

# Governance regime and location influence avoided deforestation success of protected areas in the Brazilian Amazon

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**Protected areas in tropical countries are managed under different governance regimes, the relative effectiveness of which in avoiding deforestation has been the subject of recent debates. Participants in these debates answer appeals for more strict protection with the argument that sustainable use areas and indigenous lands can balance deforestation pressures by leveraging local support to create and enforce protective regulations. Which protection strategy is more effective can also depend on (i) the level of deforestation pressures to which an area is exposed and (ii) the intensity of government enforcement. We examine this relationship empirically, using data from 292 protected areas in the Brazilian Amazon. We show that, for any given level of deforestation pressure, strictly protected areas consistently avoided more deforestation than sustainable use areas. Indigenous lands were particularly effective at avoiding deforestation in locations with high deforestation pressure. Findings were stable across two time periods featuring major shifts in the intensity of government enforcement. We also observed shifting trends in the location of protected areas, documenting that between 2000 and 2005 strictly protected areas were more likely to be established in high-pressure locations than in sustainable use areas and indigenous lands. Our findings confirm that all protection regimes helped reduce deforestation in the Brazilian Amazon.**

**T**errestrial protected areas, an integral component of biodiversity conservation policy, have also become a centerpiece of global efforts to reduce carbon emissions from tropical deforestation (1). In the past decade, governments across the tropical biome have continued to expand their protected area networks (2), and international donors have pledged billions of dollars for forest-based climate change mitigation (3, 4). Situated at the overlap between multiple global and local interests (5, 6), protected areas are managed under a wide range of governance regimes to achieve better ecological and social outcomes. Although all these regimes establish some form of spatially explicit restrictions on land use and resource extraction, such restrictions can vary substantially (7).

A common distinction between governance regimes is that between strictly protected areas that discourage consumptive resource use or even physical access and sustainable use areas that allow for controlled resource extraction, land use change, and in many instances human settlements (8). Indigenous lands, established primarily to safeguard the rights and livelihoods of indigenous people, are put forward as a third type of protected areas with considerable potential to contribute to climate change mitigation (9). Recent prospects of international carbon payments tied to avoided deforestation have reignited the interest of donors and governments to understand the extent to which each of these governance arrangements are effective in helping conserve tropical forest carbon (10, 11).

Keen theoretical debates surround the extent to which controlled resource use in protected areas can reduce deforestation. Proponents of strict conservation have long argued that ruling out resource extraction coupled with enforcement by protected area guards is more likely to be effective at achieving conservation than

more inclusionary approaches (12–15). Other contributors highlight that such enforcement has often proved insufficient to inhibit extraction in tropical parks (16–18) and that forest-dependent communities, including indigenous people, can have stronger incentives than disinterested or understaffed government agencies to protect their livelihood base against externally driven deforestation pressures (19–21). From this latter perspective, allowing controlled resource use in protected areas can help leverage local support for creating and enforcing regulations against such pressures (22, 23). Supporting indigenous communities in their efforts to demarcate and manage their territories promises similar synergies (24).

Although these lines of argument differ, authors commonly identify two contextual factors as influencing the advantages of one protection regime over the other: (i) the willingness and capacity of government agencies to enforce conservation regulations and (ii) the intensity of deforestation pressures to which a given area is exposed. Whether and how the relative effectiveness of protection regimes varies along these contextual dimensions, however, remains poorly understood. High-pressure locations, for example, may prove particularly challenging for strict protected areas that lack local constituencies (25), but could facilitate external enforcement because of greater accessibility and lower travel costs (26). Indigenous actors have been characterized as both weak (27) and strong (9, 23, 28) in avoiding deforestation in high-pressure areas. Similarly, strengthening government enforcement and other regulatory policies could improve the performance of strictly protected areas. However, positive effects could be offset if enforcement displaced deforestation into less accessible parks (29) or increased subsistence deforestation in sustainable use areas and indigenous lands.

Empirical evidence also continues to be inconclusive. Recent studies find evidence that sustainable use areas and indigenous lands tend to be situated in locations with higher deforestation pressure compared with strictly protected areas (8, 30–32), giving the former a greater potential to avoid deforestation (Fig. 1). In line with this observation, three studies have found that sustainable use areas and indigenous lands, in the aggregate, have avoided more deforestation and forest fires than strictly protected areas in the Brazilian Amazon and globally (8, 31, 32). Another study from Brazil suggests that strictly protected areas, in the aggregate, blocked deforestation pressures more successfully than did sustainable use areas, whereas indigenous lands were even more effective (36). Taken together, these studies seem to suggest that sustainable

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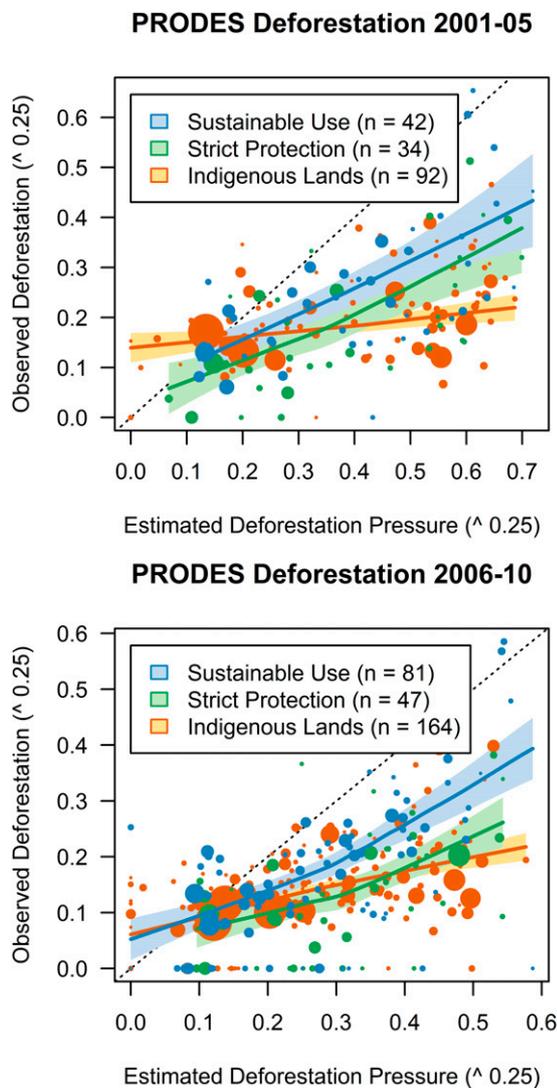
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**Fig. 2.** Observed deforestation in different types of protected areas as a function of estimated deforestation pressure (solid lines) based on protected areas established in or before 2000 for 2000–2005 impacts (*Upper*) and in or before 2005 for 2006–2010 impacts (*Lower*). Points represent protected areas, with the area of each point corresponding to the number of matched forest parcels. Shaded areas indicate 95% confidence intervals of the nonparametric estimator. All protected areas below the diagonal (black dotted line) are estimated to have avoided deforestation.

regardless of their specific conservation objectives. Results also reaffirm the important role of strictly protected areas relative to sustainable use areas as a component of national strategies to mitigate climate change. First, we find that, in both low- and high-pressure locations, strictly protected areas in the Brazilian Amazon have consistently avoided more deforestation than sustainable use areas. Second, the observed difference between strict and sustainable use areas was robust both before and after the Brazilian government stepped up efforts to curb deforestation, indicating that strict protection was not ineffective even under conditions of limited government enforcement. Third, we observe that between 2000 and 2005 a number of strictly protected areas were established in locations with high deforestation pressure, whereas sustainable use areas seemed more likely to be declared in low-pressure locations. Reversing earlier trends of designation patterns in Brazil, this observation suggests that both strictly protected and sustainable use areas can

make substantial contributions to avoiding deforestation by virtue of their location.

Indigenous lands appeared particularly effective at curbing high deforestation pressure, relative to both strictly protected and sustainable use areas. Where we estimated deforestation pressure to be low, indigenous lands exhibited slightly more deforestation than other types of protected areas between 2001 and 2005. This finding was not stable over time and across robustness checks, but may suggest that deforestation in indigenous lands is less likely to be driven by the external, market-driven pressures for which our covariates controlled, and more likely to be a result of internal, subsistence-oriented resource use.

No governance regime guarantees protection. Despite the consistency of average patterns, we observed individual cases with high and low deforestation rates for all protection types, pressure levels, and time periods. Assessments that seek to explain such remaining variance by looking at other policy variables—e.g., government vs. state designation (32, 44) or the availability of protected area management resources (45)—could benefit from applying our analytical approach to disentangle the many factors that influence success. Furthermore, our analysis does not make a distinction between illegal deforestation, which all protection types seek to reduce, and subsistence deforestation driven by the livelihood needs of indigenous and traditional people, which is legally sanctioned in sustainable use areas and indigenous lands. Incorporating protected area zonation and land rights in future parcel-based analyses could further enhance our understanding of the respective role of enforcement and sustainable resource use in reducing deforestation in protected areas.

Although our results suggest that strictly protected areas on average are more successful at counteracting location-specific deforestation pressures than sustainable use areas, this finding cannot be read as a devaluation of the latter. Indeed, the focus of our analysis on one outcome of interest—change in forest cover—precludes statements on the relative effectiveness of protected areas in reducing other anthropogenic pressures on biodiversity and carbon, such as forest degradation, hunting, fishing, mining, and infrastructure development. Our analysis neither accounts for potential positive or negative impacts on local economies and the livelihoods of forest users nor considers the political and ethical dimensions of demarcating protected areas in regions with existing communities of indigenous or traditional people. Future rigorous assessments that incorporate such diverse outcomes and carefully contrast the effectiveness of different strategies in achieving the multiple objectives of protected areas will certainly be welcomed by the global conservation community as an input for effective, efficient, and equitable strategies to mitigate global climate change.

## Materials and Methods

**Data.** We obtained protected area boundaries and characteristics from the World Database of Protected Areas (46) and the National Cadaster of Conservation Units of the Brazilian Ministry for the Environment ([www.mma.gov.br](http://www.mma.gov.br)). Deforestation estimates were based on (i) a fine-scale dataset (PRODES) based on LandSat imagery and published by the Brazilian Institute for Space Research (42) and (ii) the coarse-resolution GFCL dataset based on MODIS imagery and published by South Dakota State University (43). Baseline forest cover in 2000 and 2005 came from the Vegetation Continuous Fields (VCF) of the Global Land Cover Facility (47). We computed travel time estimates to major cities based on the algorithm and datasets of ref. 48, supplemented by improved road datasets generated by SimAmazonia (49) and land cover estimates for 2000 obtained from MODIS Land subsets (50). Other datasets include slope and terrain from the International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis (51), floodable areas as identified by GlobCover 2005 (52), and state boundaries from the Global Administrative Areas database ([www.gadm.org](http://www.gadm.org)). We projected all datasets into MODIS' own sinusoidal projection, resampled them to ~1-km resolution, and extracted all humid tropical forest parcels with more than 25% average forest cover (VCF) into one table (*SI Materials and Methods*).



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# Supporting Information

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## SI Materials and Methods

**Data. Protected areas.** We considered all protected areas included in the World Database of Protected Areas (WDPA) (1) situated in the Brazilian Legal Amazon. We used spatial data from the 2010 version of the WDPA as it included the original boundaries of protected areas that had recently been subject to downsizing as a result of their failure to stem deforestation (2). For example, the National Forest Bom Futuro had been significantly downsized in 2010 to exclude deforestation that had occurred between 2000 and 2010. We used 2012 data from the National Cadaster of Protected Areas (CNUC) of the Brazilian Ministry of the Environment to ensure that our pool of potential controls (unprotected forest parcels) did not any contain parcels situated in recently established protected areas or protected areas with expanded boundaries. We excluded from the pool of potential controls all unprotected forest parcels situated within 10-km buffers around any protected area (both the WDPA and CNUC) to reduce the vulnerability of our results to potential local spillover effects (3).

**Deforestation.** We used two different deforestation datasets to draw on their respective strengths in detecting tropical deforestation. The fine-grained PROgrama de Cálculo do DESflorestamento na Amazonia (PRODES) dataset published by the Brazilian Institute for Space Research (Instituto Nacional de Pesquisas Espaciais) is based on ~30-m resolution LandSat imagery and thus capable of detecting deforestation in relatively small patches of forests (4). However, the low temporal resolution of LandSat imagery (bi-weekly images) hampers the detection of deforestation due to frequent cloud cover. PRODES' particularly high rate of error in early years (up to 2000) prompted us to use only 2001–2005 data for our first period of analysis. Our second deforestation measure, the Gross Forest Cover Loss (GFCL) published by South Dakota State University (5), is based on data from the Moderate Resolution Imaging Spectroradiometer (MODIS). With daily return rates, MODIS satellites are more likely to encounter cloud-free conditions. However, the lower resolution of their sensors (~250 m) reduces their ability to detect small-scale deforestation patches (6). We ran separate analyses with both datasets and contrasted their respective results throughout.

**Covariates.** Probabilities of deforestation pressure and protection are influenced by a number of location-specific characteristics, most notably the suitability of a given plot for agriculture, ease of access, and distance to markets (3, 7, 8). We use the following covariates to control for differences in deforestation pressure:

- **Agricultural suitability:** Elevation and slope influence a forest parcel's suitability for agriculture (7). Similarly, the occurrence of seasonal flooding has been shown to influence agricultural suitability and the probability of forest conversion (9). We extracted average slope and average elevation from data provided by the International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis (10) and identified seasonally flooded areas using the GlobCover 2005 dataset based on the European Space Agency's Envisat platform (11).
- **Forest cover:** At ~1-km resolution, low average tree cover on a forest parcel can indicate existing forest fragmentation and deforestation. Furthermore, the probabilities of forest conversion detected by GFCL are a function of baseline tree cover (12). We used tree cover estimates provided by the MODIS-based Vegetation Continuous Fields (VCF) dataset (collection 3) to control for this covariate (13).
- **Distance to forest edge:** Strongly influencing physical accessibility, the distance to the forest edge has been shown to be

strongly associated with deforestation (3). We computed distance to forest edge as the shortest Euclidian distance of a given forest parcel to (i) parcels with less than 25% forest cover (VCF), (ii) rivers (ESRI hydropolygons), and (iii) major roads (14).

- **Travel time to major cities:** Accessibility to markets is an important predictor of deforestation patterns (7). We used the algorithm, datasets, and assumptions of an existing travel time dataset from the European Union's Joint Research Center (15) to compute our own travel time estimates using (i) improved and more detailed Brazilian road data (14) and (ii) a land cover map that reflected baseline land cover conditions in the year 2000 (MODIS Land) (16).
- **State:** Brazil's federal states can exercise considerable autonomy in devising state-level policies that can influence deforestation pressure and its spatial distribution. We used state boundaries provided by the Global Administrative Areas database ([www.gadm.org](http://www.gadm.org)) to control for this covariate.

We did not include distance to roads as a covariate in our analysis. Roads facilitate physical access to forest parcels and the transport of timber and agricultural products to markets. However, in the Brazilian Amazon, roads are only one element of transport infrastructure, with river travel being the main means of travel and transport in remote areas of the basin. We argue that (i) our estimates of travel time to major cities capture such interactions between road and river travel better than an estimate of distance to roads and that (ii) our estimates of distance to forest edge, with forest edge including major roads and rivers, capture the remainder of local-level variation in physical accessibility.

**Methods. Estimating deforestation pressure.** Matching is a quasi-experimental method that seeks to mimic random assignment of treatment by identifying artificial control groups of untreated units that differ from treated units in all relevant aspects but the treatment itself. Matching estimators rely on the assumption that treatment selection is on observables, i.e., that the observable covariates used in the matching procedure account for all differences between treatment and control units that are associated with both the probability of treatment (protection type) and the outcome (deforestation). Given the absence of randomly controlled trials of the assignment of protection to forest parcels, an explicit test of the validity of this assumption is not possible. Assessments of the validity of matching estimators therefore have to rely on (i) a sound theoretical and empirical argument for the choice of covariates and an (ii) assessment of the extent to which matching was able to balance covariates between control and treatment groups.

**Choice of covariates.** In the section *Covariates* above, we list the covariates included in our matching estimator, together with an empirical and theoretical rationale for the inclusion of each. Controlling for baseline forest cover, political boundaries, agricultural suitability, accessibility, and distance to markets has been considered both necessary and sufficient by a large number of matching studies that assess the impact of protection on deforestation and/or forest fires (3, 7, 17–19). One study from Costa Rica tests the sensitivity of matching estimates to using an extended set of covariates, including poverty, population density, and immigration, and finds results to be similar (3). Although we cannot explicitly test the extent to which matching successfully mimics random assignment, we consider the existing theoretical and empirical support for our choice of covariates sufficient to trust in the extent to which our estimator successfully controls for

the most relevant joint bias in treatment assignment and deforestation outcomes.

**Covariate balance.** Matching relies on the existence of a pool of control units whose covariates are sufficiently similar to the pool of treatment units to qualify as matches (statistical support). Whether matching has been successful can be assessed by comparing covariate distributions between treated units and control units both before and after matching. A commonly used indicator to assess such similarity is the mean difference of empirical quantile-quantile (eQQ) plots of covariates in the treatment and control group (3). To obtain an aggregate balance indicator for each of the 292 protected areas, we averaged the standardized mean difference of eQQ plots across 30 repetitions and our six continuous covariates (matching was exact for categorical covariates). We then examined the distributions of the 292 estimates using Kernel density estimators, weighting each balance indicator by the number of matched forest parcel pairs (*Density Estimation*). We also examined distributions for each protection type separately.

Our results indicate that matching dramatically improved covariate balance for all protected areas in our sample (Fig. S7). Matching reduced the mean of our 292 balance estimates from 6.13 to 0.07. Furthermore, matching achieved similar improvements in covariate balance for all protection types (Fig. S8), suggesting that the remaining differences in covariates were not biased toward either protection type. We therefore consider our matching estimator to have successfully controlled for differences in observable covariates between forest parcels in control and treatment groups.

**Dropped forest parcels.** Causal inference through matching relies on the existence of control units that are sufficiently comparable to the pool of treated units to qualify as observations of counterfactual outcomes (statistical support). We followed earlier matching studies in removing protected forest parcels if no control parcels could be found within 1 SD of each covariate (calipers). Calipers retained 91.5% of forest parcels from the treated sample, distributed roughly equally among protection types (strict protection: 91.7%; sustainable use: 92.6%; indigenous lands: 90.9%). Visual inspection of the results suggests that protected areas with a high rate of dropped forest parcels are situated in both high- and low-pressure areas for all three protection types. The counterfactual outcome (deforestation pressure) cannot be observed for these dropped parcels. However, the large percentage of retained pixels and their distribution among protection types suggests that our results are likely to hold for the full sample of forest parcels.

**Leakage.** Leakage occurs when treatment influences the outcomes on untreated units. If protection of a given set of parcels leads to increased (or decreased) deforestation in unprotected parcels, a comparison of protected and unprotected units will overestimate (or underestimate) the effects of protection. A recent study did not find evidence for leakage occurring as the result of the creation of protected areas in the Brazilian Amazon (20). Nevertheless, we limited the risk of an influence of differences in local leakage on our findings by excluding from our pool of potential control parcels a 10-km buffer around all protected areas and military areas that had been created up to 2010. Although protection types may differ in the extent to which they engender leakage, the fact that our pool of control parcels covers a vast region reduces the

probability that controls of different protection types may be differently affected by the leakage problem. Although we cannot rule out the possibility that leakage is occurring, we do not consider its possible existence to alter our findings about the differential impacts of protection types.

**Density Estimation.** We used Kernel density estimators to assess the skewness of the protection-type specific distributions of estimated deforestation pressure and to examine the shift in these distributions that occurred between 2000 and 2005 as a result of newly designated areas in all categories. We used *R*'s *density* function with a Gaussian kernel and default bandwidth computation and weighted observations by the number of matched forest parcels. We estimated density for each protection type separately (Fig. S2).

**Transformations.** We found that distributions of original deforestation pressure estimates were strongly skewed toward low levels of deforestation pressure (Fig. S2, *Left*). As a result, a small number of high-pressure protected areas were able to drive the differences in the aggregate estimates of pressure and impact (see main text). We also observed a strongly skewed distribution of observed deforestation rates whose variance increased with higher estimated deforestation pressure (Fig. S3). To reduce such heteroskedasticity and to allow for an estimation of pressure-specific effectiveness of protection types that would take advantage of the full sample, we transformed both observed deforestation rates and estimates of deforestation pressure. We did not use a logarithmic transformation due to the existence of real zeros in both variables. We found that a double-square-root transformation resulted in less skewed distributions and was therefore more amenable to subsequent regressions (Fig. S2, *Right*).

**Regressions. Nonparametric regressions.** We used locally weighted scatterplot smoothers (LOESS, using *R*'s *loess* function, span = 1) to nonparametrically estimate observed deforestation rates as a function of deforestation pressure. We computed 95% confidence intervals based on the SEs of the LOESS prediction. We applied separate LOESS estimators for each protection type, time period (2000-05 vs. 2006-10), protected area sample (established in or before 2000 vs. in or before 2005), and deforestation dataset (PRODES vs. GFCL) and compared the resulting functions (Fig. 2 and Figs. S3-S6).

**Linear regressions.** We used linear regressions to test the strength of the differences in pressure-specific observed deforestation between protection types. We regressed observed deforestation rates on estimated deforestation pressure (both transformed) and included dummy variables for sustainable use areas and indigenous lands. We ran models with three distinct specifications for each dataset and time period: (*i*) without interactions between pressure and protection types, (*ii*) with interactions between pressure and protection types, and (*iii*) with interaction between pressure and indigenous lands only (Table S1). The latter corresponds to our nonparametric observation that deforestation rates in indigenous lands responded differently to deforestation pressure than deforestation rates in strictly protected and sustainable use areas (see main text).

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