bequest value). Unlike use-values, we cannot observe people's behaviour regarding non-use values. Because of this, some have proposed that we can calculate partial or lower bound estimates of non-use values from agri-environmental scheme payments (e.g. the woodland capital grants under the Countryside Stewardship), or legacy payments to environmental charities (Morling et al., 2010; Mourato et al., 2010). However, such approaches lack theoretical justification, as they rely upon very strong assumptions regarding decision makers' knowledge of the impacts of the intervention and their ability to interpret social preferences. Given this, the academic literature has favoured the application of stated preference techniques as the principle method used to assess the non-use value of biodiversity. This literature is briefly reviewed below.

Some examples of stated preference willingness to pay studies, focusing on the non-use values of biodiversity in forests, are Hanley et al. (2002) and Willis et al. (2003). Rather than undertaking a primary valuation exercise, Hanley et al. (2002) utilise the earlier analysis by Garrod and Willis (1997) on remote upland coniferous forests in Britain, to generalise across other forests types. The Garrod and Willis study asks a representative sample of 650 households across Great Britain, a contingent ranking question to elicit the value of marginal changes in biodiversity, in remote upland coniferous forests. The value of increasing the biodiversity of these forests at the margin was approximately GBP 0.35 per household, per year for bringing 12 000ha of coniferous plantations into good management through restructuring. Hanley et al. (2002), using seven general public focus groups and one expert focus group (each of eight people), extended the Garrod and Willis (1997) results to other types of forests, with values ranging from GBP 0.33 for lowland coniferous forests, to GBP 1.13 for lowland ancient semi-natural broadleaved forest per household, per year for 12 000ha of conservation.

Although specific to the non-use benefits of UK woodland biodiversity, the Garrod and Willis (1997), Hanley et al. (2002) and Willis et al. (2003) valuation estimates have a number of limitations. The primary research underpinning the study has a sample size of just 650 households to cover the entirety of Great Britain. Furthermore, as the sampling for this research was conducted over 20 years ago (in 1995) the potential for changes in preferences also arises. Valuation techniques have also advanced significantly. For example, the original study failed to consider the impact of scale upon values. So it is possible, indeed likely, that non-use values for biodiversity are not linearly related to the area of habitat conserved (or even to the population size protected)³⁴. Simple linear extrapolation of results may provide value estimates that do not reflect actual values. Such knowledge gaps constitute a significant research challenge for the literature and for decision-making. In addition, transferability of values across woodland types is questionable, as it has been shown that individuals' values are sensitive to woodland characteristics.

Presenting biodiversity in a way that is understandable to the respondents of stated preference surveys is a further challenge to researchers. Biodiversity often encompasses a variety of attributes and as such, the relevant measure varies with the aim of the valuation study. Both Christie et al. (2006a), Czajkowski, Buszko-Briggs and Hanley et al. (2009) and Rambonilaza et al. (2016) attempt to value biodiversity using multiple attributes to describe some of the complexity of biodiversity.

Christie et al. (2006a) applied both choice experiment and contingent valuation methods in order to value the diversity of biological diversity on English agricultural land. Two samples were collected, one in Cambridgeshire and one in Northumberland with the samples asked to value changes to their local region (changes that will enhance biodiversity in Cambridgeshire for those sampled in Cambridgeshire and Northumberland for those sampled in Northumberland). Within the contingent valuation study, Christie et al. (2006a) examined willingness to pay for three biodiversity enhancements: (i) an agri-environmental scheme incorporating conservation aims such as reducing pesticide use, (ii) habitat creation and (iii) protecting land under agri-environmental schemes from conversion to housing developments. The results of the contingent valuation study, pooled across all three biodiversity enhancements, reveal mean willingness to pay values of GBP 58.87 per household

³⁴ It is worth noting that, given the 26.7 million households in the UK, at present the Garrod and Willis estimates imply an annual value of over £9million for a 12,000ha woodland or nearly £800 per hectare per year.

per year for the Cambridgeshire sample (95% confidence interval GBP 47.38 – GBP 70.36) and GBP 42.47 per household per year for the Northumberland sample (95% confidence interval GBP 34.67 – GBP 50.27) based on an annual tax increase for the next five years (in 2004 GBP).

The choice experiment reported in Christie et al. (2006a) initially used focus groups to identify ecological components of biodiversity that were both important and relevant to the general public. These findings were subsequently used to design a choice experiment that included a range of attributes including familiarity of species, species rarity, habitat, and restoration of ecosystem processes. The results are presented in Table 16. The results can be interpreted as average increases in household utility annually for the next five years. In the Cambridgeshire sample, for example, the value of moving from the current state of ‘continued decline of familiar species’ to the protection of ‘rare familiar species’ or the protection of ‘rare and common familiar species’ increases utility by GBP 35.65 or GBP 93.49 per household per year, respectively. Overall, the results show high positive valuation preferences for most components of biodiversity (the exception is slowing the decline of rare, unfamiliar species).

Czajkowski, Bruszo-Briggs and Hanley (2009) designed a similar choice experiment as Christie et al. (2006a), but apply it specifically to value non-use benefits of biodiversity in forests in Poland. The biodiversity attributes they study include structural, species and functional diversity, thus extending the list of biodiversity attributes considered by Christie et al. (2006a), whilst introducing ideas of structural, species and functional diversity. In Czajkowski, Bruszo-Briggs and Hanley (2009) biodiversity is described in terms of three attributes. The first attribute reflects the presence of natural ecological processes (or natural dynamics) in forests. Greater naturalness means better ecosystem functioning and more resilience, which can be achieved through more passive protection of the woodland, implying no human intervention in the forest, such as cutting and removing selected trees or influencing animal populations in any way, even if this resulted in (natural) changes in ecosystems. The second attribute considered is rare species of fauna and flora. The third attribute is related to forest components characterizing the existence of biotopes and ecological niches, such as dead wood, natural ponds, streams, and forest clearings. In the choice experiment questionnaire, it was explained to respondents that improvements in this attribute could be achieved by active protection of the above-mentioned components. The results are presented in Table 17 and are for an annual tax increase for the next ten years in 2007 Euros. Although the attributes vary between the studies, it is clear that the amounts are much smaller in Czajkowski et al. (2009) (ranging from EUR 3.12 to EUR 5.60) than those in Christie et al. (2006a) (ranging from GBP -46.68 to GBP 189.05). Czajkowski, Buszko-Briggs and Hanley (2009) offer some justification for these differences by highlighting the difference in approach, attributes, context and location between the studies but this stark difference also shows the inherent difficulty in deriving non-use values for the benefits of biodiversity in a consistent and meaningful way.

Table 16: Choice experiment results from Christie et al. (2006a) - Non-use values of biodiversity in England³⁵

| Baseline comparison | Variable | Implicit price per household per year (2004 GBP) Cambridgeshire | Implicit price per household per year (2004 GBP) Northumberland |
|---|---|--|--|
| Continued decline in population of familiar species | Protect rare familiar species from decline | 35.65 | 90.59 |
| Continued decline in population of familiar species | Protect both common and rare familiar species from decline | 93.49 | 97.71 |
| Continued decline in population of rare species | Slow the decline of rare, unfamiliar species | -46.68 ³⁶ | n/a |
| Continued decline in population of rare species | Stop the decline of rare, unfamiliar species | 115.13 | 189.05 |
| Continued degradation and loss of habitat | Restore habitat quality through better management | 34.40 | 71.15 |
| Continued degradation and loss of habitat | Re-create new habitat areas | 61.36 | 74.00 |
| Continued decline of ecosystem functioning | Restore only ecosystem services that directly impact humans | 53.62 | 105.22 |
| Continued decline of ecosystem functioning | Restore all ecosystem services | 42.21 | n/a |

³⁵ All values are statistically significant where reported.

³⁶ The findings for the slowing the decline attribute level were reported to be negative in the Cambridgeshire sample (indicating that negative utility would be gained from a slowdown in the decline of the population of rare unfamiliar species). Therefore it appears that the public is unwilling to support policies that simply delay the time it takes for such species to become locally extinct.

Table 17: Choice experiment results from Czajkowski et al. (2009) - Non-use values of forest biodiversity in Poland

| Variable | Baseline comparison | Implicit price per household per year (2007 Euros) |
|---|--|---|
| Rare species (maintain and improve current populations) | A decline threatening total extinction of some species | 3.12 |
| 30% of total area under passive protection | Passive protection of 16% of total forest area (current level) | 4.32 |
| 60% of total area under passive protection | Passive protection of 16% of total forest area (current level) | 5.52 |
| 10% of total area under active protection | Absence of some biotopes and ecological niches and a decrease in quality of others | 3.98 |
| 30% of total area under active protection | Absence of some biotopes and ecological niches and a decrease in quality of others | 4.21 |
| 60% of total area under active protection | Absence of some biotopes and ecological niches and a decrease in quality of others | 5.60 |

Similarly to Christie et al. (2006a) and Czajkowski, Buszko-Briggs and Hanley (2009), also Rambonilaza et al. (2016) studied preferences for biodiversity by disentangling this concept into its various underlying components. By using a choice experiment exercise, the authors investigated the value of the general public for forest biodiversity in France by considering two biodiversity indicators: structural diversity and tree species diversity. To describe structural diversity, the authors took into accounts three attributes: stand vertical structure, volume of deadwood and the presence of old-growth forests. In the study, it emerged that people would be willing to pay between EUR 11.11 and EUR 11.79 per household, per year for changes in forests' stand structure and for increasing tree age distribution from one height to two height or from two height to mixed height. People also emerged to be willing to pay between EUR 18.34 and EUR 18.38 per household and year for increasing tree species diversity - from low to higher number of tree species. Respondents also displayed a willingness to pay between EUR 2.17 and EUR 7.11 per household and year for increasing the volume of fallen deadwood - from no to little deadwood or from little to important quantities of deadwood. And they would be willing to pay between EUR 15.06 and EUR 15.40 per household, per year for increasing (from zero to low or low to high) the density of old-growth trees, which have high ecological value.

The efforts put in place by Christie et al. (2006a), Czajkowski, Buszko-Briggs and Hanley (2009) and Rambonilaza et al. (2016) to better understand people's preferences for biodiversity and its complex underlying components, though, seem to be rather isolated. In a literature review of biodiversity related choice experiments, Bakhtiari et al. (2014) find that 50 of 55 studies describe the complexities of biodiversity using simple measures such as the number of species, species richness or the percentage change in habitat. Recent examples have tended to focus on the area of forests with natural or ecologically relevant characteristics, as a proxy for the level of biodiversity. For example, Czajkowski et al. (2017) focused on preferences for passive forest protection of the most ecologically valuable forests, which is important for forest naturalness. In their choice experiment study, they found that the Polish public would be willing to pay PLN 13.54 per person, per year for a substantial (3%) improvement in passive protection of woodlands in Poland. Similarly, using a choice experiment exercise, Bartczak (2015) estimated the value of achieving high levels of naturalness in commercial forests in the Białowieża Forest to be EUR 20.39 per household and year and the value of achieving high levels of naturalness in second-growth forests to be EUR 24.81 per household, per year (in 2011 EUR).

Increasingly, the literature about forest biodiversity valuation is also paying attention to spatial aspects that are presented and discussed as potential drivers of values. By using a multi-country approach, Bakhtiari et al. (2018) estimated the value placed by the general public in Denmark and Sweden for an increase in forests' natural dynamics and species number. The results, obtained from a choice experiment exercise, reveal that respondents place a higher value on biodiversity improvements in their own country and region. The sensitivity of biodiversity-related non-use values to the country of provision, can have important implications for setting up international agreement aiming to tackle biodiversity-related problems affecting multiple countries.

In a similar study, Valasiuk et al. (2017a) explored, the preferences of a sample of Polish and Belarussian members of the general public for increasing the surface of natural forests in the Białowieża area, which extends over parts of Poland and Belarus. The authors concluded that willingness to pay is higher the closer respondents lived to the nearest forest to them and the scarcer the forests in the area where respondents lived. Results showed that both the Polish and the Belarussian respondents would be willing to pay to increase the area of the Białowieża forest subject to passive protection, especially if the improvement took place in the portion of the forest located within the country where the respondents live, rather than in the bordering country.

Similar conclusions were also drawn in Valasiuk et al. (2017b). These authors designed a choice experiment to study the preferences of the Swedish and Norwegian public for increasing passive protection in the Fulufjället National Park Area, which extends over parts of Sweden and Norway. Findings show, for example, that the Swedish sample would be willing to pay EUR 2.67 per person, per year for an additional 20 km² of forest passive protection in the Norwegian portion of the National Park, but EUR 12.41 per person and year if the improvement was in the Swedish portion of the Park. For an extra 20 km² of forest protection, the Norwegian sample would be willing to pay EUR 13.48 per person, per year, if the additional portion of protected forest was within the Norwegian boundaries, but EUR 4.47 per person, per year if the extra forest protection was in Sweden. Similar results and conclusions are drawn also when considering a different (i.e. larger) portion of the park subject to passive protection.

These results suggest that the location where improvements in forest biodiversity take place are relevant in defining non-use values, even if there is no theoretical justification for why non-use values should be sensitive to the place where the improvement occurs (with respect to the respondents' place of residence) (Bateman, 2011). For use values, we expect that increasing distance to a good will lower willingness to pay (distance-decay effect). For non-use values, where benefits do not depend on the use of or accessibility to the resource, distance should be irrelevant. The lack of theoretical justification for distance decay, though, does not imply that non-use values should be spatially homogeneous. Actually the little evidence that is available (from non-woodland contexts), suggests that distance decay also applies to non-use values. Spatial patterns, though, may occur in many different forms, including non-continuous or discrete distributions that appear at different geospatial scales. Despite this possibility, there has been little development of methods able to characterize discrete spatial patterns in stated preference WTP estimates (Johnston et al. 2015). This is clearly an area for further work.

8.9. Research Gaps

While stated preference methods are in theory applicable to the valuation of the non-use benefits of biodiversity, there are some open questions with respect to the robustness of the values that these techniques can provide. There is no agreement on whether and to what extent stated preference values are responsive to changes in the definition of the good (i.e. biodiversity) on offer and whether they are responsive to changes in the magnitude (the 'scope') of goods. The relationship with the size (scope) of a non-use good is also *a priori* unclear. So people may be concerned to ensure that a population is maintained above a resilience threshold, but may (or may not) be indifferent to further increases in population size. People may also care about assemblages of species or simply a single iconic species. These are key questions which remain substantively unanswered.

Stated preference studies of biodiversity also face significant problems because of a lack of familiarity with the good under investigation. People typically do not understand the concept of biodiversity. This means that the analyst is more than usually reliant upon the provision of information, much of which is potentially challenging for the respondent. While recent advances in the visualisation of stated preference information have been shown to significantly reduce anomalous responses (Bateman et al., 2009), nevertheless, strong reliance upon unfamiliar information makes stated preference studies prone to the problem of preference construction (Lichtenstein and Slovic, 2006), where the framing of questions significantly influences survey responses.

Concerns regarding preference construction in stated preference studies of non-use values are important given evidence that respondents in such surveys can find it difficult to provide answers to choice questions (Christie and Gibbons, 2011). The majority of valuation studies in this field have reacted to this challenge by focussing upon iconic species rather than biodiversity (Bakhtiari et al., 2014). Some

commentators have argued that such approaches will tend to lead to higher value estimates (Jacobsen et al., 2008) although this is not necessarily a sign of poor validity (i.e. values for iconic species preservation may indeed be substantial). A more fundamental issue is whether the values and preferences that individuals hold conform to what is ecologically feasible or sustainable (Atkinson, Bateman and Mourato 2012; Morse-Jones et al., 2012).

Given the lack of clear theoretical or even empirical expectations regarding the nature of valid preferences, combined with the technical problems of valid preference elicitation and the issue of whether preferences align with ecological feasibility, some analysts have argued against the use of stated preference valuation of non-use biodiversity values (Bateman, Mace et al., 2011). In a recent application Bateman, Harwood et al., (2013) conduct an environmental economic analysis of various scenarios of land use change, in which non-use biodiversity is not valued but is instead treated as a constraint upon an optimisation analysis. In the latter application, a ‘no-loss’ constraint was applied wherein, for a study of the entirety of Great Britain, if any proposed land use change generated a reduction in biodiversity within a 2km x 2km grid cell, then that change was not implemented for that cell and alternative land-use options were adopted (note that a binding constraint in one cell was not allowed to prevent a change occurring in other cells, thereby ensuring that otherwise efficient policy changes were not generally prohibited). Such an approach yields a minimum cost solution for ensuring no-loss outcomes for biodiversity. Further investigation of such opportunity cost approaches appears well worthwhile, given the complexities of stated preference estimation of non-use values. However, it should be noted that opportunity costs are not estimates of economic value.




The above review highlights two very clear research gaps:

- The **valuation** of biodiversity, both use values and (especially) non-use values remains a very significant gap in the research literature. Both stated preference and constrained optimisation approaches have only had cursory application. Given the biophysical relationships between woodland and biodiversity it seems likely that the latter values are substantial. As such this identifies a clear priority for future research.
- The need for improvements in the economic valuation of biodiversity needs to be matched by **better data and natural science understanding** of the physical impacts of afforestation upon measures of biodiversity. As mentioned previously, in both the UK NEA and UK NEAFO analyses, biodiversity was assessed through indices of various indicator bird species (Hulme and Siriwardena, 2011; Bateman, Harwood et al., 2013, 2014). This approach was adopted due to the relatively poor cross sectional and time series data available for wider measures of biodiversity - a factor which marks out a significant research gap for future assessments. In this sense, it is clear that there is a need for developing robust and appropriate, while at the same time easily understandable and communicable, indicators of biodiversity to be used in valuation studies. Similarly, a good picture of the relationships between woodland biodiversity and human health requires more accurate and quantified assessment of the underpinning physical pathways of effect than is currently available.

9. Trees and Woodlands on Farms

Table 18: Colour-coded assessment of available evidence on the role of trees on farms

| Biophysical evidence | Valuation evidence | Decision support tools | Urban tree literature |
|--|--|---|---|
| Although the biophysical evidence is building, it is likely to be farm specific. | The existing evidence base provides very few valuation studies that examine the value of trees and woodlands, specifically on agricultural land. | Biophysical evidence base and robust valuation methods need to be established before decision support tools can be developed. | Not applicable, as the focus is on the role of trees on agricultural land |

Key:  Strong evidence, with few gaps  Some evidence, but with significant gaps  Major gaps in evidence

9.1. Biophysical Pathways

Trees and woodlands provide a number of benefits to arable and livestock farms through numerous biophysical pathways (Figure 9). These benefits can be grouped under those resulting from the trees and woodlands (i) providing a shelterbelt, (ii) acting as a wind barrier, (iii) stabilising soil, (iv) providing wood for fuel and bedding and (v) influencing crop pollination or reducing the prevalence of pests.

i) Providing a shelterbelt

- **Drought and water conservation:** Water loss from crops through transpiration and loss of soil moisture leads to water-stressed crops and reduces crop yields. Shelterbelts provided by trees lower wind speeds, increase humidity and reduce loss through evapotranspiration. Although trees create shade and compete for water and nutrients, leading to a loss of yield around the shelterbelt, the protection provided to the remaining field typically exceeds this loss. Shelterbelts with optimal porosity can protect an area of up to 30 times their height. In particular, studies have shown that shelterbelts can increase wheat and barley yields in the UK (Hough and Cooper, 1988), Italy (Campi, Palumbo and Mastroilli, 2009) and Canada. The benefits of shelterbelts are increased when the plants are water stressed and wind direction is consistent. This is increasingly important in the light of predictions that climate change will lead to warmer and drier climates in the southeast of the UK.
- **Ammonia:** Emissions from livestock can damage some plant species and lead to acidification of land and water. Buffering important habitats by planting native trees in the path of emissions from livestock units can reduce the impact. Applied studies have shown that shelterbelts next to livestock units can reduce ammonia emissions by up to 10 % (Woodland Trust, 2012), whilst recent modelling studies, accounting for optimal tree canopy structures, predict ammonia capture rates of 3–46 % depending on livestock type and management system (Bealey et al., 2007).
- **Shelter and shade for livestock:** Farm animals are vulnerable to increased temperatures and, with regard to outdoor poultry and livestock, solar radiation effects feed intake, reproductive performance and susceptibility to disease. Shade from trees can protect livestock against

extreme temperatures, increasing ewe conception rates and ram fertility, as well as protecting against cold, reducing feed intake and increasing lamb survival rates (Woodland Trust, 2012).

- **Reduced heating costs for farm buildings:** Trees can reduce heat loss from buildings in the winter and provide shade in summer, reducing heating costs by between 5 and 40 % depending on the insulation (Woodland Trust, 2012).

ii) **Acting as a wind barrier**

- **Wind erosion** can lead to a loss of topsoil, seeds, fertilizers and agrochemicals. Fine seedbeds for sugar beet, carrots and onions are more prone to erosion, this is particularly relevant for Yorkshire, the East Midlands and East Anglia (Woodland Trust, 2015a). By acting as barriers, trees can reduce the speed and strength of wind and minimize wind-driven erosion.
- Trees act as a barrier for dust created by dry weather and wind. This can reduce the incidence of asthma and improve the **health** of farm staff.

iii) **Stabilising soil**

Trees can help reduce soil and water movement by increasing water infiltration rates and slowing the flow of transported sediments. This **increases nutrient uptake** from the soil and **reduces phosphate and pollutant runoff** through sediment control (Woodland Trust, 2013). Sediment deposits can increase the turbidity of water bodies and settle in spawning beds, thereby affecting valuable fisheries.

iv) **Providing wood for fuel and bedding**

Trees can be grown in areas that are unsuitable for crops. Wood fuel can then be used in place of other fuels and wood chippings can be used as an alternative to straw for animal bedding (Woodland Trust, 2012).

v) **Crop pollination and pests**

Trees provide habitat and shelter for pollinator activity. Moreover, it has been shown that trees can reduce the prevalence of crop pests by providing non-crop habitat (Woodland Trust, 2015a).

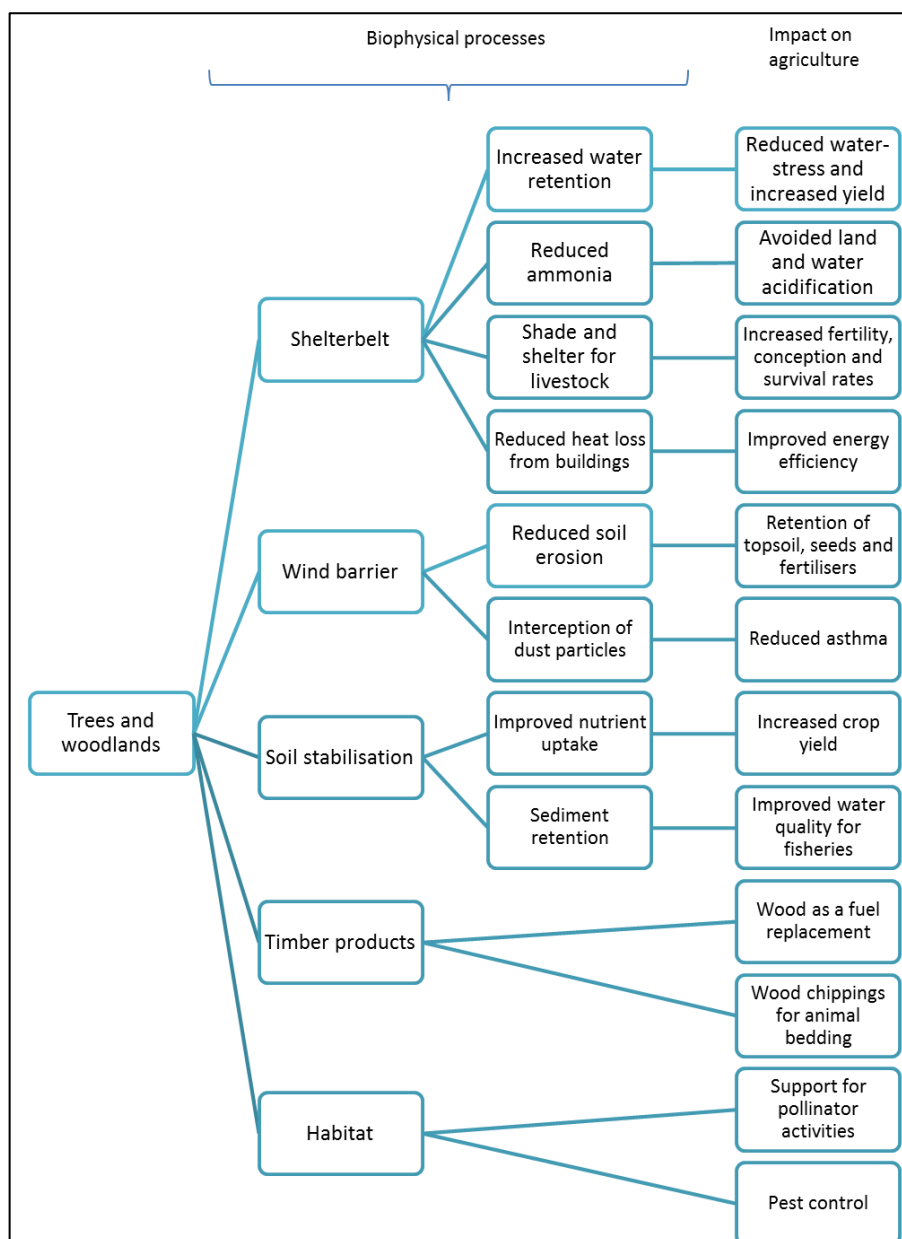


Figure 9: Biophysical pathways associated with trees and woodlands on farms

9.2. Agriculture units

The economic value of agriculture is often measured using market prices to calculate farm profit. When profit information is unavailable, agricultural value has been estimated using a variety of measures including crop yield, crop value (GBP per ha), the price of livestock (GBP per head) or the more encompassing measure of farm gross margins.

9.3. Economic production functions

Agriculture affects a number of production functions:

- Food – agricultural output is processed, packaged and sold by the food industry.
- Recreation – trees contribute to increase the diversity and attractiveness of agricultural land, thereby providing a landscape amenity value.
- Health – agricultural production contributes to air pollution and water pollution which adversely affect physical health. Agriculture also provides a visual amenity which could contribute to mental health.
- Housing – trees on farmland increase landscape attractiveness and views for residents living in nearby areas
- Spiritual and cultural experiences – agricultural heritage and the culture of farming practices are inputs to spiritual and cultural experiences. Farmers are often seen as fulfilling a traditional role, as custodians of the environment.
- Non-use – including the existence value of agricultural practices (people value the protection of cultural farming practices or the environment via agricultural stewardship), or bequest values (people value the preservation of agricultural practises for future generations). Agriculture also provides non-use values by supporting the diversity in genetic resources and the conservation of rare breeds of livestock.

9.4. Beneficiaries

Agriculture provides benefits to farmers through farm incomes, to industrial producers through the provision of agricultural outputs as inputs to production and to the general public through amenity value and indirectly through the provision of food.

9.5. Valuation Methods

The existing evidence base provides very few valuation studies that examine the value of trees and woodlands in terms of agriculture. Bateman et al. (1996) provide an estimate of farmers' willingness to accept compensation in return for establishing a recreational woodland, which would displace existing farm activities. This study captures the fact that the establishment of a woodland designed for recreation is likely to be costly and reduce farm income from other land uses. However, the study was not designed to capture the benefits to farmers of the multitude of services provided by strategic planting of trees on the farm (as outlined in earlier sections).

Willis et al. (2003) estimate the cost of water lost to trees and woodlands that would have been abstracted at GBP (2001) 0.13–1.24 per cubic metre. However, this value is based on the assumption that for every cubic metre of water taken up by trees none of this can be subsequently abstracted. The authors are clear that this is an assumption made due to a lack of biophysical information.

If the biophysical processes were fully understood it would be possible to multiple the impact of trees and woodlands on agricultural outputs by the relevant market prices. However, information on individual farm scale benefits is limited. Although the biophysical evidence is building this is still very generalised and likely to be farm specific with contextual attributes such as wind direction and the aspect, altitude and slope of the land playing a significant role in determining the magnitude of the benefits provided by on-farm trees.

9.6. Valuation scale

The reviewed stated preference and market based valuation evidence tends to be limited to the individual farm level.

9.7. Valuation estimates

The Woodland Valuation Tool currently contains 3 valuation studies and 4 biophysical studies relating to agriculture.

Bateman et al. (1996) report a mean farmers' willingness to accept compensation of GBP 300 per hectare (1991 GBP), to establish a recreational woodland in place of existing land use.

9.8. Research gaps

- There are gaps in understanding the biophysical links between trees and woodlands and agricultural output, in particular spatial and temporal differences as well as the relative merits of different species and management practices. For example:
 - Understanding the importance of the species, age and location of trees on farms for the provision of soil stabilisation, particularly in the context of an increase in the frequency of extreme weather events due to climate change.
 - Research on the importance of habitat configuration and connectivity to support biodiversity and, conversely, to reduce risks from pests.
 - A deeper understanding of the relationship between different species and management practices, different pollinators and their combined impact on agricultural yields.

10. Plant (Tree) health

Table 19: Colour-coded assessment of available evidence on plant (tree) health

| Biophysical evidence | Valuation evidence | Decision support tools | Urban tree literature |
|---|---|---|---|
| There is limited understanding around the concept of plant health and limited knowledge of the counterfactual (i.e. situation without pest/disease outbreak). | There is very scarce valuation research on plant health, with only few examples focusing on pest and disease control. More efforts are needed in the future in this field of study. | More research is needed regarding the biophysical processes and the values linked to plant health before decision support tools can be developed. | There is insufficient understanding of the mechanisms and drivers of pests and diseases in urban settings. Given the value of urban greenspace for people, this area deserves future attention. |

Key: Strong evidence, with few gaps Some evidence, but with significant gaps Major gaps in evidence

Plant health is a notoriously ill-defined and yet commonly used term, as is discussed by Döring et al., (2012) who open their article by posing the questions: What is ‘plant health’? How can we know when a plant is healthy? What are the criteria to assess health in plants?

In this Chapter, we consider the impact of tree health on the benefits provided by trees and woodlands. In particular, we interpret the term ‘tree health’ as encompassing a number of characteristics of the tree such as i) whether the tree is suffering from pest infestation or tree diseases and ii) the physical condition of the tree including canopy size, age, structural integrity, growth rate and functionality (Baral et al. 2016). The relationships between trees and crop health are addressed separately in the chapter about agriculture in this report. Often the idea of tree health is linked to the achievement of greater resilience in forest ecosystems. Greater resilience means that woodlands have a greater capacity to withstand pressures arising from degradation, are less exposed to human-induced stresses and generally provide higher levels of goods and services (Asner et al. 2015; Ghazoul et al. 2015).

As is depicted in Figure 10, the incidence of tree disease in Great Britain has been rising rapidly and it is anticipated to rise further under pressure from cross-border trade, climate change and human spread of invasive species (NCC, 2014). Outside the UK, some studies have found that global warming is having positive effects on insect population dynamics, including reproductive rates and reducing winter mortality, which has led to increasing damage in some forests. Concurrently, these studies have also shown that climate extremes such as longer and more intensive droughts are increasing the susceptibility of trees to insect attacks by weakening secondary defence reactions to, for instance, bark beetle (Seidl et al. 2016). In addition, management regimes can also influence the susceptibility of woodlands to tree diseases. For instance, some international studies have shown that forests managed for greater plant diversity are more resilient to insect outbreaks (Verheyen et al. 2016). This means that planted forests tend to have a lower regulatory capacity against diseases, predators or parasites with respect to natural forests (Baral et al. 2016).

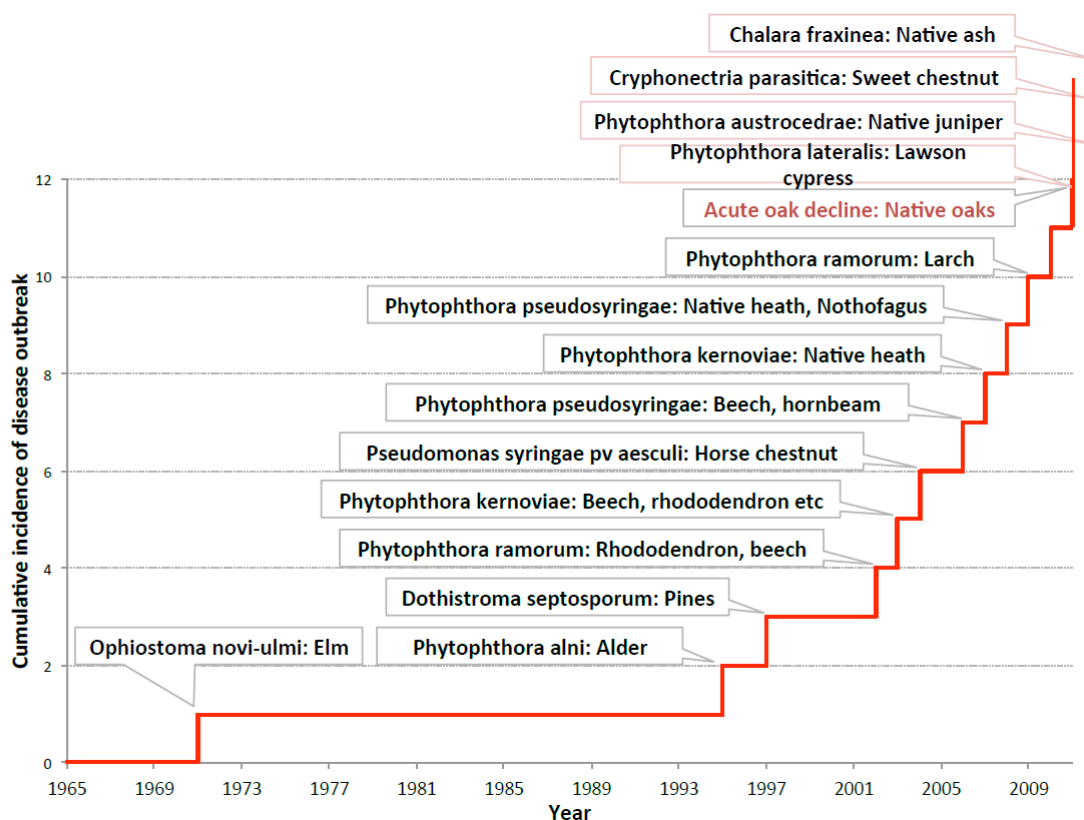


Figure 10: The rising incidence of tree disease in Great Britain

Source: Forest Research and Reid, C. Personal Communication as referenced in the NCC State of Natural Capital Report (NCC, 2014).

10.1. Uses

Information on tree health and its impact on the economic value of the social and environmental benefits provided by trees and woodlands is important for a number of decision-making purposes including:

- investment and management decisions for existing and new woodlands
- assessing the economic justification for disease control measures
- making decisions on the removal of trees
- scaling broader valuation numbers to account for changes in biophysical functioning of diseased trees and woodlands
- communicating risks associated with tree health.

10.2. The impact of tree health on value

The impacts of pest and disease regulation on biophysical processes and economic values are very broad; most obviously, tree health can influence timber yield. This affects economic values by reducing the quantity of timber available to turn into marketable products. Macpherson et al. (2016) found that the presence of pests and diseases can affect optimal forest management decisions, particularly with respect to the timing of harvesting. Pests and tree diseases can reduce tree growth, increase the susceptibility to secondary infection and increase the proportion of trees that are dead and subject to tree decay, which is bad for timber production. However, the costs for the timber industry is only one of many damage costs that could and should be accounted for when considering the benefits (or costs) of pest and disease regulations. Additional costs include, potential knock-on reductions in agricultural

and horticultural yields that occur when pests and diseases hinder the regulatory functions provided by trees and woodlands, including pollination and habitat provision for both crop promoting and crop destroying species (e.g. rabbits, snails, birds and some insect pests (Bebber, Ramotowski and Gurr, 2013; Hanula, Horn and O'Brien, 2015)). Tree health also affects the quantity of carbon storage provided by trees and the carbon emissions that should be attributed to timber products that can be made from the resulting quality grade of timber. Furthermore, pests and diseases can also affect biodiversity. Some species may be lost, thereby creating a favourable environment for the proliferation of other species which are more resistant to changed conditions. The effect for biodiversity is hard to define *a priori*, but it is likely that many specialist and more diverse species will be replaced by fewer more generalist and less diverse species, thereby reducing the overall diversity and richness of biodiversity, with negative consequences for people's welfare.

More generally, pests and diseases can be seen as a factor affecting the quality of trees and woodlands and the environmental goods and services provided by them. This notion is reflected in the approach taken by decision making tools such as i-Tree, CAVAT and Helliwell (see [Section 11](#) on Urban trees for further details), which all scale their benefit values using an expertly judged or surveyed measure of tree health (e.g. life expectancy, canopy size and trunk diameter). From an ecosystem services paradigm approach, tree health can be considered as a factor affecting (i) the biophysical functioning of trees and their provision of clean water, clean air, carbon storage and habitat for wildlife, and (ii) the value derived from trees and woodlands as recreational amenities, visual amenities (views), as inputs to artistic production, learning experiences, spiritual and cultural experiences, and non-use values associated with trees and woodlands.

Changes in tree health create gains and losses in both the quantity and quality of trees and woodlands. This presents empirical and methodological challenges. Methodologically a mixture of gains and losses, while being straight forward from a standard economic theory perspective, can trigger psychological phenomena, which challenge economic theory by noting a disproportionate reaction to losses in comparison to gains. These issues are considered in further detail in [Chapter 12](#).

10.3. Economic values

Pests and diseases were included in the Eftec (2011) scoping study. However, the existing evidence at the time was very limited and thus the details provided were minimal. The report concludes that whilst the pest and disease regulation role of forests and woodlands can give rise to economic values in terms of avoided damage costs (e.g. to agricultural and horticultural enterprises), the empirical evidence to this effect is lacking. Since the publication of the Eftec (2011) report, there has been a movement towards understanding the broader implications of plant health, beyond reductions in yield. This has been accompanied by new evidence and the establishment of projects aiming to survey the broader social and cultural impacts. However, the evidence base on the magnitude of these impacts is small but emerging slowly and there is still a lot of research needed in this area; this is partly due to the difficulty of understanding the counterfactual – what would have happened if the trees had remained healthy/uninfested? Furthermore, challenges related to valuing gains and losses (see [Chapter 12](#)) are particularly salient when considering pest and disease related issues.

The existing evidence includes Donovan et al. (2013, 2015) who, using the spread of ash borer in the Midwest as a natural experiment, provide an investigation of the relationship between the spread of ash borer and the incidence of cardio-vascular disease at county level and amongst women, respectively. Donovan et al. (2013) found that infested counties had increased rates of cardiovascular and lower-respiratory mortality and that this relationship was increasing as the infestation progressed. Likewise, Donovan et al. (2015) conclude that, after controlling for other factors, women living in counties

infested with emerald ash borer had a 25% higher risk of cardiovascular disease. It is hypothesized that these impacts are driven by increased stress, lack of physical activity and reduced air quality.

An ongoing ‘societal and cultural values of trees’ study by the University of York and the Stockholm Environment Institute, led by Alison Dyke, aims to develop an understanding of the wider impacts that pests and diseases have on the social and cultural values that people associate with trees, and how these values are influenced by people’s knowledge of pests and diseases³⁷. Although current estimates of the broader cultural and societal values associated with tree health are not yet available, it is clear that using information on damage costs, limited to timber and agriculture yields, would severely underestimate the benefits of disease prevention and remediation schemes. This is of particular concern given the existing empirical evidence on plant health (Areal and MacLeod, 2007; MacLeod, 2007, whose case studies illustrate a number of plant disease prevention schemes that are not economically viable according to cost-benefit analyses based solely on foregone yield and scheme management costs.

Holmes and Smith (2007) discuss the potential for benefit transfer in the context of sudden oak death in the USA, highlighting the challenges presented by the need to establish data and understand biophysical relationships at an appropriate scale and resolution, which can then be combined with GIS and benefit transfer techniques to estimate values for other areas. These sorts of benefit transfer exercises will profit from input from new resources such as the development of the UK Plant Health Risk Register and studies like Botham et al (2009), which investigates the spatial and temporal relationship between land use and the distribution of non-native species in Britain.

Recent advances in the literature include Sheremet et al. (2017). In this study, the authors have focused on preferences for control measures for invasive tree species in the UK. By means of a choice experiment exercise, they found that people would be willing to pay GBP 6.4 per household, per year for a management measure that prevents pest and diseases, especially when the outbreak had negative effects on biodiversity, rather than any other forest service (including carbon storage, timber production, recreation and scenic beauty). Respondents were also found to be willing to pay GBP 8.46 per household and year for a change in forest management to control for invasive species, especially if the forest was on charity- and national government-owned forest land (rather than business-owned or local authority land). The authors additionally identified a demand for monetary compensation of GBP 6.20–7.30 if clear felling or biocides (rather than a combination of measures, including thinning) were adopted as tree disease control measures.

10.4. Research gaps




The evidence base on the impact of tree health on the value of the benefits provided by trees and woodlands is small but emerging. There remains a substantial need for research in this area, in particular to address difficulties in understanding the counterfactual – what would have happened if the trees were healthy?

³⁷ <https://www.york.ac.uk/sei/researchhighlights/socialandculturalvaluesoftrees/>

11. Urban trees

Table 20: Colour-coded assessment of available evidence on the role of urban trees

| Biophysical evidence | Valuation evidence | Decision support tools | Urban tree literature |
|---|---|---|--|
| The understanding of the mechanisms through which urban woodlands provide benefits to people is relatively good for some ecosystem services (i.e. recreation), but not for others (i.e. air quality, water quality and quantity, physical and mental health). | Some valuation evidence is available on urban forests. There seems to be significant evidence on the climate-related benefits of urban forests, but major gaps remain with respect to the other ecosystem services. | Some tools are available, bringing together the existing evidence on the benefits of urban forests (e.g. i-Tree, CAVAT, Helliwell), but decision supporting tools would benefit from refined knowledge on the biophysical and valuation evidence. | Overall, there are some areas or topics where knowledge is relatively consolidated, but more efforts are still required to fill in the existing research gaps regarding urban woodland values. |

Key:  Strong evidence, with few gaps  Some evidence, but with significant gaps  Major gaps in evidence

It is not just large rural forests that contribute to biodiversity and the environmental goods and services they provide, trees and woodlands located in urban areas are also important. Urban trees and woodlands deliver all of the same types of benefits (and costs) as rural forests (as discussed in Chapters [3](#) - [10](#)), however their location, proximity to people, differing density and position in a mosaic of different land uses can alter the value of the benefits that they provide.

Urban trees are part of a broader classification of urban ecosystems—green infrastructure. Green infrastructure includes: individual street trees, hedges, grasslands, woodlands, wetlands, ponds, grass verges, gardens and parks, green walls, green roofs, rivers and canals and areas created for urban drainage (Eftec, 2013). For the purpose of this study, we focus on urban trees and woodlands, this includes: trees in urban forests and woodlands; publicly managed trees such as street trees; and trees on private land (e.g. in domestic gardens).

Only a small segment 25.2 % (32 of 127 studies) of the literature reviewed under the scoping study relates specifically to urban trees.

11.1. What distinguishes urban trees from non-urban trees and woodlands?

Urban trees are differentiated from peri-urban and rural trees and woodlands by their location and the fact they are often planted in small numbers. These two factors have important implications for understanding both the biophysical functioning and processes associated with the trees and the value of the social and environmental benefits provided by them:

- **Biophysical processes:** the scale of many of the existing studies is often coarse and in some cases completely neglects smaller woodlands (e.g. Powe and Willis (2002) omit woodlands smaller than 2 ha in size). Furthermore, the ambient levels of pollution in urban areas differ from those in suburban and rural areas. This can have a significant impact on biophysical processes. For example, the proportion of gaseous pollutants absorbed by trees depends on a

number of factors, including the pollutant concentration levels in the atmosphere (Freer-Smith and Broadmeadow, 1996).

- **Economic value:** the marginal value of an improvement in quality is not likely to be fixed or linear, it matters what the original level of quality is; a small improvement in air quality may be of little value if the air is already considered to be of good quality. However, it may be very valuable if the current air quality is low, particularly if a small improvement would bring the quality up to an acceptable standard, (e.g. to meet a regulatory minimum).

11.2. Biophysical processes

Urban trees provide a number of environmental and social benefits. For example they:

- contribute to **water resources** by intercepting rainwater (Rogers, Jaluzot and Neilan, 2012; Rumble et al., 2014)
- influence **air quality** by providing air filtration (Bolund and Hunhammer, 1999; Roger, Jaluzot, Neilan, 2012)
- contribute to **climate** change adaptation and mitigation through regulating micro-climates. In addition to stabilising global climate through carbon sequestration, urban trees are also important for local climate by contributing to the reduction of urban heat islands.
- provide **carbon storage** (Rogers, Jaluzot and Neilan, 2012; Rumble et al., 2014, 2015)
- provide urban greenspace (Sarajevs, 2011) for **recreation**, as well as social and cultural experiences
- **reduce noise pollution** (Bolund and Hunhammar, 1999)
- Play an important role in sustainable communities through providing aesthetic, social and **health** benefits (Britt and Johnson, 2008).

They are also important for biodiversity. Croci et al., (2008) suggest that effective management of urban woodlands could be a good option for promoting **biodiversity** in towns, and Davies et al., (2009) and Cameron et al. (2012) suggest that domestic gardens also provide an important contribution to UK biodiversity habitat and hence conservation.

11.3. Valuation methods

Chapters [3](#) - [10](#) provide a review of the general evidence for the benefits of trees and woodlands and significant gaps in the evidence base. This Chapter will focus on the tools available for valuing urban trees and limitations in applying the existing evidence base specifically to valuing the social and environmental benefits provided by urban trees and woodlands. A summary of the tools is provided in Table 21Table 21: .

11.3.1. i-Tree

i-Tree is a data-driven tool based on the forestry inventory, which estimates tree benefits and management costs. The tool reports annual total and per tree values³⁸ for energy conservation, storm water drainage, air quality improvements (SO₂, NO₂, PM₁₀ and volatile organic compounds VOCs), CO₂ reduction and aesthetic value realized

³⁸ Values in i-Tree are estimated in dollars (\$ USD). Local calibration adjusts these values based on population density, income and exchange rates. Value estimates are obtained using hedonic analysis and sewage treatment costs.

through property price differences. Reviews of i-Tree can be found in Sarajevs (2011) and Eftec (2013). The first British council to trial i-Tree was Torbay, Devon and has subsequently been applied in Edinburgh, Wrexham, Glasgow, London, Petersfield and Southampton. Some examples of the values estimated for urban trees using i-Tree for Wrexham and Glasgow (Rumble et al., 2014, 2015) is provided in Table 22

Table 22. In 2015, the London Tree Officer’s Association led a survey of London trees which formed a data layer for a London based i-Tree application reported in December 2015 (Rogers, Jaluzot and Neilan, 2012).

Originally developed for the USA, i-Tree Eco (one of the i-Tree suite of applications) can now be applied to the UK. The latest version of the tool has been adjusted for the United Kingdom in 2016 by incorporating UK-based data on weather, climate, air pollution and so on. With these adaptations and guidance from ecologists and economists, the tool can be applied to the UK to estimate the economic value of climate regulation, water regulation and air quality regulation. However, because i-Tree Eco was originally developed by considering US specific models and international peer-reviewed evidence, it is not entirely clear the extent to which the tool is directly applicable in the UK, without further adjustments.³⁹

Table 21: A summary of urban tree-based tools

| Tool | Scale | Valuation methods | Ecosystem services | Latest updates | Uses |
|-------------|-------------------------------------|---|--|---|--|
| i-Tree Eco | Individual trees and urban forests | Hedonic analysis Sewage treatment costs | Carbon dioxide reduction Storm water capture Air pollution Energy savings | UK parameters Treeconomics – London tree survey Applications in Torbay, Devon, Wrexham, Glasgow, Southampton and Petersfield. | Assessment of the benefits of any size urban forest for planning, management and maintenance decisions |
| CAVAT | Individual urban trees | Nursery gate price Costs of planting and maintenance | None | Adjusted for inflation Unit value factor of GBP 15.88 per cm ² | Securing compensation for damage to council trees |
| Helliwell | Individual urban trees and woodland | Point based scoring based on factors including tree size, life expectancy and location. The economic basis of the unit value is not explained. | Visual amenity (aesthetics) | Current Helliwell point values (from 1st January 2015): Individual Trees: GBP 30.84 Woodlands: GBP 123.36 | Describing costs and benefits for insurance claims and public inquiries. |

³⁹ For further details on i-Tree Eco and a wider selection of existing reports at UK level, please see www.forestry.gov.uk/fr/itree and www.forestry.gov.uk/fr/itree-evaluation for an assessment of the impact of i-Tree in the UK.

Table 22: Values from existing i-Tree applications - Glasgow (Rumble, 2015). Wrexham (Rumble, 2014) and Greater London (Rogers et al. 2015)

| Benefit | Values | | |
|---------------------------|--|--|---|
| | Wrexham (Rumble, 2014) | Glasgow (Rumble, 2015) | Greater London (Rogers et al., 2015) |
| Carbon storage | GBP 14 000 000 Value of discounted stored tCO ₂ e GBP (2013) | GBP 40 000 000 Value of discounted stored tCO ₂ e GBP (2013) | GBP 142 000 000 Value of discounted stored tCO ₂ e GBP (2015) |
| Carbon Sequestration | GBP 24 000 per annum | GBP 1 400 000 per annum | GBP 4 630 000 per annum |
| Water interception | GBP 460 000 per annum | GBP 1 100 000 per annum | GBP 1 191 821 per annum |
| Air pollution removal | GBP 700 000 per annum | GBP 1 400 000 per annum | GBP 125 000 000 per annum |
| Energy savings | GBP 637 500 per annum | GBP 2 750 000 per annum | GBP 315 477 per annum |
| Total value | GBP 2 037 000 per annum | GBP 6 650 000 per annum | GBP 130 821 000 per annum |
| Population (ONS, 2011) | 134 844 | 593 245 | 8 200 000 |
| Value Per Capita | GBP 15.11 | GBP 11.21 | GBP 15.95 |

11.3.2. Capital asset valuation for amenity trees (CAVAT, 2010)

CAVAT is an asset management tool, which calculates depreciated replacement costs per tree adjusted for tree health, location and accessibility, amenity and social value based on trunk area. These adjusted costs are converted into an index, which rises and falls to reflect changes in the quality and characteristics of the tree stock over time.

The methodology used in CAVAT is inconsistent with the principles of economic valuation (see Eftec (2013) for a detailed discussion on this). Although CAVAT accounts for social and amenity value, it does this by scaling a unit value factor (per cm²), to reflect the relative proportion of total social and amenity value provided by a particular tree. This is not equivalent to estimating the economic value of these benefits, since the unit value factor is based solely on the cost of a newly planted tree in a given area and the scaling is based on expert judgement (Neilan, 2010).

11.3.3. Helliwell

The Helliwell system uses a similar methodological approach to CAVAT in that points are allocated based on the characteristics of the tree or woodland and combined to give a comparative score; this score is then multiplied by a fixed unit value. Unlike in CAVAT, the unit value in the Helliwell system does not vary across different types of trees or woodlands. The points system is explicitly based on expert judgement to incorporate the life expectancy of the tree and its aesthetic (visual amenity) value taking account of the importance of position in the landscape and relation to setting (Price, 2007).

The Helliwell tool has been used in court cases and for insurance claims and public inquiries (Eftec, 2013), however, as with CAVAT, the tool is not recommended for economic valuation because the

methodology does not attempt to estimate the value of the environmental and social benefits provided by woodlands.

11.3.4. Amenity Values

Urban trees provide both positive and negative amenity values. For example, trees and woodlands located near to a property can provide aesthetic value. However, they may also block out light or cause structural damage to properties. Mourato et al. (2010) undertake a hedonic property pricing analysis to predict house price differentials that can be attributed to variations in the level of environmental amenities across England. This is achieved by holding constant the difference in house types and non-environmental characteristics across areas and only looking at the impact on house prices arising from variations in environmental quality. While this approach produces implicit prices for access to environmental amenities, such as trees and woodlands, it is difficult to disentangle different components of value and understand what portion of that value is for access to woodlands for recreation, what portion is for amenity value, air quality improvements, noise reduction or perceived health benefits and so on. This is problematic in terms of aggregating values as it produces a risk of either double counting or accidentally omitting values for particular benefits.

11.3.5. Uses

The UK's Town and Country Planning Act (1990) places a duty on local authorities to protect the public amenity value of trees. The existing evidence base and tools have been used by local authorities to support this effort in a number of ways. These include:

- local planning, management and maintenance of urban trees (i-Tree)
- legal cases to claim compensation for damage to council trees (CAVAT)
- the calculation of damages for insurance claims (Helliwell)
- public inquiries (Helliwell)
- there is also scope for using these tools to inform natural capital accounts and corporate natural capital accounts.

11.4. Research Gaps

Water resources:

- i-Tree Eco provides a useful resource for estimating the impact of urban trees and woodlands on storm water drainage. However, since the hydrological models were developed in the USA and are closed within i-Tree Eco it is difficult to assess the transferability of the model to the UK setting.
- There is limited existing information on the relationships between urban trees and water quality, including their role in reducing sewage treatment costs and improving urban recreation. Estimates of the impact of urban trees on water resources at recreational sites and the resultant impact on the value of recreational visits could be constructed by using general biophysical studies on the impact of trees on water quality and valuing the impact of the change in water quality on recreation, taking into account the location of the recreation site (allowing for distance decay and proximity to population).
 Adopting this approach requires an implicit assumption that the biophysical process is the same in urban and rural areas, or that any important scaling factors (such as tree density, nutrient concentration, flow rates and distance from sewage works) were represented in the sampled data and have been controlled for.

Air quality:

- The literature relating urban trees to air quality suffers from the same limitations as for water resources. Although there are simulation models relating individual tree species (controlling for maturity) to air filtration (Donovan et al., 2005), these models are based on underlying biophysical studies which sample larger woodlands (greater than 2 hectares). Moreover, there is uncertainty over the rates of absorption and deposition and there is very little discussion of whether these rates are likely to be the same in urban and rural areas (Powe and Willis, 2002, 2004).

Physical and mental health values:

- The key challenge in valuing the physical and mental health benefits provided by urban trees and woodlands lies in developing a clear understanding of the biophysical processes at work.
- There is some existing evidence on the **physical health** benefits provided by trees and woodlands; there are studies linking greenspace to exercise and physical health, and evidence of links between trees and water quality, air quality and climate (see Chapters 3 - 5 for further details). The challenge in this area is to understand whether these relationships hold, or are augmented, for urban trees.
- Evidence on the **mental health** benefits provided by trees and woodlands is undergoing substantial but slow development. A major challenge in this area is presented by the need for a common generic and comparable metric for measuring mental health. In addition, the existing evidence is often highly localized and difficult to interpret without a suitable control study. A major gap in this area is the development of rigorous generalizable and comparable studies of the biophysical processes.
- **The Health Economic Assessment Tools (HEAT)** is available from the World Health Organisation Regional Office for Europe. HEAT provides values for the benefits derived from habitual walking and cycling as recreational activities using the UK Value of Statistical Life discounted using a default discount rate of 5%⁴⁰. However, the tool does not disaggregate the benefits by particular types of green infrastructure. As a result, reporting the total value will overstate the benefits from urban trees and woodlands. Alternatively scaling for the proportion of total green infrastructure that is trees and woodland makes the assumption that all types of green infrastructure are perfectly substitutable.
- Health impacts of air pollution in i-Tree are based on models developed in the US and it is not entirely clear how these would be applicable to a UK context.

Climate:

- There is a significant evidence base on the climate-related benefits of urban trees and woodlands.
- There is a broad literature on the biophysical processes and economic values related to **urban cooling** services by shade trees in the USA (Akbari, 2002; Nowak et al., 2010, 2012). Using data on indoor and outdoor temperature and humidity, wind speed and direction, and air-conditioning cooling energy use, Akbari et al. (1997) show that shade trees near houses can yield seasonal cooling energy savings of approximately 30%. Given the relative temperatures

⁴⁰ Users are able to override this default value, we recommended using the official UK Treasury procedure for discounting.

and prevalence of air conditioning in North America relative to the UK, it is possible that energy savings may be lower in the UK. However, if future studies also incorporated potential health impacts (e.g. reducing urban heat island during summer heatwaves reduced dehydration and heat strokes), the overall value of urban cooling services from trees could remain substantial.

Recreation:

- Urban trees and woodlands provide opportunities for recreational experiences in an urban landscape, which is a mosaic of different land uses and in close proximity to densely populated residential and commercial areas. The evidence for recreational values from urban trees and woodlands is relatively robust (Brander and Koetse, 2011; Perino et al., 2014). Some useful evidence on the recreational value of urban woodlands is also available from ORVal. This Tool, however, was not specifically developed to value urban greenspaces and, for instance, it does not allow to answer questions about the value of single urban trees to better inform urban planning and decision making.
- Bateman, Abson et al. (2011) and Bateman, Day et al. (2014) show how location of recreational sites matters. A recreation site can generate a significant range in values depending on where it is located. The critical determinant of this range is, perhaps not surprisingly, proximity to significant conurbations, thus the study of recreation values in urban areas is particularly salient.
- Urban trees can also create added value opportunities for recreation businesses, both single establishments located in close proximity to the green area (e.g. b&b) as well as the hospitality industry in a given tourist destination, by contributing to improving the attractiveness of the whole area.

Biodiversity:

- Johnston, Nail and James (2011) discuss the debate among urban forest professionals regarding the role of exotic versus native tree species and their contribution to urban biodiversity in Britain. They assess the current evidence and conclude that an automatic preference for native species cannot be justified, and that biodiversity and the wide range of services provided will be restricted by just selecting from the few native species that thrive in urban environments.
- Croci et al., (2008) suggest that an effective management of urban woodlands could be a good option for promoting biodiversity in towns. Similarly, Davies et al. (2009) and Cameron et al. (2012) suggest that domestic gardens also provide an important contribution to UK biodiversity habitat and hence conservation. What is important in management and new planting decisions is a scientific understanding of the roles of particular species and their complex interactions in urban ecosystems.

12. Issues arising from gains and losses

12.1. Asymmetry in gains and losses

The economic benefits provided by trees and woodlands often arise from changes (i.e. gains or losses) that concern the quality of trees or woodlands. For example, a change in the composition of a woodland due to the loss of a species. This introduces some extra challenges in the valuation process because the value of a gain is not the same as the value of a loss, even when these are of the same magnitude (e.g. the gain or loss of a single tree). For example, an additional tree in a woodland of 10 trees may not add much value in terms of recreation, visual amenity and habitat for wildlife. However, losing one of these 10 trees may be very valuable, for instance, if this loss reduces the size of the woodland such that it can no longer support the wildlife in the habitat, or if it leads to a significant reduction in angle subtended (proportion of the field of vision containing trees). The asymmetry between the value of gains and losses can affect amenity values related directly to trees and woodlands (such as changes in aesthetic value or the quality of woodland recreation sites), as well as the value of final environmental goods and services provided by trees and woodlands (such as changes in water quality).

12.2. Differences between valuing gains and valuing losses

One of the central asymmetries between gains and losses in woodlands arises from the biophysical functioning (and resulting flow of environmental goods and services) that is gained or lost:

- The loss of woodland often means a reduction in the quantity or quality of established woodland. This could be due to a change in land use (e.g. thinning, felling) or due to disease (e.g. the environmental function of the tree is lost). The value of the loss will also depend on what replaces the existing woodland (e.g. this could be a diseased woodland, cleared woodland or alternative land uses such as grassland or crops).
- Gains in woodland are achieved by converting existing land use (e.g. agriculture) to woodland or by improving tree health. Newly planted trees take time to grow and become established. During this time they provide a different (and potentially smaller) flow of environmental goods and services relative to an established tree. For example, saplings provide very different aesthetics, habitat and environment for recreation in comparison to established or ancient trees.

Non-linearities also cause problems in applying values related to gains to value losses and vice versa. If the total quantity of the stock of trees or woodland in a given area falls, this can lead to very different outcomes:

- **Non-linear biophysical processes:** this could be important for soil regulation, flood protection and habitat provision. A loss in the number of trees close to an ecological threshold point for any of these services (e.g. a minimum viable habitat size required to support a population of woodland birds) would cause a much larger loss in value than the comparable gain associated with an equivalent increase in the number of trees.
- **Non-linear economic value:** e.g. a reduction in the total size of a woodland could cause it to be unsuitable for certain types of recreation, leading to a much larger willingness to accept value for a loss than the willingness to pay value for an equivalent gain. This is likely to be associated with relative scarcity – a marginal gain or loss in a situation of relative scarcity is likely to generate a substantive change in utility, while in a situation of relative abundance, it tends to have a less than proportional effect on the person's welfare. For example, the visual amenity value of one additional oak tree in my view when there is currently only one is likely to generate a high impact on my welfare and losing one when I only have two trees can be

expected to have a comparable effect. Conversely, an additional oak tree in my view when there are 500 as part of a woodland is likely to be of small marginal value, as is the loss of one tree under similar circumstances. This phenomenon, showing that the first unit of the public good (in our case environmental improvement) yields more utility increase than the second and subsequent units, is known in economics as the law of diminishing marginal returns.

- **Endowment effects:** psychological rather than rational elements of preferences can also create an asymmetry between the values of gains versus losses. For example, in stated preference studies the value of a good has been shown to differ depending on whether the good already belongs to the person. This is a complex concept, which was confirmed through economic experiments in which half of a group of people were given a mug and the others were not. People with a mug were asked how much they would sell it for and people without a mug were asked how much they would pay to buy one. People who were given a mug asked to be paid at least two and a half times more than people without a mug were willing to offer. In terms of gains and losses, buying a mug is a gain and selling a mug is a loss; this suggests that losses are valued more highly than gains. This phenomenon was termed an endowment effect in the seminal papers of Kahneman and Tversky (1984) and Kahneman, Knetsch and Thaler, (1991). In the context of trees and woodlands, the endowment effect is more complex because trees and woodlands (including to some extent private woodlands) are public goods, which provide the general public with a sense of communal ownership. This sense of ownership could lead to an endowment effect over existing trees and woodlands. As a result, the value of gaining one new tree is likely to be lower than the value of losing an existing tree. This is especially true if people perceive the loss of environmental quality in woodlands as somehow irreversible, hence perceiving losses as even more painful. However, little is known regarding how individuals react to losses and gains in an environmental domain. It is not necessarily the case that people will react in the same way to losses and gains over private goods (e.g. mugs or money) with respect to losses and gains over public goods (e.g. woodlands). More research is therefore needed to explore the gains-losses asymmetry in a forest context.

12.3. Using gains to value losses and losses to value gains

More knowledge is required to better understand how people react to gains and losses in the environmental domain; however, collecting this data for each species of tree at different spatial and temporal points would be time consuming and expensive. As a result, it may be more pragmatic to try to use the same values, or use a benefit transfer function to apply values relating to gains in trees and woodlands to losses and vice versa. Determining whether this is appropriate requires an understanding of the biophysical and economic differences between gains and losses.

If both the biophysical processes and economic value functions are linear, or the change in the quantity or quality of woodland is marginal and there are no endowment effects then there is no problem in applying values estimated for gains in trees and woodlands to losses and vice versa. In situations where gains and losses are likely to result in very different impacts, either in terms of biophysical processes, economic value functions (i.e. due to non-linearities as discussed above) or substantial endowment effects, this approach is likely to lead to an underestimate or overestimate of the value of the change.

Figure 11 provides an illustrative decision tree for determining whether gains and losses are transferable.

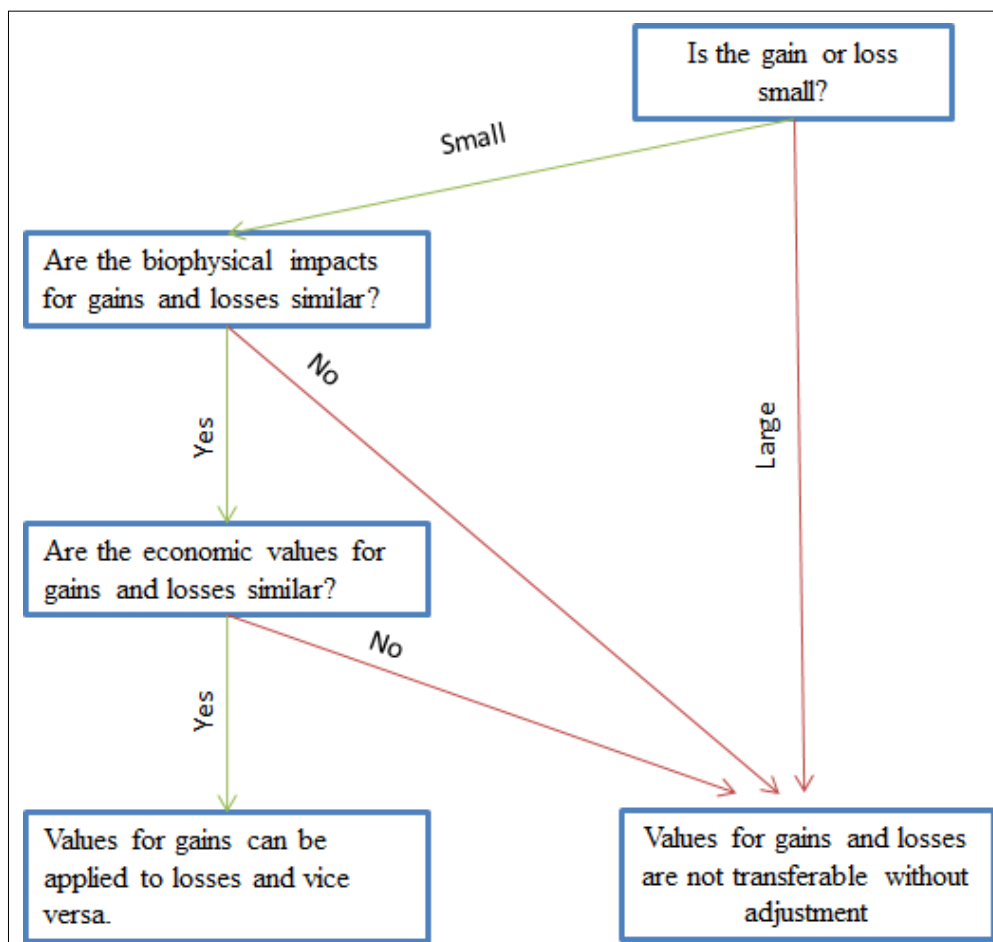


Figure 11: Valuing gains using losses and vice versa

12.4. Research gaps

Overall, the valuation literature has done little to understand the values that people attach to gains and losses in trees' and woodland quality. Given that people value departures from a specific private good endowment, namely gains and losses, differently (particularly, they value losses higher than equivalent gains), it is to be expected that the same applies in an environmental context. More efforts are needed to explore this issue in the future. A notable gap exists in the recreational valuation literature. This presents a challenge if we believe that the value of woodland recreation sites is related to the endowment, in terms of quality of trees at the site (e.g. species type, canopy size, tree density and tree health).

13. Integrated assessment and decision making tools

Amid growing recognition of the natural environment's role in generating human wellbeing, a series of ecosystem service decision support tools have been developed to guide decision making. These vary in sophistication from simple spreadsheet tools, to complex software packages integrating biophysical, GIS and economic models (Bagstad et al., 2013) and draw upon many fields, including ecology, hydrology, geography, systems theory, economics and the social sciences. They also differ in their ability to value changes in ecosystem services and handle various spatial and temporal scales, data and computational constraints and conflicts between users, science and data (van Delden et al., 2011).

A new class of integrated ecosystem service mapping tool including InVEST, LUCI, MIMES and The Integrated Model (TIM, developed by LEEP/CSERGE, currently being extended by LEEP and moved into an open access form as Natural Environment Valuation Online (NEVO), and outlined in detail below) is beginning to emerge. These tools incorporate 'state-of-the-science' biophysical models to reflect interactions between multiple ecosystem services at various spatial and temporal scales. Their process-based biophysical underpinnings enable these tools to use information from areas with high data availability, to model environmental processes and relationships in areas where data is relatively scarce (Bateman et al., 2011). This greatly enhances coverage, and thus the likelihood that a given tool can be applied to specific policy questions. These tools are described below and summarised in Table 23.

Two of the best known ecosystem service tools are InVEST (Sharp et al., 2014) and ARIES (Bagstad et al., 2011). InVEST currently considers water quality, soil conservation, carbon sequestration, biodiversity conservation, aesthetic quality, coastal and marine environment vulnerability, hydropower production, pollination services and values of selected market commodities. Its models are biophysical, and include explicit economic valuation of all services. The most recent release of ARIES includes carbon sequestration, flood regulation, water supply, sediment regulation, fisheries, recreation, aesthetic viewsheds, and open-space proximity value. It is designed to be extremely flexible and can include biophysical models where desired, but generally uses empirical statistical approaches to extract relationships between inputs and outputs. However, ARIES does not provide economic values.

Other tools gaining interest are MIMES, LUCI and Co\$ting Nature. For a review, see Bagstad et al. (2013). MIMES is a systems model, which represents the dynamics and feedback loops between physical, social and economic processes. It seeks to be a truly integrated model, and represents an ambitious effort to take integrated modelling forward to match or extend the state of the art of meteorological and climate modelling to economic models. LUCI is highly spatially explicit (with resolution of 5-m grid squares within the UK and at worst 50 m by 50 m globally) and may therefore be applied at any spatial scale, say for considering the cumulative impacts of small interventions such as riparian planting at national scale. It currently considers agricultural productivity, flood regulation, carbon sequestration, sediment regulation, habitat connectivity, and water quality. It has a simple approach to considering trade-offs between services, classifying individual service provision at its native spatial resolution into "existing good," "potential to improve," "negligible existing," or "potential provision". It then layers those categorised services to identify parts of the landscape where trade-offs versus win-win situations exist and where management interventions could enhance or protect multiple services. Finally, Co\$ting Nature uses global datasets to estimate and value water yield, carbon storage, nature-based tourism, and natural hazard mitigation services, aggregating these into a "service index" accounting for not only provision but also beneficiary location. Although it is less flexible and modular than the other frameworks, it is significantly easier to apply (and access). Table 23 offers a description of The Integrated Model (TIM) against other decision support tools. More details may be found in Bagstad et al. (2013) and Bateman, Day et al. (2014).

TIM is the first application of an integrated modular ecosystem service framework covering the whole of the UK and using detailed UK-specific data (we discount “global” applications, using coarser global data, such as MIMES (Boumans et al., 2015) and Co\$ting Nature). Compared to the established suite of ecosystem service models, TIM’s novelty lies in the introduction of formal optimisation alongside ecosystem service valuation. Crucially, because services are valued in common economic units, trade-offs and comparisons can be drawn and their impacts can be readily interpreted by a diverse audience of varying specialist backgrounds. This is particularly useful in land use policy as decision makers are expected to maximise net benefits derived from the scarce resources at their disposal, accounting for a broad range of biophysical and economic impacts and responses. Although InVEST also applies economic valuation, it stops short of formal optimisation and lacks the rich, custom data set at the 2km grid square resolution used by TIM in the UK.

TIM has been used to model and value land use policy impacts throughout the UK and in particular has been applied to a proposed afforestation policy of planting 5 000 ha of new woodland per annum, for each year between 2014 and 2063 in each of England, Scotland and Wales, yielding an increase in overall forest extent of 750 000 ha. In undertaking this analysis, TIM develops a series of individual, yet interlinking modules that analyse land use at the 2km grid square resolution. Together, the biophysical and economic modelling is able to report values for changes in market production, market production plus greenhouse gas implications and the social value (market production, greenhouse gases, and outdoor recreation).

TIM’s farm module develops an econometric model linking climate change to farm level decisions regarding crop and livestock production. This in turn drives changes in agricultural run-off (described by a water quality module), agricultural greenhouse gasses (CO₂, N₂O, CH₄; described in a farm greenhouse gas module) and farm bird species (described in the biodiversity module). The impact of climate change on timber production is considered within the timber module, which also incorporates forestry decisions (which species to grow, rotation periods and management practices) and the resulting greenhouse gas implications (sequestration in livewood, emissions from felling waste, emissions and sequestrations from various types of soils) are described in the forestry greenhouse gas module. An innovative recreation module developed a new Random Utility Model to analyse and value the impact of land use change on outdoor recreation and associated travel costs. Crucially, TIM makes it possible to explore how the availability of substitute recreation sites impacts values, and how this changes over time as new substitutes become available. The initial recreational modelling presented in TIM has subsequently been expanded and enriched to become the Outdoor Recreation Valuation (ORVal) tool (see [Chapter 6](#) for more information on this decision-making tool). Finally, TIM includes a biodiversity module which links to the farm and timber models to identify the impact of land use change on wild bird species. Owing to the difficulty of directly valuing biodiversity, TIM instead explores the welfare impact of imposing various ‘biodiversity constraints’ such as requiring no net loss in biodiversity.

While its initial case study considers the implications of an afforestation policy, TIM was developed with a high degree of flexibility and is readily applicable to a range of other policy-relevant questions (e.g. impact of new agricultural subsidies and the costs of meeting various water quality or biodiversity regulations). Moreover, the modular approach makes it possible for each component to be developed and improved independently and for new modules to be included in future analyses. Due to the modularity of the integrated approach, any component system can be removed, improved, added or replaced in a way that maintains consistency with any other system. This means that as more sophistication is added there is potential to optimise across a wider suite of social values and drivers of change. As with the nature of research, as more knowledge is amassed, modules are refined.

Further research will consider a more robust optimisation methodology under conditions of uncertainty. The methodology will attempt to optimise when there are uncertainty bounds on the nominal annuity values; as an analogy, consider stock portfolio selection where the aim is to seek an optimal value whilst limiting the downside risk as much as possible. Uncertainty in carbon price is an initial consideration. An important extension of this research is to incorporate non-monetary constraints on policy and planting options. These could include, for instance, a requirement that any planting which reduces bird species diversity in an area be rejected (see for example, Bateman, Harwood et al., 2013). In addition, constraints on water quality could also be considered.

Of course, no appraisal of a complex system such as land use will ever be absolutely complete. Similarly, a modelling exercise will always be, to some extent, an abstraction from reality. The criterion here is not to attain a perfect replication of land use and its determinants, but rather to deliver a robust analysis that reliably captures the major drivers of change and their associated trends. This research is undergoing continual refinement; from modifications to modules representing impacted systems, to how this new approach of policy targeting (considering the natural environment) is presented to decision makers.

Perhaps the most fundamental research gap concerns the need to integrate natural science, economic and social science understanding of the multiple net benefits provided by changes in the extent and management of trees and woodlands in the UK. The current incomplete and fragmented science and valuation literature suggests that the diversity and integrated nature of woodland benefits leads to their systematic under-reporting. This in turn is likely to result in under investment and substantial foregone values. A comprehensive extension to our understanding of these issues is therefore a significant priority for decision support. In an attempt to fill in this gap, the research team at the University of Exeter (Day et al. 2018) is working on the development of NEVO (Natural Environment Valuation Online Tool). This tool will be created by extending the TIM system which recognises the characteristics of the environment and how alternative uses cause multiple benefits, effects and trade-offs. NEVO will work across multiple land uses, including woodlands, and it will consider hypothetical changes in a wide range of natural capital services (e.g. food production, water quality and quantity, greenhouse gas storage, recreation, biodiversity). Ultimately NEVO will support Defra's future strategy by providing informed, transparent and efficient environmental decision making for a broad range of sectors, including valuing existing and new land use options, helping prioritise environmental interventions and investments and signposting those options that provide the greatest net benefits and value for money for the taxpayer. NEVO will be developed and tested using a number of case studies including some co-designed with local policymakers through the SWEEP programme (<https://sweep.ac.uk/>) in the south west of the UK.

Table 23: Overview and comparison of integrated ecosystem service assessment tools

| | ARIES | Co\$ting Nature | InVEST | LUCI | MIMES | TIM/NEVO |
|---|--|---|--|---|--|--|
| Model approach | Bayesian belief network and agent-based modelling; flexible framework | Web-enabled model with globally available data using simple empirical models. | Detailed biophysical models and economic valuation of all services | Simplified biophysical models with fine spatial detail; fast running for scenario exploration | Detailed physics and integration of environmental, economic and social drivers | Biophysical modules with robust economic valuation and formal optimisation |
| Spatial scale of analysis [resolution of individual elements in brackets if applicable] | Flexible, but generally regional scale | Flexible, has global coverage [1km ² or 1ha] | Regional – component models not suited for local scale application | Sub-field to national [typically 5x5m 50x50m] | In theory flexible, to date regional to global | Medium catchment to national [2km grid square] |
| Temporal scale of analysis | Flexible | Steady state | Annual, sub-annual in development | Steady state and annual, sub-annual in development | In theory flexible; data requirements currently limiting. | Annual but could be sub-annual |
| Data gathering effort required by user | Heavy for new applications (existing applications will be made available via web portal) | Negligible; data pre-loaded and available via web portal | Heavy | Moderate; “first tier” suite of models work with widely available national data | Very heavy | Negligible; data is pre-loaded and available within the TIM software |

| | | | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|--|---|--|---|--|--|
| Flexibility/modularity | Very high | Low | High | High | N/A – fully integrated systems model, component processes could be modularised but not services. | High, with built-in constrained optimisation procedure |
| Economic valuation provided? | No | No | Yes | No | In theory; due to type of model perhaps not fully yet. | Yes. |
| Types of trade-offs considered | Biophysical and via analysis of service flow from provision to beneficiaries | Services categorised and flow to beneficiaries considered | Biophysical and monetary units traded against each other | Biophysical; “win-win” vs. trade off analysis of categorised services | Economic valuation of services & analysis of their inter actions | Trade-offs analysed by explicit economic valuation of all services |
| Optimisation? | Through scenario optimisation; although Bayesian framework potentially enables robust optimisation and uncertainty analysis. | Through scenario optimisation only | Through scenario exploration only | Through scenario exploration, some guidance on optimisation given via maps showing regions where preservation or change desirable | Through scenario exploration only | Yes, constrained optimisation procedure is part of framework. This allows policy makers to explore the best way to achieve their objectives, with the ability to adjust the definition of what constitutes a “best” outcome. |

| | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------|---|--|---|---|--|---|
| <p>Unique Features</p> | <p>Sophisticated modelling of flows to beneficiaries, source and sink, flexibility, Bayesian and agent-based modelling.</p> | <p>Globally available, simple to use, data pre-loaded for user</p> | <p>Most established/advanced suite of biophysical models, explicit economic valuation</p> | <p>Designed to work with nationally available data, spatial scale scans sub-field to national, fast running to enable real time stakeholder exploration</p> | <p>Full systems approach, truly integrated model</p> | <p>Constrained optimisation procedure; explicit economic valuation; increased integration via coupling linkages between services</p> <p>Contains an economic behaviour model responding to changes in market, policy and environment.</p> |
|-------------------------------|---|--|---|---|--|---|

14. Natural Capital Accounting⁴¹

*National accounts are like sausages: everybody loves them, but nobody wants to know what's in them.*⁴²

As discussed in [Chapter 2](#), natural capital, namely the stock of physical assets, which generate flows of environmental goods and services, is of crucial importance in defining the benefits that people obtain from the environment. If natural capital is in good condition, it will support the provision of abundant flows of goods and services that people appreciate. If natural capital is not in good condition, lower levels of goods and services will be provided. In recent years, there has been a growing interest (both from academics and policy-makers) in the concept of 'natural capital'. Despite the increasing popularity and use of this term are encouraging, a proliferation of inconsistent definitions and confusion about what natural capital is and what it is not could render it a mere buzzword, serving as a 'catch all' phrase for all things 'green'. This would be an unfortunate loss. The chief motivation for adopting the term natural capital (rather than 'the environment') is to distinguish it as *capital* and apply our understanding of how to value capital stocks, manage net investments and utilize flows of capital services in production. Focusing upon natural capital as the asset generating the flow of ecosystem services, requires a series of considerations and introduces some extra challenges that will be discussed in this sub-section.

Like all capital, natural capital consists of *stocks* that persist through time. It refers to environmental assets that contribute to the production of flows of valuable goods and services. For example, a country's stock of woodland is a natural capital asset that generates flows of environmental goods (e.g. timber) and services (e.g. clean water and air, equable climate, recreation sites). Natural capital is combined with other forms of capital to generate benefits for people. Modern economies rely upon a combination of multiple forms of capital to produce consumption goods. These capitals include⁴³:

1. Produced capital – physical infrastructure, machinery, housing stock etc.
2. Human capital – people, the labour force, skills and knowledge
3. Natural capital – ecosystems, species, fresh water, land, subsoil assets etc.
4. Social capital – trust, adherence to a 'social contract'
5. Institutional capital – governance, rule of law, financial regulations
6. Financial capital – savings and investment

In enjoying the recreational opportunities provided by UK woodlands, a family might save for a holiday (employing financial and institutional capital), drive across the country (making use of produced capital) and spend a week at a campground enjoying woodland walks (making use of natural and

⁴¹ This section draws from Agarwala (in preparation) and Agarwala et al (in preparation)

⁴² An adaptation of "laws are like sausages, it's best not to know what's in them" often attributed to Otto von Bismarck.

⁴³ There is no firmly established categorization of types of capital. Some authors will refer to these six, but it is sometimes helpful to disaggregate further in order to focus on specific elements of wealth. Others will aggregate, perhaps referring to human, natural, produced, and 'intangible capital' which acts as a catch-all term for elements that are particularly difficult to define and measure (e.g. social and institutional capital). For simplicity, theoretical investigations in particular often consider just two forms of capital: one being the asset of interest (e.g. natural capital) and a second, 'composite capital,' which represents all other forms of productive asset in a single entity.

produced capital). Understanding the interdependence between these different forms of capital, as well as their complementarity and/or substitutability, is important, though not an easy task.

Conceptually, natural capital is similar (but not identical) to other types of capital produced by humans. For instance, a vehicle manufacturing plant is a produced capital asset that produces flows of goods (cars) over time. Overuse wears down heavy machinery (depreciation). If the rate of depreciation is greater than the rate of reinvestment (capital maintenance expenditure), future output falls. Both the manufacturing plant (capital asset) and the flow of goods (cars produced) have economic prices that, even if they cannot always be directly observed, can be estimated and reported according to formal accounting rules. In economic terms, the value of a capital asset is simply the net present value of the complete flow of future goods and services it generates.

Similarly, stocks of natural capital assets generate flows of environmental goods and services over time. Forests and fisheries are like ‘natural factories’ producing flows of timber and fish. These capital assets are depleted and degraded by excessive pollution and overharvesting (depreciation), and future output will fall if this depreciation exceeds the combined rate of natural regeneration and human investment in natural capital maintenance (e.g. planting new forests, environmental restoration, conservation investments). Here, lies the first major difference between natural and produced capital; unlike vehicle manufacturing plants, many natural capital assets are capable of repair and regeneration⁴⁴ without the intervention of humans and alternative forms of capital. The capacity for regeneration is a central feature of natural capital and can be enhanced or eroded by human activity.

Insofar as they generate flows of final environmental goods and services (FEGS), these ‘natural factories’ (natural capital assets) also have economic value, defined in terms of the net present value of the complete flow of future goods and services they generate. But here we find two further points of departure between natural assets and their produced capital counterparts. First, it is often far more difficult to identify, measure and value the future flows (of FEGS) generated by natural capital than it is for produced capital. Second, while market prices for produced capital and the goods and services it generates can be recorded from readily observable market exchanges, the production of environmental goods and services by many natural capital stocks takes place outside the formal economy, and therefore no readily observable market exchanges take place. This poses a series of unique challenges for those wishing to develop a monetary estimate of the role that natural capital plays in the economy. These challenges form the basis of current debates around natural capital accounting (and in particular how natural capital relates to ecosystem service valuation and other national accounting standards) and are the core focus of this section.

14.1. Natural capital accounting activities

Briefly, efforts to develop natural capital accounting can be categorized as follows:

1. **Wealth Accounting:** Comprehensive, or Inclusive Wealth refers to the economic value of an economy’s total capital stock, including all of the types of capital described above (i.e. social capital, produced capital, natural capital etc.). Comprehensive wealth encompasses the economy’s total productive capacity and therefore determines the prospects for future

⁴⁴ This natural regenerative capacity can be enhanced by human activity, as it is when higher concentrations of atmospheric CO₂ boost plant and tree growth, or degraded by it, as it is when habitat destruction pushes wildlife towards extinction.

consumption. Wealth accounting has strong foundations in economic theory (Solow 1974, Hartwick 1977, Arrow et al 2012) and underpins economic definitions and indicators of sustainability (Atkinson et al 2014). Here, the value of capital assets is defined by the contribution they make to future wellbeing, which is often simplified in empirical applications to mean ‘the contribution they make to future consumption’. In practice, actually measuring comprehensive wealth (and changes in it) is an active, but challenging area of research (Pearce and Atkinson 1993; World Bank 2006, 2011; UNEP, 2012; UNU—IHDP and UNEP, 2014). This is because the valuation challenge is not limited to natural capital, but, as explained above, also extends to many other types of productive assets, including institutional, social and human capital.

2. **National Accounting:** this is adjusting, or augmenting the national accounts so that they ‘better reflect’ the relationship between environmental stocks and flows and national economies. While this is the area of ‘natural capital accounting’ that has attracted the greatest policy attention (indeed this is the aim of the Office for National Statistics *Natural Capital Accounting 2020 Roadmap*), it is also the area where loose definitions and conceptual inconsistencies may generate the greatest confusion. Some of this can be reduced by making a clear distinction between valuing natural capital stocks and valuing the flows of FEGS those stocks produce. Strictly speaking, natural capital accounts should contain values for natural capital stocks, which is different from values of flows of FEGS. Of course, the value of a natural capital asset and the value of the FEGS that it produces are intimately related; formally, the value of a natural capital asset is simply the summed value of all the future flows of FEGS that it generates, discounted to the present time⁴⁵ (i.e. the net present value or NPV). How values for natural capital stocks relate to values of flows of FEGS and how both could be related to the national accounts is discussed in further detail below. It is important to note the distinction between natural capital accounting efforts for wealth versus national accounting; wealth accounts require natural capital values that reflect the contribution of natural assets to future wellbeing, whereas national accounts require values that reflect contributions to current macroeconomic indicators such as gross domestic product (GDP). This is an important distinction as a contribution to wellbeing and a contribution to GDP are not necessarily equivalent. In practice, however, using data from national statistical offices may a justifiable pragmatic compromise for wealth accountants.
3. **Corporate natural capital accounting:** Without discounting the importance of government policy, it must be recognized that in many instances, natural capital assets are owned and managed by the private sector. For example, 75% of the surface area of Great Britain is dedicated to agriculture, and 100% of that is private sector. Similarly, extractive industries, water companies, and energy utilities are all private sector agents with substantial impacts on natural capital. Businesses are also increasingly aware of their own impacts and dependencies upon natural capital and some firms are developing ‘natural capital accounting’ mechanisms of their own in order to identify potential risks and opportunities related to natural capital. In 2015, the UK Natural Capital Committee produced formal guidance documents for the development of

⁴⁵ Although this definition is theoretically sound, it does rely on a number of powerful assumptions. If the conditions set out by these assumption are not met, the accuracy with which the value of natural capital can be derived from the net present value of FEGS is greatly diminished. The assumptions include:

1. Perfect information. This requires that the full stock size (even of as yet undiscovered wild species and subsoil assets) is known, as is the full suite of future technologies and policies that might affect how FEGS are used in production.
2. Perfect competition.
3. Complete markets.

corporate natural capital accounts, the Natural Capital Coalition is developing further guidance and the Office for National Statistics activity around national NCA may also serve as a signal to the private sector.

4. **Biophysical natural capital accounts:** Before any of the exercises described above can be pursued, it is a necessary pre-requisite to establish detailed biophysical inventories of natural capital stocks. Such accounts are fundamental to identifying and understanding trends in resource use, regeneration and depletion, indicate possible tipping points, and the capacity of the stock to support ecosystem function. To provide the most useful information (including to users beyond economists and national accountants) biophysical NCAs should also be spatially referenced. There is strong potential for such accounts to provide further functions in serving as a consistent repository for regular data collection, biophysical inventories and ecosystem monitoring.

There are multiple potential uses for natural capital accounts and the extent to which accounts are ‘fit for purpose’ will depend on how they are designed. For example, multinational corporations may wish to develop NCAs that trace natural capital impacts and dependencies in multiple countries along a global supply chain, whereas national governments may wish to focus specifically on the natural capital within their borders. At the national level, accounts could help to identify those natural capital assets that are at greatest risk and which may therefore be high priority areas for conservation (either because they generate substantial value or because ecosystem services are under pressure). They may also help setting environmental targets (e.g. no net loss of biodiversity; or maintaining or expanding the national stock of forests) and measuring progress towards achieving them, serving as an evidence base for developing forestry and land use policy. In addition, natural capital accounts may aid in formally recognizing the contribution of natural assets to the economy. Finally, because accounts tell a story over time, accounts developed now will become increasingly useful as the trends they identify can be increasingly related to other variables of interest. The uses of GDP accounts, for instance, have grown substantially since they were first developed in the 1930s.

14.2. National accounting

On first pass, the notion of ‘incorporating the value of natural capital into the national accounts’ seems an admirable objective. However, several conceptual and practical realities must be considered. Earlier Chapters of this report and the discussions immediately above set out a consistent conceptual framework for considering natural capital as a set of productive assets generating flows of environmental goods and services, of which some serve as inputs into production in the human economy. Many of these FEGS can be valued, as shown elsewhere in this Report. The Woodland Valuation Tool provides a broad review of recent valuation exercises across the UK and internationally. Before these concepts and values can be linked to the national accounts, we must first consider what national accounts are and what they are not.

National accounting is a method of collecting, organising and reporting desirable information on an economic activity that is ultimately relevant for measuring trends and making decisions. Here, desirable is key. National accounts and their constituent parts are not determined by economic theory, nor are they necessary fundamental components of a working economy (the UK’s industrial revolution took place before the modern era of GDP accounting). Crucially, they are not and were not intended to be, a measure of human wellbeing (Agarwala et al 2014a; Coyle 2014). Rather, national accounts are human constructs, deliberately and strategically designed to tell specific stories over time. The body commissioning the accounts has considerable influence over what these stories might contain, and how

the information might be used⁴⁶. Indeed, corporate accounting standards have a specific term for this: materiality, where information is deemed material if omitting it or misstating it could influence decisions that user's make⁴⁷. Thus, if information about natural capital could influence end-users' decisions, it would be considered material. Apart from tradition, there is no fundamental reason that national accounting procedures cannot be amended to incorporate the value of natural capital, or indeed the value of the FEES it generates. This is not to say that national accounts are entirely arbitrary. Indeed there are multiple accounting standards and reference manuals governing how national accounts are compiled. The two most important for the UK are the System of National Accounts 2008 (SNA 2008; 722 pages), which is globally recognised, and for EU countries, the European System of National Accounts 2010 (ESA 2010; 688 pages). An additional reference, Lequiller and Blades (2014; 520 pages) serves as a guide to understanding the national accounts and usefully, the OECD compiles a further reference for capital accounting (OECD 2009). The ESA (2010) is consistent with SNA (2008), but carries additional influence in that its implementation is required by EU regulations. This broad suite of national accounting resources contains a number of pragmatic and simplifying assumptions in order to bridge the gap between the data that would be most 'theoretically correct' and the data that may be most reliably and reasonably collected.

⁴⁶ Historically, accounts were developed in order to assess the taxable wealth of a territory and the information was used to determine the prospects for war. Indeed, military interests have provided a basis for compiling accounts since at least 1085, when William the Conqueror commissioned the Domesday Book (World Bank 2011) for precisely this reason. Nearly 600 years later, William Petty's 1665 accounts for the King of England contained the following passage:

"the Warr cannot well be sustain'd beyond the year 1698 upon the Foot it now stands, unlesse

1. The Yearly Income of the Nation can be Inceas'd.
2. Or the Yearly Expence Diminish'd.
3. Or a Forreign of Home Credit be Obtain'd or Establish'd.
4. Or the Confederacy be Inlarg'd.
5. Or the State of the Warr Alter'd.
6. Or a General Excise, in effect Introduced." (Bos 2008, p13)

By the 1930s, national accountants were firmly back on the war path as economists (including Nobel Laureates Simon Kuznets, James Meade and Richard Stone) were developing the basis of our current system of national accounts: initial estimates deducted government spending (e.g. on the military) from national income on the grounds that it represented a reduction in the resources available for consumption (Coyle 2014). It was only after US President Roosevelt, in preparation for the US entry into the Second World War demanded a set of accounts that showed military expenditure having a positive effect on the economy, that government spending was considered a contribution to gross domestic product (GDP) (Coyle 2014). Political influence over what is and is not included in the national accounts is not exclusively limited to military interests; however, for example, as recently as 2012, the Greek government was declined for loans from the International Monetary Fund and the European Central Bank because the country's debt to GDP ratio was too high. In response, Greece's national accountants amended their GDP calculation to incorporate estimates of the informal economy, effectively expanding GDP by approximately 25% and bringing the official debt to GDP ratio within acceptable limits for securing international loans.

What William the Conqueror, President Roosevelt, the Greek debt crisis and the Forestry Commission (and indeed UK government more broadly) have in common, is that the national accounts are and can be, strategically designed to convey whatever information is desirable and deemed relevant for decision making at the time. Historically, this has not included natural capital, nor has it included FEES.

⁴⁷ As defined by the International Accounting Standards Board

Together, these thousands of pages of guides and manuals provide a reasonably consistent basis for collecting and reporting a wealth of information about modern economies, but collectively they fail to adequately describe the myriad interactions and dependencies that exist between economies and the natural environment. Their most familiar measure is of course gross domestic product (GDP), where product refers to the volume of production in a given year (and is therefore a flow rather than a stock measure), domestic refers to activity taking place within a country's economic territory, and gross means that it reflects the sum value, making no explicit adjustment for capital depreciation (e.g. due to aging infrastructure, collapsing fisheries or diminished forest stocks). As a flow measure, there is an economic case for considering whether and how to incorporate the value of environmental flows (FEGS) into the GDP calculation. It is worth reiterating however, that this would entail valuing FEGS rather than assets, and is strictly speaking an exercise distinct from natural capital accounting.

Of course, GDP is just one of many measures generated by the SNA. In addition to flow measures such as GDP, the SNA includes capital accounts so that depreciation (formally, consumption of fixed capital) can be calculated, balance sheets for economic sectors can be generated, and finally, so that capital services can be measured to analyse production and productivity (OECD 2009). The SNA recognises the dual role of capital as both a store of wealth and a source of capital services and offers an "integrated and consistent approach towards capital measurement that encompasses different measures of capital stocks (gross, net and productive stock), alongside the relevant measures of economic flows (investment, depreciation and capital services)." (OECD 2009; p11). Annual changes in the stock variables provide the basis for calculating capital service flows and consumption of fixed capital, which can in turn be used to calculate net investment in capital. When the net value of capital investment is negative, we say there has been capital depreciation. Combining the value of capital depreciation (which is a flow variable) with GDP (another flow variable) yields a measure known as net domestic product (NDP). NDP is a relevant measure here because it adjusts the value of gross domestic product in order to reflect the depletion of capital that took place in order to generate the year's economic output; it shows the amount of income available subject to the constraint that there is no decline in produced capital. Here, the natural capital analogy is perhaps at its most relevant. Natural capital could be included in an economy's capital account, and net natural capital investment could be added to NDP. This would give a measure of the amount of income available in the economy subject to the constraint that there is no decline in the combined value of produced and natural capital.

14.3. Final Environmental Goods and Services and National Accounts

A crucial distinction must be made between valuing natural capital assets and valuing the flows of FEGS they generate. These are related, but not identical. In principle, the value of the capital asset is simply the net present value of these flows, which could be calculated by modelling the future supply of FEGS, valuing them using the methods described in [Chapter 2](#) and [Annex 1](#) and finally, discounting them to present year currency. One challenge, however is that many environmental valuation methods are appropriate for valuing particular quantities or levels of FEGS, such as a unit reduction in air or water pollutant concentrations, tonnes of timber, or a number of recreational visits. These can be considered 'marginal' values in that they are appropriate within a particular range of final environmental goods and service supply. Only in relatively rare cases is it appropriate to extrapolate these marginal values across large changes in the supply of final environmental goods and services (the notable exception is for valuing greenhouse gas flows). For instance, while Fiquepron, Garcia and Stenger (2013) show that on average 1 hectare of *new woodland* generates a savings of around EUR 22 per year (in 2004 Euros) on French household water bills, it would be inappropriate to assume that 10,000ha of *existing woodland* already saves domestic users EUR 220 000 per year. The point here is that valuing FEGS is not quite the same as valuing natural capital stocks. However, if we focus instead on valuing

marginal changes in natural capital stocks, values for FECS may still be considered appropriate. This is an important distinction when attempting to ‘relate the environment to national accounts’.

The existing SNA provides a framework for measuring and reporting activity within an economy. As a result, those FECS that are traded in markets are implicitly, already incorporated into measures such as GDP. However, the contribution these final environmental goods and services make to the total value of output (formally, their value added) is not attributed to the environment, but is instead implicitly attributed to other factors of production (e.g. other capital and labour inputs). This leaves two challenges:

1. How to account for non-market final environmental goods and services; and
2. Attributing value added from market-traded FECS appropriately.

With respect to the first challenge, the simultaneous desires to (i) keep the definition and calculation of GDP the same, and (ii) to incorporate the value of FECS within the GDP calculation, are incompatible. A central feature of the SNA is its production boundary, which sets out what does and does not ‘count’ as economic production, and therefore what is included and excluded from the national accounts. The SNA defines economic production as “an activity carried out under the control and responsibility of an institutional unit that uses inputs of labour, capital, and goods and services to produce outputs of goods or services.” (SNA 2008; p97, 6.24). It clearly states that natural processes “without any human involvement or direction [are] not production in an economic sense... the unmanaged growth of fish stocks in international water is not production, whereas the activity of fish farming is production.” (SNA 2008; p98, 6.24). Thus, many sources of FECS are specifically excluded from the SNA. Incorporating them would require an expansion of the production boundary.

There is good reason to do this. It is widely regarded that current accounting practices mask important environmental-economic relationships. Indeed, much of the value generated by FECS (e.g. from open access recreation) is produced and consumed outside the formal market economy (i.e. the SNA production boundary) and has no representation within the national accounts. Moreover, oil spills, wildfires and water pollution can all boost GDP when remediation and clean-up efforts are sufficiently costly, yet such events can degrade and deplete natural capital stocks. This suggests that it may be possible to alter the national accounts in order to better reflect environmental-economic relationships, incorporating non-market values generated by FECS and making adjustments for defensive expenditure and natural capital depreciation. It is important to note, however, that doing so would require a change in the production boundary of the SNA. There are precedents however. The GDP calculation has been adjusted in the past in order to incorporate a broader set of economic activities. The most recent example is the inclusion of illegal drugs and prostitution, which together contribute between GBP 7 and GBP 11 billion to UK GDP, annually (Office for National Statistics 2014). Such expansions raise the issue of how to accurately value economic transactions when they cannot be reliably observed in standard data collection exercises. In this way at least, drugs, prostitution and environmental accounting are alike; they all require an estimation of values that cannot be readily observed in market transaction data.

The second challenge mentioned above refers to correctly attributing value added to an ‘environmental sector’ within the SNA. In principle, values already recorded in the SNA can be disaggregated to reflect the value added at various stages along the production process. Sectoral production functions describing how various sectors (e.g. forestry, agriculture, manufacturing, etc.) actually utilise inputs could be developed to identify relative contributions to output (formally, the value added) from labour, capital and other inputs such as final environmental goods and services. These could then be used to add ‘ecosystems’ as a line in the value added sector of the input output tables used to construct SNA accounts (Leontief 1970; Miller and Blair 2009). This would not affect the total value of GDP, but

rather reattribute value from sectors that consume ecosystem services as inputs to an environmental sector that generates final environmental goods and services as outputs. Of course the process is not straightforward, and the primary challenge lies in identifying production functions that can adequately identify the share of value added that should be attributed to FEGS.

The market goods and services into which forestry is an input are already accounted for elsewhere in the SNA. Some forest FEGS such as timber are traded in markets and serve as inputs in other industries (e.g. furniture and construction). These are recorded in the current SNA and attributed to the forestry sector. However, the non-market inputs such as water purification and open access recreation are excluded. In principle, production functions could be developed to identify the contribution of non-market forest services to the production of market outputs and the corresponding market-share value of those outputs could be reattributed to the forestry sector. Such an accounting procedure would entail ‘shifting’ value added from one sector to another, without actually changing the size of GDP. As such, no double counting would take place.

There is some concern that recreation values based on travel cost estimation may introduce double counting if, for instance, expenditure on hotels and transportation is counted once in the tourism and transport sectors and again when incorporating natural capital. However, this is a misguided concern. Travel cost valuation does not ‘add up’ expenditure on transport and tourism and reattribute it to an environmental sector, but rather uses these data in order to impute a welfare value for the final environmental goods and services in question (recreation). Just as market data on rental housing can be used to estimate the value of non-traded (i.e. owner occupied) housing services without double counting, complementary market data can be used to estimate recreation values without double counting. The primary difference simply being that rather than referring to observable transactions for similar (substitute) market goods (as is the strategy for valuing housing stock), travel cost based recreation values are based on observable transactions for complementary market goods. This may well be an acceptable compromise for national accountants.

The value of time spent traveling to and from a recreational site is an important component of travel cost valuation and should be included when estimating the welfare value of recreation at that site. However, this is not reflected in a theoretical exchange value; theatre ticket prices are not varied according to how far the customer travels to attend a play. Similarly, economic valuation studies typically include the time spent on site. Whether this should be included within accounting studies is unclear (extending our analogy; to what extent do theatre ticket prices vary according to the length of the play?). More formally, if we consider recreation in terms of a service generated for own consumption (analogous to cooking in the home) then it would fall outside the SNA’s household production boundary, which excludes “all production of *services* for own final consumption” (SNA 2009, P6. 1.42). This is because the production and consumption of the service are simultaneous, and the service could not be supplied to others on the market.

14.4. Types of value in the SNA (exchange vs. welfare values)

Stemming in part from the production boundary it sets out, the SNA attempts to record the values at which produced goods and services actually exchange hands. These values are known as exchange values, where economic exchanges must entail voluntary transactions between willing producers and willing consumers. This has important implications for the prospect of incorporating final environmental goods and services or natural capital into the national accounts, as the environment often generates value even in the absence of formal transactions. Formally, the:

“SNA does not attempt to determine the utility of the flows and stocks that come within its scope. Rather, it measures the current exchange value of the entries in the accounts in money terms, that is, the values at which goods, services, labour or assets are in fact exchanged or else could be exchanged for cash (currency or transferable deposits).” SNA (2008; p50 3.118).

This clearly states that exchange values do not capture the full benefits (utility) derived by the agents participating in a transaction. Thus, while walking in an open access woodland may entail an exchange value of GBP 0, the benefits people derive from such walks may well exceed GBP 0. Sen et al (2014) estimate that recreational users might be willing to pay as much as GBP 3.59 per visit to forests and woodlands in the UK. This ‘extra’ GBP 3.59 benefit would not be included in an exchange value. To capture the distinction adequately, we need to introduce the notion of a welfare value. Welfare values are aptly named in that they indicate the contribution of goods and services to the production of human welfare. The GBP 3.59 from Sen et al (2014) is an example of a welfare value. This relates directly to the valuation of FECS as many of the non-market valuation techniques described in [Annex 1](#) produce welfare, rather than exchange values.

Both welfare and exchange values are important, but they have different economic interpretations. Welfare values would reflect the contribution of woodlands to human welfare, regardless of their contribution to the market economy, and their use in environmental cost benefit analyses is relatively uncontroversial. Exchange values represent the contribution of woodlands to the market economy, regardless of their impact on human welfare, and where possible should be used for national accounting. However, when considering the production and consumption of many non-market final environmental goods and services, we are referring to activities for which no directly observable market transaction (exchange) has taken place. It is therefore not possible to record an observed exchange value. Thus, we will always be talking about something that is not, strictly speaking an exchange value and the question is really one of trying to impute a value for the good, service or asset that is as close to what the exchange value would have been if an observable market exchange had in fact taken place (see Obst 2015).

This poses a challenge to incorporating FECS into the national accounts; because exchange and welfare values are not identical, incorporating both into the SNA would introduce an inconsistency. The extent to which this difference should be allowed to prevent inclusion of both natural capital and FECS in the national accounts is hotly debated. However, by now it should be clear that what we include and what we exclude from the national accounts is and always has been, a choice based on what information is considered desirable at a particular point in time. UK policy objectives set out in the Natural Environment White Paper are at least compatible with the idea that including FECS in the national accounts is an option worth considering (HM Government 2011). Some authors argue that given the number of adjustments already contained within the SNA, there is no strong basis for excluding FECS simply because they are valued using welfare rather than exchange values (Agarwala et al in preparation).

Although the SNA focuses on exchange values, there is precedent within the current SNA for estimating values of goods and services when there is no observed exchange value. For instance, not every house is sold every year, but national accounts must nonetheless include the value of housing services in the economy, meaning national accountants must impute values for non-traded housing services on the basis of observable transaction data for similar, traded housing services. To accomplish this, they assume a notional transaction in which homeowners effectively rent housing services to themselves and impute values for these services by examining prices of similar rental properties. While imputed values for non-traded housing services are not strictly speaking ‘pure’ exchange values, they are at least consistent with the System of National Accounts (SNA) because they are based on observed exchanges

(Obst 2015; Lequiller and Blades 2014; SNA 2008). Similarly, because most produced capital (e.g. plant & equipment, heavy machinery) is not bought and sold every year, its value must also be estimated. Here, assets are typically valued at their replacement cost, with an adjustment made to reflect the degree of depreciation (wear and tear) on the machine (Obst 2015). For pragmatic reasons, depreciation is typically calculated using an arbitrary, fixed formula rather than a detailed inspection of each piece of machinery or asset (OECD 2009). Finally, national accountants may value some capital assets (especially non-renewable resources) at the net present value of the future flow of goods and services they generate. The main point is that the SNA already contains a number of adjustments to enable the valuation of goods, services and assets for which direct market exchange values are not available at a particular point in time.

14.5. Recent developments in natural capital accounting

Natural capital accounting has attracted considerable attention both in the UK and internationally. In 2011, the UK's Natural Environment White Paper, *The Natural Choice: securing the value of nature* promised to place "natural capital at the heart of Government accounting" (HM Government 2011) and a series of papers and reports from the UK Office for National Statistics (ONS) and the Natural Capital Committee (NCC) have set out guidance and provided initial examples of natural capital accounts for the UK (Khan 2012, Khan, Greene and Hoo, 2013; NCC 2013, 2014, 2015; Khan, Greene and Johnson, 2014; Eftec 2015; Office for National Statistics 2015). Globally, the United Nations adopted the *System of Environmental-Economic Accounting – Central Framework* (SEEA-CF) as a UN statistical standard in 2012, and the World Bank's initiative on Wealth Accounting and Valuation of Ecosystem Services (WAVES) is developing initial natural capital accounts for Botswana, Colombia, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Indonesia, Madagascar, Rwanda and the Philippines. Table 24 offers a brief overview of international progress to date. This table lists countries and regions with established programmes to account for environmental assets in monetary and physical terms, physical and monetary flows of pollutants and materials, and expenditure on environmental protection.

Of these international initiatives, the most relevant to the UK is the SEEA-CF. SEEA-CF is not a set of accounts, but rather a standardised framework for countries to use in developing sets of accounts. It is intentionally modular, in that not all components need to be developed simultaneously; countries can develop SEEA-CF compatible accounts for specific elements of natural capital that may be of particular interest or for which relevant data is most readily available. In addition to the Central Framework, the SEEA also contains guidance for *Experimental Ecosystem Accounting* (SEEA-EEA), which is not formally a UN statistical standard, but has been endorsed by the United Nations Statistical Commission (UNSC) as international guidance.

Table 24: Countries with established environmental accounting programs

| | Assets* | Flow accounts for pollutants and materials | | Environmental protection and resource management expenditures |
|----------------|---------|--|----------|---|
| | | Physical | Monetary | |
| Australia | ✓ | ✓ | | ✓ |
| Botswana*** | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | |
| Canada | ✓ | ✓ | | ✓ |
| Colombia*** | | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| Costa Rica*** | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | |
| EU-27** | ✓ | ✓ | | ✓ |
| Guatemala*** | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| Korea | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| Mexico | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| New Zealand | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | |
| Norway | ✓ | ✓ | | |
| Philippines*** | ✓ | ✓ | | |
| South Africa | ✓ | | | |

Source: Adapted from Agarwala et al (2014b) and Lange (2014).

Note: the white-filled tick marks in the Botswana row indicate works in progress

* Asset accounts in physical and monetary terms.

** EU states are required to report greenhouse gas emissions, material flow accounts and environmental protection expenditures. Accounts for water and asset accounts for oil and gas, and forests are widely implemented.

*** Pilot member of World Bank WAVES Partnership

Combined, the various components of the SEEA integrate information on water, minerals, energy, timber, fish, soil, land and ecosystems, pollution and waste, production, consumption and accumulation within a single measurement system. It specifically excludes oceans and the atmosphere (these stocks and values would be too large to be meaningful to potential users), but includes ocean fish stocks as environmental assets (where countries possess property rights due to international agreements). The SEEA contains two distinct, but complementary accounting approaches: the first focuses on the measurement of individual natural resources, cultivated biological resources and land, while the second focuses on the measurement of ecosystems. The SEEA-CF covers:

1. Physical flows of materials and energy within the economy and between the economy and the environment;
2. The stocks of environmental assets and changes in these; and
3. Economic activity and transactions related to the environment. (SEEA-CF 2012; p11).

SEEA-CF set out guidance for developing physical flow accounts, physical asset accounts, monetary flow accounts and monetary stock accounts. Monetary accounts within the SEEA-CF adopt the same asset boundary as the SNA (2008), meaning that “only those assets – including natural resources and

land – that have an economic value following the valuation principles of the SNA are included” (SEEA 2012). As far as possible, the SEEA-CF adopts the same exchange price approach as set out in the SNA, but notes that for many FECS⁴⁸ these cannot be observed (as no formal market transaction takes place). In contrast, physical accounts within the SEEA-CF adopt a broader asset boundary, encompassing all natural resources and land within an economic territory (not just those with economic value recognised in the SNA).

Whereas the SEEA-CF measures ‘individual environmental assets’ (e.g. timber resources, land, mineral and energy resources, and water resources), the SEEA-EEA considers *ecosystems* defined as “a dynamic complex of plant, animal and micro-organism communities and their non-living environment interacting as a functional unit”. Because not all FECS are parts of ecosystems (e.g. minerals and fossil fuels), both the SEEA-CF and SEEA-EEA are needed to ensure the full range of FECS is appropriately accounted.

Within the SEEA-EEA, forest ecosystems can be accounted for in terms of their spatial extent and ecological condition, or in terms of expected ecosystem service flows (SEEA-EEA 2014; Khan, Powell and Harwood, 2011; SEEA-EEA, 2014; Eftec; 2015). The first approach – accounting for an ecosystem as a whole – has obvious benefits in that it helps capture the systemic nature of environmental service provision. However, this should not be confused with accounting for specific elements of an ecosystem such as trees or water.

Based on the National Forest Inventory for Great Britain, Eftec (2015) presents a set of woodland ecosystem accounts that is consistent with the SEEA-EEA guidance.

Table 25 presents a physical ecosystem stock account for 2012, containing estimated total extent of woodland, extent of broadleaved and coniferous species, timber volumes (by species and age), biomass (measured in terms of estimated oven dry biomass), carbon biomass stock, extent of woodland under Site of Special Scientific Interest (SSSI) designation, area of woodland in flood risk zones. Table 26 shows aggregate data on estimated physical flows of ecosystem services generated by British woodland. The table also shows the estimated number of recreational visits to British woodland, based on Sen et al (2014). Table 27 shows estimated monetary values for these stocks and flows. Using a willingness to pay of GBP 3.47 per person, per trip (based on Sen et al 2012), it shows that estimated recreation values (GBP 1.7 billion, annually) dominate, as is consistent with other studies (Bateman et al 2014).

⁴⁸ Note: the SNA and SEEA systems do not adopt the terminology (e.g. FECS) set out in Chapter 2 and used throughout this report.

| Ecosystem: Woodland | Ecosystem extent | Characteristics of ecosystem condition | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------------------|---------------------|--|------------|-----|-----|-------------|-----------|-----------|-----|------------------|------------------|---------------|--|-------|-------|------------------------|
| | | Species Type | | BL | C | Age (years) | | | | Biomass Stock | Carbon Stock | Total Soil | Woodland in Flood Risk Areas | FZ2 | FZ3 | Woodland SSSI |
| | (million ha) | Broadleaved | Coniferous | | | 0- 40 | 41- 60 | 61- 80 | >80 | Total | Total Biomass | Total Soil | FZ1 | FZ2 | FZ3 | |
| Coverage (Countries/regions) | GB | GB | | GB | | GB | | | | GB | GB | | E&W | E&W | E&W | Extent (million ha) |
| Closing Stock | 2.78 | 1.27 | 1.51 | 239 | 375 | 163 | 251 | 105 | 109 | 426 | 780 | 133 | 2.61 | 0.094 | 0.075 | 0.243 |

Table 25: Physical stock account of ecosystem condition and extent at close of accounting period 2012 (Source: Eftec, 2015).

| | | Type of ecosystem | | | |
|--------------|-------------------------------|---|---|--|---|
| | | Woodland | | | |
| | | Flow (annual, 2012) | | Expected future flows (20 years) | |
| Provisioning | Biomass for timber | Broadleaved | Coniferous | Broadleaved | Coniferous |
| | | | - | - | - |
| | Forestry Commission estimates | 0.587 million m ³ (overbark) | 11.78 million m ³ (overbark) | 11.74 million m ³ (20 years, 2012-2031) | 235.60 million m ³ (2012 – 2031) |
| Regulating | Carbon sequestration | 6.01 MtCO ₂ | 6.55 MtCO ₂ | 120.20 MtCO ₂ | 131.00 MtCO ₂ |
| | Forestry Commission estimates | 10.3 MtCO ₂ (2010) | | - | |
| | Water flow regulation | Difficult to measure in physical terms | | Difficult to measure in physical terms | |
| Cultural | Recreation | 481 million visitors | | 9,620 million visitors (2010 – 2029) | |

Some of the aggregate estimates provided in the table differ from those published by the Forestry Commission, either due to limitations in replicating FC adjustments to National Forest Inventory estimates, or due to the use of a more appropriate methodology.

Table 26: Physical flow account of ecosystem services provided by Great Britain woodland in 2012 (Source: Eftec 2015)

| | | Type of ecosystem service | | | | | |
|-------|---|---------------------------|------------|-------------|------------|--------------|------------------|
| | | Biomass for Timber | | Carbon | | Recreation | Water Regulation |
| | | Broadleaved | Coniferous | Broadleaved | Coniferous | | |
| Value | Flow (annual) | 9 | 165 | 341 | 372 | 1 669 (2010) | Not modelled |
| | Stock (present value of future flows over 20 years) | 127 | 2 431 | 5 738 | 6 254 | 24 552 | Not modelled |

Table 27: Monetary stock and flow account for Great Britain woodland (Source: Eftec 2015)

14.6. Current debates in natural capital accounting in relation to woodland

Accounting for woodland assets and related flows of ecosystem goods and services raises many of the same challenges encountered when accounting for other components of natural capital. However, the unique functions and characteristics of forest and woodland assets, the way they are managed and the types of services they provide mean that special consideration is required in a number of areas. These include:

- Addressing spatial dimensions of woodland assets: In most instances, accounting systems do not need to incorporate a high degree of spatial detail. For instance, the system of national accounts records the same value for the sale of a chocolate bar whether that transaction takes place in London or Manchester. However, the market and non-market value of services generated by forests and woodlands can vary substantially over distances as small as 1 km. Spatial configuration, connectivity, overlap with other ecosystems and natural capital assets (e.g. lakes and rivers), and distance from human populations are important determinants of the value generated by woodland assets. Location and spatial configuration determine the provision of flood defence services, connectivity has implications for wildlife habitats and susceptibility to pests and diseases, overlap with lakes and rivers has implications for the supply of water purification services and distance from human population impacts recreation values. Depending on the intended policy uses of woodland natural capital accounts, some or all of these spatial dimensions may need to be included⁴⁹.
- The importance of mapping and physical accounting. Closely related to the spatial dimensions mentioned above, accurate biophysical data is crucial for identifying and understanding trends in ecological function, for designing management responses and for assessing the impact of environmental and policy change. Moreover, they are a necessary first step for developing monetary natural capital accounts. One key issue, also related to spatial dimensions, is the scale at which maps and biophysical data are collected and organised. Depending on who is developing the accounts, and for what purposes, appropriate scales might include watersheds and river catchments, land use categories, or administrative boundaries.
- Estimating marginal vs. stock values. Most environmental valuation methods are designed to estimate the value of small (marginal) changes rather than large (stock) changes. This is appropriate for most decision making purposes (including project appraisal and investment decisions), where for example it may be necessary to value the likely impact of afforesting or deforesting in a specific unit of land without having a significant effect on the country's total woodland stock. The values estimated in such instances are *marginal* in that they represent a relatively small change when compared to the UK's total stock of woodland. However, those marginal values are unlikely to remain constant when we consider large scale changes in the stock, where increasing scarcity rents and threshold effects may need to be incorporated.
- Accounting over long timescales. Compared to most produced and even other natural capital assets, forests and woodlands take a long time to mature, with rotation periods (from planting to felling) for some species reaching 150 years. This poses challenges for valuing capital assets

⁴⁹ The SEEA-EEA (2013) identifies three scales of analysis for ecosystem accounting:

1. Basic Spatial Units (BSUs) tessellations (grid squares) of e.g. 1km² or cadastres (land polygons of varying shapes reflecting e.g. ownership)
2. Land cover/ecosystem functional units: a contiguous set of BSUs constituting a particular type of land use or ecosystem.
3. Ecosystem Accounting Unit: a larger scale/fixed area taking natural features (e.g. topography and river catchments) and/or administrative units and boundaries (e.g. national parks).

See also, Eftec (2015).

because important factors such as discount rates, future prices, and technological change are difficult to assess over the very long run.

- Ecological tipping points, resilience and functional redundancies. One of the greatest obstacles to valuing forest assets is our incomplete scientific understanding of ecosystem resilience, the existence, location and severity of threshold effects, and the extent to which functional redundancies exist within an ecosystem. Over time, improved scientific understanding and new data collection may provide useful insight. However, until then, risk registers based on existing information (Mace et al., 2015) may assist in identifying trends, defining meaningful metrics to describe asset-benefit relationships, and identify assets under the greatest pressure.

15. Prioritising the gaps

Alongside gaps in the underpinning natural science base, we find a significant requirement to improve, standardise and integrate evidence regarding the value of the multiple benefits delivered by trees and woodlands.

The results of the scoping study revealed a number of general critical research gaps which cut across several, if not all, of the research areas. The following categories were considered in the assessment of research gaps in each of the Chapters [3](#) to [11](#):

- **Biophysical pathways:** The scoping study explored both the existing biophysical literature and the valuation literature. Although, we were generally able to find separate evidence relating to both biophysical processes and values, the usefulness of these existing studies is severely hindered by the absence of rigorous evidence linking the biophysical processes associated with trees to quantifiable changes in the provision of goods and services.
- **Valuation literature:** The existing literature is patchy, incomplete and uses a plethora of different units, years and scales. This makes a coherent approach to valuation extremely difficult, particularly because study design plays a large role in determining the valuation estimates. An integrated, consistent and comprehensive approach to valuing all of the benefits and costs associated with tree and woodland land use and management is needed.
- **Accessible decision support tools:** There is a general need for the development of up-to-date, easy to use decision support tools. These tools need to be technically sophisticated enough to incorporate the most recent advances in data, methods and modelling, yet also amenable to use by non-analyst decision-makers following relatively brief (e.g. one week) training. There is an abundance of existing but fragmented data relating to social and environmental benefits. With advances in computing power and cross-disciplinary collaborations there is clear potential for these data sources to be brought together and used to develop sophisticated models for valuation. In order to achieve this, decision makers will require access to the broad range of data available. In this vein, a new class of integrated ecosystem service mapping tools is beginning to emerge, including InVEST, LUCI, MIMES and The Integrated Model (TIM; currently being developed into its online equivalent, NEVO). These tools incorporate biophysical models to reflect interactions between multiple ecosystem services at various spatial and temporal scales.
- **Urban tree literature:** given that most of people live in towns and cities, specific research gaps in urban settings were also explored. Based on our review, the understanding of the mechanisms through which urban woodlands provide benefits to people is relatively good for some ecosystem services (i.e. recreation), but not for others (i.e. air quality, water quality and quantity, physical and mental health). Similarly, also the valuation evidence in urban settings seems to be mixed: a relatively good knowledge is available regarding the values of some ecosystem services (e.g. climate regulation), while much less attention was paid to other ecosystem services.

The scoping study also allowed the identification of knowledge gaps specific to each benefit valuation area. Based on the results of the scoping study and discussions with the steering group, these research gaps were compared in terms of the availability of existing evidence and the availability of workable solutions, expectations over the size of the related benefits (or costs) and the relevance of the topic for decision-making and policy. The research gaps were then divided into three categories to reflect whether they are i) high priority, ii) medium priority or iii) long term priority research areas.

15.1. High priorities

Water quality:

- **Biophysical pathways:** Many valuation studies fail to link water quality outcomes to woodland management or planting actions. This makes it difficult to establish causality and limits the usefulness of existing studies for investment appraisal when the objective is to achieve specific improvements in water quality.
- **Multi-impact, multi-scale valuation:** There is a need to extend the valuation of different pollutants and their removal from waterways. This needs to be flexible in terms of the scale of analyses, embracing both catchment and national levels.

Water availability and flood alleviation:

- **Biophysical pathways:** There exists a variety of evidence on the biophysical relationships between tree cover and water quantity (e.g. through modelling studies and to a much lesser degree through observed data at the catchment level). To fully quantify the effect of afforestation or deforestation, data are needed to validate models, especially at the catchment scale. The absence of robust biophysical evidence quantifying the relationship between local woodland management, location, forest design and changes in the quantity of water available constitutes a significant barrier to reliable valuation and decision making, particularly as scale increases. There is also a gap in the evidence base in terms of the impact of climate change and rising CO₂ levels on the water use of trees, which will affect the services (dis-services) provided in the future. While some evidence has started to be produced on this topic, more efforts are required in the future to better understand the capacity of forests to sustain the provision of water regulation services under increased thermal pressures and reduced precipitation rates.
- **Flood alleviation:** The current literature linking trees and woodlands to the prevention of flooding is growing and a relationship between them has been established. However, due to the wide variety of other factors involved in flood events, we are still some way off being able to fully quantify the effect of upstream tree planting or woodland management changes on the probability of downstream flooding.
- **Integrated valuation of water:** There is a clear need to integrate the variety of values associated with water resources and the role that woodlands can play in enhancing these.
- **Economic valuation:** There is some research on the non-market benefits of water quantity linked to forests. However, as for water quality, more efforts are also needed to understand the appropriate geographical scale at which forests start playing a significant role over water quantity regulation. Similarly, evidence on the economic valuation of changes in water quantity associated with woodlands is lacking for a variety of beneficiaries. Key business interests such as manufacturing and industrial production, agriculture and the energy sector are all potential beneficiaries for whom values are not robustly known.

Air quality:

- **Valuation and spatial proximity to populations:** The health impacts caused by air pollution depends upon the number of people being exposed; a tonne of SO₂ in a densely populated area causes more damage than a tonne in a sparsely populated area. The value of pollution absorption by trees should reflect this population exposure.

Climate:

- No high priority research gaps were identified for climate. Only medium and long-term priorities were detected regarding research on woodland-related climate regulation benefits.

Recreation:

- As recognised in the Government’s 25 Year Environment Plan (H.M. Government, 2018), the introduction of the ORVal tool has significantly improved the availability of economic valuation evidence regarding recreation. While further refinement of ORVal is discussed subsequently, the main priority here is the adoption of this tool into regular use by decision makers.

Physical and mental health:

- **Measurement challenges:** There is no commonly applied generic measure for mental health. This makes comparison between biophysical studies difficult and the lack of a well-defined and commonly understood mental health good or service poses a challenge for valuation. A more fundamental challenge is the need to establish causality, substitution and response behaviours between trees/woodland (as opposed to other environments) and mental and physical health. For example, if new woodlands generate visits, to what extent are these genuinely additional visits as opposed to substitution away from other activities? To what extent are there net health gains? Does enhanced engagement with nature generate positive or negative co-impacts? For example, does outdoor exercise stimulate improved mood or give individuals a perceived license to indulge in other unhealthy lifestyles?

Biodiversity:

- **Economic valuation:** The need for improvements in the economic valuation of biodiversity needs to be matched by better data and natural science understanding of the physical impacts of afforestation upon measures of biodiversity. In both the UK-NEA and UK NEA-FO analyses, biodiversity was assessed through bird species indices. This approach was adopted due to the relatively poor cross sectional and time series data available for wider measures of biodiversity - a factor which marks out a significant research gap for future assessments. Similarly, understanding of the relationships between woodland biodiversity and human health requires more accurate and quantified assessment of the underpinning physical pathways of effect than is currently available. A particular problem arises regarding estimation of the non-use benefits of biodiversity where the lack of behavioural action precludes the use of revealed preference methods. In this context, stated preference methods should be considered. Despite relying on stated behavioural intentions rather than on observed conduct, these techniques are widely recognized to offer a good and reliable indicator of people’s values.

Trees and woodlands on farms:

- There are gaps in understanding the biophysical links between trees and woodlands and agricultural output, in particular spatial and temporal differences as well as the relative merits of different species and management practices. For example:
 - Understanding the importance of the species, age and location of trees on farms for the provision of soil stabilisation, particularly in the context of an increase in the frequency of extreme weather events due to climate change.
 - Research on the importance of habitat configuration and connectivity to support biodiversity, and conversely to reduce risks from pests.
 - A deeper understanding of the relationship between different species and management practices, different pollinators and their combined impact on agricultural yields.

Plant (tree) health:

- **Biophysical pathways:** The evidence base on the impact of tree health on the value of the benefits provided by trees and woodlands is small but emerging. There remains a substantial need for research in this area, in particular to address difficulties in understanding the counterfactual – what would have happened if the trees were healthy?

Urban trees

❖ Physical and mental health values:

- **Biophysical pathways:** The key challenge in valuing the physical and mental health benefits provided by urban trees and woodlands lies in developing a clear understanding of the biophysical processes at work.
- **Biophysical pathways:** Evidence on the **mental health** benefits provided by trees and woodlands is undergoing substantial but slow development. A major challenge in this area is presented by the need for a common generic and comparable metric for measuring mental health. In addition, the existing evidence is often highly localized and difficult to interpret without a suitable control study. A major gap in this area is the development of rigorous generalizable and comparable studies of the biophysical processes.
- **Health Economic Assessment Tools (HEAT):** this tool is available from the World Health Organisation Regional Office for Europe. HEAT provides values for the benefits derived from habitual walking and cycling as recreational activities using the UK Value of Statistical Life discounted using a default discount rate of 5%⁵⁰. However, the tool does not disaggregate the benefits by particular types of green infrastructure. As a result, reporting the total value will overstate the benefits from urban trees and woodlands, or alternatively scaling for the proportion of total green infrastructure that is trees and woodland makes the assumption that all types of green infrastructure are perfectly substitutable.

❖ Recreation:

- **Economic valuation:** Values associated with recreation need to be broken down to reveal differences in willingness to pay for different recreational users (e.g. joggers, cyclists, fishermen/women and hunters).

❖ Biodiversity:

- **Biophysical pathways:** Johnston, Nail and James (2011) discuss the debate among urban forest professionals regarding the role of exotic versus native tree species and their contribution to urban biodiversity in Britain. They assess the current evidence and conclude that an automatic preference for native species cannot be justified, biodiversity and the wide range of services provided will be restricted by just selecting from the few native species that thrive in urban environments.
- **Biophysical pathways:** Croci et al., (2008) suggest that effective management of urban woodlands could be a good option for promoting biodiversity in towns. Davies et al., (2009) and Cameron et al. (2012) suggest that domestic gardens also provide an important contribution to UK biodiversity habitat and hence conservation. A good scientific understanding of the roles of particular species and the complex interactions in urban ecosystems is vital in management and planting decisions.

Issues arising from gains and losses:

- Issues related to valuing gains and losses have been categorised as medium and long term priorities.

⁵⁰ Users are able to override this default value, we recommended using the official UK Treasury procedure for discounting.

Integrated modelling and valuation:

- Perhaps the most fundamental research gap concerns the need to integrate natural science, economic and social science understanding of the multiple net benefits provided by changes in the extent and management of trees and woodlands in the UK. The current incomplete and fragmented science and valuation literature suggests that the diversity and integrated nature of woodland benefits leads to their systematic under-reporting. This in turn is likely to result in under investment and substantial foregone values. A comprehensive extension to our understanding of these issues is therefore a significant priority for decision support.

Natural capital accounting:

- **The importance of mapping and physical accounting:** Accurate biophysical data is crucial for identifying and understanding trends in ecological function, for designing management responses, and for assessing the impact of environmental and policy change. Moreover, they are a necessary first step for developing monetary natural capital accounts. One key issue is the need for spatial data and analysis and, linked to that, a crucial decision is the scale at which maps and biophysical data are collected and organised. Depending on who is developing the accounts, and for what purposes, appropriate scales might include watersheds and river catchments, land use categories, or administrative boundaries.
- **Ecological tipping points, resilience and functional redundancies:** One of the greatest obstacles to valuing forest assets is our incomplete scientific understanding of ecosystem resilience, the existence, location and severity of threshold effects and the extent to which functional redundancies exist within an ecosystem. Over time, improved scientific understanding and new data collection may provide useful insight. However, until then, risk registers based on existing information (Mace et al., 2015) may assist in identifying trends, defining meaningful metrics to describe asset-benefit relationships, and identifying assets under the greatest pressure.

15.2. Medium priorities

Water quality:

- **Biophysical pathways and economic valuation:** Most of the literature concerning trees and water quality focusses upon the impacts of new afforestation programmes rather than changes in management applied to existing woodlands (as an example of the latter see the study of preventing deforestation by Kreye, Adams and Escobedo 2014). Additional research exploring the biophysical impact and economic values associated with changes in management are needed.
- **The transfer of biophysical pathways and economic values:** Once valuation functions linking woodland to water quality are established, there remains a literature gap in terms of determining the most appropriate approach to transferring results across locations and time periods.

Air quality:

- **Biophysical pathways:** Improving the natural science understanding of pollutant absorption and deposition in urban forests is needed. This would help to reduce the large variance in monetary estimates identified in the literature.

Climate:

- **Biophysical pathways:** Estimating the effect of trees on urban heat islands (through shading and evapotranspiration) in UK cities is also important.

Recreation:

- **Economic valuation:** A greater understanding and modelling of the contextual drivers of recreational demand, including weather, is needed.
- ORVal offers useful information on the recreational value of woodlands and trees. However, ORVal can be improved in the future by modelling the recreational behavior of tourists, in addition to that of day visitors.

Physical health:

- There is some existing evidence on the **physical health** benefits provided by trees and woodlands; there are studies linking green space to exercise and physical health, and evidence of links between trees and water quality, air quality and climate (see [Chapter 5](#) for further details). The challenge in this area is to understand whether these relationships hold, or are augmented, for urban trees.
- **Compounded values and double counting:** Health is included in recreation and may form a part of values for the consumption of other goods and services by altering preferences. The health-related values are difficult to disentangle from values in the existing literature and there is a risk of double counting these values, for example, if willingness to pay for recreational visits is combined with willingness to pay for health benefits associated with the use of recreational spaces.

Urban trees:

❖ Water resources:

- i-Tree Eco provides a useful resource for estimating the impact of urban trees and woodlands on storm water drainage. However, since the hydrological models were developed in the USA and are closed within i-Tree Eco it is difficult to assess the transferability of the model to the UK setting.
- There is limited existing information on the relationships between urban trees and water quality, including their role in reducing sewage treatment costs and improving urban recreation. Estimates of the impact of urban trees on water resources at recreational sites and the resultant impact on the value of recreational visits could be constructed by using general biophysical studies on the impact of trees on water quality and by subsequently valuing the impact of the change in water quality on recreation. This should be done by taking into account the location of the recreation site (allowing for consideration of distance decay and proximity to population).
- Adopting this approach requires an implicit assumption that the biophysical process is the same in urban and rural areas, or that any important scaling factors (such as tree density, nutrient concentration, flow rates and distance from sewage works) were represented in the sampled data and have been controlled for, which is rarely the case.

❖ Air quality:

- **Biophysical pathways:** The literature relating urban trees to air quality suffers from the same limitations as for water resources. Although there are simulation models relating individual tree species (controlling for maturity) to air filtration (Donovan et al. 2005), these models are based on underlying biophysical studies which sample larger woodlands (greater than 2 ha). Moreover, there is uncertainty over the rates of absorption and deposition and there is very little discussion of whether these rates are likely to be the same in urban and rural areas (Powe and Willis, 2002, 2004).

❖ **Recreation:**

- **Decision making tools:** Urban trees and woodlands provide opportunities for recreational experiences in an urban landscape, which is a mosaic of different land uses and in close proximity to densely populated residential and commercial areas. The evidence for recreational values from urban trees and woodlands is relatively robust (Brander and Koetse, 2011; Perino et al., 2014). Some information on the recreational value of urban woodlands is available from ORVal. However, this Tool was not developed to specifically value single urban trees and can therefore offer only limited guidance to urban planners and decision-makers.
- **Economic valuation:** Bateman, Abson et al. (2011) and Bateman, Day et al. (2014) show how location of recreational sites matters. A recreation site can generate a significant range in values depending on where it is located. The critical determinant of this range is, perhaps not surprisingly, proximity to significant conurbations, thus the study of recreation values in urban areas is particularly salient.

Gains and losses:

- **Economic valuation:** Overall, the valuation literature has done little to understand the values that people attach to gains and losses in trees' and woodland quality. Given that people differently value departures from a specific private good endowment, depending on whether it is a gain or a loss (and, particularly, they are more sensitive to losses than equivalent gains), it is to expect that the same applies also to an environmental context. More efforts are needed to explore this issue in the future. In this respect, a notable gap exists especially in the recreational valuation literature. This presents a challenge if we believe that the value of woodland recreation sites is related to the endowment in terms of the quality of trees at the site (e.g. species type, canopy size, tree density and tree health).

Natural capital accounting:

- **Addressing spatial dimensions of woodland assets:** In most instances, accounting systems do not need to incorporate a high degree of spatial detail. For instance, the system of national accounts (SNA) records the same value for the sale of a chocolate bar whether that transaction takes place in London or Manchester. However, the market and non-market value of services generated by forests and woodlands can vary substantially over distances as small as 1 km. Spatial configuration, connectivity, overlap with other ecosystems and natural capital assets (e.g. lakes and rivers), and distance from human populations are important determinants of the value generated by woodland assets. Location and spatial configuration determine the provision of flood defence services, connectivity has implications for wildlife habitats and susceptibility to pests and diseases, overlap with lakes and rivers has implications for the supply of water purification services and distance from human population impact recreation values. Depending on the intended policy uses of woodland natural capital accounts, some or all of these spatial dimensions may need to be included⁵¹.

⁵¹ The SEEA-EEA (2013) identifies three scales of analysis for ecosystem accounting:

- Basic Spatial Units (BSUs) tessellations (grid squares) of for example 1km² or cadastres (land polygons of varying shapes reflecting e.g. ownership)

- **Estimating marginal vs. stock values:** Most environmental valuation methods are designed to estimate the value of small (marginal) changes rather than large (stock) changes. This is appropriate for most decision making purposes (including project appraisal and investment decisions), where for example it may be necessary to value the likely impact of afforesting or deforesting a specific unit of land without having a significant effect on the country's total woodland stock. The values estimated in such instances are *marginal* in that they represent a relatively small change when compared to the UK's total stock of woodland. However, those marginal values are unlikely to remain constant when we consider large scale changes in the stock, where increasing scarcity rents and threshold effects may need to be incorporated.

15.3. Long-term priorities

Water Quality:

- There is a gap in the literature with respect to explicit valuation of sediment impacts, acidity and turbidity in the UK, although various studies appraise the overall benefits of woodland related water quality changes. Evidence at UK level is limited to the study of the biophysical effect of woodland creation on reducing the concentration of various diffuse pollutants in water (including suspended solids/sediments, nitrates, ammonium, phosphate, atrazine [pesticide]).
- Reliable, representative data on treatment costs faced by water companies across Great Britain are essential to understanding the benefits of water quality improvements. This would require detailed treatment cost data, information on upstream land use and catchment management (spatial configuration of forested areas) and sedimentation rates.

Air quality:

- Moving away from a reliance upon unit values towards an approach which relates values to both the change in pollution levels and the baseline concentrations to which they are added would allow for non-constant marginal effects of pollution and reflects the changing conditions across locations.
- Consideration of the wider remit of air pollution impacts in assessing the benefits of tree-related reductions of pollution should include health benefits both directly (in terms of the avoidance of morbidity and mortality impacts) and indirectly (e.g. by generating greater potential for beneficial outdoor activity and exercise). Also, the effects of reducing air pollution on avoided damage to infrastructure, such as building material damage and reductions in agricultural losses, should be included.

Climate:

The evidence base for the climate-related benefits of urban trees and woodlands is relatively robust:

- **Economic valuation:** Improved estimates of the social cost of carbon based on abatement costs (carbon price) or on primary valuation are increasingly available. This is an active area of research, but is unlikely to be fully resolved in the short or medium run. Employing UK government carbon prices is a straightforward compromise which would allow current research efforts to focus on higher priority issues.

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- Land cover/ecosystem functional units: a contiguous set of BSUs constituting a particular type of land use or ecosystem.
 - Ecosystem Accounting Unit: a larger scale/fixed area taking natural features (e.g. topography and river catchments) and/or administrative units and boundaries (e.g. national parks).

See also, Eftec (2015).

- **Biophysical pathways:** The Forestry Commission has a well-established model of **carbon accounting** called CARBINE (Edwards and Christie, 1981, see <http://www.forestry.gov.uk/fr/infid-633dxb> for further details). CARBINE estimates stocks of carbon stored in trees and released through harvesting as well as avoided greenhouse gas emissions (through the use of wood products that displace fossil fuel intensive materials) and these models can scale from individual trees to entire woodlands, taking into account a range of management practices, such as thinning and felling.
- **Biophysical pathways:** There is a broad literature on the biophysical processes and economic values related to **urban cooling** services by shade trees in the USA (Akbari, 2002; Nowak et al., 2010, 2012). Using data on indoor and outdoor temperature and humidity, wind speed and direction, and air-conditioning cooling energy use, Akbari et al. (1997) show that shade trees near houses can yield seasonal cooling energy savings of approximately 30%. Given the relative temperatures and prevalence of air conditioning in North America relative to the UK, it is possible that energy savings may be lower in the UK. However, if future studies also incorporated potential health impacts (if reducing urban heat island during summer heatwaves reduced dehydration, and heat stroke), the overall value of urban cooling services from trees could remain substantial.

Physical and mental health:

- **Waterborne diseases:** Risk of disease is likely to be an element of willingness to pay for improvements in water quality at recreational sites; however, waterborne diseases have not been studied directly in the literature surveyed in this study.

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Annex 1: Ecosystem services, natural capital and economic valuation

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A.1. Ecosystem Services: the paradigm and the terminology

A.1a. The human economy

Understanding the contribution trees and woods make to human well-being is not a straightforward undertaking. Trees and woods impact on the environment in a multitude of ways that, through a multitude of pathways, benefit a multitude of people in a multitude of ways. The ecosystem services approach provides a framework within which we can structure this complexity and organise our thinking when approaching the task of valuation.

Central to the ecosystem services approach is the idea that we can characterise the natural world as a production system; a production system akin to those that we observe in the human economy. In the human context, perhaps the most familiar production system is that organised by a firm. Put simply, a firm gathers together various inputs in order to produce one or more outputs. In the language of economics those outputs are termed ‘goods and services’. Actually, economists distinguish between two forms of goods and services:

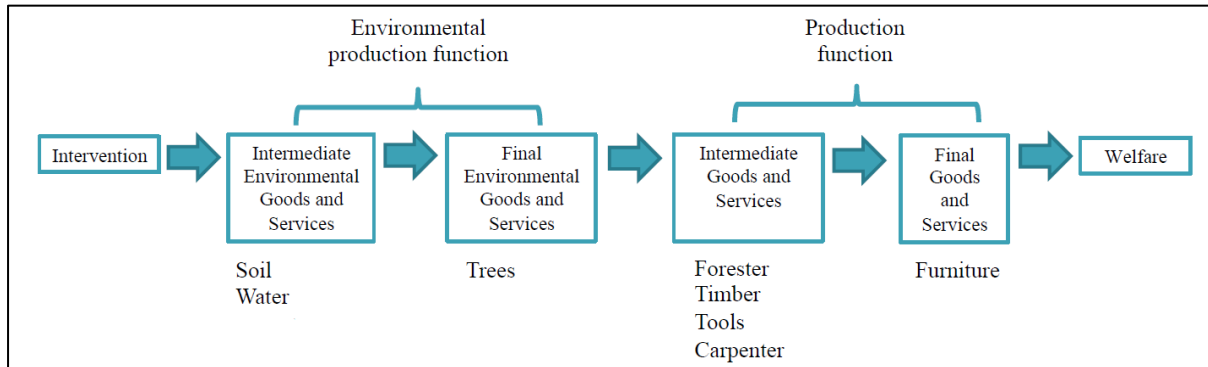
- An *intermediate good and service* is one that is sold on to another firm and acts as an input to other firms’ productive activity.
- A *final good or service* is one that is sold on to consumers, who gain welfare from its consumption.

That final point is worth reiterating. Human welfare is enhanced by the consumption of final goods and services. Intermediate goods and services do not generate welfare in and of themselves; they only contribute to the economy’s ability to produce final goods and services. For example, timber, an intermediate good produced by a lumber company, is not a direct source of well-being for humans in and of itself. Along with other intermediate goods and services including skilled labour and carpentry tools, however, timber can be fabricated into a table (a final good from which humans do derive wellbeing).

In addition to the productive activities of firms, economists recognise a second form of productive activity: that undertaken by households. The idea here is that the service flows from which households actually gain welfare are generated through individuals using their time and money to combine a particular set of final goods and services. So, for example, the benefit gained from watching a film at the cinema arises through the household combining travel, time and a cinema ticket; take any of those ingredients away from the household production process and the household gains no welfare.

Accordingly, our simple way of understanding the workings of an economy is to imagine households and firms engaged in productive activities. Those activities involve making use of a variety of goods and services in order to produce an output. The relationship between the use of inputs and the creation of outputs is described by a *production function*, where the term *household production function* is used to distinguish household productive technology from that of firms.

A.1b. The natural factory



Now, the central idea behind the ecosystem services approach is to use the same concepts in order to structure our understanding of the workings of the natural world. In a nutshell, the ecosystem services approach characterises the environment as a complex natural factory engaged in a myriad of productive processes. Of course, unlike the productive activities of firms and households, the productive processes in the environment are not organised by humans but arise spontaneously in nature; indeed that is their defining characteristic. In an exact parallel to the human economy, the productive activities of nature are described by *environmental production functions*. Just like their human-controlled counterparts, environmental production functions require inputs and deliver outputs. In parts of the literature, particularly outside economics, these outputs are called *ecosystem services*. For a number of reasons we prefer to use the more inclusive term *environmental goods and services*.⁵²

Notice the clear distinction in this terminology between the process and the output. For clarity: environmental production functions are to flows of environmental goods and services as economic production functions are to flows of goods and services (Brown, Bergstrom and Loomis, 2007). For example, water purification is not an environmental good or service. Rather, it is the environmental production function that delivers the environmental good or service of pure water.

A.1c. Final and intermediate environmental goods and services

Another crucial distinction clarified by the ecosystem services characterisation of nature is between intermediate and final environmental goods and services:

- *Intermediate environmental goods and services* (IEGS) are environmentally produced goods and services that act as inputs to some other environmental process.
- *Final environmental goods and services* (FEGS) are environmentally produced goods and services that enter household or firm production functions without further biophysical translation. In other words, FEGS are those particular subset of environmental goods and

⁵² Firstly, environmental production functions span a range of natural processes that may be physical (e.g. coastal erosion) and chemical (e.g. low-level ozone generation) in nature, as well as ecological. The emphasis placed on ecological functions by the term 'ecosystem services' is unnecessarily narrow and may cause confusion. Secondly, environmental production functions can result in both tangible and intangible outputs. To an economist it would seem more appropriate to refer to tangible outputs as 'goods' rather than services.

services that have direct and immediate consequences for productive activities in the (human) economy.

This distinction is particularly important in the context of valuing the contribution of nature to human well-being. In particular, households and firms perceive value as resulting from the flow of FECS that they enjoy. While the supply of those FECS is underpinned by environmental processes that draw on a variety of IEGS, people do not have preferences for IEGS any more than they have preferences for intermediate economic goods and services. For example, people derive value from a house but would find it practically impossible to disaggregate that value into the independent contributions made by the bricks, timber and concrete that went into the production process that constructed that home. Likewise, a water company derives value from the purity of the raw water they abstract from the environment but have no direct perception of the value of the trees, soils and biotic community that went into the environmental production process that delivered that quality of raw water.

In practical terms, the distinction between FECS and IEGS is critical. It identifies the fact that attempts to value the environment must focus on FECS since households and firms can meaningfully deduce the benefit they derive from those environmental goods and services. In contrast, the value derived from IEGS is not immediately apparent to households and firms. In understanding the value provided by IEGS, an extra step is required which first determines the contribution those IEGS make in terms of delivering FECS.

The distinction between IEGS and FECS is not always straightforward. For example, the same environmental good or service may act as an input to both human and environmental production systems. For example, pure raw water is a FECS for water supply companies who extract it from rivers and reservoirs. However, it is also an IEGS to the environmental production process, through which freshwater fish reproduce. The output of fish reproduction is fish, which might act as a FECS in the human activity of recreational fishing.

A further point of note is the fact that what some people refer to as ecosystem services actually arise from processes that are not naturally occurring. This is the case, for example, of food from agriculture or timber from a plantation forest. Both these goods and services result from human-organised production processes which require significant inputs of produced capital and labour on top of crucial inputs of FECS from nature including soil, rainfall, sunshine and pollinators.

A.1d. Natural capital

The discussion about environmental goods and services inevitably also requires the consideration of the role played by natural capital. Unfortunately there is confusion about the meaning of the word natural capital. Often natural capital and ecosystem services are terms used interchangeably. However, natural capital refers to the stock of physical assets (e.g. such as air, water, fertile soils and so on) constituting a given ecosystem and it underlies the production of the flow of ecosystem goods and services. If natural capital is in good condition, it will support the provision of abundant flows of goods and services that people appreciate. However, if natural capital is not in good condition, only lower levels of provision of goods and services will be supplied. This is an important consideration because the underlying condition of natural capital will then affect how people value given changes in the environment. For example, people value more a given environmental change if there is scarcity in that good or, in other words, if the underlying natural capital is in poor condition.

Despite this, though, natural capital is not often accounted for when assessing the benefits provided by woodland ecosystems. As we will explain in more detail below, economic valuation generally only focuses on measuring the welfare implications of changes in the flow of ecosystem services, regardless of the underlying stock of natural assets. Accounting for natural capital in the process of economic valuation is possible, and advisable, by adopting a natural capital accounting framework, as explained more extensively in [Chapter 14](#).

A.1e. The Welfare implications of environmental interventions

The primary purpose of the ecosystems services paradigms is to provide a framework, within which the welfare implications of an environmental intervention might be appraised. By an environmental intervention we mean any project or policy that has impacts on the natural environment. In the simplest case, such an intervention might just reduce the quantity or quality of flow of a FECS. The task of evaluating that change is relatively straightforward; all an analyst requires is an estimate of the value that households or firms attach to that change in the supply of a FECS. How those values are established is a subject we shall return to in the next section.

More often than not, however, the impact of an environmental intervention is to perturb some environmental production process. In that case, appraisal becomes more difficult. An analyst, must first turn to the natural sciences to understand how the perturbation brought about by the intervention impacts on the output of FECS from that process. Once that relationship is established the welfare impact of the intervention can again be established by applying estimates of the value that humans attach to that change in supply of FECS. Of course, things get more complex yet if the perturbed environmental process results in outputs of FECS that in turn feed into other environmental production functions. In that case, analysts require even greater input from natural scientists; the welfare impacts of the intervention can only be determined by tracing the impacts of that intervention through the natural factory and establishing the resulting changes in supply of perhaps multiple FECS.

Let's take, for example, a planned intervention seeking to establish continuous cover forestry on an area of woodland previously managed as a conventional clear-felled plantation forest. That management change has a number of effects; for instance, by averting clear-felling it increases the supply of the FECS 'visual amenity', a benefit that is enjoyed by humans that take pleasure from beholding an intact forest in the landscape in which the woodland is located. In this case, the relationship between intervention and FECS is pretty much direct. We simply require a measure of the added visual amenity value of continuous cover forest when compared to clear-felling.

A more complex consequence arises from reductions in soil erosion that previously accompanied clear-felling. According to the ecosystem services paradigm, it is not the reduction in soil erosion itself that delivers welfare improvements but its consequent impacts, through the natural factory, on the delivery of FECS. For example, eroded soil might be transported overland to water courses which in turn may deposit that sediment in a downstream reservoir. In this case, the FECS that is impacted by the intervention is the rate of deposition of sediment in the reservoir, a good (or more correctly a bad) perceived by the reservoir's managers, when considering their requirements for dredging. Here the analyst must establish the natural science that links continuous cover forestry with reduced rates of sedimentation. The value of the intervention in this regard is the reduction in costs associated with dredging.

A.2. Economic Value

A.2a. Economic value: what is it?

So far, we have talked rather generally about FECS as delivering well-being to humans, and liberally used words such as welfare, value and pleasure to refer to the same thing. The essence of what is being described by these words is intuitive to all of us; having more of a FECS makes us consider things to be, in a sense, better; given the choice, we would prefer to be in a position in which we enjoyed more of a FECS than less. Economists often use the word *utility* to describe this same sense of personal preferences; if I prefer having more FECS than less, then I have more utility with those FECS than without them.

At the heart of the economic approach to social decision-making, a field of study known as welfare economics, is the normative assertion that a project or policy should be judged on how it impacts on the utility of all members of society. Indeed, we might go further and say that that judgment should be made by comparing the sum of utilities of all members of society in the current state of the world to our predictions of the sum of utilities of all members of society after the project or policy has been implemented. Of course, to make that comparison one would not need to measure utility for every member of society, just the change in utility for everyone impacted by the project or policy. If the sum of those changes was positive then one might conclude that the project was worth pursuing. That, of course, is a highly normative assertion; there are any number of other ways one could decide whether a project or policy were worthwhile. All the same, this so-called ‘utilitarian’ approach has some desirable features as a social-decision making mechanism. For example, it is broadly democratic taking into account the preferences of everyone in society not just the elite or the concerns of special-interest groups. Moreover, unlike voting which accords each individual the same weight in the decision process, the utilitarian approach attempts to capture the different degrees of utility change that individuals might experience.

One significant problem remains: we have no way of measuring utility. In the famous words of the Victorian economist William Jevons, ‘every mind is inscrutable to every other mind, and no common denominator of feeling seems to be possible’. Given that no measure of utility exists to us, economists turn to a proxy measure. The idea here is that to understand how greatly a person values an outcome (or a thing), we could measure how much of something else they would be prepared to give up to see that outcome arise. The thing that a person has to give up could be anything (e.g. quantities of their time, or quantities of socks, or chocolate biscuits) so long as the thing that is sacrificed is valuable to them. The maximum amount of that item that they would be prepared to give up is an observable measure of their utility. Of course, it would greatly help if we could use the same item for every individual since that would allow us to aggregate across individuals. Moreover, we need to choose an item that is valued by everyone and divides into fine enough units to allow accurate measurement. Not many items fit that bill. In fact, perhaps the only item that comes anywhere near is money.

A monetary measure of preferences for an intervention (project or policy), therefore, is defined as the maximum amount of money an individual is willing to give up in order to secure the benefits that they would enjoy if that intervention was to proceed. That measure is simply termed willingness to pay or just WTP. Of course, there may be others who stand to lose out from the intervention. A monetary measure of their preferences for that intervention is given by the minimum amount of money they would be willing to accept in compensation for those losses. That measure is termed willingness to accept or just WTA. A social-decision rule based on those measures might indicate that the project should go ahead, so long as the sum of WTP’s across everyone in society exceeds the sum of WTA’s.⁵³ These monetary measures of the change in human well-being brought about by an intervention are what economists refer to as the *economic value* of that intervention.

A.2b. Economic value: what is it not?

Economic value is perhaps one of the poorest naming decisions ever made by economists (and there have been a few). The term simply begs for misinterpretation and is the source of endless confusion.

⁵³ In fact, there is a more fundamental justification for favouring such a decision rule. In particular, if the sum of WTP’s exceeds the sum of WTA’s, then it is possible for the government to redistribute money from the gainers in order to compensate the losers, in such a way that everyone in society feels at least as well off after the intervention as before and some feel better off. This is the so-called Potential Pareto Improvement criterion, which forms the normative foundation of welfare economics.

The first problem with the term ‘economic value’ is the use of the word ‘economic’. In common parlance, ‘economic’ is associated with business and finance, such that economic value tends to be misinterpreted as representing the value that accrues just to the world of commerce and not a measure capturing the well-being of every member of society.

The second problem with the term ‘economic value’ is the use of the word ‘value’. Unfortunately, the word value has different meanings, only one of which is related to changes in well-being experienced by an individual. For example, the use of economic value is often criticized on the basis that it ignores societal or transcendental values; where the word ‘value’ used in that context implies the principles (held either by a society or universally) that guide us with regards to how we should behave in different situations. It is true that economic value is not a measure of moral correctness, at least not if you believe that the moral correctness of a decision should be determined by reference to a set of independent moral standards (perhaps socially constructed or maybe prescribed by a religious text). On the other hand, one might argue that an individual’s sense of the moral correctness of an intervention would be revealed by the economic value that they attached to that intervention. Moreover, the use of aggregate economic value as a means of guiding decisions is in itself the assertion of moral rule; that social decisions should serve the greater good or as Abraham Lincoln so eloquent put it ‘The true rule, in determining to embrace, or reject any thing, is not whether it have any evil in it; but whether it have more of evil, than of good.’

In a similar vein, economic value has been criticised because it fails to add on separate elements that record communal values (defined as values that are enjoyed by a community rather than an individual) and other-regarding values (values derived from benefits that accrue to others). To economists, those criticisms appear ill-founded. A community is not an entity that can experience well-being independent of the humans from which it is constituted. Those humans may experience different levels of economic value as a result of being part of a community but that additional value will be captured by their own expressions of economic value. Likewise, if an individual’s sense of well-being is in part determined by the well-being experienced by others then that other-regarding value will also be reflected in their expressions of economic value.

Finally, economic value has been criticized on the grounds of excluding intrinsic values; value that non-human entities hold for themselves independent of humans. That criticism is valid, economic value only considers the well-being of humans. Of course, many people regard the well-being of certain non-human entities (e.g. wild creatures, farm animals, pristine forest ecosystems) as important. Interventions that impact on the well-being of those entities will in turn be reflected in the economic value expressed by those individuals. The alternative of attributing non-human entities with a value that those entities hold in and for themselves leads to such tortuous complexity that it borders on the absurd. It is possible, perhaps, to imagine that a chimpanzee might hold a sense of value for its own well-being similar to a human, less so a frog, even less so a tree. But why should being more like a human have any relevance to the value a living creature feels for itself? And then what about the values mosquitoes hold for themselves, or Japanese knotweed, or the Ebola virus? Would we have to accept that things that we don’t like, that might actually do us harm, have intrinsic value that we need to respect in making social decisions? And why arbitrarily draw the line at things that are alive? What about non-living things such as rivers or beaches or mountains or the carbon in the atmosphere; do they have values for themselves? And if all or just some of these things have value for themselves how are we ever going to find out what those values are? And even if we could measure those values are we going to count them equally as those held by humans? Could the preferences of a mosquito, or perhaps a million mosquitoes, for their own well-being override those of a human?

The concept of economic value is based on the idea that value (or rather utility) is a human construct and that it provides a measure by which we might gauge what is best for a human society. It is perfectly compatible with the idea that value may come from non-human entities but only insofar as they increase the well-being experienced by humans either by supporting our livelihoods (e.g. a human might

value the soil because it enables them to grow food) or enhancing our existence (e.g. a human might value the sensory delights of wandering through an ancient woodland) or because of a sense of moral duty (e.g. some humans might value a mosquito just because they believe that every living thing has a right to live ... though others might have an alternative opinion). Ultimately, things might have been a lot simpler if the measures of WTP and WTA had been given a less contentious name (perhaps, utilimoney!) but for now we are stuck with the term economic value.

A.2c. What determines the economic value of a FECS?

As we have already discussed, a FECS is an environmental good or service produced by some environmental production function whose value is directly perceptible to a human without that FECS undergoing any further biophysical translation. Of course, it would be wrong to think of a FECS as being some simple homogeneous good delivered in neat units, as per cans of baked beans or loaves of bread. Indeed, more often than not FECS are more akin to complex differentiated goods like cars or houses whose value to a human is determined by the array of quality characteristics that define its attributes. Accordingly, in order to determine the value a FECS can deliver one must first establish the important quality dimensions of that FECS. We describe these as the *attributes* of the FECS.

As an example, consider the FECS the ‘woodland environment’. A woodland environment might, for example, deliver value by providing the location in which an individual undertakes outdoor recreation. The value derived from that recreational experience will be determined, in part, by the woodland’s attributes; for example, its extent, the species and age structure of the trees, or the chances of encountering different forms of wild flora and fauna. More formally, we think of those attributes as being the dimensions of quality that are determined by the environmental production process which delivers a woodland environment.

Of course, the value a FECS delivers to an individual is not solely determined by the levels of its attributes. Rather the *context* in which a FECS is enjoyed (or as economists would say, consumed) also plays a major part in determining how much value that FECS delivers to an individual. To be more formal, once again, we think of a FECS as being an input to a human production function (be that a household’s production function or a firm’s production function) and it is this production function that generates flows of value. To continue our example, the woodland environment enters the household production function through which an individual generates recreation experience. Of course, the woodland environment is just one argument in this function. In addition, the function will include a series of other FECS that act as complements or substitutes for the woodland. An example of a complementary FECS might be a river that runs through the woodland (the output of a hydrological production function). An example of a substitute might be a beach or a lake, which represents alternative natural environments in which an individual might spend recreational time. Moreover, human-produced final goods and services (FGS) will be important arguments in the recreation production function. For example, the woodland might have paths or a visitor centre that enhance the value provided by the woodland environment. Likewise, the household might need to purchase other FGS such as transport, fuel, recreational equipment or accommodation in order to enable or enhance the production of recreation value flows. As we shall see shortly, observing these purchases of marketed FGS provides one means by which we might estimate the value flow individuals derive from a FECS. Finally, the value an individual derives from the FECS and FGS that enter the household production function will be qualified by their own personal circumstances. For example, gender, age and income may shape the value flow that an individual derives from a FECS.

To summarise, the value flow from a FECS is determined by at least two things:

- The FECS’s *attributes*, as determined by the environmental production function through which the final environmental good or service is delivered.

- The *context* within which the FEGS is consumed, as determined by the other FEGS, FGS and qualifiers that enter the human production function through which the FEGS delivers value.

One final issue must be addressed in determining the economic value of a FEGS: aggregation. To determine the total economic value emanating from a FEGS, we need to add together the value flows accruing to all the individuals who gain benefit from that FEGS. Clearly that is not always an easy task, particularly as the context within which individuals consume a particular FEGS will differ, perhaps markedly, across individuals. Continuing our example, the proximity of a woodland used for recreation will differ across individuals, changing the costs they must incur in accessing that woodland and the proximity of other natural areas offering substitute locations for outdoor recreation.

A.2d. Types of value

Without a doubt, environmental goods and services deliver value flows in numerous ways. As we have already seen, a woodland environment can deliver value through enhancing the visual amenity of a landscape, by providing the setting within which recreational activities are enjoyed and perhaps simply through the knowledge that that woodland environment provides a refuge, within which wildlife can thrive. In the terminology of the ecosystem services framework, the woodland is an argument in the household production functions that respectively generate value from the visual amenity of the landscape, recreational experiences and the existence of wild places. Moreover, we have seen that woodlands can also deliver value through indirect routes in which they are IEGS that feed into environmental production functions. Examples of the latter include the role of woodlands in mediating water quality, soil erosion, flooding and air quality.

This seeming complexity has led to various attempts to categorise value flows from environmental goods and services. Over the years, numerous different types of value flow have been identified including direct use values, indirect use values, non-use values, option values, bequest values, existence values, altruistic values, and so on. To a certain extent those attempts at categorisation are superseded by the ecosystem services approach's focus on environmental goods and services as arguments in human production functions. In short, an environmental good or service generates as many different values as there are human production functions to which it contributes. While categorising these and giving those categories names is an interesting academic exercise, and reminds us of the range of ways in which value flows from the natural environment, it provides little further guidance as to how we should go about measuring those value flows.

Having said that, perhaps one or two important distinctions are still relevant; for example, the distinction between indirect and direct values. Actually that distinction maps perfectly on to our now (hopefully) familiar distinction between IEGS and FEGS. In other words, an environmental good or service generates direct value if it enters a human production function as a FEGS, but indirect value if it contributes, through some biophysical process in an environmental production function, to the supply of some other FEGS. The distinction is important because it informs us as to when we can value an environmental good or service directly (as a FEGS) as compared to when we first have to understand the science of the biophysical process by which it contributes (as an IEGS) to the production of FEGS.

A second distinction in values that is also of importance is that between use and non-use values. Traditionally that distinction has been characterised as being the difference between a value that is derived from a physical interaction of the individual with a FEGS (use value) and one in which value is derived without an individual having physical proximity to or interaction with a FEGS (non-use value). While a distinction based on interaction is, of course, possible, increasingly it has been seen as uninformative with regards to measuring economic values.

As we shall see in the next section, there are fundamentally two ways in which economic values might be estimated. First, values might be revealed to us by observing actual behaviour (usually with respect

to the purchase of a market good) that is somehow related to the values gained from a FECS. Such methods are termed *revealed preference* approaches to valuation. Second, we may simply go and ask people how much value they derive from a FECS - a set of techniques termed *stated preference* approaches to valuation. The problem with distinguishing between use and non-use values on the basis of physical interaction is that such a distinction does not neatly map onto the application of revealed and stated preference methods. For example, consider a person who gains value from a woodland as an incidental part of their daily routine; for example, from seeing that habitat while sitting on the bus on the way into work. There is little doubt that such values are derived from use, but that value leaves no signature in their market behaviour; they would pay their bus fare with or without the woodland. Likewise, consider the individual who values a woodland not because they currently use that resource, but because they expect that they might wish to make use of it in the future. Whether this is a use or non-use value is not at all clear. The only thing that is clear is that this value cannot be estimated by observing their current market behaviour.

Accordingly, distinguishing between values as emanating from the use or non-use of an environmental good or service is neither particularly helpful nor particularly relevant. Rather the fundamental distinction that analysts must make is between values that can be estimated from observable behaviour in markets and those that cannot. If changes in the flow of a FECS results in observable changes in market behaviour then values can be estimated using revealed preference methods. In the absence of a behavioural response in markets, values must be estimated using stated preference methods. With that said, since the terminology of use values and non-use values has become so engrained in the literature, we are actually going to continue with its application - with the caveat that what we are really referring to is a distinction between values that can be deduced from observable behaviour and those that cannot.

A.2e. Prices and economic value

Not all goods, of course, are delivered to us by nature. Indeed, in addition to FECS, people get value from a whole array of final goods and services (FGS) that result from human-organised productive activity. To fix ideas, let us assume that the FGS we are talking about are produced by a firm. A rather major part of the economic activity in our economy revolves around the transfer of these FGS from those that make them to those that want them. How that transfer is arranged differs across economies, but by far the most prolific mechanism is the one based on exchange - particularly, the exchange of money in return for a FGS.

Without wishing to bore knowledgeable readers, it is worth briefly reviewing the basic theory of exchange as envisaged by (neoclassical) economists. That theory begins by positing an individual who would like to consume a unit of some FGS produced by a firm. As we have seen, the strength of that consumer's desire for that unit of a FGS can be expressed in terms of their willingness to pay (WTP), that is, the maximum amount of money they would willingly give up to acquire that good.

The terms under which a firm might agree to supply the good to that individual will depend on the compensation they are being offered. Again, the required compensation can be measured in money terms by the firm's willingness to accept (WTA), that is, the minimum amount of money that they would accept for giving up a unit of the FGS. For a firm, we would normally imagine that that WTA amount would equate to how much it cost them to produce that unit of the FGS.

Figure A1.1, shows an example of how the WTP and WTA of the consumer and producer might compare. In this example, the WTP of the consumer exceeds the WTA of the producer such that the possibility exists for the two parties to engage in a mutually advantageous exchange in which the FGS is transferred from the latter to the former in return for a money payment, p . Notice there is nothing special about the p illustrated in the diagram; exchange could take place at any price, so long as $WTA < p < WTP$.

A central concern in economics, particularly welfare economics, is to evaluate the benefits realised by these two agents from participating in the exchange. We have already seen that we can measure the economic value of individuals receiving a good through their WTP. So the benefits of this exchange are given by the consumer's WTP. But in the case of exchange of a FGS, there is also a party that loses out by giving up that FGS. The value of the firm's loss is given by their WTA. Accordingly, we can measure the net benefits of exchange as the difference between WTP and WTA. Another way to look at this measure of the economic value generated by exchange is in the form of surpluses. Referring back to Figure A1.1, that same measure of economic value can be calculated by adding together the buyer's *consumer surplus* (that is, the difference between their WTP and the price) and the seller's *producer surplus* (that is, the difference between the price and their WTA). Roughly speaking, the measures of consumer surplus and producer surplus measure how much of the economic value generated by the exchange is captured by the buyer and how much by the seller.

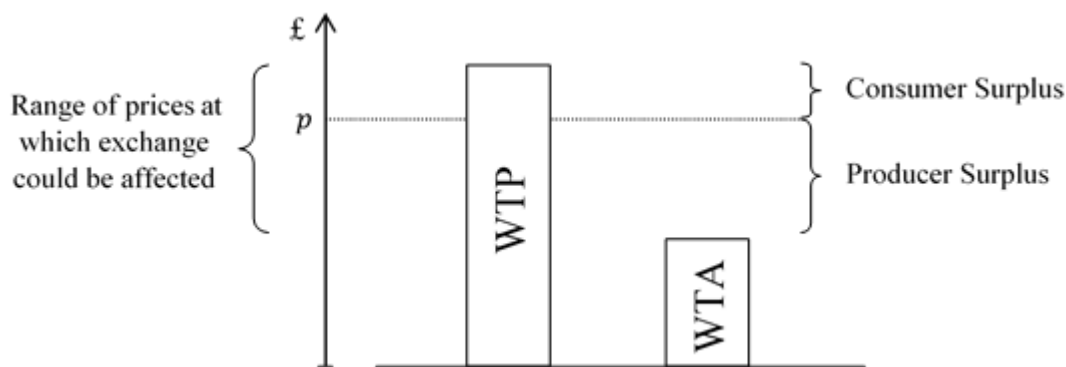


Figure A1.1: Basic elements of exchange – WTP and WTA

Perhaps the most important thing to note from the discussion so far is that the price at which the exchange takes place is neither an accurate measure of WTP or WTA or, for that matter, the economic value generated by the exchange (WTP-WTA). Prices are not economic values, though we shall qualify that shortly.

In a real economy things are made somewhat more complex by the existence of very many buyers and sellers. One way of summarising the preferences of the buyers is through a *demand curve* which (ignoring some technical complexities) might be thought of as the graph of WTP amounts of consumers ordered from highest to lowest from left to right (see left panel of Figure A1.2). Likewise, the compensations required by sellers can be described by a *supply curve*: the graph of WTA amounts this time ordered from lowest to highest from left to right (see middle panel of Figure A1.2). As shown in the third panel of Figure A1.2, when placed on the same graph, the intersection of demand and supply curves reveals the quantity of goods that could potentially change hands through a process of mutually advantageous exchange, \hat{q} : the sellers of each of those \hat{q} units could be paired with a buyer whose WTP exceeds their WTA. Indeed, the quantity of economic value that might be generated in the economy through the exchange of this FGS is the sum of differences between those WTP and WTA amounts, a quantity that on the diagram is shown as the area labelled 'surplus' between the demand and supply curves up to \hat{q} . While highly stylised, the supply-demand diagram encapsulates the underpinning economic forces which drive non-coercive exchange in the economy.

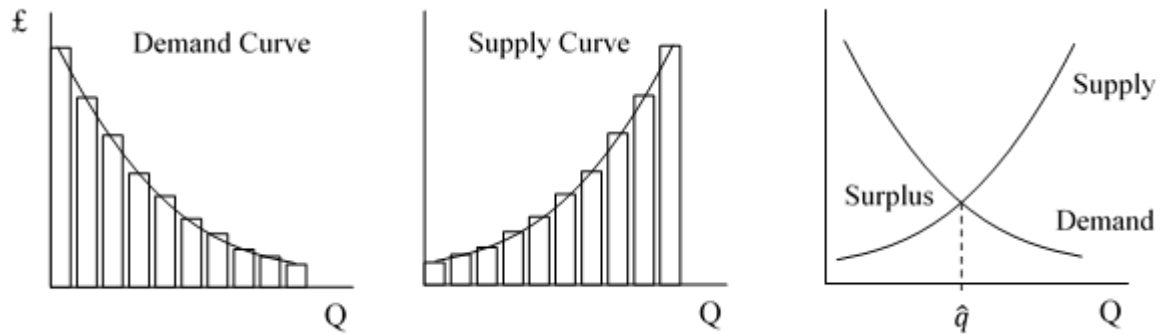


Figure A1.2: Demand and Supply Curves

Now with those (simplified) basics in place, let us consider how exchange might progress in a real economy. When the economy consists of very many buyers and sellers with perfect information and where none of those buyers or sellers is a sufficiently ‘big player’ to independently manipulate the terms of exchange, then a *perfectly competitive market* may evolve as the institutional setting within which exchange is affected. Perhaps the defining feature of such an institution is that all of the exchanges takes place at one particular price. As shown in the left hand panel of Figure A1.3, that one price is determined by the intersection of the demand and supply curves.

The fact that only one price exists for the FGS, the so-called *law of one price*, arises from competitive pressures in the market: attempting to sell above the market price is impossible since other producers are prepared to sell at the market price and selling below the price is irrational since it will be possible to enjoy greater surplus by selling at the market price. The fact that the perfectly competitive market price will be set at the point where supply and demand curves intersects, \hat{p} in Figure A1.3, also results from competition. If the price were lower than \hat{p} then there would be excess demand and consumers would compete with each other to get hold of the scarce FGS and so drive prices up. If the price were higher than \hat{p} then there would be excess supply and producers would compete with each other to sell their goods to scarce buyers, pushing the price down. At the price \hat{p} , supply equals demand such that the competitive pressures balance and the market is in equilibrium.

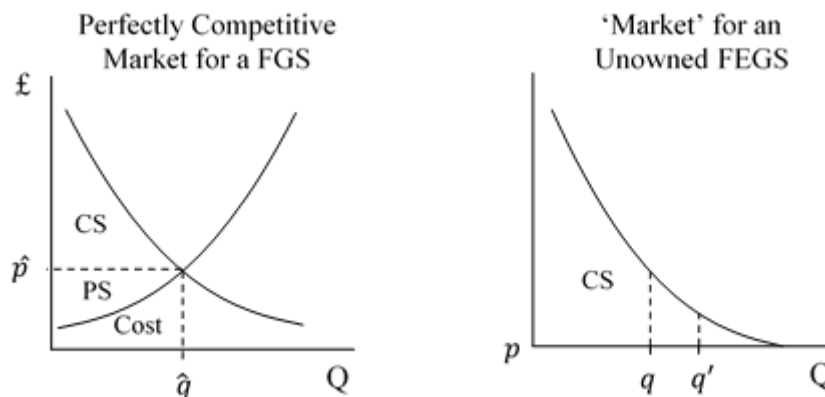


Figure A1.3: Prices and Market Allocation

There are two important things to note about (perfectly competitive) market prices:

- First, at the price \hat{p} , every exchange that could take place (i.e. where $WTP > WTA$) does take place. Accordingly, a perfectly competitive market maximises the economic value (or surplus) that is generated by exchange. In Figure A1.3, that economic value is shown as the sum of

consumer surpluses (CS) and producer surpluses (PS). It is for this reason that economists often advocate free markets as a good way to exchange FGS.

- Second, notice that not all demand is satisfied by this market exchange process. There are some people, possibly lots in a big economy, who do not get to consume the good because their WTP is just slightly below the market price \hat{p} . That observation is going to be true of any price, and not just one set in a perfectly competitive market. Indeed, we can use that result to help us work out the economic value that might be generated by a project or policy seeking to expand the production of a FGS. Put simply, the market price gives a good indication of the WTP of individuals in the economy for more of this FGS. Accordingly, when market prices exist for an FGS, it is a reasonable approximation to use those prices as a measure of WTP for increased supply of that FGS (from which, of course, we would have to subtract the cost of making those extra FGS to arrive at a measure of the net gain in economic value). So, a project that increased the supply of timber from a managed forest would be justified in using the price of that timber as a guide to the economic value generated by each unit of increased timber production.

Finally, take a look at the right hand panel of Figure A1.3. Here we have constructed a demand curve for a FECS in exactly the same way we did for an FGS; just by ordering consumers WTP amounts for that FECS from highest to lowest. Notice that because this is an unowned FECS, there is no seller in this market and, therefore, no process of exchange whereby a price might be established. In effect the price is set at zero. Without some human-organised production, the level of FECS is fixed by nature at an amount q . When we have talked previously about valuing interventions which change the supply of a FECS, what we have been imagining is that the quantity (or quality) of FECS available for consumption is shifting. In Figure A1.3 that is illustrated by the new higher level of supply, q' . The economic value of that change can be calculated by adding up all the WTPs of those who would consume those extra FECS, in Figure A1.3 that is just the area between q and q' below the demand curve. Observe, that in this case we do not have market prices to guide us with respect to the WTP of individuals for this extra supply of FECS. To estimate economic value, therefore, we need to turn to the tools of non-market valuation.

A.3. Measuring economic value

In the last section we saw that for FECS resulting from human-organised production systems, market prices often provide an easy-to-observe approximation for economic value. In this section we consider the problem of how to estimate economic value for FECS when those environmental goods and services are not traded in their own independent market and, as a result, do not command a price.

In order to think about the possibilities for valuing FECS, it is essential to be more explicit about how those FECS enter human production functions. Perhaps the most fundamental distinction is between FECS that enter firms' production functions and those that enter households' production functions. Indeed, we organise our following discussion around that dichotomy.

A.3a. Non-market valuation: firms

In economics, a firm is an organisation dedicated to producing some good or service. In most cases, the purpose of that activity is to make profits, profits that are shared between the individuals who have an ownership stake in the firm. So every extra pound of profit made by a firm, is an extra pound of money received by a household somewhere in the economy. The economic value of a pound is rather easy to estimate; the maximum an individual would be willing to pay in order to receive one extra pound, is just one pound. In other words, the economic value of an intervention which changes a firm's profits can be measured simply as that change in profits. The tricky bit is finding out how a firm's profits are impacted by an intervention that changes the level of a FECS that it enjoys.

i. Profit function method

In theory, given an awful lot of data and technical information it might be possible to estimate a firm's profit function which captures the relationship between the quality and quantity of FEGS enjoyed by a firm and its profits. Of course, to isolate that relationship one would need to know rather a lot about the firm's activities and technology including how much it has to pay for other inputs (intermediate FEGS) and for labour. As a result, the profit function approach is rarely adopted - the data required to implement the method are often commercially sensitive and difficult to acquire.

ii. Supply curve method

A more manageable undertaking is provided by the *supply curve method*. This method derives from the fact that the impact of environmental change on a firm's profits can be estimated by calculating areas between shifting supply curves for a firm's output. The supply curve method is somewhat less data intensive, relying only on establishing the relationship between output, price and environmental quality, all of which should be observable.

iii. Input demand curve method

Changes in profits from environmental change can also be estimated by looking at shifts in demand curves for marketed inputs (intermediate FEGS). For this *input demand curve method* to return a complete measure of profit change it must be the case that the input is essential to the production of the firm's output.

iv. Firm value method

An alternative strategy is provided by looking at the market value of firms themselves. It is assumed, that in a competitive market, the value of a firm will reflect its expected future profits. Accordingly, differences in the value of firms that result from differences in environmental quality inform on how environmental change will impact on a firm's profits. This method has seen most application in the agricultural sector under the guise of the *Ricardian technique*. Here it is assumed that the profits from agricultural enterprise are completely expropriated by the owner of its underpinning factor of production: land. The price at which land sells, therefore, reflects expected future profits from agriculture. Moreover, differences in the value of land resulting from differences in environmental quality provide information on how agricultural profits might be impacted by an intervention that brought about changes in the environment.

v. Production function method

The *production function method* proceeds by estimating the technical relationship between a firm's production of output and levels of a FEGS used as an input (these relationships are also referred to as dose-response functions) (Barbier 2007; Hanley and Barbier 2009). Using that technical relationship, an analyst can predict how environmental change will impact on profits by multiplying the predicted change in levels of output by the market price of output. In agriculture, for example, field experiments might establish the production relationship between rainfall and crop yield. Starting from this analysis, it is then possible to estimate the impact of climate change on agricultural production by multiplying the predicted changes in crop yield by the price of those crops. The key weakness of the production function method is that it is based on technical relationships and not behavioural ones (like supply and factor demand curves). In reality, for example, farmers will respond to changing patterns of rainfall by planting

at different times of the year, artificially irrigating or perhaps changing crops. We can reasonably assume that those behavioural adaptations will always act so as to increase profits in the changed situation. Accordingly, the production function method will overestimate profit changes that result from reductions in environmental quality and underestimate those resulting from improvements.

vi. Defensive expenditure method

A final method that can provide bounds to the profit impacts of a change in an environmental input is the *defensive expenditure method*. Here, economic value is approximated by estimating how the cost of producing current levels of output would change as the result of a change in supply of a FECS. Again the method overestimates the fall in profits when environmental quality is reduced and underestimates the rise in profits when environmental quality improves, because it does not allow for the behavioural response of the firm to optimally adjust levels of production under the new conditions. Of course, estimating the full behavioural response of costs and production to changes in an environmental input is the basis of the supply curve method. Accordingly, one can think of the defensive expenditure method as providing a rough approximation to the supply curve method.

A.3b. Non-market valuation: households

When a FECS is enjoyed by a household rather than a firm, there exist two basic approaches to gathering information regarding the economic value of that FECS.

The first set of methods are described as *revealed preference methods* and these depend on the fact that a FECS is often only one input that a household can or must bring together in order to produce some value stream. Using the technical language we introduced earlier, the FECS is only one argument in the household production function. In some cases, for example, a household may need to combine the FECS with some marketed FCS in order to enjoy the final value stream. In other cases, the household may be able to use a marketed FCS instead of the FECS in order to produce a value stream. The key insight, however, is that we can use observations on purchases of these related FCS in order to deduce the value provided by the FECS.

The second set of methods are those that are described as *stated preference methods*. In stated preference methods, individuals are directly questioned about the economic value they derive from a FECS. As we have already discussed, stated preference methods are the only methods that allow estimation of non-use values, that is, values that leave no record in observable behaviour.

i. Attribute of heterogeneous market good: the hedonic price method

The first revealed preference method we discuss is known as the hedonic price method. This method is appropriate when quantities of a FECS are bundled up as part of some other good that can be purchased in a market. By observing purchases of that market good, we can learn something about the value placed on the FECS. The standard example is property, in which by buying a house one also purchases access to the environmental quality enjoyed at that property's location (e.g. levels of noise pollution, air pollution, views of and proximity to wooded areas).

Property is an example of a *heterogeneous good*, where the set of units that are traded in a market differ in terms of the levels of a number of attributes. In the case of property, that list of attributes would include not only environmental quality, but also the physical characteristics

and quality of the building and the proximity of the property to local amenities. Other examples of heterogeneous goods include cars, computers and breakfast cereals.

Like any market good, the price of a heterogeneous good is determined by demand and supply pressures in a market. Unlike simple goods, however, we are unlikely to end up with one price for each of the multiple different forms of a heterogeneous good. Rather the price of a heterogeneous good can be described by what is termed a *hedonic price function*, a function which indicates the price at which a unit of the heterogeneous good with particular attributes will sell for in the market.

Since households prefer better environmental quality to worse, this hedonic price function will tend to be increasing in environmental quality. In other words, the price for each extra unit of environmental quality, or what in the hedonics literature is called its *implicit price*, is positive. The key to this form of non-market valuation is to use data on property prices to identify the implicit price of a FECS. For the same reasons we discussed in the last section, implicit prices are a reasonable approximation for how much households are willing to pay for more of an environmental good.

ii. Attribute of waged job: the hedonic wage method

A qualitatively different situation in which a FECS may be bundled up with a marketed good occurs in labour markets. In particular, consumers may select employment from an array of different jobs, where those jobs differ according to a variety of attributes. Of particular interest are attributes of environmental quality and of safety in the workplace.

As in the hedonic pricing method, economic theory suggests that the interaction of firms, supplying jobs with different attributes, and consumers, with different preferences for those job attributes, will lead to the establishment of a *hedonic wage function* that clears the labour market. Since consumers place positive value on environmental quality and workplace safety, that wage function should be decreasing in those attributes. As before, we can use that price as an approximation to economic value.

iii. Substitute good in household production function: the defensive expenditure method

For many types of environmental quality, such as those relating to air and water pollution, it is not the pollution itself that concerns consumers but how that pollution impacts on their health. While the level of environmental quality is out of their control, consumers can purchase other goods and services that act as substitutes for environmental quality in the production of health end points. For example, items including air filters, sun screen and bottled water have been posited as marketed substitutes for environmental quality in producing health.

That substitution relationship can be used to value a FECS using what is often termed the defensive expenditure method. In that approach, we look for situations where we can observe how much people spend on the substitute marketed good when they experience a fall in supply of a FECS. Intuitively, when environmental quality falls, consumers will respond through making defensive expenditures on the substitute market good. The payments they make in that offsetting will give us a lower bound estimate on the value they derived from the FECS.

iv. Complementary good in household production function: the travel cost and associated methods

An alternative household production relationship that may exist between a FECS and marketed goods is one of complementarity; that is to say, the FECS can only be enjoyed if a marketed good is purchased as well.

Here the standard example is recreational experiences in natural areas. To enjoy such a recreational experience, consumers must combine the environmental quality of the natural area with a series of complementary market goods, most notably they must pay the costs of transporting themselves to that area. Since the quality of the natural area cannot be enjoyed without the market purchases, those purchases provide information on the value households place on environmental quality. In the context of valuing the contribution of environmental quality to recreational experiences, this approach is commonly termed the travel cost method. The intuition is simple: to enjoy the recreational site I have to pay the travel costs of getting to that site. Of course, I would never pay more in the costs of travelling to that site than the value I got from visiting. Accordingly, people's expenditure on travelling to sites provides information that can be used to deduce economic value.

One complexity recognised by practitioners of the travel cost method is that travelling to a recreational site uses time that a consumer could have employed undertaking other utility-raising activities. Accordingly, in nearly all applications, practitioners will add an element to the travel cost that represents the opportunity cost of time spent travelling.

A limitation of the travel cost method is that it does not extend easily to situations in which consumers are faced by an array of substitute recreational sites. In those circumstances, the consumers are as concerned with the choice between sites as the choice of the number of trips to take to one particular site. The standard method applied in the case of multiple sites is provided by the *random utility model*: a discrete choice modelling technique in which consumers are assumed to choose which particular site to visit based on the qualities of, and costs of travel to, the different sites available to them. The technical details of this approach are a little more involved, but the essence of the method is the same: costs incurred travelling to a recreational site tell us something about the economic value gained from spending time at that site.

v. Stated preference methods

In some circumstances, consumers derive value directly from a FECS without it leaving any footprint in their observable behaviour. A standard example of such a case might be the pure existence value that a consumer derives from the on-going existence of a species, say the blue whale, or natural habitat; say, the Amazon rainforest. Such values are derived in complete isolation from marketed goods and, as such, their value to consumers cannot be inferred from market behaviour. For these goods, practitioners of non-market valuation have no option but to adopt stated preference methods.

Stated preference approaches rely on survey methods which present respondents with carefully crafted questions asking them to indicate amounts of money they would exchange for changes in the supply of a FECS. These surveys are often described as creating a hypothetical market in which respondents can undertake imagined transactions for FECS. Since the hypothetical market is completely constructed by the researcher, they can potentially return values for any conceivable change in provision of any FECS.

Stated preference methods are often classified into *contingent valuation methods* and *discrete choice experiments*, though in truth there exists a continuum of related methods of which these represent extremes. In contingent valuation studies respondents are asked to consider a particular change in provision of a FECS and presented with questions that reveal the economic value they attach to that change. In contrast, discrete choice experiments present respondents with tasks that ask them to choose between two or more options, where each option consists of a different level of supply of a FECS and an associated cost. Analysis of respondents' choices in such an experiment reveals information on the value they attach to different levels of provision of a FECS.

Stated preference valuation methods are not limited in their application to FECS that just provide non-use value. Rather practitioners could just as well apply stated preference method to the valuation of any FECS. Indeed, it is common for marketers to use stated preference techniques to explore the public's WTP before they are brought to market.

The debate about whether values from stated preference studies should be considered as being as reliable as those from revealed preference studies still rages. There is no doubt that the values derived from stated preference studies have been shown to be susceptible to manipulation through changing what might be considered irrelevant features of the hypothetical market. At the same time, the econometric gymnastics that is often needed in order to extricate value estimates from revealed preference data casts doubt over the precision of those approaches. Ultimately, many FECS, particularly those that deliver large non-use values, are not amenable to valuation through revealed preference methods. In those cases, we have no alternative but to resort to stated preference techniques.

A.4. Methods that do not reveal economic value

As we have seen, the theoretical foundations that underpin the notion of economic value lead to the conclusion that an intervention's merits can be judged by aggregating over measures of households' WTP and WTA. Indeed, each of the methods of non-market valuation discussed above attempt to measure just those quantities. There are other methods that bear passing resemblance to the economic methods of non-market valuation, but do not attempt to measure WTP or WTA. Examples of such methods include the damage cost avoided, replacement cost and substitute cost methods.

- The *damage cost avoided method* attempts to value the protective services offered by the environment; for example, the service a woodland provides in preventing flooding of residential areas further down a catchment. The value of that service is taken to be the value of the damages avoided because the flooding is prevented.
- The *replacement cost method* suggests that the value of an environmental asset and the services it provides can be estimated by calculating the cost of recreating that environmental asset elsewhere. For example, the cost of destroying a woodland might be estimated as the cost of establishing an identical woodland in another location.
- In a similar vein, the *substitute cost method* measures the value of an environmental asset by calculating the cost of creating other assets that provide the same flow of services. For example, the cost of damaging a natural fish habitat and nursery might be estimated by measuring the cost of a fish breeding and stocking programme.

Observe that each of these methods uses a cost to proxy the correct measures of value based on WTP or WTA. Unfortunately, costs and values may have little in common. For example, with the substitute cost method, one might reasonably argue that WTP for an environmental good and service could never be more than how much it would cost to provide those services in some other manner. On the other hand, it is always possible that the value derived from those services is significantly less than the cost of creating a substitute. Accordingly, such methods should be used with great caution and an

understanding that they may provide bounds to value but do not provide estimates of economic value itself.

A.5. Methods of Value Transfer

In most cases, decision-makers considering the economic value of some proposed intervention will not be in the privileged position of being able to commission an original valuation study. In such circumstances, perhaps the only way to proceed is to draw on estimates of economic value taken from previously implemented original studies.

Obviously the level of confidence that can be had in such value transfers (also known as benefits transfers) will depend on the quality of the original study. At the very least, one would hope that an appropriate valuation method had been used and that the original study was based on a suitably chosen sample of a reasonable size. Even if the original study meets those standards, it is clear from our earlier discussion that the likely accuracy of a value derived from another study will be determined by two things:

- the degree to which the *attributes* of the FECS in the original study resemble those of the FECS to which those values are being applied. For example, estimates of the recreational value of establishing a new broadleaved woodland would likely be more robust if the study from which they were transferred also concerned broadleaved as opposed to coniferous forest.
- the degree to which the *context* in which that FECS was consumed in the original study resembles the context of consumption in the application. For example, the flood protection value of a woodland in the upper reaches of a catchment is best approximated by a study that looked at such values for woodlands in a similar location and with similar proximity to vulnerable property.

Of course, it is highly unusual that a study will exist that provides the perfect fit in terms of both attributes and context. Indeed, the usual procedure would be to attempt to adjust values from the original study in order to account for differences in the attributes and context of the situation in which they are to be applied. Ideally, we would like for those adjustments to be driven by empirical evidence perhaps in the form of a *transfer function*; that is to say, a function that indicates the relationship between levels of value and different levels of attributes and context.

In some cases, the data underpinning a primary study may have exhibited sufficient variation in FECS attributes and/or context that the original analysts were able to estimate and publish a transfer function. It is frequently the case, for example, that studies will examine how proximity to the location of supply of a FECS (e.g. a nature reserve) impacts on how much value it delivers to households. Such relationships are described as *value distance decay functions*. Likewise many studies will examine the relationship between household income and value. Again, such relationships can be used to adjust values to better reflect the characteristics of the situation to which those values are to be applied.

A second approach to developing transfer functions is provided by the method of *meta-analysis*. Meta-analysis is a statistical approach in which valuations drawn from multiple original studies are combined and analysed in order to identify how estimates differ as a result of differences in the attributes of the FECS being valued and differences in the context in which that FECS was consumed. Meta-analyses will often also examine whether the values differ systematically according to the valuation method used in the original studies and/or differences in the methods of data collection and analysis.

A.6. Aggregating values over people, time and space

Whether taking values from an original study based on a sample, or transferring them from previous studies, a final step in estimating the economic value of an intervention that impacts on the supply of a

FEGS is that of aggregation. To arrive at a total social value, we must add up the value changes experienced by each individual impacted by the intervention, wherever and whenever those impacts are experienced.

Procedures for dealing with aggregation over time are well-known and involve the practice of *discounting*. The underlying principle behind discounting is that (for various reasons) when considering a certain-sized benefit, people attach more value to enjoying that benefit in the present than they do to experiencing it at some point in the future. Indeed, the further ahead in time that benefit is to be experienced the lower the value that people attribute to it. Accordingly, discounting progresses by applying weights to future benefits. These discount weights start at a value of 1 for benefits experienced now and decline progressively over each successive time period, tending to a value of zero in the distant future. Once values experienced at different periods of time have been discounted they can be added together to calculate what is termed the *present value* of the intervention.

Exactly how the *discount weights* should be calculated is a matter of on-going debate. Most often a system of exponential discounting is adopted. Exponential discounting works a little like compounding interest, but in reverse. A *discount rate* (akin to an interest rate) is selected and the weight is reduced by that percentage amount each year. So with a 10% discount rate, the discount weight in year 0 is 1, in year 1 is 0.91 and in year 2 is 0.83 etc.

More recently, support has grown for the use of a declining discount rate. With declining discount rates, a relatively high discount rate is used for years in the immediate future, but for the more distant future progressively lower discount rates are applied. Declining discount rates have the effect of increasing the present value of benefits to be enjoyed in the more distant future. The justifications for this procedure are somewhat technical but at their heart rest on our increasing uncertainty over outcomes in the distant future.

The UK Government publishes guidelines in the Green Book as to the values that should be used in the appraisal of public projects (HM Treasury 2003).

As well as aggregating over time, values have to be aggregated over people. Clearly a first major issue here is identifying which particular individuals stand to experience a change in welfare as a result of the change in supply of the FEGS brought about by the intervention. In practice the constituency of individuals being considered is often restricted to those that reside within the confines of some political boundary. Indeed, such constraints are common, particularly if that group are also those that are being asked to contribute to the investment delivering the intervention. Of course, that does not mean that the intervention's impacts will only be felt by those in the political constituency. Indeed, an unadulterated application of economic appraisal would wish to identify the welfare impacts on all individuals irrespective of where (or, for that matter, when) they happen to live. That group are sometimes termed the 'economic constituency'.

Increasingly, aggregation over people is being aided by the development of detailed spatial datasets that can be manipulated within a Geographical Information System (GIS). Data collected from the census provides a reasonably accurate picture of where people live and how their socioeconomic characteristics differ across neighbourhoods. Within a GIS, transfer functions can be used to aggregate values across individuals adjusting each individual value for distance decay and differences in socioeconomic characteristics.

A.7. Uncertainty and irreversibility

Uncertainty is an omnipresent feature of interventions that impact on the environment. That uncertainty may arise because the project's outcomes depend on some fundamentally stochastic process. For example, the project could be investing in new woodlands that reduce downstream flood risks the

benefits of which depend on whether or not we experience flood conditions in the future. Alternatively, that uncertainty may arise through a lack of information regarding the intervention's outcomes. For example, the project might be an agri-environment scheme to grow trees as riverine buffer strips so as to reduce pollution in water courses. The current state of the science, however, cannot tell us for certain how much water quality will be improved by such an intervention. Yet another source of uncertainty arises from our attempts to value the FEGS delivered by an intervention. Since our estimates of those economic values are only estimates usually based on a sample, uncertainty exists in the values that will be enjoyed as a result of an intervention.

There is a substantial and somewhat complicated literature regarding uncertainty and the economic appraisal of interventions. When it comes down to it, however, there are really only two important things that we need to understand in order to handle uncertainty.

- Firstly, people tend to be risk-averse such that they regard interventions whose outcomes are not known for certain, somewhat less favourably; as a result, we need to adjust down individuals' economic values for projects offering the risky prospect of benefits and adjust up individuals' economic values for projects holding out the prospect of possible losses.
- Secondly, when the outcome of an intervention is uncertain and that intervention results in changes that are difficult or impossible to reverse, then there are benefits associated with delaying the decision to commit to the intervention. Those benefits will only be realised if in the interim we can resolve the uncertainty and find out more about the benefits that the intervention is likely to deliver. For example, if we were uncertain about the environmental consequences of replacing an ancient woodland with a new out-of-town shopping mall, then there would be benefits to delaying the decision to build the mall; but only if new research could provide more definitive information as to the economic value we would lose by clearing the woodland.

A.8. Economic values under uncertainty

Before we discuss how we should measure economic values in situations of uncertainty, we should first clear up some terminology. In particular, the sort of uncertainty we are concerned with is one in which we do not know how things are going to turn out for sure, but we can put probabilities on the likelihood of each different potential outcome. Technically speaking, when we know the probability of each different possible future state of the world resulting from an intervention, then the uncertainty is described as a *risk*. Indeed, some authors reserve the word 'uncertainty' for situations where the probabilities of different possible states of the world are completely unknown. To borrow the terminology of Donald Rumsfeld, we will not concern ourselves here with such 'unknown unknowns'; if we have absolutely no information to guide us then there is not a lot we can do! Moreover, we will continue to use the words uncertainty and risk interchangeably.

For expositional purposes, let us consider a very simple situation in which the uncertainty is reduced to just two possible states of the world. In our example of an intervention intending to plant woodland as a flood mitigation measure, the first state of the world might be one in which flood conditions arise regularly, the second state of the world one in which flood conditions rarely arise. In the wooded buffer strip example, one state of the world might be one in which the buffer strips deliver large improvements in water quality, while the other could be one in which they result in minimal improvements. The analysis can easily be expanded to multiple states of the world, or probability distributions over states of the world, but those generalisations make conveying the intuition more difficult.

The first key issue we have to deal with is how to measure an individual's economic value for an intervention with uncertain (or more correctly, risky) outcomes. An obvious approach would be to first estimate the economic value enjoyed by the household under each possible state of the world as if that were the certain outcome of the intervention. Then a measure of the economic value of the risky

intervention could be calculated as the probability weighted sum of those certain values, where the probabilities are the likelihood of each outcome actually being realised. What we would have calculated is termed the *expected economic value* of the intervention.

If the risks associated with each possible outcome are pretty similar or if the individual whose economic value we are calculating is risk neutral, then expected economic value is likely to be an accurate monetary measure of the welfare change anticipated by that individual as a result of the intervention with uncertain outcomes. When those conditions do not hold, however, an alternative method of calculation of economic value may be called for. That alternative method is called the *option price* approach.

An option price is the economic value that an individual would express if they were asked to quote their maximum WTP for a risky intervention before knowing the specific outcome. For a risk-neutral individual, this is the same as the expected economic value. For a risk-averse individual, option price will likely differ from expected economic value. In general, since such individuals do not like the prospect of an uncertain future, the option price associated with the risky intervention will be smaller than the expected economic value. The key thing to note here is that option price is the correct measure of the economic value of the risky intervention since it provides an exact monetary measure of the welfare change that an individual experiences by being committed to an intervention that presents them with an uncertain future.

It is not always practical to derive direct estimates of option prices. Given an estimate of levels of risk aversion, however, it is possible to make certain assumptions that allow option prices to be approximated through an adjustment to expected economic values.

To avoid confusion, we should also mention a related measure that is called *option value* (note *option value* as opposed to *option price*). In the environmental economics literature, option value has been defined as the difference between option price and expected economic value. While the details are rather technical, it is now generally accepted that it is difficult to attach a meaningful interpretation to the option value measure and that calculating option values offers nothing further with regards to guiding decisions concerning risky interventions.

A.9. Intervention appraisal under uncertainty

Judging the merits of an intervention that offers uncertain outcomes proceeds through the same methods of aggregating across individuals and across time as described previously. The only thing that differs for risky interventions, is that the individual economic values that we are aggregating should be option prices.

By extension, one might imagine that discovering that a risky intervention delivers a positive net present value should be evidence enough to justify its implementation. In many cases that might well be true, though things are a little different if the intervention involves changes that make it difficult to return to the former state. We shall describe such interventions as being *irreversible*. Though, we are really describing a continuum of situations where going back to how things were is increasingly costly and true irreversibility is just the extreme of that continuum.

When risky interventions result in irreversible changes then an obvious question to ask is whether there is any benefit in delaying a decision in order to resolve the uncertainty. For example, if the economic value of an ancient woodland were not known with certainty, then it might be worth delaying its destruction in order to understand better the benefits provided by the woodland. If those benefits turn out to be substantial, then delaying the decision would definitely have been a good idea. On the other hand, if those benefits turn out to be minimal then we would have incurred a cost related to delaying the development project. It turns out that those costs of delay can be compared to the potential value of

avoiding a bad decision in order to work out exactly how much benefit is gained from gathering the information that resolves the uncertainty. This measure is known as the *value of information* or *quasi-option value* (or in financial economics, confusingly, *real option value*).

More formally the value of information is calculated as the difference between two values; (i) the expected net present value of a risky intervention if it is delayed, so that uncertainties can be resolved and a better decision made as to whether to proceed and (ii) the expected net present value of that risky project if it is implemented without delay. One can think about the value of information as being the value associated with reducing the potential for regret. And, while we have framed our discussion around the extreme case of gathering information that eliminates all uncertainty, there is value associated with any information which improves our ability to make decisions.

The concept of the value of information is actually fundamental in guiding decisions that involve interventions that are difficult to reverse and result in uncertain outcomes. Discovering whether information has a positive value indicates whether an intervention should proceed on the basis of current evidence or whether it would be worthwhile delaying so as to obtain improved information. Of course, gathering information is not costless. Accordingly the ultimate test of whether delay is worthwhile is whether the value of information exceeds the costs of obtaining that information.