

Man Eats Forest

Impacts of Cattle Ranching on Amazon Deforestation

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Motivation

- ▶ **Amazon deforestation** continues to be an issue, threatening
 - ▶ local *biodiversity* and *livelihoods* (Gibson et al. 2011; Villén-Pérez et al. 2022)
 - ▶ regional and global *climates* (Leite-Filho et al. 2021; Araujo et al. 2023)

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- ▶ In Brazil, **demand for land** primarily stems from **agriculture**,
 - ▶ with **cattle** and *soy* being the predominant factors (Rajão et al. 2020)
 - ▶ mining and other agricultural products play a limited role (Garrett et al. 2021)

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 - ▶ footprint analyses lack causal interpretability
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This paper

Uses a quasi-experimental shift-share design to **causally identify and quantify** the deforestation impacts of the **demand-driven cattle expansion** in the Legal Amazon

Legal Amazon in 2000

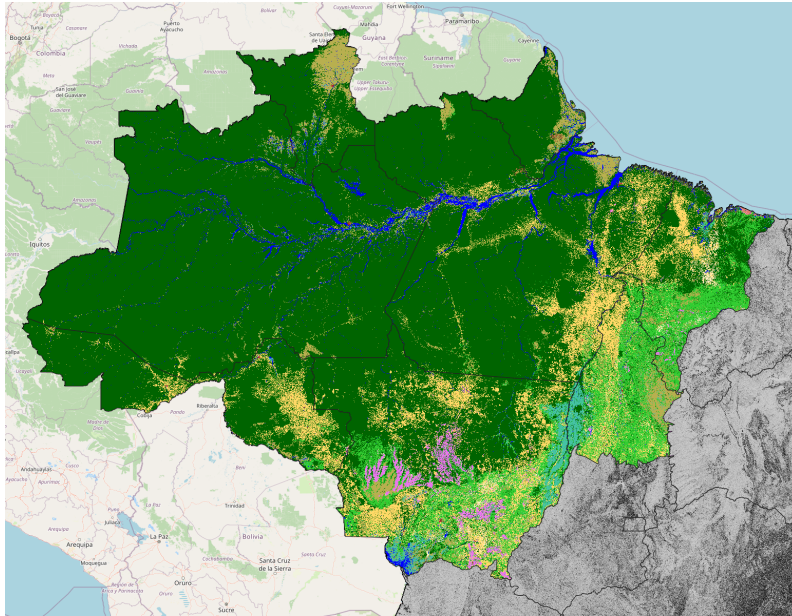


Chart: Land cover, including **forest**, **pasture**, and **croplands**, in the Legal Amazon in 2000.

Legal Amazon in 2022

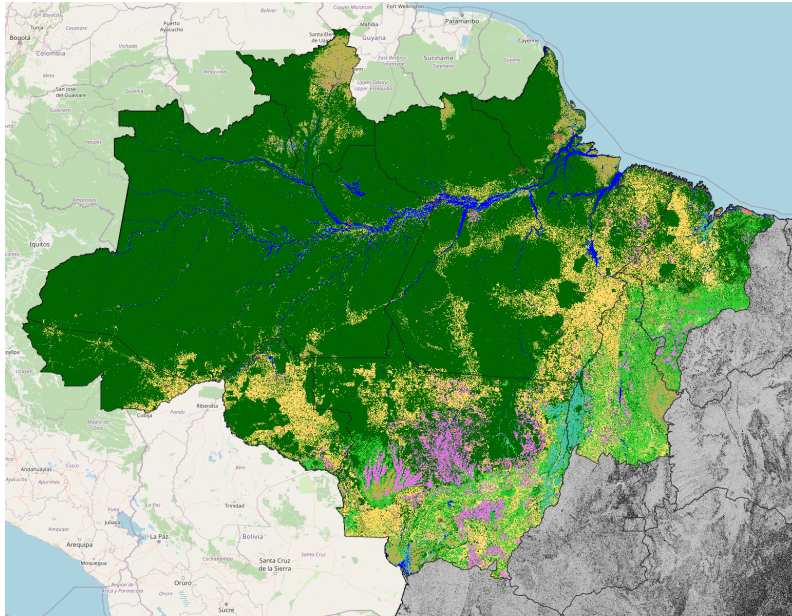


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Background, Deforestation in Brazil

Reasons for high levels and resurgence include:

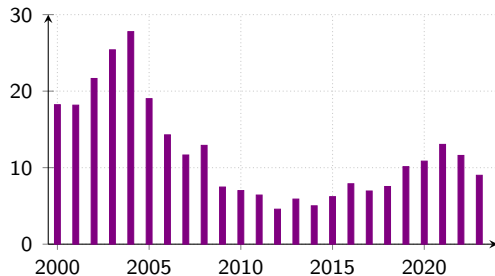


Chart: Deforestation in the Brazilian Amazon (in 1,000 km²).

- a. Cusack et al. 2021; Pendrill et al. 2022.
- b. Reydon, Fernandes, and Telles 2020.
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Reasons for high levels and resurgence include:

- ▶ strong and rising **demand for agricultural products**, especially **beef products**^a
 - ▶ can be met with *intensification*, or deforestation at the *extensive margin*.

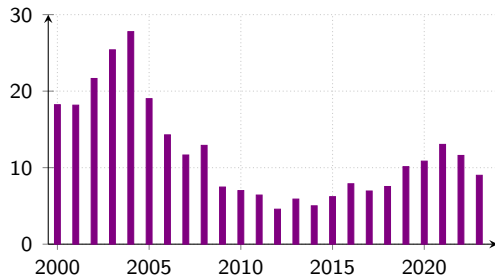


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- ▶ weak *land governance* enabling speculative **land appropriation**^b
 - ▶ forest is cut, agricultural activities are feigned, and ownership is claimed.

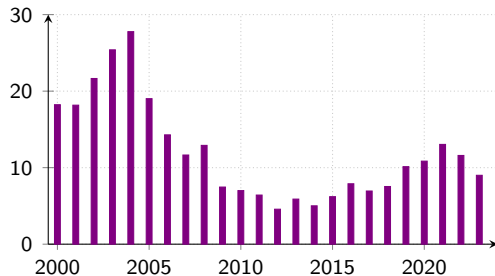


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- ▶ *policy interventions* being **not resilient** with respect to political influence^c

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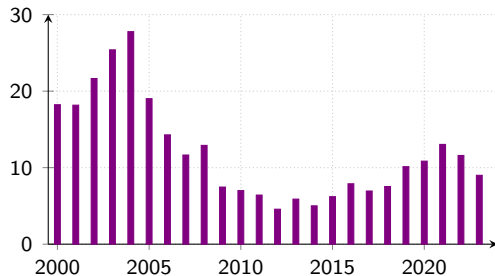


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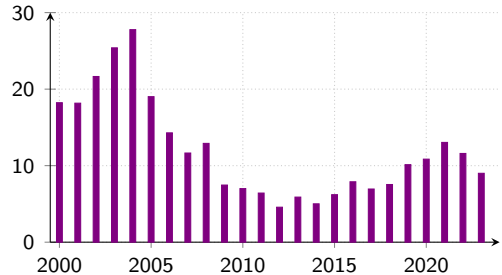


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- ▶ ...is moving deeper into the Amazon (Vale et al. 2022) and is the **proximate cause of ~90-95% of deforestation** there (Haddad et al. 2024),
- ▶ ...is linked to deforestation that accounts for a **fifth of global land use emissions** from the tropics, ~500MT per year (Pendrill et al. 2019),

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- ▶ ...is linked to deforestation that accounts for a **fifth of global land use emissions** from the tropics, ~500MT per year (Pendrill et al. 2019),
- ▶ ...and, due to the mobility of cattle, acts as the **main intermediary for land appropriations** in the Amazon (Fearnside 2017).

Empirical Specification

Empirical Specification I

We depart from a simple (first-difference) panel regression specification:

$$y_{i,t} = \beta c_{i,t} + \mathbf{X}'_{i,t-s} \gamma + \mu_t + u_{i,t},$$

where

- ▶ $y_{i,t}$ denotes **forest loss** in municipality i at time t ,
- ▶ $c_{i,t}$ is a measure of **cattle expansion** (e.g. change in cattle head),

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- ▶ μ_t are time-fixed effects, and
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Entangled effects

However, β is not *identified*, i.e. as $c_{i,t}$ captures multiple drivers of the cattle expansion

Empirical Specification II

To *identify the causal effect* of cattle expansion, we use a shift-share instrument:¹

$$\begin{aligned}y_{i,t} &= \beta \hat{c}_{i,t} + \mathbf{X}'_{i,t-s} \boldsymbol{\gamma} + \mu_t + u_{i,t} \\ c_{i,t} &= \mathbf{X}_{i,t-s} \boldsymbol{\alpha} + \omega B_{i,t} + \mu_t^b + \varepsilon_{i,t}\end{aligned}$$

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- We instrument the measure of cattle expansion $c_{i,t}$ with

$$B_{i,t} = \sum_m \frac{\text{exports}_{i,m,t=0}}{\text{exports}_{i,t=0}} z_{i,m,t=0} g_{m,t},$$

- constructed as interaction of **shares** $z_{i,t=0}$ with **shifts** $g_{m,t}$ for export market m

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Identification

We rely on *exogeneity of the shifts* for identification, and exploit *shares for relevance*

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Construction of the instrument [Details](#)

We construct our shift-share (or *Bartik*) instrument $B_{i,t}$ as

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- ▶ Distance to slaughterhouse locations, interacted with municipality i 's initial cattle stocks as **share** $z_{i,t=0}$ to measure exposure to beef industry
 - ▶ Transport costs are crucial factor for the profitability of agriculture (Souza-Rodrigues 2019), and slaughterhouses are an intermediate destination (Vale et al. 2022)

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 - ▶ Transport costs are crucial factor for the profitability of agriculture (Souza-Rodrigues 2019), and slaughterhouses are an intermediate destination (Vale et al. 2022)
- ▶ Changes in international beef consumption as **shifts** $g_{m,t}$, where we consider
 - (i) changes in **all export destinations** weighted by exports at the municipality level
 - (ii) changes in **Chinese beef consumption** for periods lacking export information

Shift-Share Instrument Components

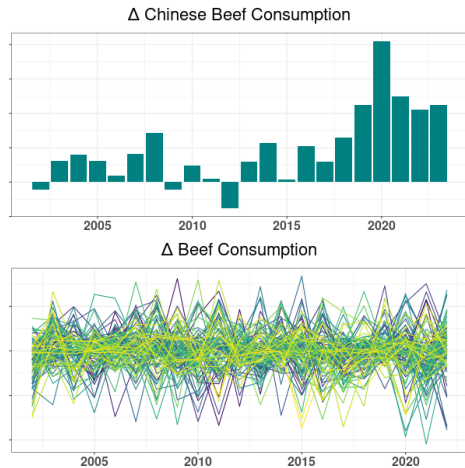
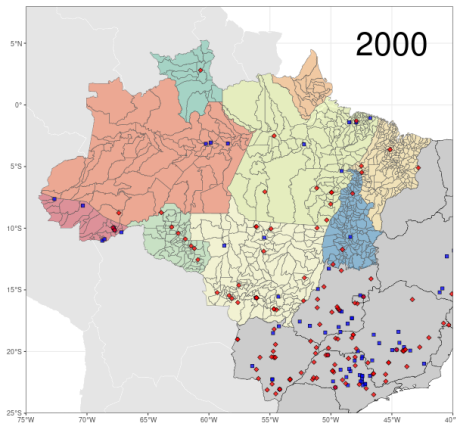


Chart: Slaughterhouse locations in 2000 and changes in aggregate beef consumption.

Sources: Vale et al. 2022; FAO 2023

Data & Sources

Main sample covers 808 municipalities in the Legal Amazon from 2003 until 2022:

- ▶ Land cover and land use change statistics (MapBiomas 2023)
- ▶ Socioeconomic and agricultural data (IBGE 2022)
- ▶ Environmental fines (IBAMA 2022)
- ▶ Protected areas (UNEP-WCMC and IUCN 2022)
- ▶ Agricultural price indices constructed in the style of Assunção, Gandour, and Rocha 2015
- ▶ Meteorological indicators (Beguería, Vicente-Serrano, and Angulo-Martínez 2010)
- ▶ Slaughterhouse locations (Vale et al. 2022)
- ▶ Municipality-level beef exports (Ermgassen et al. 2020)
- ▶ International beef consumption (FAO 2023)

Results

Results, cattle expansion

	2003–2022	2011–2022
Forest~	OLS	OLS
Cattle	-0.103 (0.03)	-0.109 (0.03)
Covariates	Full	
Year FEs	Yes	
$N \times T$	16,160	9,696
F stat (Cattle)		

Standard errors clustered at the municipality-level. Significant ($p < 0.01$) estimates in **bold**.

► Pasture expansion

Results, cattle expansion

Forest~	2003–2022		2011–2022
	OLS	IV-CHN	OLS
Cattle	-0.103 (0.03)	-0.429 (0.14)	-0.109 (0.03)
Covariates	Full	...	
Year FEs	Yes	...	
$N \times T$	16,160	16,160	9,696
F stat (Cattle)		301.6	

Standard errors clustered at the municipality-level. Significant ($p < 0.01$) estimates in **bold**.

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Results, cattle expansion

Forest~	2003–2022		2011–2022		
	OLS	IV-CHN	OLS	IV-CHN	IV-EXP
Cattle	-0.103 (0.03)	-0.429 (0.14)	-0.109 (0.03)	-0.456 (0.13)	-0.381 (0.10)
Covariates	Full	...			
Year FEs	Yes	...			
$N \times T$	16,160	16,160	9,696	...	
F stat (Cattle)		301.6		414.1	56.8

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► Pasture expansion

Results, biome heterogeneity

Biome	Amazon		Cerrado	
	Forest~		Forest~	<i>incl. Savanna~</i>
	OLS	IV		
Cattle	-0.108 (0.03)	-0.530 (0.15)		
Covariates	Full	...		
Year FEs	Yes	...		
$N \times T$	10,060	...		
F stat		188.7		

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► Heterogeneity by governments

Results, biome heterogeneity

Biome	Amazon		Cerrado	
	Forest~		Forest~	<i>incl. Savanna~</i>
	OLS	IV	OLS	IV
Cattle	-0.108 (0.03)	-0.530 (0.15)	-0.003 (.002)	-0.014 (0.02)
Covariates	Full	...		
Year FEs	Yes	...		
$N \times T$	10,060	...	21,240	...
F stat		188.7		53.3

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Results, biome heterogeneity

Biome	Amazon		Cerrado			
	Forest~		Forest~		<i>incl. Savanna~</i>	
	OLS	IV	OLS	IV	OLS	IV
Cattle	-0.108 (0.03)	-0.530 (0.15)	-0.003 (.002)	-0.014 (0.02)	-0.028 (.001)	-0.342 (0.16)
Covariates	Full	...				
Year FEs	Yes	...				
$N \times T$	10,060	...	21,240	...		
F stat		188.7		53.3		53.3

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► Heterogeneity by governments

Results, intensification

Forest~	All biomes		Legal Amazon	Amazon biome
	OLS	IV		
Cattle per pasture	0.054 (0.02)	0.276 (0.10)		
Covariates	Full	...		
Year FEs	Yes	...		
$N \times T$	31,480	...		
F stat		782.6		

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Results, intensification

Forest~	All biomes		Legal Amazon		Amazon biome
	OLS	IV	OLS	IV	
Cattle per pasture	0.054 (0.02)	0.276 (0.10)	0.104 (0.03)	0.503 (0.18)	
Covariates	Full	...			
Year FEs	Yes	...			
$N \times T$	31,480	...	16,160	...	
F stat		782.6		397.3	

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Results, intensification

Forest~	All biomes		Legal Amazon		Amazon biome	
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Cattle per pasture	0.054 (0.02)	0.276 (0.10)	0.104 (0.03)	0.503 (0.18)	0.108 (0.03)	0.530 (0.29)
Covariates	Full	...				
Year FEs	Yes	...				
$N \times T$	31,480	...	16,160	...	10,060	...
F stat		782.6		397.3		245.7

Standard errors clustered at the municipality-level. Significant ($p < 0.01$) estimates in **bold**.

Results, soy (preliminary)

	Forest~		Savanna~	Pasture~
	OLS	IV		
Soy (ha)	-0.291 (0.06)	-0.311 (0.07)		
Soy (ton)	-0.033 (0.01)	-0.064 (0.02)		
Covariates	Full	...		
Year FEs	Yes	...		
$N \times T$	16,160	...		
F stat (Soy, ha)		252.2		
F stat (Soy, ton)		169.9		

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Results, soy (preliminary)

	Forest~		Savanna~		Pasture~
	OLS	IV	OLS	IV	
Soy (ha)	-0.291 (0.06)	-0.311 (0.07)	-0.066 (0.02)	-0.295 (0.08)	
Soy (ton)	-0.033 (0.01)	-0.064 (0.02)	-0.005 (0.01)	-0.060 (0.02)	
Covariates	Full	...			
Year FEs	Yes	...			
$N \times T$	16,160	...			
F stat (Soy, ha)		252.2		252.2	
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	Forest~		Savanna~		Pasture~	
	OLS	IV	OLS	IV	OLS	IV
Soy (ha)	-0.291 (0.06)	-0.311 (0.07)	-0.066 (0.02)	-0.295 (0.08)	-0.198 (0.05)	-0.493 (0.10)
Soy (ton)	-0.033 (0.01)	-0.064 (0.02)	-0.005 (0.01)	-0.060 (0.02)	-0.020 (0.01)	-0.098 (0.03)
Covariates	Full	...				
Year FEs	Yes	...				
$N \times T$	16,160	...				
F stat (Soy, ha)		252.2		252.2		252.2
F stat (Soy, ton)		169.9		169.9		169.9

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Results, robustness

We assess the **sensitivity of results** along several dimensions:

- ▶ Varying **share** definitions
 - ▶ Different computations of distance to slaughterhouses
 - ▶ Omitting slaughterhouse location information
 - ▶ Updating shares over time
- ▶ **Sample** variations
 - ▶ All municipalities in Amazon, Cerrado, and Pantanal
 - ▶ Only municipalities with deforestation and 10% initial tree cover
- ▶ **Specification** variations
 - ▶ Including municipality FEs / time trends
 - ▶ Excluding year FEs
 - ▶ Lag structure of treatment/instrument/controls

Conclusion

Discussion, effect size

- *Stocking rates* suggest that **each cow** requires **~0.8 hectare** of grazing area²

Pasture area per cattle head



2. Arantes et al. 2018.

3. MapBiomass 2023; IBGE 2022.

Discussion, effect size

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- ▶ Reported **forest-to-pasture** transition rate of ~ 0.66 **hectare** per cattle³

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- ▶ Naive estimates suggest almost **decoupling** of cattle and land
- ▶ Our **instrumented estimates** are closer to those suggested by footprint analyses
 - ▶ but still amount to only **63–75%** of them
 - ▶ large share of observed deforestation **unexplained**

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Discussion, implications

- ▶ The beef industry is considered a **driver of economic growth**
 - ▶ Monitoring *supply chains* complicated (Alix-Garcia and Gibbs 2017),
 - ▶ but recent initiatives (EUDR) could be role model for other markets

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- ▶ **Land use externalities** lie at the heart of climate change
 - ▶ Beef has a *caloric efficiency* of 1.9%⁴ and much higher land use for production⁵

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 - ▶ Monitoring *supply chains* complicated (Alix-Garcia and Gibbs 2017),
 - ▶ but recent initiatives (EUDR) could be role model for other markets
- ▶ **Land use externalities** lie at the heart of climate change
 - ▶ Beef has a *caloric efficiency* of 1.9%⁴ and much higher land use for production⁵
- ▶ Few interventions **disincentivize** the demand for **GHG-intensive food products**
 - ▶ **Domestically**, recent tax restructuring could have been more targeted⁶
 - ▶ **Internationally**, a global uniform GHG tax would strongly affect meat products⁷

4. Alexander et al. 2016.

5. Poore and Nemecek 2018.

6. Haddad et al. 2024.

7. Godfray et al. 2018.

Discussion, implications

- ▶ The beef industry is considered a **driver of economic growth**
 - ▶ Monitoring *supply chains* complicated (Alix-Garcia and Gibbs 2017),
 - ▶ but recent initiatives (EUDR) could be role model for other markets
- ▶ **Land use externalities** lie at the heart of climate change
 - ▶ Beef has a *caloric efficiency* of 1.9%⁴ and much higher land use for production⁵
- ▶ Few interventions **disincentivize** the demand for **GHG-intensive food products**
 - ▶ **Domestically**, recent tax restructuring could have been more targeted⁶
 - ▶ **Internationally**, a global uniform GHG tax would strongly affect meat products⁷
- ▶ Options to **steer demand** with other measures than taxes?
 - ▶ Marketing and **advertisement restrictions** for environmental restructuring
 - ▶ Labeling and **information provision**, e.g. BR app “do pasto ao prato”

4. Alexander et al. 2016.

5. Poore and Nemecek 2018.

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Summary & Conclusion

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 - ▶ ... effects are **underestimated** without proper identification
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For **more information**, download the slides or contact me at

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Appendix

Construction of the instrument [◀ Return](#)

We construct our Bartik (or *shift-share*) instrument $B_{i,t}$ using:

- ▶ Distance to slaughterhouse locations, interacted with municipality i 's proportion on overall pasture area/cattle head as **share** variable $z_{i,t=0}$.
 - ▶ Pasture *expansion is clustered* around relevant infrastructure
 - ▶ Transport costs are crucial factor for the profitability of agriculture (Souza-Rodrigues 2019), and slaughterhouses are an intermediate destination (Vale et al. 2022)

$$z_{i,t=0} = \exp\{-d_{i,t=0}\} \times \frac{1}{C_{t=0}} \sum_k c_{k,t=0},$$

- ▶ Changes in foreign (Chinese) beef consumption as **exogenous shift** variable g_t .
 - ▶ The demand is *relevant to* and partly satisfied with Brazilian beef,⁸
 - ▶ but is unlikely to affect Amazon deforestation in other ways.

$$g_t = \Delta \text{steak}_t^{CHN}.$$

8. UN Comtrade 2022; FAO 2023.

We construct also an instrument based on export-weighted shocks:

- ▶ Beef consumption changes in m export destinations:

$$B_{i,t} = \sum_m z_{i,m,t=0} g_{m,t-1}$$
$$z_{i,m,t=0} = z_{i,t=0} \times \frac{\text{exports}_{i,m,t=0}}{\text{exports}_{i,t=0}},$$

- ▶ where the share $z_{i,t=0}$ from before is interacted with export shares of destinations m .
- ▶ Export shares at the municipality level are taken from Ermgassen et al. 2020, only available for period 2010–2020.
- ▶ Growth in beef consumption of market m as **shift** variable $g_{m,t}$.

Results, pasture expansion [Return](#)

Forest~	2003–2022		2011–2022		
	OLS	IV-CHN	OLS	IV-CHN	IV-EXP
Pasture	-0.895 (0.03)	-0.971 (0.03)	-0.832 (0.04)	-0.971 (0.03)	-0.914 (0.03)
Covariates	Full	...			
Year FEs	Yes	...			
$N \times T$	16,160	16,160	9,696	...	
F stat (Pasture)		796.1		816.4	111.9

Standard errors clustered at the municipality-level. Significant ($p < 0.01$) estimates in **bold**.

Results, government heterogeneity [◀ Return](#)

	Lula		Rousseff		Temer		Bolsonaro	
Forest~	OLS	IV	OLS	IV	OLS	IV	OLS	IV
Cattle	-0.097 (0.03)	-0.479 (0.08)	-0.046 (0.01)	-0.121 (0.06)	-0.086 (0.03)	-0.575 (0.15)	-0.159 (0.04)	-0.517 (0.13)
Covariates	Full	...						
Year FEs	Yes	...						
$N \times T$	6,464	6,464	4,040	4,040	2,424	2,424	3,232	3,232
F stat		150.1		38.8		65.7		261.2

Standard errors clustered at the municipality-level. Significant ($p < 0.01$) estimates in **bold**.