

FLS 6441 - Methods III: Explanation and Causation

Week 8 - Difference-in-Differences

Jonathan Phillips

May 2019

Classification of Research Designs

		Independence of Treatment Assignment	Researcher Controls Treatment Assignment?
Controlled Experiments	Field Experiments	✓	✓
	Survey and Lab Experiments	✓	✓
Natural Experiments	Natural Experiments	✓	
	Instrumental Variables	✓	
	Discontinuities	✓	
Observational Studies	Difference-in-Differences		
	Controlling for Confounding		
	Matching		
	Comparative Cases and Process Tracing		

Section 1

Difference-in-Differences

Difference-in-Differences

- What if we have *NO* variation in treatment that is independent of potential outcomes?

Difference-in-Differences

- ▶ What if we have *NO* variation in treatment that is independent of potential outcomes?
- ▶ Then we have an *Observational* study

Difference-in-Differences

- ▶ Two types of observational studies:

Difference-in-Differences

- ▶ Two types of observational studies:
 1. **Cross-sectional:** Compare across different units, **treated** and **control**

Difference-in-Differences

- ▶ Two types of observational studies:
 1. **Cross-sectional:** Compare across different units, **treated** and **control**
 - ▶ BUT Omitted variable bias

Difference-in-Differences

- ▶ Two types of observational studies:
 1. **Cross-sectional:** Compare across different units, **treated** and **control**
 - ▶ BUT Omitted variable bias
 2. **Time-series:** Compare units **before** and **after** treatment

Difference-in-Differences

- ▶ Two types of observational studies:
 1. **Cross-sectional:** Compare across different units, **treated** and **control**
 - ▶ BUT Omitted variable bias
 2. **Time-series:** Compare units **before** and **after** treatment
 - ▶ BUT Outcomes might change over time for reasons other than treatment ('Overall Trend Bias')

Difference-in-Differences

- ▶ But each approach also has advantages

Difference-in-Differences

► But each approach also has advantages

1. **Cross-sectional:** Compare across different units, **treated** and **control**

Difference-in-Differences

- ▶ But each approach also has advantages

1. **Cross-sectional:** Compare across different units, **treated** and **control**
 - ▶ Allows us to compare units at the same point in time, removing 'Overall Trend Bias'

Difference-in-Differences

- ▶ But each approach also has advantages
- 1. **Cross-sectional:** Compare across different units, **treated** and **control**
 - ▶ Allows us to compare units at the same point in time, removing 'Overall Trend Bias'
- 2. **Time-series:** Compare units **before** and **after** treatment

Difference-in-Differences

- ▶ But each approach also has advantages
- 1. **Cross-sectional:** Compare across different units, **treated** and **control**
 - ▶ Allows us to compare units at the same point in time, removing 'Overall Trend Bias'
- 2. **Time-series:** Compare units **before** and **after** treatment
 - ▶ Allows us to keep the characteristics of the unit the same, removing Omitted Variable Bias

Difference-in-Differences

- ▶ But each approach also has advantages
- 1. **Cross-sectional:** Compare across different units, **treated** and **control**
 - ▶ Allows us to compare units at the same point in time, removing 'Overall Trend Bias'
- 2. **Time-series:** Compare units **before** and **after** treatment
 - ▶ Allows us to keep the characteristics of the unit the same, removing Omitted Variable Bias
 - ▶ Even *unobserved* characteristics

Difference-in-Differences

- What if we combine both approaches?

Difference-in-Differences

- ▶ What if we combine both approaches?
- ▶ Comparing **across units** and **across time**

Difference-in-Differences

- ▶ What if we combine both approaches?
- ▶ Comparing **across units** and **across time**
- ▶ Removing the risks from both overall trends and omitted variables

Difference-in-Differences

- Example: How has the Brexit vote affected the UK's growth rate?

Difference-in-Differences

- ▶ Example: How has the Brexit vote affected the UK's growth rate?
 - ▶ Comparing with European growth rates is biased - UK growth is influenced by oil, different labour laws etc.

Difference-in-Differences

- ▶ Example: How has the Brexit vote affected the UK's growth rate?
 - ▶ Comparing with European growth rates is biased - UK growth is influenced by oil, different labour laws etc.
 - ▶ Comparing before and after the Brexit vote is biased - the world economy improved around the same time as Brexit (coincidentally)

Difference-in-Differences

- ▶ Example: How has the Brexit vote affected the UK's growth rate?
 - ▶ Comparing with European growth rates is biased - UK growth is influenced by oil, different labour laws etc.
 - ▶ Comparing before and after the Brexit vote is biased - the world economy improved around the same time as Brexit (coincidentally)
 - ▶ But compare how European growth **changes** (+0.3%) and UK growth **changed** (-0.4%)

Difference-in-Differences

- ▶ Example: How has the Brexit vote affected the UK's growth rate?
 - ▶ Comparing with European growth rates is biased - UK growth is influenced by oil, different labour laws etc.
 - ▶ Comparing before and after the Brexit vote is biased - the world economy improved around the same time as Brexit (coincidentally)
 - ▶ But compare how European growth **changes** (+0.3%) and UK growth **changed** (-0.4%)
 - ▶ The net effect of Brexit is -0.7%

Difference-in-Differences

- ▶ Example: How has the Brexit vote affected the UK's growth rate?
 - ▶ Comparing with European growth rates is biased - UK growth is influenced by oil, different labour laws etc.
 - ▶ Comparing before and after the Brexit vote is biased - the world economy improved around the same time as Brexit (coincidentally)
 - ▶ But compare how European growth **changes** (+0.3%) and UK growth **changed** (-0.4%)
 - ▶ The net effect of Brexit is -0.7%
 - ▶ That's two differences
 - ▶ **Difference 1:** Between before and after (over time)
 - ▶ **Difference 2:** Between treated and control units

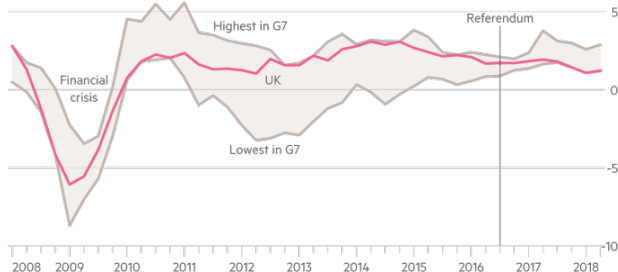
Difference-in-Differences

- ▶ Example: How has the Brexit vote affected the UK's growth rate?
 - ▶ Comparing with European growth rates is biased - UK growth is influenced by oil, different labour laws etc.
 - ▶ Comparing before and after the Brexit vote is biased - the world economy improved around the same time as Brexit (coincidentally)
 - ▶ But compare how European growth **changes** (+0.3%) and UK growth **changed** (-0.4%)
 - ▶ The net effect of Brexit is -0.7%
 - ▶ That's two differences
 - ▶ **Difference 1:** Between before and after (over time)
 - ▶ **Difference 2:** Between treated and control units

Difference-in-Differences

Reversal of fortune: since the EU referendum, strong growth relative to other G7 economies has tailed off

Annual % change in GDP



Source: Thomson Reuters Datastream
© FT

Difference-in-Differences

- But can we really say this was the effect of Brexit?

Difference-in-Differences

- ▶ But can we really say this was the effect of Brexit?
- 1. Maybe the UK was on a different **unit-specific trend** to the EU before Brexit?

Difference-in-Differences

- ▶ But can we really say this was the effect of Brexit?
- 1. Maybe the UK was on a different **unit-specific trend** to the EU before Brexit?
 - ▶ Diff-in-Diff does NOT control for **time-varying confounders**

Difference-in-Differences

- ▶ But can we really say this was the effect of Brexit?
- 1. Maybe the UK was on a different **unit-specific trend** to the EU before Brexit?
 - ▶ Diff-in-Diff does NOT control for **time-varying confounders**
 - ▶ We have to check for **Parallel pre-treatment trends**
- 2. Maybe the UK passed other policies at the same time as Brexit?

Difference-in-Differences

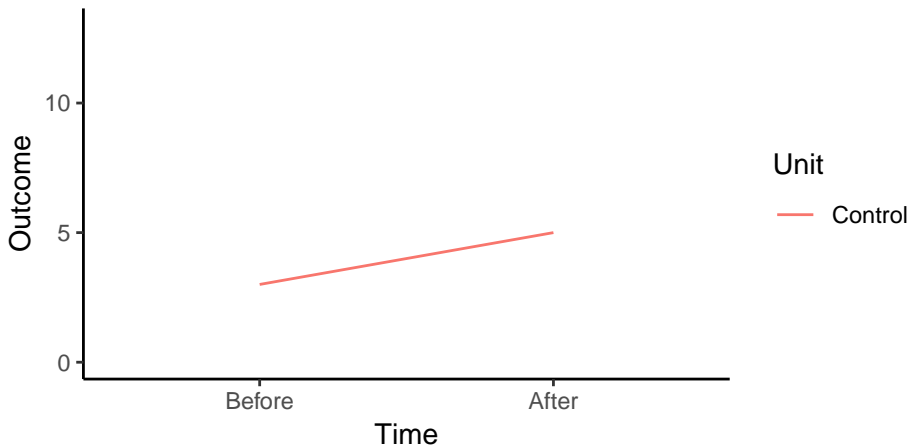
- ▶ But can we really say this was the effect of Brexit?
- 1. Maybe the UK was on a different **unit-specific trend** to the EU before Brexit?
 - ▶ Diff-in-Diff does NOT control for **time-varying confounders**
 - ▶ We have to check for **Parallel pre-treatment trends**
- 2. Maybe the UK passed other policies at the same time as Brexit?
 - ▶ We have to check there are no **compound treatments**

Difference-in-Differences

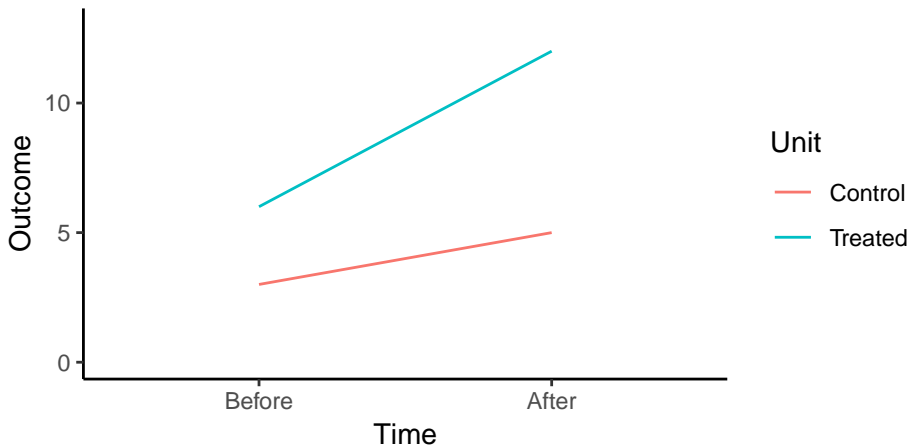
Add caption

	Balances time-invariant 'fixed' unit characteristics	Balances time-varying unit characteristics		
	Observed	Unobserved	Overall trends	Unit trends
Field Experiments	✓	✓	✓	✓
Survey and Lab Experiments	✓	✓	✓	✓
Natural Experiments	✓	✓	✓	✓
Instrumental Variables	✓	✓	✓	✓
Regression Discontinuity	✓	✓	✓	✓
Cross-sectional comparisons	X	X	✓	✓
Before-After comparisons	✓	✓	X	✓
Difference-in-Differences	✓	✓	✓	✓

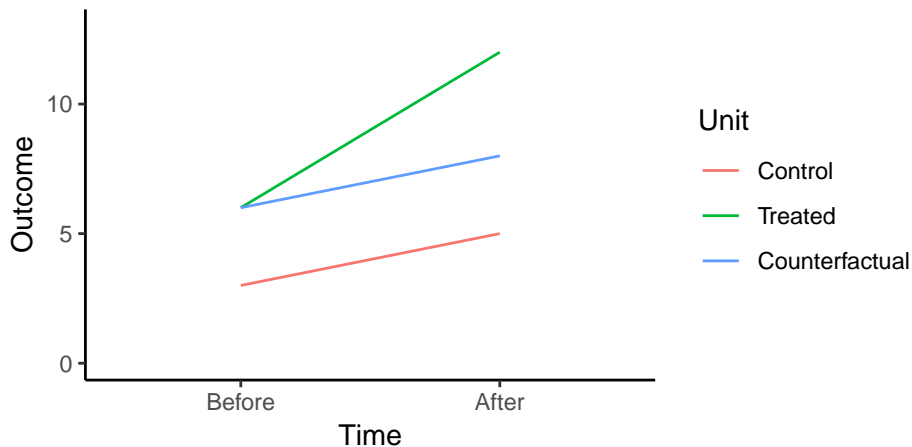
Difference-in-Differences



Difference-in-Differences



Difference-in-Differences



Estimating Difference-in-Differences

- Regression for the cross-unit effect of treatment

$$Y_{it} = \alpha + \gamma D_i$$

Estimating Difference-in-Differences

- ▶ Regression for the cross-unit effect of treatment

$$Y_{it} = \alpha + \gamma D_i$$

- ▶ Regression for the before-after treatment comparison

$$Y_{it} = \alpha + \gamma T_i$$

pause

- ▶ The difference-in-differences estimate is just the *interaction* of time and treatment status

$$Y_{it} = \alpha + \gamma D_i + \delta T_t + \beta D_i * T_t$$

- ▶ β is our **Average Treatment Effect** estimate

Estimating Difference-in-Differences

$$Y_{it} = \alpha + \gamma D_i + \delta T_t + \beta D_i * T_t$$

Estimating Difference-in-Differences

$$Y_{it} = \alpha + \gamma D_i + \delta T_t + \beta D_i * T_t$$

$$D = 0, T = 0 : E(Y) =$$

Estimating Difference-in-Differences

$$Y_{it} = \alpha + \gamma D_i + \delta T_t + \beta D_i * T_t$$

$$D = 0, T = 0 : E(Y) = \alpha$$

Estimating Difference-in-Differences

$$Y_{it} = \alpha + \gamma D_i + \delta T_t + \beta D_i * T_t$$

$$D = 0, T = 0 : E(Y) = \alpha$$

$$D = 0, T = 1 : E(Y) =$$

Estimating Difference-in-Differences

$$Y_{it} = \alpha + \gamma D_i + \delta T_t + \beta D_i * T_t$$

$$D = 0, T = 0 : E(Y) = \alpha$$

$$D = 0, T = 1 : E(Y) = \alpha + \delta$$

Estimating Difference-in-Differences

$$Y_{it} = \alpha + \gamma D_i + \delta T_t + \beta D_i * T_t$$

$$D = 0, T = 0 : E(Y) = \alpha$$

$$D = 0, T = 1 : E(Y) = \alpha + \delta$$

$$D = 1, T = 0 : E(Y) =$$

Estimating Difference-in-Differences

$$Y_{it} = \alpha + \gamma D_i + \delta T_t + \beta D_i * T_t$$

$$D = 0, T = 0 : E(Y) = \alpha$$

$$D = 0, T = 1 : E(Y) = \alpha + \delta$$

$$D = 1, T = 0 : E(Y) = \alpha + \gamma$$

Estimating Difference-in-Differences

$$Y_{it} = \alpha + \gamma D_i + \delta T_t + \beta D_i * T_t$$

$$D = 0, T = 0 : E(Y) = \alpha$$

$$D = 0, T = 1 : E(Y) = \alpha + \delta$$

$$D = 1, T = 0 : E(Y) = \alpha + \gamma$$

$$D = 1, T = 1 : E(Y) =$$

Estimating Difference-in-Differences

$$Y_{it} = \alpha + \gamma D_i + \delta T_t + \beta D_i * T_t$$

$$D = 0, T = 0 : E(Y) = \alpha$$

$$D = 0, T = 1 : E(Y) = \alpha + \delta$$

$$D = 1, T = 0 : E(Y) = \alpha + \gamma$$

$$D = 1, T = 1 : E(Y) = \alpha + \delta + \gamma + \beta$$

Estimating Difference-in-Differences

$$Y_{it} = \alpha + \gamma D_i + \delta T_t + \beta D_i * T_t$$

$$D = 0, T = 0 : E(Y) = \alpha$$

$$D = 0, T = 1 : E(Y) = \alpha + \delta$$

$$D = 1, T = 0 : E(Y) = \alpha + \gamma$$

$$D = 1, T = 1 : E(Y) = \alpha + \delta + \gamma + \beta$$

$$\Delta(Y|D = 1) = E(Y|D = 1, T = 1) - E(Y|D = 1, T = 0) =$$

Estimating Difference-in-Differences

$$Y_{it} = \alpha + \gamma D_i + \delta T_t + \beta D_i * T_t$$

$$D = 0, T = 0 : E(Y) = \alpha$$

$$D = 0, T = 1 : E(Y) = \alpha + \delta$$

$$D = 1, T = 0 : E(Y) = \alpha + \gamma$$

$$D = 1, T = 1 : E(Y) = \alpha + \delta + \gamma + \beta$$

$$\Delta(Y|D = 1) = E(Y|D = 1, T = 1) - E(Y|D = 1, T = 0) = \delta + \beta$$

Estimating Difference-in-Differences

$$Y_{it} = \alpha + \gamma D_i + \delta T_t + \beta D_i * T_t$$

$$D = 0, T = 0 : E(Y) = \alpha$$

$$D = 0, T = 1 : E(Y) = \alpha + \delta$$

$$D = 1, T = 0 : E(Y) = \alpha + \gamma$$

$$D = 1, T = 1 : E(Y) = \alpha + \delta + \gamma + \beta$$

$$\Delta(Y|D = 1) = E(Y|D = 1, T = 1) - E(Y|D = 1, T = 0) = \delta + \beta$$

$$\Delta(Y|D = 0) = E(Y|D = 0, T = 1) - E(Y|D = 0, T = 0) =$$

Estimating Difference-in-Differences

$$Y_{it} = \alpha + \gamma D_i + \delta T_t + \beta D_i * T_t$$

$$D = 0, T = 0 : E(Y) = \alpha$$

$$D = 0, T = 1 : E(Y) = \alpha + \delta$$

$$D = 1, T = 0 : E(Y) = \alpha + \gamma$$

$$D = 1, T = 1 : E(Y) = \alpha + \delta + \gamma + \beta$$

$$\Delta(Y|D = 1) = E(Y|D = 1, T = 1) - E(Y|D = 1, T = 0) = \delta + \beta$$

$$\Delta(Y|D = 0) = E(Y|D = 0, T = 1) - E(Y|D = 0, T = 0) = \delta$$

Estimating Difference-in-Differences

$$Y_{it} = \alpha + \gamma D_i + \delta T_t + \beta D_i * T_t$$

$$D = 0, T = 0 : E(Y) = \alpha$$

$$D = 0, T = 1 : E(Y) = \alpha + \delta$$

$$D = 1, T = 0 : E(Y) = \alpha + \gamma$$

$$D = 1, T = 1 : E(Y) = \alpha + \delta + \gamma + \beta$$

$$\Delta(Y|D = 1) = E(Y|D = 1, T = 1) - E(Y|D = 1, T = 0) = \delta + \beta$$

$$\Delta(Y|D = 0) = E(Y|D = 0, T = 1) - E(Y|D = 0, T = 0) = \delta$$

$$\Delta(Y|D = 1) - \Delta(Y|D = 0) =$$

Estimating Difference-in-Differences

$$Y_{it} = \alpha + \gamma D_i + \delta T_t + \beta D_i * T_t$$

$$D = 0, T = 0 : E(Y) = \alpha$$

$$D = 0, T = 1 : E(Y) = \alpha + \delta$$

$$D = 1, T = 0 : E(Y) = \alpha + \gamma$$

$$D = 1, T = 1 : E(Y) = \alpha + \delta + \gamma + \beta$$

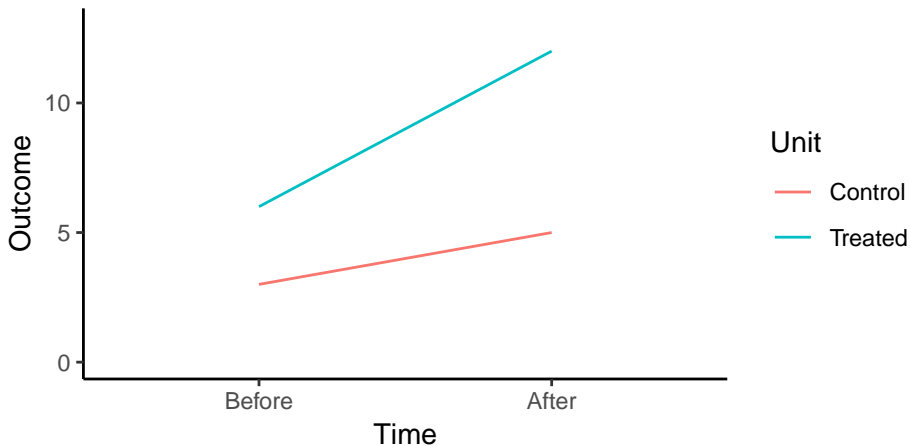
$$\Delta(Y|D = 1) = E(Y|D = 1, T = 1) - E(Y|D = 1, T = 0) = \delta + \beta$$

$$\Delta(Y|D = 0) = E(Y|D = 0, T = 1) - E(Y|D = 0, T = 0) = \delta$$

$$\Delta(Y|D = 1) - \Delta(Y|D = 0) = \beta$$

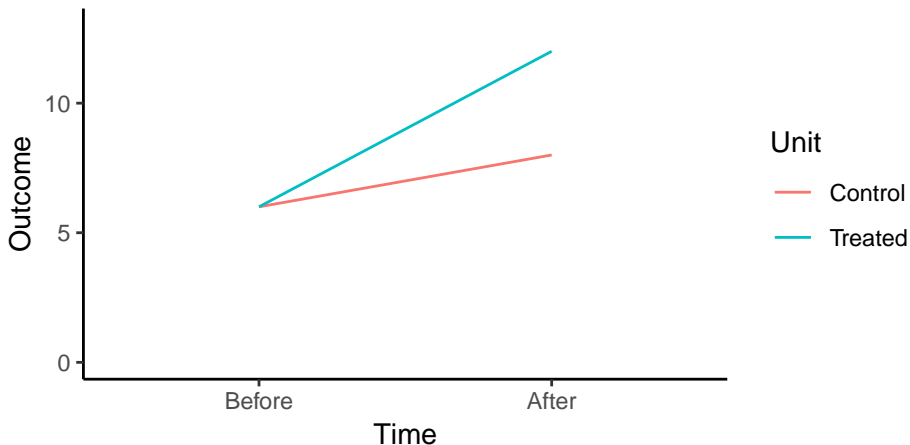
Difference-in-Differences

Raw Data:



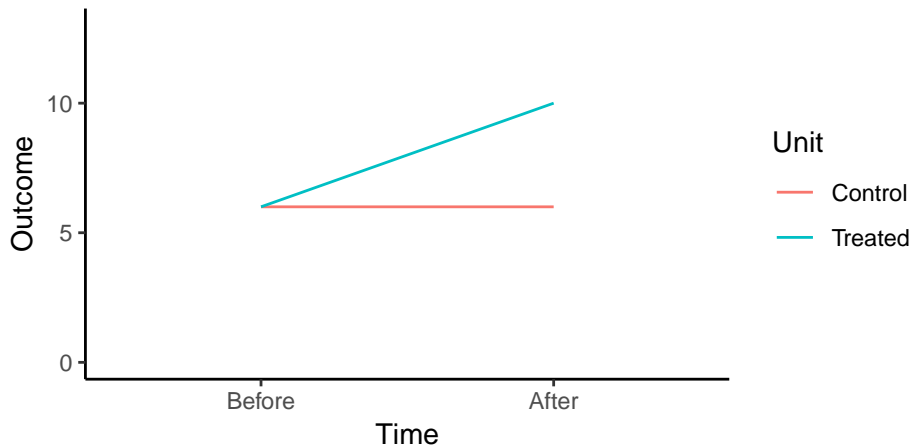
Difference-in-Differences

Add a variable (fixed effect) for treated/control:



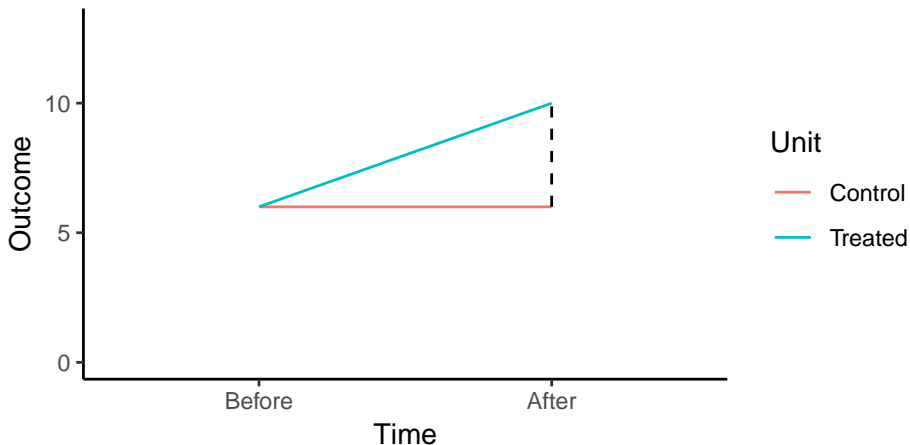
Difference-in-Differences

Add a variable (fixed effect) for time:



Difference-in-Differences

Add a variable (fixed effect) for time:



Estimating Difference-in-Differences

- ▶ With time-series data, we have temporal autocorrelation

Estimating Difference-in-Differences

- ▶ With time-series data, we have temporal autocorrelation
- ▶ So crucial to cluster standard errors by each cross-sectional unit (eg. each country)

Difference-in-Differences

- How do we know if there are **time-varying confounders**?

Difference-in-Differences

- ▶ How do we know if there are **time-varying confounders**?
- ▶ Selection into treatment is usually not just due to mostly 'fixed' variables (eg. gender) but due to 'time-varying' variables (eg. income, employment etc.)

Difference-in-Differences

- ▶ How do we know if there are **time-varying confounders**?
- ▶ Selection into treatment is usually not just due to mostly 'fixed' variables (eg. gender) but due to 'time-varying' variables (eg. income, employment etc.)
- ▶ Eg. training program participants' income has usually fallen a lot in the past few months

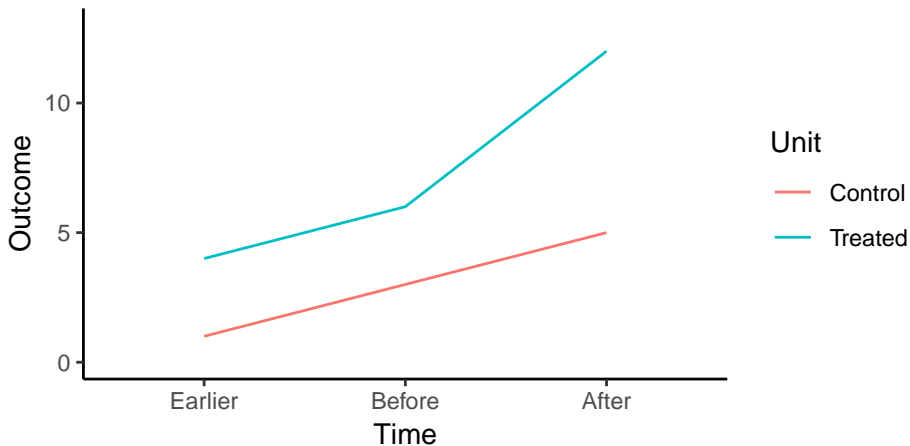
Difference-in-Differences

- ▶ How do we know if there are **time-varying confounders**?
- ▶ Selection into treatment is usually not just due to mostly 'fixed' variables (eg. gender) but due to 'time-varying' variables (eg. income, employment etc.)
- ▶ Eg. training program participants' income has usually fallen a lot in the past few months
- ▶ We want the outcome for the treated group to have the same trend as the control group

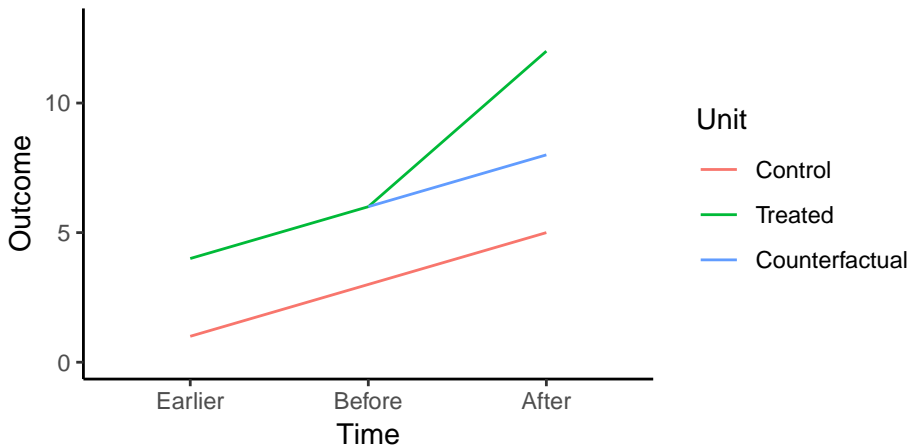
Difference-in-Differences

- ▶ How do we know if there are **time-varying confounders**?
- ▶ Selection into treatment is usually not just due to mostly 'fixed' variables (eg. gender) but due to 'time-varying' variables (eg. income, employment etc.)
- ▶ Eg. training program participants' income has usually fallen a lot in the past few months
- ▶ We want the outcome for the treated group to have the same trend as the control group
- ▶ One test of this is to check if **pre-treatment trends are parallel**

Difference-in-Differences



Difference-in-Differences



Assumptions

1. Parallel pre-treatment trends between treated and control units

Assumptions

1. Parallel pre-treatment trends between treated and control units
2. No compound treatment

Assumptions

1. Parallel pre-treatment trends between treated and control units
2. No compound treatment
3. No spillovers (SUTVA)

Assumptions

1. Parallel pre-treatment trends between treated and control units
2. No compound treatment
3. No spillovers (SUTVA)
4. Group membership is stable (no migration from control to treatment)

Section 2

Chimeli and Soares 2017

Chimeli and Soares 2017

- How does an activity being illegal affect violence?

Chimeli and Soares 2017

- ▶ How does an activity being illegal affect violence?
- ▶ How did Brazil's ban on mahogany affect homicides?

Chimeli and Soares 2017

- ▶ How does an activity being illegal affect violence?
- ▶ How did Brazil's ban on mahogany affect homicides?
- ▶ What are the challenges to explanation?

Chimeli and Soares 2017

- ▶ How does an activity being illegal affect violence?
- ▶ How did Brazil's ban on mahogany affect homicides?
- ▶ What are the challenges to explanation?
 - ▶ Omitted variables, eg. State capacity

Chimeli and Soares 2017

- ▶ How does an activity being illegal affect violence?
- ▶ How did Brazil's ban on mahogany affect homicides?
- ▶ What are the challenges to explanation?
 - ▶ Omitted variables, eg. State capacity
 - ▶ Overall trends, eg. national decrease in homicides
- ▶ Comparing the *change* in violence in mahogany-growing areas to the change in violence in non-growing areas

Chimeli and Soares 2017

- In the 'After' period we need treated **and** control units

Chimeli and Soares 2017

- ▶ In the 'After' period we need treated **and** control units
- ▶ But the ban on mahogany applied to **all** of Brazil.

Chimeli and Soares 2017

- ▶ In the 'After' period we need treated **and** control units
- ▶ But the ban on mahogany applied to **all** of Brazil.
- ▶ So what are treatment and control here?

Chimeli and Soares 2017

- ▶ In the 'After' period we need treated **and** control units
- ▶ But the ban on mahogany applied to **all** of Brazil.
- ▶ So what are treatment and control here?
- ▶ **Treatment:**

Chimeli and Soares 2017

- ▶ In the 'After' period we need treated **and** control units
- ▶ But the ban on mahogany applied to **all** of Brazil.
- ▶ So what are treatment and control here?
- ▶ **Treatment:** Municipalities with mahogany

Chimeli and Soares 2017

- ▶ In the 'After' period we need treated **and** control units
- ▶ But the ban on mahogany applied to **all** of Brazil.
- ▶ So what are treatment and control here?
- ▶ **Treatment:** Municipalities with mahogany
- ▶ **Control:**

Chimeli and Soares 2017

- ▶ In the 'After' period we need treated **and** control units
- ▶ But the ban on mahogany applied to **all** of Brazil.
- ▶ So what are treatment and control here?
- ▶ **Treatment:** Municipalities with mahogany
- ▶ **Control:** Municipalities **without** mahogany

Chimeli and Soares 2017

- ▶ In the 'After' period we need treated **and** control units
- ▶ But the ban on mahogany applied to **all** of Brazil.
- ▶ So what are treatment and control here?
- ▶ **Treatment:** Municipalities with mahogany
- ▶ **Control:** Municipalities **without** mahogany
- ▶ **Before:**

Chimeli and Soares 2017

- ▶ In the 'After' period we need treated **and** control units
- ▶ But the ban on mahogany applied to **all** of Brazil.
- ▶ So what are treatment and control here?
- ▶ **Treatment:** Municipalities with mahogany
- ▶ **Control:** Municipalities **without** mahogany
- ▶ **Before:** Pre-1998

Chimeli and Soares 2017

- ▶ In the 'After' period we need treated **and** control units
- ▶ But the ban on mahogany applied to **all** of Brazil.
- ▶ So what are treatment and control here?
- ▶ **Treatment:** Municipalities with mahogany
- ▶ **Control:** Municipalities **without** mahogany
- ▶ **Before:** Pre-1998
- ▶ **After:**

Chimeli and Soares 2017

- ▶ In the 'After' period we need treated **and** control units
- ▶ But the ban on mahogany applied to **all** of Brazil.
- ▶ So what are treatment and control here?
- ▶ **Treatment:** Municipalities with mahogany
- ▶ **Control:** Municipalities **without** mahogany
- ▶ **Before:** Pre-1998
- ▶ **After:** Post-1998

Chimeli and Soares 2017

- ▶ In the 'After' period we need treated **and** control units
- ▶ But the ban on mahogany applied to **all** of Brazil.
- ▶ So what are treatment and control here?
- ▶ **Treatment:** Municipalities with mahogany
- ▶ **Control:** Municipalities **without** mahogany
- ▶ **Before:** Pre-1998
- ▶ **After:** Post-1998
- ▶ **Outcome:**

Chimeli and Soares 2017

- ▶ In the 'After' period we need treated **and** control units
- ▶ But the ban on mahogany applied to **all** of Brazil.
- ▶ So what are treatment and control here?
- ▶ **Treatment:** Municipalities with mahogany
- ▶ **Control:** Municipalities **without** mahogany
- ▶ **Before:** Pre-1998
- ▶ **After:** Post-1998
- ▶ **Outcome:** Rate of Homicides

Chimeli and Soares 2017

- ▶ Multiple treatment timings:
 - ▶ 1st policy change
 - ▶ 2nd policy change
 - ▶ Reverse treatment: Better policing of mahogany regulations

Chimeli and Soares 2017

► Methodology:

Chimeli and Soares 2017

► Methodology:

$$Homicides_{it} = \gamma_t + \delta_i + \beta(Post - 1998_t * Mahogany_i) + \epsilon_i$$

Chimeli and Soares 2017

- Methodology:

$$Homicides_{it} = \gamma_t + \delta_i + \beta(Post - 1998_t * Mahogany_i) + \epsilon_i$$

- Cluster standard errors by municipality

Chimeli and Soares 2017

- Methodology:

$$Homicides_{it} = \gamma_t + \delta_i + \beta(Post - 1998_t * Mahogany_i) + \epsilon_i$$

- Cluster standard errors by municipality
- Apply more complex state-specific trends for covariates to minimize risk of non-parallel trends

Chimeli and Soares 2017

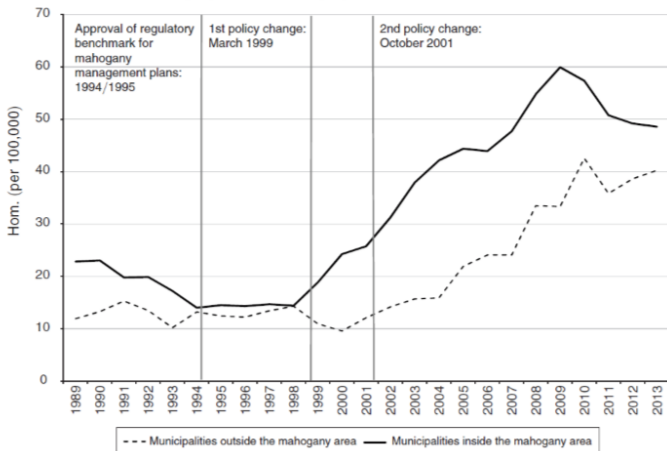
- Methodology:

$$Homicides_{it} = \gamma_t + \delta_i + \beta(Post - 1998_t * Mahogany_i) + \epsilon_i$$

- Cluster standard errors by municipality
- Apply more complex state-specific trends for covariates to minimize risk of non-parallel trends
- Supporting evidence: The 'extra' homicides were the type we'd expect from illegal activity

Difference-in-Differences

Panel A. Homicides in mahogany and non-mahogany areas



Chimeli and Soares 2017

- ▶ Interpretation
 - ▶ Illegal activity prevents 'peaceful' contract enforcement
 - ▶ Competition between loggers
 - ▶ Contract enforcement with buyers
 - ▶ Intimidation of communities to not report logging