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Is "avoided deforestation" scheme workable as an International PES?

The principle

- Reduced Emissions from Deforestation in Developing countries (REDD or "Avoided Deforestation" - AD) : a mechanism proposed by PNG, Brazil and other countries
- Deforestation (tropical): 18 to 25% of CO₂ emissions
- Avoiding deforestation: would save carbon <u>and</u> biodiversity
- The bottom line: financial rewards for countries reducing their deforestation rate, with carbon credits (Kyoto assets) or money equivalent (special fund to be set up)
- Major difficulties in the current negotiation process:
 - How to choose and set up baselines?
 - Taking into account forest degradation (by logging)?
 - Included as a Kyoto instrument (fungible credits, second commitment period 20013-2017) or independent (special credits or money) ?

How to assess the (additional) reduction of deforestation?

- Monitoring physical deforestation is difficult, but one can guess difficulties will be reduced over time
- More difficult will be to reach an agreement on the reference against which deforestation on the committed period is compared to
- Most of the proposals suggests deriving the baseline from an average of <u>past trends</u> of deforestation
- Some others (e.g. Congo Basin countries) claim for an "adjustment factor" allowing them to increase their future deforestation, but keeping a chance to be credited anyway
- Some researchers would prefer "predictive" baselines based on <u>anticipated rates of deforestation</u> country by country

Historical reference: winners and losers

Orangutan distribution in Borneo Source: UNEP, 2007

- Indonesia and Malaysia have contemplated huge rate of deforestation in the 80 and 90's, but the forest cover tends (or will tend) now to concentrate on highlands: lower trend of deforestation expected for "mechanical" reasons
 - Future reductions likely to be "non additional"
 - Would it be "fair" to reward Indonesia and Malaysia with regard to their past policies vis-à-vis the forest in the past decades?
- Peru, Bolivia, Congo Basin countries likely to be the "losers" with such baseline reference: claim for adjusting the reference to anticipated trends of deforestation

Can we predict deforestation rates?

- An alternative solution would be to anticipate a likely "business as usual" deforestation rate on a future period
- Chomitz et al.(2007) are suggesting modeling land-use dynamics to calculate the baseline scenario.
 - But they also pointed out a correlation between deforestation rate in Amazon and beef price at farm gate. They also see a correlation with rainfalls...
- Difference to make between (quite) predictable variables (e.g. population growth) and guesses:
 - Who can predict often speculative prices for major agriculture commodities, such as soy, oil palm, beef....?
 - Who can predict the evolution of rainfalls quantities and the risk of forest fires in context of growing climate disorders?

An overestimation of governments' role and capacities?

- Many (most of?) factors influencing deforestation rates are beyond the reach of the governments (i.e. cash crop commodities price changes, currencies rates...)
- In a complex system, measuring the impact of given public actions in terms of how many hectares are (not) deforested is a challenge
 - Kaimowitz and Angelsen (1999) have shown the uncertain effects of single variables (such as agricultural progress) on deforestation
- If deforestation slows down, how to disentangle the effect of public policies and the other factors which occurred independently of the government action?

Carbon credits or other financial incentives?

- From a "Kyoto-inside" perspective: fears that "AD" scheme would generate new huge quantities of "hot air" with a downward pressure on the price of the emission permits
 - Recent report from CDM executive board suggested 20% of carbon credits are "non additional"...
- An alternative:
 - "De-linking" with Kyoto instruments: <u>money</u> instead of carbon credits through an <u>international fund</u> to tackle deforestation
 - Targeting in priority the field actors instead of the Governments
 - Using a range of PES to favor changes in farmers' productive practices and reward genuine conservation efforts (case by case assessment)
 - Working with the governments to remove "perverse incentives" (inappropriate subsidies, fiscal system...) and overcome structural threat such as land tenure insecurity, weakness and corruption within the controlling institutions and the justice...

The case for an International Fund for tackling deforestation

- Seeing "AD" as an umbrella for local PES, <u>not</u> as an international PES…
- No more risk of « hot air », but the additionality issue remains especially with the lowest opportunity cost areas

Additionality v. Affordability



Proportion of non deforestation or avoided deforestation

Suitable PES instrument: Conservation Easements

- Conservation easements: a contract between the landlord (individual or communities) and an agency to conserve given lands against an annual payment
- Area targets or case-by-case negotiation?
 - Case by case (property level): fine tuning possible, but risks of diversion (moral hazard) if connivance with the agency
 - Area target: risk of non additionality for some properties but less moral hazard
 - Leakage possible (landlords with several properties)
 - Foreseeable difficulty: targets likely to be contested by "lowdeforestation" areas' actors who will claim for being granted with more "pessimistic" baselines (to maximize their rent expectancy)
- Equity issue: how to avoid reinforcing the unequal wealth and land distribution (e.g. Brazil...)?
 - Latifundists with agricultural areas enough and huge forest reserve will capture most of the rents

Suitable PES instrument: Transferable Development/Deforestation Rights

- For a given area or region: "cap and trade" system of deforestation rights
 - The law gives the maximum amount of deforestation rights which can be distributed (Case of Brazil: 20% maximum of deforestation rights on private properties in forested areas within the legal Amazon)
 - A market can be set up, regulated by an agency. Outsiders could possibly buy back deforestation rights to raise their prices and make additional deforestation costly
- Difficulties:
 - Adjusting with the field situation (properties on which more than 20% have been deforested)
 - Additionality issue: the "rights sellers" might not have the opportunity to use their "deforestation rights" but they sell them anyway!
 - Control and sanctions: without stringent law enforcement, the system will be easily diverted: landlord will sell their rights, then deforest!

Suitable PES instruments and incentives on public forests

- Conservation concessions can be a suitable tool on public lands (Africa, SE Asia...): annual payment to governments and local stakeholders for the <u>opportunity</u> <u>cost</u> of not developing the land
 - The alternative baseline is often selective logging under legal management guidelines
 - "Leakage" possible
- Room for economic evaluation of the opportunity cost at multiple scale levels: *the larger the conservation concession, the more acute will be the fairness/equity issue*
- Sustainable forest management for timber is also a good alternative to land conversion and deforestation: incentives through *tax cuts for certified concessions*?

Combining economic instruments and law enforcement

- Detecting forest infractions (by satellite) is less difficult than enforcing law resulting in effective sanctions...
- How to avoid designing a scheme in which "law compliers" will be disadvantaged compare to violators?
 - What conditions of eligibility?
 - Setting differential regimes for compliers and non-compliers?
- The minimum condition of success is strong signals of political will to enforce the law: do we want to pay for that?
 - With the risk to be said "if you don't pay I let my forests being destroyed"
- The ultimate condition is (still) the collective choices and collective/individual behaviors: forest are converted for feeding beefs, producing biofuels, paper pulp... we are consuming more and more...



Appendix: measurement and imputation of various factors influencing deforestation: a framework of analysis

	Exogenous factors	Non intentional Endogenous factors	Intentional Endogenous factors
Type of measures	<i>Examples:</i> Change in Agricultural commodity prices; Extended climate disorders	<i>Examples:</i> Modification of the interest rate; Cut in fertilizers subsidies	<i>Examples:</i> Stringent enforcement of land-use change laws
Possibility to impute the deforestation reduction to the public action	Non imputable	Imputable	Imputable
Possibility to quantify the net impact on deforestation	(N.A.)	Difficult /Very difficult	Possible