

Cash for Carbon: A Randomized Controlled Trial of "Payments for Ecosystem Services" to Reduce Deforestation

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- Reducing deforestation in poor countries is potentially one of the most cost-effective ways to reduce carbon emissions (Stern Report, 2006; IPCC, 2007)

Forests and the carbon cycle



Payments for Ecosystem Services (PES)

- PES = Payment to individual or group in exchange for specified pro-environment behavior
 - Conditional cash transfer
- Example: Pay forest owners an amount each year if they do not clear their forest

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- Example: Pay forest owners an amount each year if they do not clear their forest
- Deforestation PES programs have been implemented in Costa Rica, China, Mexico, Colombia, Panama, Mozambique, etc.
- PES could grow under UN's REDD+ (reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation) mechanism
 - Paris Agreement in December 2015 bolstered role of REDD+

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- People could just shift their tree-cutting to nearby land ("leakage")

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- Individuals who owned natural forest in 60 treatment villages offered money if they left their forest intact
- Measure impacts on tree cover via high-resolution satellite imagery
- Cost/benefit analysis based on value of delayed CO₂ emissions
- Measure economic outcomes as well as forest-related behaviors

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 - Cannot examine all behavioral responses

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- Adds to literatures on deforestation and on conditional cash transfers

- Study design and PES program
- Data and empirical specification
- Results
- Cost-benefit analysis and policy implications

Study design and PES program

Study area



- Forest loss in Uganda is 2.7% per year, 3rd highest rate in world
- 70% of forested land in Uganda is privately owned
- Forest is important for biodiversity too: Habitat of chimpanzees, an endangered species, and other flora and fauna

Why deforest? Clear land for cultivation



Why deforest? Sell trees for timber products



Large mature trees sell for 20 to 40 USD

Project timeline

Sept 2010 to Feb 2011

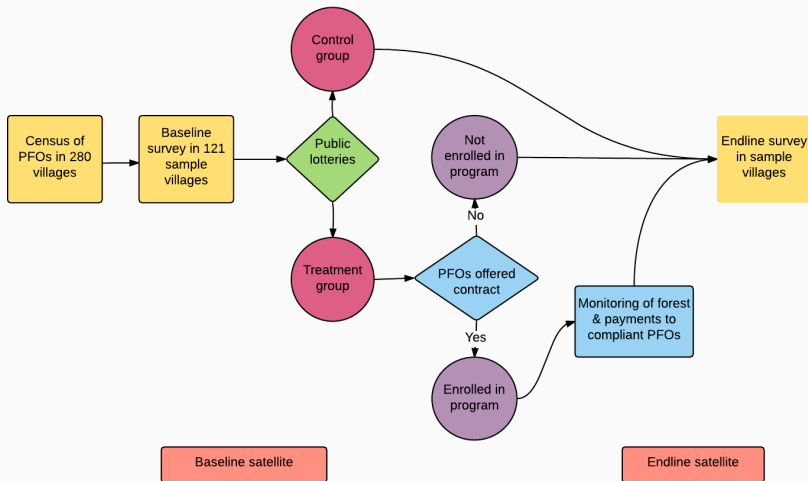
April to May 2011

Aug to Dec 2011

Aug 2011 to Feb 2012

Aug 2011 to Feb 2014

July to Nov 2013



PES program details

- Program implemented by Chimpanzee Sanctuary and Wildlife Conservation Trust (CSWCT)
- Forest owners were offered this contract:
 - Paid 70,000 UGX (\$28) per ha per year for compliance
 - Agree not to cut mature trees (defined by trunk diameter)
 - Monitoring by CSWCT to ensure contract conditions are met
 - Must enroll all your forest; can withdraw but cannot re-enroll
 - Optional reforestation component: Plant seedlings in exchange for additional payments
- Program duration was 2 years

► Temporary vs. permanent programs

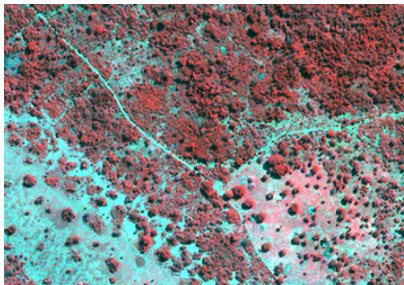
Data

- Satellite data
- Household survey
- CSWCT data on program enrollment and payments

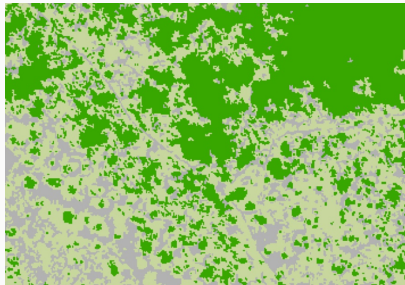
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- Image resolution: 2.4m
 - Comparison: Landsat resolution is 30m

Satellite image → Identifying tree cover



Satellite image



Tree Cover Classification

- Remote sensing analysis led by Stanford Spatial Analysis Center
- Object-Based Image Analysis: Segment image into and classify polygons ("objects") rather than pixels

Overlaying land boundaries

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- PFO: Use GPS coordinates and define circle around home
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- Village: Administrative boundaries from Ugandan govt

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 - Identified 1449 PFOs in sample villages in census

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- Re-surveyed 1020 of 1099 PFOs (93%) at endline [▶ Sample](#)
 - Higher attrition among non-enrollee treated PFOs
 - Likely biases effects away from 0; calculate Lee bounds

Descriptive statistics and baseline balance

	Treatment	Control	Std. diff.
Household head's age	47.499 [13.605]	47.589 [14.659]	0.003
Household head's years of education	7.715 [4.003]	7.931 [4.187]	-0.056
IHS of self-reported land area (ha)	4.062 [1.021]	4.004 [0.968]	0.053
Self-reported forest area (ha)	1.727 [3.318]	2.068 [12.413]	-0.042
Cut any trees in the last 3 years	0.845 [0.362]	0.858 [0.350]	-0.031
Cut trees to clear land for cultivation	0.236 [0.425]	0.241 [0.428]	-0.016
Cut trees for timber products	0.704 [0.457]	0.721 [0.449]	-0.037
Cut trees for emergency/lumpy expenses	0.250 [0.433]	0.292 [0.455]	-0.088
IHS of total revenue from cut trees	1.238 [2.118]	1.397 [2.248]	-0.085
Observations (forest owners)	564	535	
Number of villages	60	61	

Descriptive statistics and baseline balance (continued)

	Treatment	Control	Std. diff.
Rented any part of land	0.163 [0.370]	0.198 [0.399]	-0.091
Dispute with neighbor about land	0.218 [0.413]	0.206 [0.405]	0.035
Involved in any environmental program	0.100 [0.301]	0.111 [0.315]	-0.035
Agree: Deforestation affects the community	0.539 [0.499]	0.548 [0.498]	-0.014
Agree: Need to damage envi. to improve life	0.064 [0.245]	0.043 [0.204]	0.089
Tree cover in land circle (ha)	4.355 [12.466]	3.845 [9.178]	0.050
Weighted tree cover in land circle (ha)	4.403 [11.643]	3.999 [8.252]	0.057
% of land circle with tree cover	0.199 [0.161]	0.209 [0.157]	-0.044
% change in vegetation, 1990--2010	0.035 [0.066]	0.037 [0.058]	-0.016
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Empirical specification

Intent-to-treat analysis

- PFO-level analysis of tree cover

$$TreeCover_{ij} = \alpha + \beta Treat_j + \delta BaselineTreeCover_{ij} + \gamma X_{ij} + \varepsilon_{ijk}$$

- PFO i in village j

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- Cluster standard errors at village level

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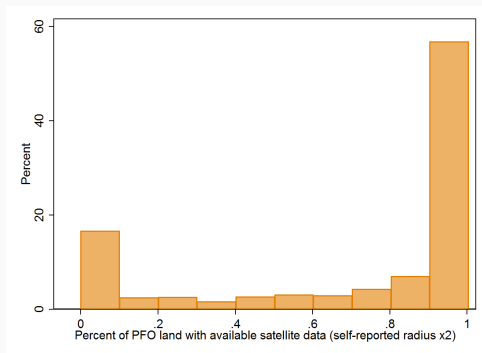
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- Control for stratification variables: subcounty FEs and variables balanced before randomization ► Randomization
- Control for 1990 and 2010 photosynthetic vegetation & dummies for date of satellite image
- Cluster standard errors at village level
- Weighted by % of data available for PFO (e.g., cloud-free)

Weight by % of PFO's land with valid forest classification

- We have valid forest data a subset of a PFO's land



98 of 1099 observations are 100% cloud-covered [▶ Sample](#)

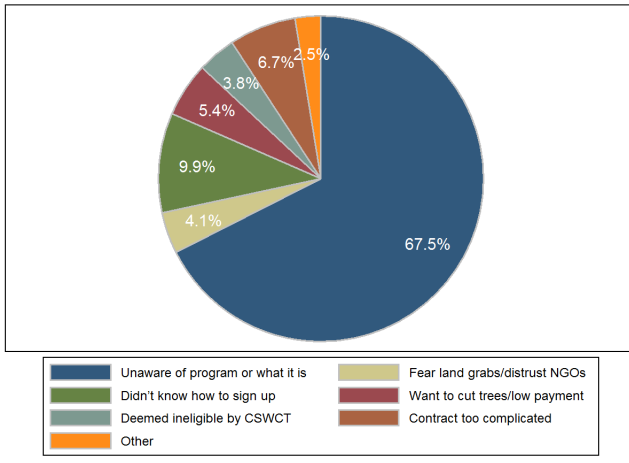
Results

Program take-up

	Take-up	Amount paid	Amount paid for conservation	Proportion of eligible amount paid
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Treated	0.319*** [0.030]	8.991*** [1.862]	7.962*** [1.799]	0.254*** [0.026]
Control group mean	0.011	0.416	0.403	0.007
Observations	1,099	1,099	1,099	1,099

- Average payment over 2 years for those who take up: \$108
- Compliance rate > 80%

Low take-up mostly for mundane reasons



Take-up uncorrelated with counterfactual deforestation



Impacts of PES on tree cover

	PFO-level land circles		
	Tree cover (ha) (1)	Tree cover (ha) (2)	Change in tree cover (3)
Treated	0.246** [0.109]	0.273** [0.107]	0.273** [0.107]
Baseline outcome	0.998*** [0.034]	1.005*** [0.072]	
Control group mean	3.650	3.650	-0.349
Control variables	No	Yes	Yes
Observations	995	995	995

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- No selective sign-up by those planning to conserve
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 - Confusion about needing to sign contract to enroll, or mistake by CSWCT (but they were not monitored or paid)
- Possible effect on village norms, e.g., don't cut trees, allowed to bar others from land

- No weighting
- Proportional effects (IHS of tree cover)
- Drop outliers
- Land circles that are 1x or 3x land area
- Drop cases where baseline image was after lottery

Shifting of deforestation and spillovers

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 - PFO shifts deforestation from enrolled forest to his other land
 - Two PFOs in village collude and one enrolls
- Use village boundaries to net out spillovers to PFOs not in sample or non-PFOs in village

Village-level effects on tree cover

	Village boundaries	
	Tree cover (1)	Change in tree cover (2)
Treated	4.929* [2.607]	5.344** [2.508]
Baseline outcome	0.960*** [0.025]	
Control group mean	155.530	-13.371
Control variables	Yes	Yes
Observations	121	121

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Baseline outcome	0.960*** [0.025]	
Control group mean	155.530	-13.371
Control variables	Yes	Yes
Observations	121	121

- Can convert PFO-level estimate to village level:
 $0.273 \text{ ha per PFO} \times 12 \text{ PFOs in the census per village} = 3.27 \text{ ha}$
- Comparable to village-level estimate

Shifting of deforestation and spillovers (continued)

- No evidence of spillovers outside the village, e.g., to govt forest reserves

► Table

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- No evidence of spillovers to control group or price effects
- GE effects would be pertinent in scale-up

Heterogeneity in the treatment effects

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- Consistent with
 - Take-up not correlated with (predicted) counterfactual deforestation
 - Enrollees comply with contract

Heterogeneous effects on tree cover

	<i>Heterogeneous treatment effects on tree cover by:</i>	
	Above-median tree cover in land circle (1)	% of land circle with tree cover (2)
Treat × Characteristic	0.469** [0.200]	1.964** [0.927]
Treated	0.021 [0.070]	-0.157 [0.150]
Characteristic	-0.578*** [0.199]	-3.001** [1.176]
Observations	995	995

Heterogeneous effects on tree cover (continued)

Heterogeneous treatment effects on tree cover by:

	Cut any trees in the last 3 years (1)	Cut trees to clear land for cultivation (2)	Cut trees for timber products (3)	Cut trees for emergency/lumpy expenses (4)	IHS of total revenue from cut trees (5)	Predicted change in tree cover (6)
Treat × Characteristic	0.429** [0.171]	0.032 [0.133]	0.344** [0.167]	0.408* [0.220]	0.122*** [0.043]	-0.694** [0.295]
Treated	-0.092 [0.138]	0.269** [0.119]	0.021 [0.126]	0.147 [0.091]	-0.015 [0.081]	-0.006 [0.086]
Characteristic	-0.329** [0.131]	0.071 [0.116]	-0.334** [0.139]	-0.411** [0.196]	-0.105*** [0.038]	0.523 [0.352]
Observations	993	995	995	995	993	994

- Examine outcomes from endline survey
 - Self-reported tree-cutting
 - Forest access given to others & perceived strength of property rights
 - Economic well-being

Self-reported tree-cutting

	Cut any trees in the last year (1)	Cut trees to clear land for cultivation (2)	Cut trees for timber products (3)	Cut trees for emer- gency/lumpy expenses (4)	Total revenue from cut trees (5)	IHS of total revenue from cut trees (6)	Any revenue from cut trees in the last year (7)
Treated	-0.140*** [0.034]	-0.034* [0.018]	-0.090*** [0.030]	-0.027** [0.013]	-28.929 [21.639]	-0.232* [0.118]	-0.041* [0.021]
Lee bound (lower)	-0.161*** [0.034]	-0.041** [0.018]	-0.107*** [0.030]	-0.031** [0.013]	-31.575 [22.719]	-0.312** [0.120]	-0.049** [0.022]
Lee bound (upper)	-0.104*** [0.033]	0.011 [0.016]	-0.048* [0.028]	0.021** [0.011]	5.905** [2.339]	0.065 [0.105]	0.001 [0.020]
Control group mean	0.453	0.085	0.339	0.069	32.900	0.823	0.152
Observations	1,018	1,018	1,018	1,018	1,018	1,018	1,018
Observations (Lee bounds)	994	994	994	994	994	994	994

Restricting others' access to land

	Allow others to gather firewood from own forest	Decreased access to others who take trees from forest in last 2 years	Increased level of patrolling the forest in last 2 years	Has any fence around land with natural forest	Claim to ownership of forest became stronger in last 2 years
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Treated	-0.170*** [0.033]	0.039 [0.024]	0.109*** [0.039]	0.036 [0.033]	0.071** [0.033]
Lee bound (lower)	-0.185*** [0.033]	0.033 [0.025]	0.094** [0.039]	0.007 [0.033]	0.048 [0.033]
Lee bound (upper)	-0.148*** [0.032]	0.062** [0.024]	0.132*** [0.039]	0.055 [0.034]	0.081** [0.033]
Control group mean	0.427	0.202	0.378	0.667	0.663
Observations	976	980	984	1,020	999
Observations (Lee bounds)	957	965	965	998	982

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- Findings: No appreciable increase or decrease in current economic well-being [► Tables](#)

Cost effectiveness

Valuing the CO₂ benefits of the program



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 - CO₂ molecule weighs 3.67 times as much as C atom

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 - SCC rises at 1.9% per year

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- Total program costs: \$0.57 per delayed ton of CO₂
- CO₂ benefit of \$1.11 > Program cost of \$0.57 per ton

Cost-benefit ratio under different assumptions

Scenario	Benefit per ton of CO2	Cost per ton of CO2	Cost-benefit ratio
1. Base case: Program effects undone over 4 years	\$1.11	\$0.57	0.51
2. Program effects accumulate for final 6 months	\$1.11	\$0.43	0.38
3. Program effects undone immediately	\$0.37	\$0.57	1.52
4. Deforestation resumes at normal rate (permanent delay)	\$0.74	\$0.06	0.08
5. Program effects undone over 2 years	\$0.74	\$0.57	0.76
6. Avg time until emissions is halved to 5 years	\$1.17	\$0.57	0.48
7. Avg time until emissions doubled to 20 years	\$1.00	\$0.57	0.57
8. Monitoring rate remains at 1 spot check per day	\$1.11	\$0.66	0.59

- NB: Not modeling behavioral responses, e.g., price elasticity of demand for charcoal, what fuels consumers substitute toward

Most programs: Cost per ton of averted CO₂ » Benefit

<i>Program</i>	<i>Cost-benefit ratio</i>
Cash for Clunkers (US)	4 to 13
Cash for Coolers (Mexico)	10
Weatherization Assistance Program	9
Hybrid vehicle tax credits	4.7
Electric vehicle tax subsidy	8 to 24
CAFE fuel standards	5 to 6
Conservation Reserve Program	2 to 6

Sources: Feather et al. (1999); Classen et al. (2008); Knittel (2012); CBO (2012); Gayer and Parker (2013); Jacobsen (2013); Li et al. (2013); Davis et al. (2014); Fowlie, Greenstone, and Wolfram (2015)

Other program costs and benefits

- Benefits
 - Biodiversity (e.g., chimpanzees, butterflies)
 - Water table, siltation
 - Redistribution from rich international donors to Uganda
- Costs
 - Reduced forest access for non-PFOs
 - Increased wealth inequality within villages

Conclusions

- Reducing carbon emissions is a major global priority, but few effective ways have been identified
- Reducing deforestation in developing countries is considered the low-hanging fruit
- PES is a popular approach, but many concerns about whether it actually leads to much gain in forest cover
- Proof of concept: This paper provides evidence of a PES program that seems to have reduced CO₂ emissions cost-effectively

Extra slides

Deforestation included in Paris Agreement in 2015

Article 5

Parties are encouraged to take action to implement and support, including through **results-based payments**, the existing framework as set out in related guidance and decisions already agreed under the Convention for: **policy approaches and positive incentives for activities relating to reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation**, and the role of conservation, sustainable management of forests and enhancement of forest carbon stocks **in developing countries**.

Randomization

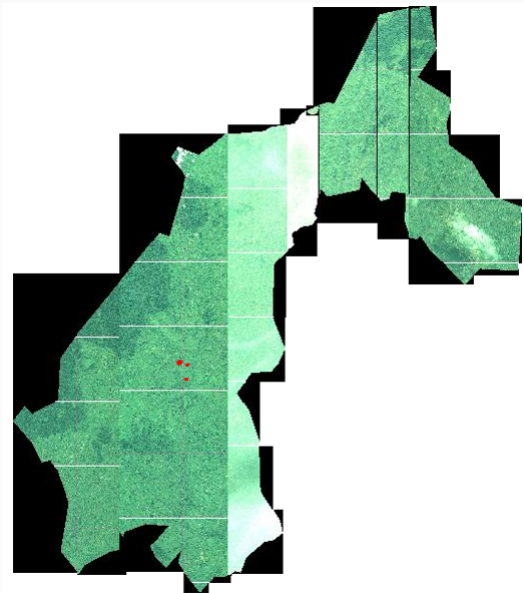
- Public lotteries held in each of 7 subcounties
- Generated permutations for each subcounty that divided villages into 2 groups
- Kept permutations that were balanced on covariates
 - # of PFOs; distance to road; income per capita; area of land owned
- Randomly chose 1 permutation for lottery
- Govt official drew one of two "tickets" → treatment villages



Temporary versus permanent PES programs

- PES payments are a flow payment to refrain from behavior temporarily
- Cost-effective if flow payments are less than flow benefits of delaying CO₂ emissions
- Such a program would likely be run indefinitely
- Two-year program results extrapolate to longer program if opportunity costs and social cost of carbon increase over same time at same rate
- Trickiest conceptual issue with permanent program: Exiting the program should be an absorbing state, but then eligible pool shrinks over time
 - Program could avoid this problem if it valued the carbon stock and conditioned payments on state of the forest

Raw satellite images



Segmentation scale for object-based image analysis

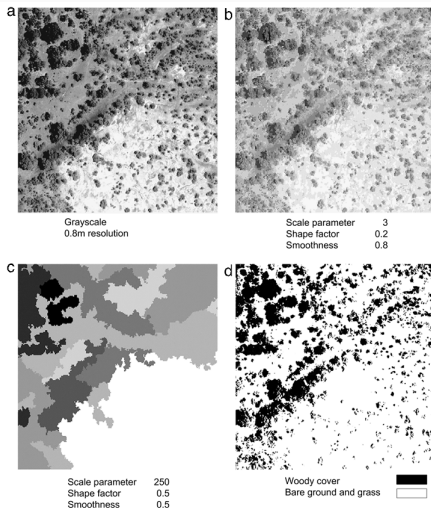


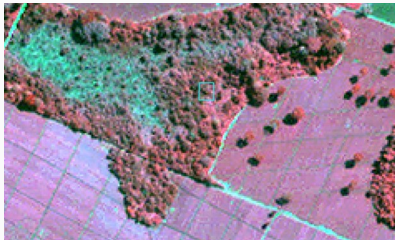
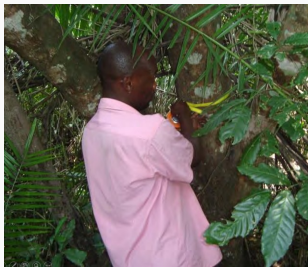
Fig. 2. (a) Aerial photograph of heterogeneous landscape (b) fine scale segmentation (c) coarse scale segmentation (d) object based classification of woody cover, resulting in 97% accuracy (from: Levick and Rogers, 2008, with permission).

Village boundaries



Ground-based measurements

- Forestry NGO, NAHI, "ground-truthed" the forest classification
- Gave them about 440 GPS points, randomly chosen, stratified by initial land classification
- Use their data to validate image classification



Ground-based measurements



- Plot level measurements (20m by 25m)
- Count all trees
- Measure diameter at breast height (DBH) of the largest trees
- Estimate tree height and crown diameter
- Identify tree species

PFO land boundaries (available for selected sample)

- Conducted land mapping *after* randomization
- Initially local partner NAHI was going to do this
- Using handheld GPS units did not work as a technique
 - Not accurate enough
 - Cloud cover worsened accuracy
- Instead: Loaded baseline images onto netbooks and traced boundaries manually in the field
- Problem: In treatment villages, those who did not sign up for the program differentially select out of land mapping
- Overestimate program impacts because tree-cutting PFOs are missing from treatment group

Conducting the land mapping



Boundaries marked by walking the land



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Sample size and attrition

	Number of PFOs		
	Treatment group	Control group	Total
Baseline survey (with GPS location of PFO home)	564	535	1,099
Baseline survey and satellite land circle	508	487	995
HH reports owning no land	2	3	5
Didn't report land area	0	1	1
Entire land circle has cloud cover	54	44	98
Baseline survey and endline survey	512	508	1,020
Baseline survey, satellite land circle, and endline survey	463	464	927

[▶ Back to survey sample](#)[▶ Back to remote sensing sample](#)

Correlates of attrition

	All PFOs	PFOs with missing satellite data	PFOs with missing endline data	Std. diff. (1-2)	Adj. std. diff. (1-2)	Std. diff. (1-3)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Household head's age	47.543 [14.122]	47.500 [13.555]	44.671 [14.772]	0.035	-0.070	0.207*
IHS of self-reported land area (ha)	4.034 [0.996]	3.543 [1.348]	3.804 [1.165]	0.540***		0.253*
Self-reported forest area (ha)	1.893 [8.978]	1.213 [2.500]	1.197 [1.450]	0.072*	-0.088	0.078**
Cut any trees in the last 3 years	0.851 [0.356]	0.760 [0.429]	0.772 [0.422]	0.273**	0.165	0.271**
IHS of total revenue from cut trees	1.315 [2.183]	1.030 [2.176]	1.086 [1.992]	0.094	-0.010	0.135
Involved in any environmental program	0.106 [0.307]	0.071 [0.259]	0.013 [0.114]	0.148*	0.103	0.335***
Treated	0.513 [0.500]	0.538 [0.501]	0.658 [0.477]	-0.072	-0.098	-0.324***
Take-up	0.319 [0.467]	0.250 [0.437]	0.154 [0.364]	0.171	0.124	0.306*
Observations	1,099	104	79			

► [Back to survey sample](#)

► [Back to remote sensing sample](#)

Baseline correlates of program take-up

	Take-up (1)	Take-up (2)
IHS of self-reported land area (ha)	0.059** [0.024]	
Cut trees for emergency/lumpy expenses	-0.099** [0.040]	
Agree: Need to damage envi. to improve life	-0.200*** [0.068]	
Tree cover in land circle (ha)	-0.003** [0.001]	
Predicted change in tree cover		-0.024 [0.034]
Observations	564	564

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Forest cover results: Proportional impacts

	PFO-level land circles		
	IHS of tree cover	IHS of tree cover	Change in IHS of tree cover
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Treated	0.038 [0.024]	0.044* [0.023]	0.044* [0.023]
Baseline outcome	0.982*** [0.006]	0.940*** [0.015]	
Control group mean	2.866	2.866	-0.073
Control variables	No	Yes	Yes
Observations	995	995	995

IHS = Inverse hyperbolic sine function, $f(x) = \ln(x + \sqrt{x^2 + 1}) \approx \ln(x) + \ln(2)$

Forest cover results: Dropping outliers & using equally-sized land circles

	PFO-level land circles (dropping top 1%)			PFO-level land circles (median-sized)		
	Tree cover (1)	Tree cover (2)	Change in tree cover (3)	Tree cover (4)	Tree cover (5)	Change in tree cover (6)
Treated	0.196** [0.088]	0.206** [0.081]	0.240** [0.097]	0.115** [0.052]	0.138*** [0.051]	0.147** [0.056]
Baseline outcome	0.898*** [0.026]	0.833*** [0.042]		0.898*** [0.027]	0.877*** [0.028]	
Control group mean	3.239	3.239	-0.336	2.112	2.112	-0.209
Control variables	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Observations	986	986	986	1,002	1,002	1,002

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Forest cover results: Unweighted results

	PFO-level land circles		
	Tree cover	Tree cover	Change in tree cover
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Treated	0.183* [0.099]	0.213** [0.095]	0.215** [0.098]
Baseline outcome	1.004*** [0.034]	1.007*** [0.067]	
Control group mean	3.526	3.526	-0.319
Control variables	No	Yes	Yes
Observations	995	995	995

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Forest cover results: Alternative land circle sizes

	PFO-level land circles (x1)			PFO-level land circles (x3)		
	Tree cover (1)	Tree cover (2)	Change in tree cover (3)	Tree cover (4)	Tree cover (5)	Change in tree cover (6)
Treated	0.140** [0.067]	0.155** [0.066]	0.155** [0.065]	0.330** [0.139]	0.363*** [0.134]	0.357*** [0.136]
Baseline outcome	1.021*** [0.062]	1.013*** [0.094]		0.962*** [0.017]	0.971*** [0.042]	
Control group mean	1.758	1.758	-0.173	5.618	5.618	-0.539
Control variables	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Observations	973	973	973	1,008	1,008	1,008

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Forest cover results: Drop cases with baseline after lottery

	PFO-level land circles			Village boundaries	
	Tree cover (1)	Tree cover (2)	Change in tree cover (3)	Tree cover (4)	Change in tree cover (5)
Treated	0.300** [0.144]	0.407*** [0.143]	0.406** [0.154]	8.050*** [2.808]	8.148*** [2.678]
Baseline outcome	0.944*** [0.032]	0.833*** [0.061]		0.990*** [0.024]	
Control group mean	4.095	4.095	-0.459	172.841	-16.576
Control variables	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	580	580	580	78	78

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Program effects on reforestation

	Took up reforestation option (1)	Reforestation area (2)	Total trees planted (3)	Total trees survived (4)
Treated	0.149*** [0.018]	0.101*** [0.016]	31.007*** [3.556]	9.813*** [1.555]
Control group mean	0.002	0.001	1.710	0.933
Observations	1,099	1,099	1,099	1,099

CO₂ impacts of reforestation

- Mature tree absorbs about 20 kilograms (0.02 ton) CO₂ per year
- Newly planted trees absorb considering less, e.g., 4 kilograms, so \$0.156 of benefit per year
- Treated PFOs planted 10 surviving trees each, so \$1.56 of CO₂ benefit per year
- Paid about 5000 UGX = \$2 per year
- Per PFO, CO₂ benefit of the program was $10 \text{ trees} * 0.004 \text{ kg} * 2 \text{ years} = 0.08 \text{ tons of CO}_2$
- As comparison, averted deforestation from program was 150.7 tons per PFO

Seedlings provided by CSWCT



Leakage to govt forest reserves & effect of being nearer to treatment villages

	Tree cover (1)	Tree cover (2)	Tree cover (3)
Treated	0.202 [0.241]	0.313*** [0.112]	
Treat × Distance to forest reserve	0.009 [0.035]		
Treat × Contiguous to forest reserve		-0.338 [0.339]	
# of treatment villages within 5km			0.019 [0.039]
Sample	All	All	Control group
Observations	995	995	487

Visits from timber dealers

	Get visits from timber dealers (1)	Increase in timber dealer visits last 2 years (2)
Treated	0.020 [0.034]	-0.016 [0.025]
Observations	1,020	1,020

Role of expectations

- Expectations about the future of the PES program might affect PFOs' behavior
- We told the truth: No plans/funds for expansion but the study results could bring in funds, but not in near future
- Control PFOs: Might change their behavior in either direction
 - Deforest more now before it entails a financial penalty
 - Deforest less so forest is intact and eligible for PES
- Treated PFOs: If thought program was permanent (high continuation value), this could increase enrollment/compliance
- Endline survey asked questions about expectations
 - Control group: Is program coming to your village?
 - Treatment group: How long does program last?
- Expectations do not seem to affect deforestation [▶ Table](#)

How deforestation is correlated with expectations

	Tree cover (1)	Tree cover (2)
Believes program likely to come to village	0.076 [0.075]	
Believes program ends in 2015 or later		-0.118 [0.112]
Sample	Control group	Treatment group
Observations	487	508

Economic outcomes

	IHS of food expend. in last 30 days (1)	IHS of non-food expend. in last 30 days (2)	IHS of alcohol/tobacco expend. in last 30 days (3)	9-step income ladder (4)
Treated	0.065 [0.074]	0.156** [0.066]	-0.010 [0.062]	0.214* [0.114]
Lee bound (lower)	-0.029 [0.070]	0.053 [0.064]	-0.072 [0.060]	0.070 [0.113]
Lee bound (upper)	0.144* [0.075]	0.215*** [0.064]	0.090 [0.059]	0.432*** [0.110]
Control group mean	2.524	4.363	0.613	4.034
Sample	Households	Households	Households	Households
Observations	1,020	1,020	1,020	1,016
Observations (Lee bounds)	998	998	998	994

Economic outcomes

	Has outstanding loan or repaid a loan in past year (1)	Child was sick with malaria in last 30 days (age 0-15) (2)	Child was sick with diarrhea in last 30 days (age 0-5) (3)
Treated	-0.009 [0.024]	-0.031 [0.029]	-0.064** [0.032]
Lee bound (lower)	-0.049** [0.023]	-0.105*** [0.029]	-0.118*** [0.033]
Lee bound (upper)	0.010 [0.024]	0.042 [0.030]	0.034 [0.030]
Control group mean	0.770	0.401	0.202
Sample	Households	Children	Children
Observations	1,019	2,266	498
Observations (Lee bounds)	996	2,145	470