

1           **Consequences of Protected Areas for Household Forest Extraction, Time Use, and**  
2                                   **Consumption: Evidence from Nepal<sup>1</sup>**

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6                                   Aparna Howlader  
7                                   Graduate Student  
8                   Department of Agricultural and Consumer Economics  
9                                   University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

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16                                   Amy W. Ando  
17                                   Professor  
18                   Department of Agricultural and Consumer Economics  
19                                   University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

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24                   Running Title: Consequences of Protected Areas on Households in Nepal  
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27           **Consequences of Protected Areas for Household Forest Extraction, Time Use, and**  
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36   Abstract: Many forest protected areas (PAs) are located in developing countries, where forests  
37 are a major source of food and fuel. Thus, biodiversity conservation may have unintended  
38 consequences on welfare of people in local communities. To explore this issue, we examine the  
39 effects of the new PAs in Nepal established during 1995-2003. Using the Nepal Living Standard  
40 Survey collected in 1995/1996 and 2003/2004, we evaluate the effects of these new PAs on  
41 household consumption, wood collection, and time use. Our estimates suggest that the  
42 establishment of PAs reduce the average wood collection by 20% to 40% compared to the period  
43 prior to PA establishment, with greater impact when PAs are strictly managed. We find evidence  
44 that households adjust to the new PAs with at least modest shifts to fuel purchased in market but  
45 not by using fuel conserving stoves, and that PAs are ineffective when climate makes fuelwood  
46 for heating essential or if households are in regions with large dependence on wood as a fuel.  
47 Finally, while wood collection reductions could lower household welfare, we find no evidence  
48 that PAs trigger either large decreases or increases in total consumption or consumption of food.

49   Keywords: Protected Area, Land Conservation, Impact Evaluation, Nepal, Biodiversity

JEL Codes: Q560, Q570, Q580.

50

51 **1. Introduction**

52 Protected areas (PAs)—places with legal restrictions on resource extraction—play a pivotal role  
53 in biodiversity conservation. Although protected areas have long been used in natural resource  
54 management, recent environmental movements have accelerated growth in the area under  
55 protection (Phillips, 2004). According to the World Database of Protected Areas, about 15% of  
56 the world’s land is currently under some level of “protection”.<sup>2</sup> Because tropical developing  
57 countries are the habitat for many endangered and threatened species, many recent PAs are  
58 located in poor regions of the world (World Bank, 2018).<sup>3</sup> However, households living near  
59 forests in developing countries traditionally extract and depend on resources from the landscape  
60 (e.g., firewood, honey, and herbal medicines). An important unintended consequence of PAs in  
61 developing countries may be welfare loss for these households if people need to reallocate their  
62 efforts and consumption choices after a sudden ban on resource access (Sims, 2010). This paper  
63 therefore studies how PAs affect forest extraction, time allocation, and total consumption of the  
64 surrounding people. Understanding these outcomes and the mechanisms that drive them may  
65 help us to better design new suites of PA policies for sustainable resource management.

66 A large body of literature in environmental economics spatially analyzes forest cover to  
67 understand the impacts of PAs. In general, estimated impacts show that PAs help protect  
68 biodiversity (Andam et al., 2008; Ferraro & Hanauer, 2011; Nelson & Chomitz, 2011; Shah &  
69 Baylis, 2015; Sims, 2010). Using landscape-level pixel data, these papers examine the effects of  
70 PAs on deforestation and find that PAs help to reduce deforestation. When PAs succeed in  
71 protecting biodiversity conservation, people in communities nearby may be negatively affected

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<sup>2</sup> See also <http://www.protectedplanet.net/>.

<sup>3</sup> According to the World Bank Open Data development indicators (2018) on the terrestrial protected areas, higher income countries have 15.1% of land under protection, and lower income countries have 15.9% area under protection.

72 by PA restrictions depending on how much those people depend on forest resources. Given the  
73 success of PAs on biodiversity outcomes, it becomes important to understand the effects of PAs  
74 on surrounding people.

75 Environmental economists and policymakers are concerned about whether establishment  
76 of forest PAs causes an adverse impact on human welfare by restricting forest resources or  
77 reduces poverty by generating ecotourism activities (Adams et al. 2004; Barrett et al. 2011;  
78 Baylis et al., 2015; Miteva et al., 2012; Pullin et al., 2013; Alix-Garcia et al., 2014; Ferraro and  
79 Pattanayak, 2006; Wilkie et al., 2006). A growing body of literature has analyzed regional-level  
80 poverty data to determine the impacts of PAs. The first papers to discuss the impacts of PAs on  
81 human welfare are qualitative analyses based on cross-sectional case-specific data (Cernea &  
82 Schmidt-Soltau, 2006; Pattanayak et al., 2003; Brandon et al., 1998; Bookbinder et al. 1998;  
83 Foerster et al. 2011). These studies show that PAs have diverse impacts, depending on household  
84 characteristics. However, these studies, due to the settings and availability of data, do not  
85 estimate the the causal effects of PAs on the households.

86 The first research that uses a careful identification strategy to determine the economic  
87 impact of PAs on neighboring communities is Andam et al. (2010). The authors use census-tract  
88 level poverty index data from 1973 and 2000 for Costa Rica, and they use the poverty headcount  
89 ratio at the sub-district level (share of the population with monthly household consumption  
90 below the poverty line) from the 2000 census for Thailand. Using a matching with difference-in-  
91 difference (DID) method, the study shows that poverty is non-negatively correlated with  
92 established PAs. However, the measurement of poverty used in the study is an average score  
93 over several decades that gives only a relative ranking of the areas. Following this study, several  
94 other studies use similar econometric approaches and find that PAs have mixed impacts on the

95 regional-level poverty index in different countries (Canavire-Bacarreza & Hanauer, 2013;  
96 Miranda et al., 2014; Sims, 2010; Clements et al. 2014, 2015; Ferraro and Hanauer, 2011; Pfaff  
97 et al. 2014). Finally, Yergeau et al. (2017) develop a theoretical macro model of the effects of  
98 conservation on aggregate social welfare that includes an agricultural productivity model.  
99 However, a complementary analysis of the impacts of PAs with household-level information is  
100 needed in order to design better policy instruments for future conservation and follow-up  
101 compensation tools to accompany that conservation.

102         This paper is grounded in a household-level theoretical framework. The predictions  
103 derived from economic theory are ambiguous. Resource restrictions associated with PAs will  
104 hamper the daily livelihoods of forest-dependent local communities, but ecotourism driven by  
105 PAs could increase household wellbeing by changing the local labor market and introducing new  
106 income sources. Even without changes in the local labor market, the impact of PAs on time spent  
107 gathering wood and working outside the home will depend on details of the situation. We take a  
108 quasi-experimental approach to studying the actual impacts of PAs on households in rural Nepal.  
109 We estimate the impact on wood collection, time spent gathering wood, and a consumption  
110 measure of household well-being. We investigate the channels through which households in  
111 villages near new PAs react to such establishment: changes in labor supply, market fuel  
112 purchases, stove choice, migration, and establishment of community forests for resource use. We  
113 estimate how the effects of a PA depend on the stringency of the management system, a feature  
114 that is rarely examined in the literature. Finally, we estimate how the effects of PAs depend on  
115 local conditions such as season and geography that influence baseline household wood collection  
116 and elasticity of demand for wood.

117         To examine the effects of PAs on household activities, we choose to use data from Nepal

118 because that country has both newly established PAs with different management strategies and  
119 multiple years of detailed household-level economic information. Excessive dependency on daily  
120 firewood collection from forests has been documented as one of the biggest drivers of  
121 deforestation and environmental degradation in Nepal (Baland et al., 2010; Soussan et al., 1995).  
122 We use Nepal’s household survey data for the years 1995/1996 and 2003/2004. During this time  
123 span, the Nepalese government introduced several new PAs with various management  
124 stringency. We collect detailed information about the geographical locations of these “treatment”  
125 PAs and the villages in the household survey. We compare household wood-collection and other  
126 activities in villages close to PAs to villages farther away from new PAs.

127         The ideal experiment to estimate the impacts on households would randomly assign PAs  
128 to some communities and not to others and then compare activities across the communities.  
129 However, PAs are not randomly allocated across space. Forest landscapes with richer  
130 biodiversity may be more likely to be protected. Also, governments may choose to invest in  
131 protecting landscapes that have better prospects for being popular tourist spots. Thus, unobserved  
132 community characteristics (e.g., forest dependency or site selection) may be a source of bias in  
133 OLS estimates of the effects of PA designation on household activity. Our empirical research  
134 strategy accounts for such possible selection processes and provides causal identification of the  
135 PA impacts. The political economy of forest management in Nepal suggests that state-level  
136 decisions about PA siting are exogenous to individual-level choice behavior. Thus, this paper’s  
137 strategy for identifying PA impacts relies on the fact that a household’s exposure to PAs varies  
138 with time and region. We use a difference-in-difference (DID) estimator that controls for  
139 systematic variation of the presence of a ban on resource access over time and across regions.

140         To evaluate the impacts of PAs and to understand thoroughly the potential bias arising

141 from the non-random setting, we carry out the analyses with three different control groups. First,  
142 a control group of “never treated” communities that are near forests but not near any PAs that  
143 were ever established forms our primary basis for comparison. Second, we use a control group of  
144 “treated earlier” villages near PAs that were established prior to the study period. Third, we use  
145 another control group of “treated later” villages located near PAs that were established after the  
146 study period. These “treated earlier” and “treated later” villages may be more similar in  
147 unobserved characteristics to villages that are treated during our study period than villages that  
148 are never near a protected area. We inspect a district-level welfare variable and district-level  
149 forest cover data over time to confirm similarity of the pre-treatment welfare trends in the  
150 treatment and main control group.

151 We find evidence of a significant reduction in the amount of firewood collected near  
152 PAs. Our estimates suggest that between 1996 and 2003, households’ firewood collection  
153 decreased by at least 20% to at most 40% in areas close to PAs, and the impacts are much  
154 stronger for strict forms of PAs than for new conservation areas that allow some community use  
155 of forest resources (buffer zones). However, in contrast to other research, we do not find any  
156 robust accompanying impact on the real per-capita total or food consumption expenditures. We  
157 do not find evidence that PAs have consistent effects stove choice, migration, or time use such as  
158 wood collection time, labor supply, or unemployment rate, but we do find that a new PA can  
159 drive more households to purchase fuel from the market to substitute for the wood they cannot  
160 collect. Finally, we find that the effects of PAs vary significantly according to geographical and  
161 seasonal factors that affect household demand for fuelwood.

162

163

## 164 **2 Background**

165           Our choice of the case for this study is driven by the need to find a place with both newly  
166 established PAs and multiple years of detailed household-level economic information. We also  
167 sought a site in which wood collection was a serious problem for forest health. Traditional forest  
168 dependency, establishment of new PAs in recent years, and detailed household-specific forestry  
169 information in the Nepal Living Standard Survey (NLSS) all make Nepal a good choice for this  
170 study. Nearly two-thirds of the Nepalese people still use firewood as a primary source of cooking  
171 fuel. According to the Nepalese census, 70.50% of total population used firewood in 2001, and  
172 in 2011, 66.14% of people still used firewood.<sup>4</sup> A question in the 1996 census showed that  
173 households collect firewood only for home consumption, but the scale of firewood use is large  
174 enough that it is one of the biggest drivers of forest degradation in Nepal (Baland et al., 2010).  
175 The establishment of PAs has the potential to alter this forest use by reducing the size of the  
176 forest available for extraction. Indeed, discussions between government and local people about  
177 firewood use and conservation area loss spurred the establishment of BZ and CF institutions in  
178 the late 1990's (Nagendra et al., 2005).

179           Prior to 1950, forests were under the control of local communities. In 1957, the  
180 government nationalized forest land, which created open access resources and exacerbated  
181 degradation because of ineffective and corrupt governance. In 1967, Nepal introduced a special  
182 forest protection act to enable forest conservation.

183           Today, Nepal has a complex structure of different levels of protection, although the forest  
184 cover loss is still very high in some areas. Nepalese forest cover declined at an annual rate of  
185 2.7% between 1947 and 1990 and then at an annual rate of 1.23% between 1990 and 2010. Since

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<sup>4</sup> Data extracted from the Nepalese census available in IPUMS. The closest substitute for firewood is dung (11.95% in 2001 and 12.55% in 2011).



186 1973, Nepal has established twenty PAs, comprised of ten national parks, three wildlife reserves,  
187 six conservation areas, and one hunting reserve. Together, those PAs cover 18% of the country's  
188 land. The Nepalese government began to engage the army in national park management in 1975.  
189 The Royal Nepalese Army is responsible for guarding the national parks and enforcing the  
190 regulations (Allendorf, 2007). Thus, there is meaningful enforcement of conservation (Yergeau  
191 et al., 2017; Heinen and Shrestha, 2006).

192 The International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) divides PAs into six  
193 categories with respect to management objectives.<sup>5</sup> During the period 1996–2003, Nepal added  
194 three new PAs in IUCN categories I–IV (NPs and CAs) and six new PAs in IUCN category 6  
195 (BZs). Aside from these PAs, all other forest land falls under the National Forest System.  
196 Community and leasehold forestry areas are also included in the National Forest System. Figure  
197 1 shows a map of the PAs in Nepal, with treatment areas indicated; Table A1 of the Appendix  
198 lists information about the current structure of PAs in Nepal.

199 However, continuous degradation around PAs forced the Nepalese government to arrange  
200 a new system in 1996: the Buffer Zone Forest Management system. A Buffer Zone (BZ) is an  
201 area surrounding the core park to integrate conservation and development. BZs were designed to  
202 reduce human-wildlife conflict in Nepal. According to the law that created BZs in 1996, local  
203 communities close to PAs could benefit from park revenues (30 to 50 percent) (Bajracharya,  
204 2004; Keiter, 2014; Nagendra et al., 2005). BZ policy allows some, though not unlimited, harvest  
205 of fodder; under selective criteria it also gives right to limited withdrawal or collection. BZs are  
206 generally monitored by the hired forest guards. Revenue is shared with people near BZs where

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<sup>5</sup> Category I includes strict nature reserves and wilderness areas, Category II includes national parks, Category III includes natural monuments and natural landmarks, Category IV includes wildlife reserves and wildlife sanctuaries, Category V includes protected landscapes/seascapes, and Category VI includes managed resource protected areas.

207 income mostly come through tourists, supplemented by membership fees and sale of forest  
208 products (Nagendra et al., 2005). Table A1 provides the size of the BZs in the study areas.

209 In a related policy the government has, since the late 1980's, gradually handed national  
210 forests over to local communities based on forest management plans devised by the District  
211 Forest Office and the local population. Any forest-using community can apply for a parcel of  
212 forest land in exchange for a promise to reinvest 30–40% of the revenue in the resulting  
213 community forest (CF) every year. A CF needs to be approved by the Forest Department as a  
214 user group to work collectively under community forest law. Harvest of grasses, fallen wood,  
215 and leaf are generally permitted. CFs are monitored by local volunteers. CF members have a  
216 limited degree of control on the management system (Nagendra et al., 2005).

217

### 218 **3. Conceptual Framework**

219 We develop primary hypotheses regarding the effects of PAs on household behavior  
220 (wood collected and time spent on wood collection) and total consumption expenditure by  
221 drawing on household models in previous research. Several researchers have developed  
222 household utility models of forest resource users in developing countries (Bardhan & Udry,  
223 1999; Albers and Robinson, 2007, 2015). We draw on a simple model from Bode et al. (2014)  
224 that is particularly relevant to our empirical questions in which households maximize utility by  
225 making two types of choices. Households divide their time between gathering a resource (in our  
226 case, wood) from a forest for use by the household itself and working outside the home for  
227 wages. They choose exactly where in the forest to go to collect wood in order to minimize the  
228 time cost of gathering a given amount of wood. They can spend their wage earnings on a  
229 substitute for the forest good or a bundle of other goods such as food. Households take market

230 prices, wage rates, and the spatial distribution of forest resources as given. Additionally, the path  
231 that households can take in the forest may be constrained by the presence of PAs, causing the  
232 minimum time needed to gather a given quantity of wood to increase for all quantities.

233         The model in Bode et al. (2014) generates several testable hypotheses regarding the  
234 effects of a newly established PA, assuming wages and prices remain constant. Specifically, the  
235 model predicts that a new PA will cause households to gather less wood from the forest, to  
236 consume less wood in total, and to have lower utility overall; we will test those predictions, using  
237 consumption as a partial proxy for well-being. The impact of a PA on time spent gathering wood  
238 is theoretically ambiguous in the model of Bode et al. (2014) itself, because the household will  
239 choose to gather less wood, but the time needed to gather any particular amount of wood is  
240 greater. This paper will shed light on whether PAs in Nepal increase or decrease time spent  
241 gathering wood.

242         New PAs in Nepal take two different forms. National Parks (NPs) or Conservation Areas  
243 (CAs) are under IUCN category 1 and 2 and are stringently protected. The second type of new  
244 PA is a BZ which is established around previously protected NPs. BZs are less stringently  
245 protected under IUCN 6 category; some income generating activities are allowed in them  
246 (Budhathoki, 2004). We hypothesize that the impact of a BZ on firewood collection is smaller  
247 than the impact of a NP because BZs are less restrictive. We also hypothesize that establishment  
248 of a BZ will have a less negative effect on household welfare than a NP because of the income  
249 associated with BZs; indeed, the impact of a BZ on welfare could even be positive.

250         The household model makes clear that other behaviors and outcomes could be affected  
251 by PAs. First, in the model of Bode et al. (2014) with a well-functioning market for alternatives  
252 to wood, households are likely to increase purchases of those market fuel alternatives in response

253 to a new PA; we test that hypothesis in our setting of rural Nepal where markets for forest goods  
254 and wood alternatives are limited. Second, because PAs alter the marginal product of time spent  
255 gathering wood, we hypothesize that household labor supply (both numbers of hours and  
256 employment status) may change, especially for women who are the primary wood collectors.  
257 Third, new technology could be adopted. More than 95% of Nepal's rural people use either mud  
258 stoves or open fireplaces. Though both these types of stoves use firewood to produce energy, a  
259 mud stove is environmentally more efficient, so a household could adapt to a PA by switching to  
260 a market fuel or an energy-efficient wood stove. Fourth, people in a household may choose to  
261 migrate to another location if a PA drives household utility falls below a certain level. Fifth,  
262 households may do more to organize CFs as an alternative source of firewood, since access to a  
263 CF is likely to reduce the negative impacts of PAs (Ostrom, 2008) and the Nepalese government  
264 will allow any group of people living near a forest to form a CF if they apply to district  
265 administration We test whether PAs drive any of those five types of changes in rural Nepal.

266 Finally, the effects of PAs on wood collection are likely to vary with village  
267 characteristics that influence the level and elasticity of wood demand. We hypothesize that the  
268 absolute quantity of wood collection reduction will vary among geographic regions. The hill area  
269 has the densest forests and greatest baseline use of collected fuelwood; this could mean that  
270 households in the hills are able to decrease wood collection more than people in other areas  
271 without hardship, or it could mean that those households resist change because their lifestyles are  
272 adapted to heavy use of collected wood. We also expect that people may be less likely to abide  
273 by fuelwood collection restrictions during cold months when wood is critical for home heating.  
274 Thus, our final regressions will test for treatment heterogeneity across region and season.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> We also hypothesized that treatment effects might be higher if households had extensive access to livestock (since dung is a common substitute for wood as a fuel) and in places with many community forests before the PA was

275 **4 Data**

276 We collect information on PA locations and establishment years from the World  
277 Database on Protected Areas (2011). We use that to define which villages fall into each of the  
278 treatment and control groups. Our other primary data source is the Nepal Living Standard Survey  
279 (NLSS) collected by the Nepalese government with the assistance of the World Bank. In its  
280 construction, this dataset is similar to the well-known Living Standard and Measurement Survey  
281 collected by the World Bank. The dataset is nationally representative and has detailed  
282 information on the collection of goods from forests, including the time spent on collection, the  
283 amount collected, and the types of the forests. NLSS also includes a community survey that  
284 includes information on distance to forests. Basic data are collected for each individual in the  
285 household. In this study, we focus on only rural Nepal, as the forest-goods demand structure is  
286 different in urban areas (Baland et al., 2010).

287 We use the first two waves of the NLSS, collected in 1995/1996 and 2003/2004. NLSS-  
288 1's sample frame was taken from the 1991 census, and NLSS-2's sample frame was taken from  
289 the 2001 census. NLSS-1 and -2 follow the same survey stratification: they divide Nepal into  
290 ecological zones of mountains, hills, and low land. The probability sampling units (village  
291 wards) were selected from those ecological zones. We use NLSS-provided sampling weights  
292 whenever necessary in the analysis. In total, NLSS-1 interviewed 3388 households and NLSS-2  
293 interviewed 3912 households. NLSS has both repeated cross-section and panel data. As the  
294 number of households in the panel is small (though nationally representative), we utilize it only  
295 for a robustness check for the repeated cross-sectional analysis. The Central Bureau of Statistics  
296 provides some other household-level datasets including NLSS-3 collected in 2010, but the

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established so they had access to an alternative. No results supported those hypotheses, so the analyses are not reported here to reduce tables.

297 change in sampling strategy in NLSS and change in the political system prohibited us from using  
298 those in a causal identification framework.

299 The dependent variables that come from the NLSS include quantity of firewood  
300 collected, firewood collection time, expenditure per capita, food expenditure per capita, fuel  
301 choice, labor supply, number of migrants, employment status, and type of stove used. We also  
302 use NLSS data to create a proxy for membership in a CF equal to a binary dummy for whether a  
303 household gathers wood from a CF (Baland et al., 2010).

304 Several explanatory variables come from the NLSS. We use the interview month  
305 mentioned in the NLSS survey to create a dummy for the season in which the survey was  
306 conducted. The NLSS identifies which villages are in the lowland, hill, and mountain regions.  
307 We also use several other control variables derived from the NLSS (with coefficient results not  
308 reported in tables): household size, age and literacy of household head, and number of  
309 households in a village.

310 All control groups and variables used in the analyses are defined in Table 1.

311

## 312 **5 Estimation and Identification Strategy**

313 This section explains our strategy for generating plausible estimates of the causal effects  
314 of PAs in Nepal. We use a DID approach exploiting two sources of variation in order to  
315 construct sound estimates of the counterfactual outcomes: the distance from each household to  
316 the nearest PA and changes in the treatment and outcome variables over time.

317

### 318 ***5.1 Empirical framework***

319 The unit of observation is a household. Our main outcome variables of interest are the

320 amount of firewood collected, the time spent collecting firewood, and per-capita consumption  
321 expenditures. The main independent variable is a policy indicator that equals one if the  
322 household is “treated” by being near any newly established PA and zero otherwise. In our main  
323 analyses, we define “near” as “within 20 kilometers”. NLSS data is not geocoded, so we use the  
324 names of the villages provided by NLSS to map them with PAs, using the distance from each  
325 village to the border of the nearest PA. The treatment group consists of 372 households in  
326 1995/1996 and 540 households in 2003/2004. In robustness checks we change the definition of  
327 proximity to PAs to see how that affects the results.

328 Using the potential outcome framework, our empirical strategy is to compare changes in  
329 outcomes in regions with newly established PAs to changes in outcomes in other areas where  
330 similar types of forest livelihood exist. The basic regression framework we use is the standard  
331 form of DID regression. Following Imbens & Wooldridge (2009) and Angrist & Pischke (2015),  
332 we use a repeated cross-sectional data based DID method where the composition of treatment  
333 and control group is unchanged:

334

$$335 \quad Y_{ist} = \alpha + \beta D_s + \delta Post_t + \rho(D_s * Post_t) + \gamma X_{ist} + \varepsilon_{ist} \quad (1)$$

336

337 where  $i$  indexes the individual,  $s$  indexes the group (treated village), and  $t$  indexes time.  $D_s$  is the  
338 treatment dummy and is equal to one if a household is in a village  $s$  that is in the treatment  
339 group.  $Post_t$  equals one if an observation is in the after-treatment period and zero otherwise. The  
340 policy dummy,  $(D_s * Post_t)$ , is an interaction of the treatment dummy and the post-period  
341 dummy, and is equal to one if a household is in a village  $s$  that is in the treatment group after the  
342 establishment of a new PA. The impact coefficient,  $\rho$ , will capture the impact of PAs. The

343 potential outcome framework works for repeated cross-section data as long as the composition of  
344 the group is same (Imbens and Wooldridge, 2009). As the Nepal NLSS is a nationally  
345 representative sample based on the population census, it is reasonable to use our repeated cross-  
346 section sample for a difference-in-difference analysis.

347         The vector of covariates is  $X_{ist}$ . In our preferred specification, this will include the other  
348 important household- and village-level variables that can have effect on the outcomes: household  
349 head's education level and age, the household size, the number of households in the village. We  
350 also control for the ecological belt of the country (hill, mountain, or low land) in case that is  
351 correlated with unobservable factors.

352         The main empirical challenge is to find a suitable counterfactual - a measure of what  
353 would have happened to the households if they had not been subjected to a nearby PA. To  
354 identify the counterfactual, we need communities near forests that are comparable to the  
355 treatment group in the covariates. Matching with observed covariates cannot solve the problem,  
356 as “forest dependency” and “PA site/location choice criteria” are not observed in the dataset. To  
357 reduce the bias potentially introduced by these unobservable differences in forest livelihood  
358 across the treated and untreated group, we construct three separate control groups that face  
359 different level of bias. We construct a main control group of “never treated” households  
360 (designated as control group A) who live near a forest, but not near any PA site. To determine  
361 the distance from the forest, we use the NLSS community survey question for “distance to  
362 forest”, where the distance is measured in units of time in hours. Households in control group A  
363 are defined in two ways: they live at most six hours one way from a forest, and they live at least  
364 40 km away from all PAs established before December 2017. Control group A consists of 276  
365 households in 1996 and 660 households in 2003. Distance is self-reported by the village head



366 and therefore might include a measurement error.

367 Another concern is site selection bias (Allcott, 2015). The “never treated” control may  
368 have a flatter trend of wood collection than the communities living around the treatment PAs if  
369 we suspect that PAs have been preferentially established in areas where firewood collection has  
370 been increasing more rapidly than the areas around non-PA forests. Another possible source of  
371 bias is that people might be reluctant to report the actual quantities of firewood collection in the  
372 survey, if they know that they are not supposed to be collecting in the park. They may know the  
373 patrolling schedule too and can just steal otherwise (Bajracharya, 2004). Such unobserved  
374 difference would yield overestimates of the impacts.

375 To evaluate robustness to such potential biases, we use two other control groups. A  
376 “treated earlier” group (control group B) is comprised of households within 20 km of any PA  
377 established before 1995. We exclude the PAs established before 1995 that were extended to BZs  
378 during the study period. Villages in areas near previously established PAs may have similar  
379 features to areas near our treatment PAs. Similarly, we use a third control group of people living  
380 near PAs that were established only after our study period (in December 2009 and January 2010)  
381 designated as the “treated later” control group, or control group C. A comparison of the results  
382 obtained using these three control groups can yield bounds on the treatment effect if the  
383 conventional adjustments in pre-treatment covariates fail to remove all bias (Rosenbaum, 1987;  
384 Meyer, 1995) and if we suspect the presence of differential trends between the treatment and  
385 control groups. The construction of three control groups is summarized in Table 1.

386 Recall that Nepal has different categories of PAs. We divide these into two groups: one  
387 for CAs and NPs and another one only for BZs. We merge CAs and NPs together into a status  
388 designated NP because both of these have similar strict protection and villagers face same

389 constraints from them. To understand the different impacts of these types of PAs, we use a  
 390 multiple-group DID regression framework, which is a slight modification of equation (1):

391

$$392 \quad Y_{ist} = \alpha + \delta Post_t + \beta_1 BZ_s + \beta_2 NP_s + \rho_1(BZ_s * Post_t) + \rho_2(NP_s * Post_t) + \gamma X_{ist} + \varepsilon_{ist} \quad (2)$$

393

394  $BZ$  is equal to one if the household is in a village that is near a BZ and zero otherwise,  
 395 and  $NP$  is equal to one if the household is in a village that is near a NP or CA and zero otherwise.  
 396 Following the conceptual framework, we expect that  $\rho_1$  and  $\rho_2$  will be negative for the fuelwood  
 397 collection dependent variable and that  $|\rho_1| < |\rho_2|$ .

398 Finally, we analyze potential heterogeneous treatment effects using variation in  
 399 geography and in the season during which the survey was conducted. For that purpose we use the  
 400 regression below where “H” denotes the heterogeneity, and  $\delta_1$  and  $\delta_2$  capture how heterogeneity  
 401 affects the average treatment effect:

402

$$403 \quad Y_{ist} = \alpha + \delta Post_t + \beta_1 BZ_s + \beta_2 NP_s + \beta_3 H + \rho_1(BZ_s * Post_t) + \rho_2(NP_s * Post_t) + \gamma_1(BZ_s * H) +$$

$$404 \quad \gamma_2(NP_s * H) + \delta_1(BZ_s * Post_t * H) + \delta_2(NP_s * Post_t * H) + \theta X_{ist} + \varepsilon_{ist} \quad (3)$$

405

## 406 **5.2 Identifying Assumptions**

407 At a minimum, we need unconfoundedness to establish causality. Given our assumption  
 408 that the treatment effect does not vary over households, unconfoundedness, or the conditional  
 409 independence assumption, is equivalent to independence of the treatment assignment and error,  
 410 conditional on covariates. This assumption cannot empirically be tested, but we employ an  
 411 indirect strategy to explore it. We conduct a placebo test by pretending to estimate the causal  
 412 effect of the new PAs in our study period on a treatment group that is known not to have been

413 affected by them – the households near the PAs that were established in the period 2009–2010,  
414 long after our study period. These “false” or experimental households should not have been  
415 affected by the PAs that were established during the study period (1996–2003).

416 We also need a stronger assumption than unconfoundedness. The DID result can be  
417 interpreted as the causal effect of PAs only under the assumption that in the absence of a PA the  
418 increase in outcomes would not be systematically different in these two groups. In other words,  
419 there need to be parallel trends in the outcome variables. Unfortunately, Nepal does not provide  
420 any national household-level data prior to 1996. The Demography and Health Survey 1987 is the  
421 only pre-1995 household survey provided by the Nepal Central Bureau of Statistics, but this is  
422 only a focus group study. Moreover, the Demography and Health Survey 1995 does not provide  
423 any geographic information owing to privacy concerns. In the absence of any pre-baseline data,  
424 it is impossible for us to check the parallel trend assumption by gathering data for a longer  
425 period.

426 However, to develop some intuitive evidence regarding whether trends in conditions in  
427 those villages are parallel to each other, we look at three sets of data over time. First, we employ  
428 the lifestyle data from the community questionnaire. NLSS asks the community head whether the  
429 village has been on an upward welfare trend over the last five years. In 1996, 86% of the control  
430 group and 88% of the treatment group confirmed that their village was in an upward trend. In  
431 2003, these numbers went down to 68% and 71% for the control and treatment groups,  
432 respectively, because of the nationwide economic crisis. Although this welfare trend is a self-  
433 reported qualitative measurement, the similarity between the treatment and control groups by  
434 time shows a similar trend for welfare. Second, we present the district-level human development  
435 index (HDI) in Figure 4 to obtain a crude idea about the pre-treatment welfare trend. Comparing

436 with all control groups, we see that HDI shows a similar trend in the pre-treatment period. Third,  
437 we present district-level forest cover data that show similar trends among groups in the pre-  
438 treatment period in Figure 5; the treatment PA forests were more deforested than control group A  
439 but less deforested than control groups A and B, and the trend of deforestation is similar for all  
440 groups.

441 The next requirement for a valid DID analysis is that the support for the distribution of  
442 the conditioning covariates in the treatment group should overlap with the support for the  
443 distribution of these covariates in the comparison group. Economic theory helps us classify  
444 which variables need to be balanced, based on their role in the theoretical model of household  
445 behavior. The model says that a household's treatment status and corresponding reaction depend  
446 on the distance to a forest, household size, and household-specific demographic characteristics  
447 and asset levels. As PA site selection may depend on the possibility of revenue generation, we  
448 can proxy for it with variables such as distance to market, slope, and population size. Tables A3  
449 through A8 in the Appendix present the covariate balance at the village level and at the  
450 household level for each of the control groups. Many things are balanced; however, we see that  
451 the treatment group was always collecting more firewood than the control groups during the pre-  
452 treatment period. Additionally, Nepal is geographically very dispersed, which makes the district-  
453 level maximum elevation factor imbalanced. As a robustness check, we run an analysis in which  
454 the mean elevation is balanced and find this correction does little to the results.

455

## 456 **6 Results**

457 In this section, we present the results of our average treatment effect estimates from  
458 regression equations (1), (2) and (3) and a series of robustness and placebo tests.

459 **6.1 Basic Average Treatment Effects**

460 We begin by estimating a specification equivalent to regression equation (1) for the  
461 actual experiment using repeated cross-section data. As the sampling procedure is exogenous,  
462 regression estimates are not weighted using sampling weights (Solon et al., 2013). Table 2  
463 presents the results of analyses using each of the three control groups. Recall that the coefficients  
464 for the policy variable (post\*treatment) are the impacts of PAs on the surrounding households.

465 Column 1 shows that proximity to PAs causes average firewood collection to decrease;  
466 this result is significant in the analyses for all three control groups. The result with the primary  
467 “never treated” control group (A) implies that firewood collection drops by 0.106 bhari per day  
468 (a bhari is a basket that people can carry on their backs, supported by a brace). For the alternative  
469 control groups, “treated earlier” (B) and “treated later” (C), per-day firewood collection  
470 decreases by 0.0921 bhari and 0.0996 bhari, respectively. This core treatment effect is stable; it  
471 appears that comparing treatment PA communities to non-PA forest communities does not  
472 overestimate the impacts.

473 The regressions in columns 2, 3, and 4 do not find robust and significant effects of  
474 protected areas on wood collection time or expenditure. The treatment coefficient for wood  
475 collection time is always positive, but it is only significant for control group C and then only at  
476 the 10% level. The effects of PAs on expenditure per capita (total and on food alone) are if  
477 anything positive, but the only statistically significant result is for total expenditure per capita  
478 with control group A.

479 We have a natural “placebo” experimental group of households living near PAs that were  
480 established in 2009 and 2010. This placebo treatment group should not have any change in  
481 firewood collection behavior during our study period as those PAs were created after the study

482 period. This placebo treatment group is control group C in the main analysis. When we estimate  
483 equation (1) with the placebo treatment group and either control group A or B, there is no  
484 significant change in firewood collection, as can be seen in Table 3. This implies that the average  
485 treatment effect we find for the actual treatment group is not due only to a differential trend;  
486 otherwise, we might also see a significant non-zero impact for this placebo treatment group.

### 487 *5.2 Average Treatment Effects of Two Types of PAs*

488 We now estimate the impacts of different kinds of protection areas with regression  
489 equation (2). Tables 4, 5, and 6 present the results for control groups A, B, and C respectively.  
490 We find further evidence that protected areas reduce wood collection in column (1) of all three  
491 tables. The treatment coefficient for the strict NP/CA category of PAs is robustly negative and  
492 significant; NP/CA type PAs are estimated to reduce firewood collection by 0.151, 0.164, and  
493 0.179 bhari per day when using control groups A, B, and C, respectively. BZ protected areas  
494 have significant and negative coefficients for control groups B and C (though not A). As  
495 hypothesized, BZ protected areas lead to smaller reductions in wood collection than strict PAs;  
496 the coefficients on the BZ treatment variable are only -0.06 and -0.07 for control groups B and C  
497 – less than half the magnitude of the effects estimated for strict PAs.

498 Consistent with the results in Table 2, we find no evidence that either NP/CA nor BZ  
499 areas have robust statistically significant effects on per capita expenditure or time spent  
500 collecting firewood. Dividing the treatments up by type does not reveal an effect that was  
501 obscured in the earlier pooled analysis.

### 502 *5.3 Robustness Checks and Magnitudes*

503 We investigate the robustness of the estimated impact of PAs on firewood collection in a  
504 number of alternative specifications using control group A; these results are presented in Table

505 A8 of the Appendix. First, on the premise that people in low lands may have different firewood  
506 demands than in hills and mountains (Baland et al., 2010), we estimate regression Equation 2  
507 after dropping low land areas (Panel A). In Panel B, we estimate the results after balancing the  
508 mean elevation of the treatment and control groups; extreme elevations have been removed from  
509 this analysis. Overall, the results are quite robust. Table A9 of the Appendix also presents the  
510 result of changing the definition of treatment to a proximity of 10 km to a PA (rather than 20  
511 km). For strict PAs, this does not cause any meaningful change in the results. The treatment  
512 effect for BZs using control group A is now also significant and negative, but the effect of BZs is  
513 still estimated to be much smaller than for strict PAs. Finally, to complement our main analyses  
514 of repeated cross-section data we estimate equation (1) on the actual NLSS panel data with 84  
515 observations for the treatment group and 84 observations for the control group. The results in  
516 Table A11 of the Appendix are similar to the repeated cross-section results; PAs are estimated to  
517 reduce firewood collection by 0.204 bhari per day but have no significant impact on collection  
518 time.<sup>7</sup>

519 To understand policy significance, we must evaluate the magnitude of the estimated  
520 effects of PAs on wood collection. The unit of measurement for firewood collection is the bhari,  
521 which is a local Nepalese measurement unit. We can convert bhari to kilograms using conversion  
522 rates available in NLSS; one bhari equals 33.28 kg. A simple calculation thus predicts an average  
523 household will collect 1 to 6 kg less firewood per day when a PA is established nearby. On  
524 average, these villages have around 150 households, so an average village collects at least 150 kg  
525 less firewood every day because of a PA. Table 7 calculates the percentage changes in fuelwood  
526 consumption implied by the statistically significant results of Tables 2, 4, 5, and 6. In general,

---

<sup>7</sup> Only 30 households in this panel live near strict PAs, which prevents us from estimating Equation 2.

527 PAs reduce wood collection by about 30%. When broken up by type, the results imply that strict  
528 PAs can reduce collection by 33-40%, and more accommodating BZ arrangements appear only  
529 to cut wood extraction by 20-26%.

#### 530 *5.4 Mechanisms and Heterogeneity*

531 The conceptual framework identified several other behaviors and outcomes that could be  
532 affected by PAs. Migration and creation of CFs could mitigate negative impacts of PAs on  
533 household well-being. Increased fuel purchases and stove switching could help mitigate the  
534 decrease in utility associated with reduced access to self-collected fuelwood. Finally, PAs could  
535 affect labor supply in several ways; time allocation might shift from wood collection to labor  
536 supply as PAs alter the productivity of time spent on collection, and changes in tourism could  
537 improve work opportunities for people. Tables 10, 11, and 12 present DID regressions for each  
538 of the control groups to explore the impacts of PAs on market purchases of fuel, labor supply and  
539 employment, outmigration from a village, adoption of a more efficient stove, and formation of a  
540 CF.

541 The first column of the three tables shows results of a linear probability model estimating  
542 the impacts of PAs on whether a household purchases fuel from the marketplace. We find that  
543 strict PAs do increase the probability that a household buys fuel instead of only using fuel they  
544 collect themselves, but BZ areas have no such effect. These results hold for all control groups.  
545 The NLSS data reveal that only 2% of the people in our data use market stoves, but those rates  
546 appear to be increased by creation of national parks that cut off wood collection opportunities.

547 None of the other results are highly robust across control groups. The coefficient for strict  
548 PA introduction is always positive in the regressions for female labor supply and whether the  
549 household purchases a more fuel efficient stove, but those coefficients are only significant for



550 one of the control groups. More collaborative BZ type PAs have negative coefficients for female  
551 and male labor supply in most of the regressions, but those findings are only sporadically  
552 significant. Finally, the estimated effects of PAs on migration, development of CFs, and  
553 unemployment are even less robust – the coefficients have inconsistent signs and are rarely  
554 significant.

555 Our last regressions explore how the impacts of PAs on wood collection vary with season  
556 and with geographic region. These are triple-difference-in-difference regressions. Households in  
557 control groups B and C (“treated before” and “treated after”) are only located in a few parts of  
558 the country, and thus those control groups do not have sufficient orthogonal variation in all the  
559 variables to support the triple diff approach. Hence, Table 11 only presents results for control  
560 group A (“never treated.”)

561 We look first at columns (2) and (4) which estimate how the impact of PAs vary with the  
562 season in which the survey was administered. The omitted category of season is Summer. The  
563 coefficients on the baseline impact variables are still negative and significant; during summer,  
564 PAs on average reduce wood collection by 0.149 bhari per day, and when we estimate the effects  
565 separately for NP/C and BZ areas, the decreases are 0.206 and 0.139, respectively. The Rainy  
566 season and Autumn do not have different effects. However, the interactions between Winter and  
567 the treatment variables are positive and significant. PAs cause essentially no net reduction of  
568 wood collection in the cold season.

569 Nepal has three geographically distinct areas: mountain, hill and terai (low land). The  
570 results in columns (2) and (4) of Table 11 estimate how the effects of PAs on wood collection  
571 vary between those regions. The omitted geographical category is mountain, so the significant  
572 baseline treatment effects indicate that PAs reduce wood collection in mountain areas by 0.155

573 bhari overall, and by 0.213 and 0.115 bhari for NPs and BZs, respectively. The interaction terms  
574 for “Lowland” are not significant, so the effect seems to be the same in the lowland areas as in  
575 the mountains. However, the interaction coefficients are positive and significant for the “Hill”  
576 variable in both regressions; the net impact of PAs on wood collection is essentially zero in the  
577 hill region.

## 578 **7 Conclusions**

579 We find evidence that establishment of PAs in Nepal led to a decrease in firewood  
580 collection, and thus firewood consumption, in households that live near the PAs. Our estimates  
581 indicate that PAs caused household firewood collection to fall by 20% to 40% (Table 7); the size  
582 of effect depends on the restrictions placed on the area. This decrease in wood collection may be  
583 reflected in Figure 2, where we see evidence from satellite data that forest cover did indeed  
584 increase in several of the treatment PAs after PA establishment.<sup>8</sup> PAs appear to be effective in  
585 accomplishing their primary goal of slowing forest degradation.

586 Despite the sizable decrease in wood collection, we find no evidence that the  
587 establishment of PAs affected per capita consumption of the people who live near them. In the  
588 short time period of our study, PAs have not inflicted great harm nor has establishment of an  
589 ecotourism industry led to great gains for people close to new PAs. These results are robust to  
590 different alternative specifications and survive internal validity tests, falsification tests, and  
591 inclusion of a wide range of control variables.

592 Finally, we find two significant types of heterogeneity in the effects of PAs on wood  
593 collection. Results show strong seasonal variation in the impact of PAs; during the cold season,  
594 households may be gathering wood from areas that are supposed to be off limits to mitigate what

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<sup>8</sup> Forest cover loss data was extracted from Hansen et al.’s (2013) dataset (Figure 2).

595 would otherwise be real hardship from lack of fuel for heating. PAs also have little impact on  
596 wood collection behavior in the hill region where people previously used the most wood. It may  
597 be difficult to effect change in forest extraction activity when people and their culture are  
598 adapted to heavy forest use.

599         This study has policy implications for the design of conservation instruments. First, the  
600 results show that PAs can result in reduced forest-good collection without necessarily having a  
601 significant negative effect on total household consumption. However, that total consumption  
602 variable may not reveal some actual negative consequences of reduced wood collection because  
603 of the non-monetary nature of the forest good consumption. While we find that PAs spur some  
604 market fuel purchases, most households in Nepal are not shifting toward market substitutes for  
605 self-harvested wood as suggested in many theoretical models (Bode et al., 2015). This pattern  
606 may be driven by low access to market, and may yield hardship to families who must make do  
607 with less fuel. Efforts to improve household access to alternative fuel sources and stoves may  
608 increase social well-being in villages near PAs in rural Nepal.

609         Second, more stringent conservation measures can indeed produce greater reductions in  
610 forest exploitation. Results in this paper suggest that the strict PAs produce greater reductions in  
611 forest degradation than areas with more lenient arrangements. Conservation planner should be  
612 cautious in deploying flexible PAs like Nepal's Buffer Zones if major reduction in wood  
613 collection is needed to accomplish a time-sensitive conservation objective.

614         Third, planners should not assume that PAs will attract ecotourism that will immediately  
615 make local people better off; we find no evidence of that occurring in Nepal. It is possible that  
616 these results are Nepal-specific and cannot be generalized to other situations with different  
617 political economies of forest management. However, disentangling the direct impacts and market

618 consequences of PAs is particularly important in light of IUCN's recent advocacy of the  
619 Payment for Ecosystem Services in Nepal (Paudel et al., 2015).

620 Fourth, planners should expect that the effects of PAs will vary with the elasticity of  
621 forest-product demand in different areas and climatic conditions. One cannot expect people to  
622 freeze in winter just to obey restrictions on fuelwood collection, and behavior change may be  
623 slow in places where households have few substitutes and are accustomed to making heavy use  
624 of the forest products planners hope to put off limits.

625 Our study has several limitations. First, it does not include indirect (displacement)  
626 impacts of tourism on the labor market outcomes. Employees in the tourism sector may be  
627 temporary migrants and omitting this spillover may underestimate the overall welfare impacts.  
628 However, NLSS data do not allow us to check for this possibility. Second, PA-based  
629 infrastructure development may take longer than the duration of our study to influence local  
630 labor markets. Tracking these PA communities for a longer period of time will help distinguish  
631 steady-state equilibria from transitional impacts. Finally, this paper only estimates average  
632 treatment effects and does not identify distributional inequities in the impacts of PAs. The  
633 poorest cohorts may bear the largest adverse impact from PAs if they depend on the forest for  
634 basic survival. Answering these questions is beyond the scope of this paper, but future research  
635 could use the establishment of PAs to understand these effects.

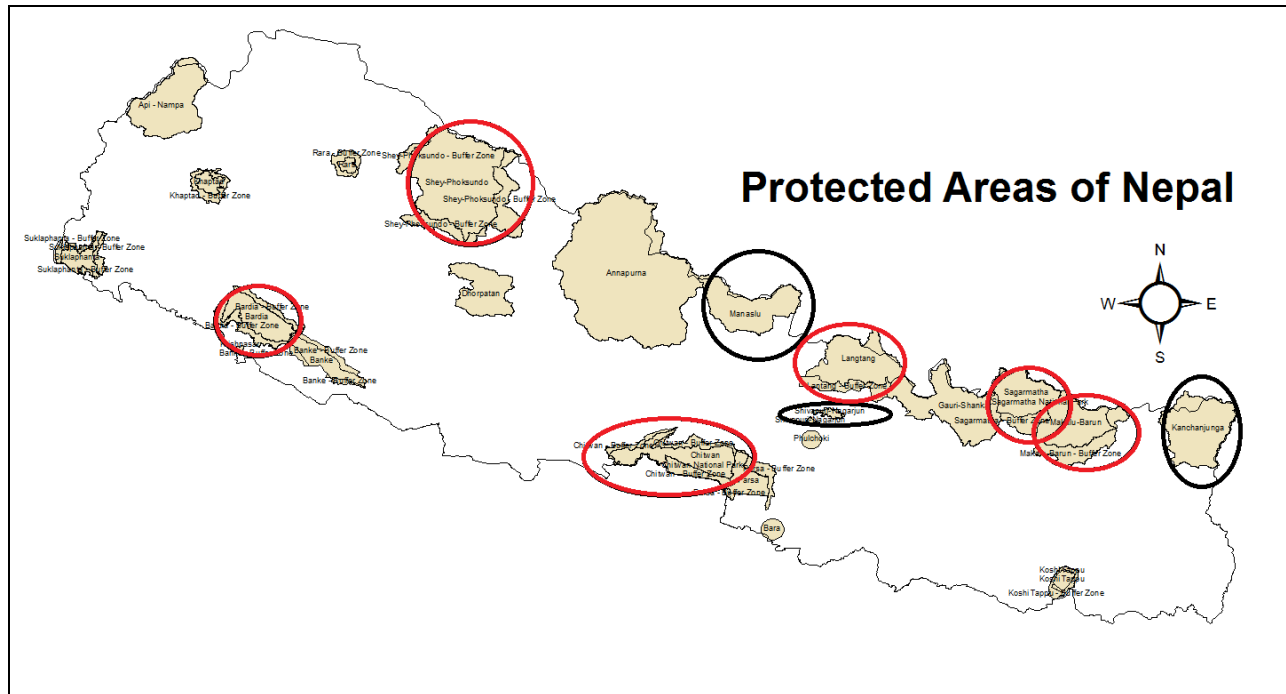
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**Figure 1: Protected Areas of Nepal**

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640

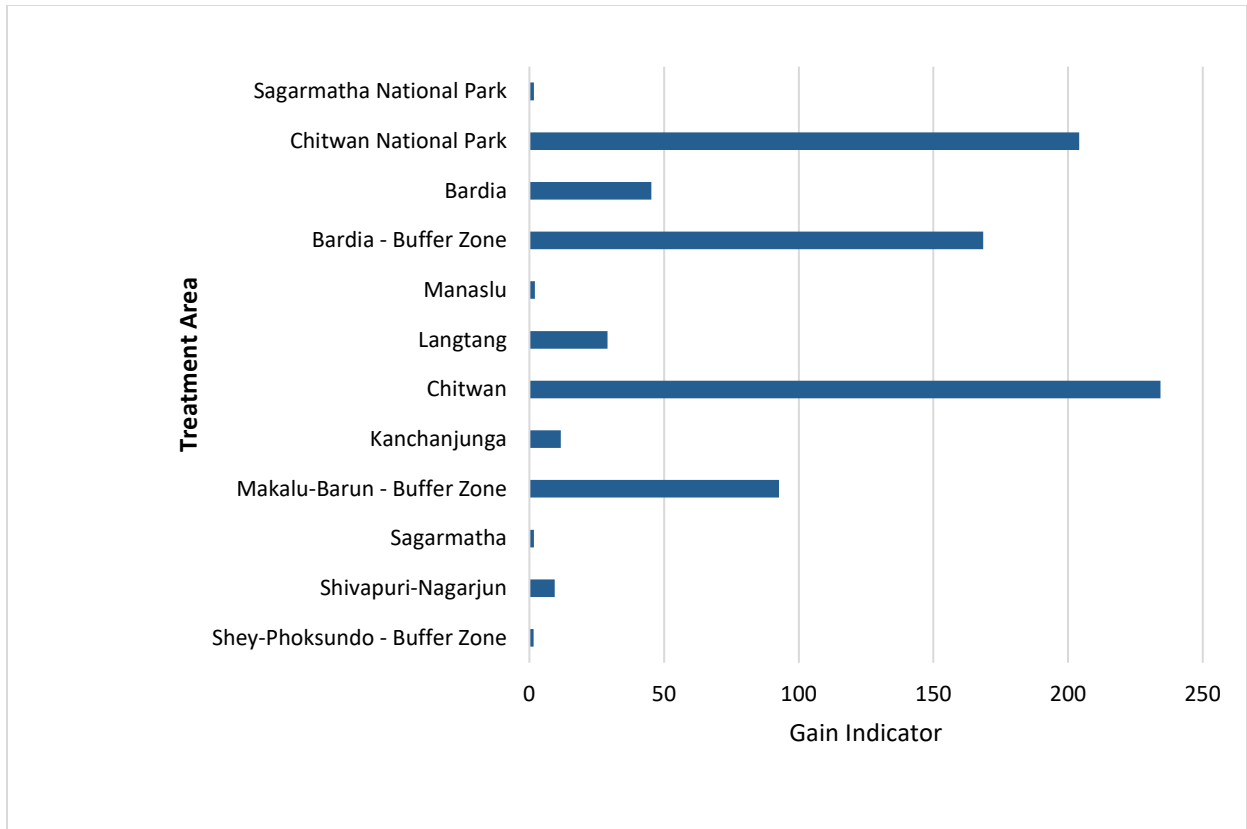
641 Note: Treatment areas are circled (PAs established in 1996-2003), BZ in red circle and NP/CA in  
642 black circle.

643 Source of shape file: World Database of Protected Area, Available at: [www.protectedplanet.net](http://www.protectedplanet.net).

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**Figure 2: Forest Cover Gain in Treatment Protected Areas (2001-2014)**



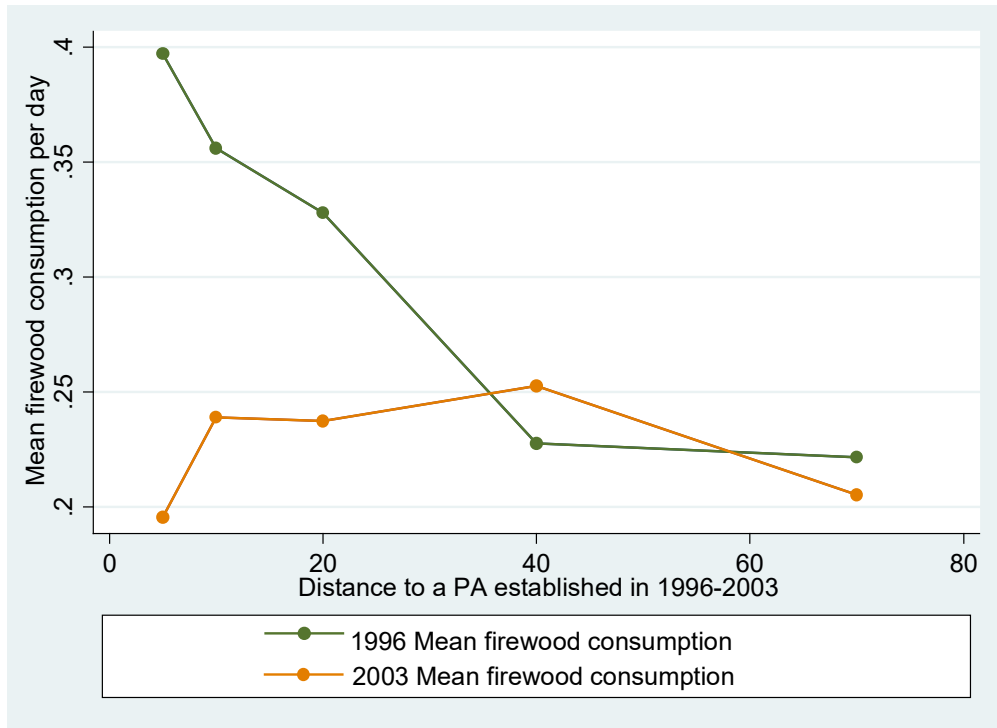
646

647 Note: These data were derived from Global Forest Change (2000 – 2014). The bars show forest  
648 gain during the period 2000–2014, defined as the inverse of loss, or a non-forest to forest change  
649 entirely within the study period. (Hansen et al., 2013).

650

651

**Figure 3: Correlation between Distance to PA and Forest-Good Collection**



652

653 Note: This graph shows the time series variation in the amount of collection against the distance

654 to the nearest PA. The units of the vertical axis for firewood consumption is bhari/day.

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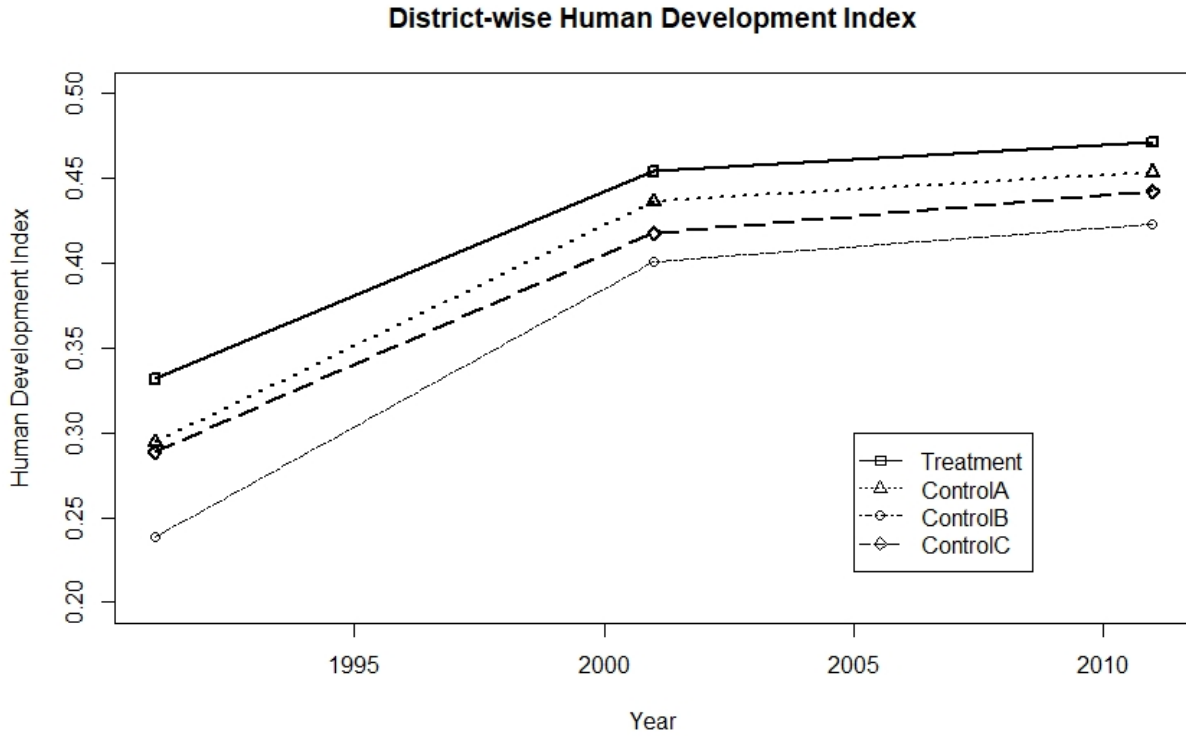
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**Figure 4: District-Level Human Development Index<sup>a,b</sup>**

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665

666

667 <sup>a</sup> The Human Development Index is a composite statistic of life expectancy, education and per  
668 capita income indicators Source: UNDP Human Development Index Report (2011).

669 <sup>b</sup> The control groups here are “never treated” (A), “treated earlier” (B), and “treated later” (C).

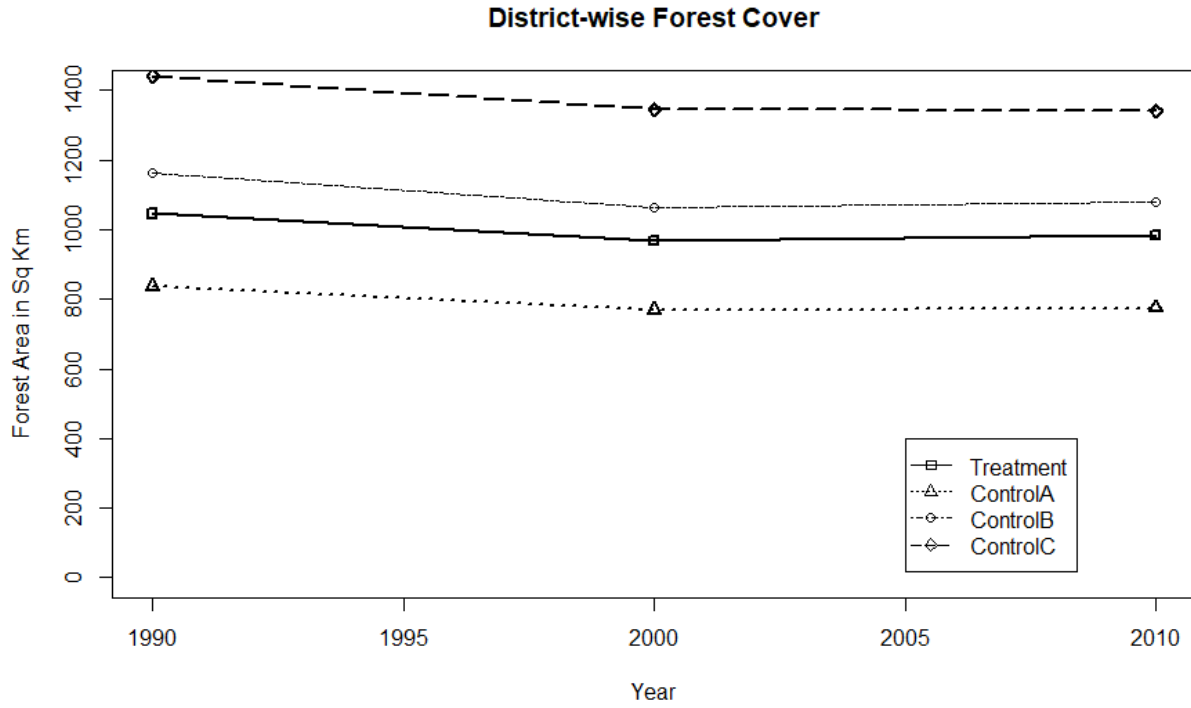
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671

**Figure 5: District-Level Forest Cover Area<sup>a,b</sup>**

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673

674

675 <sup>a</sup> Forest cover area was extracted from Landsat satellite database from ICIMOD and serves as a  
676 proxy for forest quality.

677 <sup>b</sup> The control groups here are “never treated” (A), “treated earlier” (B), and “treated later” (C).

678

**Table 1: Control Group and Variable Definitions**

Observation Group or Variable	Definition
Treatment group <sup>b</sup>	Villages within 20 km of PAs established in 1996-2003
“Never treated” control group <sup>b</sup>	Villages around forest but not within 40 km of any PA site
“Treated earlier” control group <sup>b</sup>	Villages within 20 km of PAs established before 1996
“Treated later” control group <sup>b</sup>	Villages within 20km of PAs established after 2003
Firewood collected	Quantity of firewood collected by household (bhari/day)
Firewood collection time	Average time spent collecting firewood each day (hours/day)
Expenditure per capita	Total consumption per person per year (Nepalese Rupee)
Food expenditure per capita	Food consumption per person per year (Nepalese Rupee)
Market fuel?	Dummy for fuel purchased from market
Female labor supply	Hours of labor supplied per day by female household head
Male labor supply	Hours of labor supplied per day by male household head
# of migrants	Total number of migrants from household that year
Stove choice?	Dummy for whether chose an energy-efficient wood stove
Community Forest?	Dummy for having access to a community forest
# Unemployed	Number of unemployed persons in the household
Season dummies	Survey conducted in Rainy, Autumn, Winter, or Spring season
Geography dummies <sup>b</sup>	Household in Mountain, Hill, or Lowland area
Household size	Number of people in household
Age	Age of household head in years
Literacy	Is household head literate?
Number of households	Number of households in village

680

681 <sup>a</sup> Data source is Nepal Living Standard Survey (NLSS) unless indicated otherwise682 <sup>b</sup> Data sources are NLSS and World Database on Protected Areas (2011).

683

684

685  
686

**Table 2: Impacts of Protected Areas<sup>a, b</sup>**

<b>Control group A</b>	(1) Wood Collected	(2) Wood Collection Time	(3) Expenditure/ Capita	(4) Food Expenditure/ Capita
Post*Treatment	-0.106** (0.0425)	0.149 (0.893)	3,644** (1,735)	772.5 (591.0)
Treatment	0.104*** (0.0360)	0.113 (0.758)	-964.0 (782.0)	428.0 (495.2)
Post	-0.00237 (0.0328)	-1.179* (0.710)	2,737*** (969.9)	2,017*** (480.8)
Constant	0.174*** (0.0458)	5.659*** (1.088)	-4,704* (2,573)	2,720*** (841.4)
Observations	1,719	1,597	1,819	1,819
R-squared	0.172	0.073	0.168	0.263
<b>Control group B</b>				
Post*Treatment	-0.0921*** (0.0335)	0.0311 (0.723)	2,067 (1,447)	272.2 (505.3)
Treatment	0.120*** (0.0255)	-0.149 (0.591)	1,231** (577.2)	1,196*** (335.9)
Post	-0.0122 (0.0197)	-1.128* (0.583)	4,662*** (852.8)	2,526*** (301.5)
Constant	0.177*** (0.0397)	5.067*** (0.710)	-4,168* (2,504)	1,734** (763.2)
Observations	1,267	1,250	1,491	1,491
R-squared	0.179	0.075	0.225	0.348
<b>Control group C</b>				
Post*Treatment	-0.0996** (0.0424)	1.311* (0.773)	1,583 (1,903)	1,114 (738.1)
Treatment	0.111*** (0.0317)	-1.039 (0.655)	335.1 (1,134)	374.8 (551.9)
Post	-0.00160 (0.0306)	-2.393*** (0.711)	4,935*** (1,799)	1,598*** (592.7)
Constant	0.215*** (0.0477)	5.753*** (0.994)	-4,851 (3,110)	2,499** (1,087)
Observations	1,061	1,051	1,180	1,180
R-squared	0.165	0.103	0.216	0.296

687

688 <sup>a</sup> Results are from DID regressions. Standard errors clustered at village level in parentheses.  
689 Statistical significance is denoted as \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1. Variables are defined in  
690 Table 1.

691 <sup>b</sup> Every regression has a set of controls. The household controls are household size, age and  
692 literacy of the household head. The village control is number of households. Geographic controls  
693 are dummies for the geographic belts (mountain, hill or low land.)  
694

**Table 3: Placebo Test<sup>a</sup>**

	Quantity of Firewood Collected		<del>696</del> 697
Control group <sup>b</sup>	A	B	
Post*Placebo Treatment	0.0124 (0.0338)	-0.00919 (0.01911)	698 699
Placebo Treatment	-0.00562 (0.0271)	0.02102 (0.01443)	700
Post	-0.0214 (0.0209)	-0.00037 (0.00965)	701
Constant	0.181*** (0.0191)	0.15798 (0.01137)	702
Observations	1,625	1,017	703
R-squared	0.052	0.067	704
Controls <sup>c</sup>	Y	Y	

705

706 <sup>a</sup> The placebo treatment group is defined as households near the PAs established in 2009-2010,  
707 far later than our study period. Results are from DID regressions. Standard errors clustered at  
708 village level in parentheses. Statistical significance is denoted as \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1.  
709 Variables are defined in Table 1.

710 <sup>b</sup> Control groups are “never treated” group A and “treated earlier” group B.

711 <sup>c</sup> Household controls are household size, age and literacy of the household head. The village  
712 control is number of households. Geographic controls include dummies for the geographic belts  
713 (mountain, hill or low land.)

714

**Table 4: Impacts of Different Types of Protected Areas, Control Group A<sup>a</sup>**

	(1) Wood Collected	(2) Wood Collection Time	(3) Expenditure per Capita	(4) Food Expenditure per Capita
Post*NP/CA	-0.151** (0.0623)	-0.866 (1.637)	3,482 (2,990)	373.6 (1,070)
Post*BZ	0.0228 (0.0551)	-0.313 (0.620)	-129.0 (1,599)	-517.4 (785.2)
Post	-0.0689 (0.0526)	-0.877* (0.464)	4,593*** (1,408)	2,678*** (750.4)
NP/CA	0.0209 (0.0459)	0.840 (1.621)	639.0 (1,347)	568.5 (890.7)
BZ	-0.0646 (0.0433)	0.517 (0.576)	-1,961** (890.6)	-141.3 (664.0)
Constant	0.317*** (0.0493)	5.272*** (0.717)	-5,580** (2,565)	2,600*** (951.9)
Observations	1,719	1,597	1,819	1,819
R-squared	0.184	0.076	0.180	0.259
Controls <sup>b</sup>	Y	Y	Y	Y

<sup>a</sup> The control group is “never treated” A. Results are from DID regressions. Standard errors clustered at village level in parentheses. Statistical significance is denoted as \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.1$ . Variables are defined in Table 1.

<sup>b</sup> Household controls are household size, age and literacy of the household head. The village control is number of households. Geographic controls include dummies for the geographic belts (mountain, hill or low land).

**Table 5: Impacts of Different Types of Protected Areas, Control Group B<sup>a</sup>**

VARIABLES	(1) Wood Collected	(2) Wood Collection Time	(3) Expenditure per Capita	(4) Food Expenditure per Capita
Post*NP/CA	-0.164*** (0.0528)	-0.433 (0.962)	2,110 (2,006)	6.648 (691.4)
Post*BZ	-0.0568* (0.0339)	0.288 (0.777)	1,661 (1,648)	301.2 (602.7)
Post	-0.0145 (0.0194)	-1.115* (0.581)	4,602*** (828.0)	2,510*** (286.9)
NP/CA	0.208*** (0.0363)	0.0447 (0.896)	3,266*** (906.8)	1,976*** (532.8)
BZ	0.0802*** (0.0271)	-0.240 (0.612)	556.3 (606.9)	915.8** (367.6)
Constant	0.180*** (0.0356)	5.214*** (0.704)	-5,077** (2,394)	1,528* (808.8)
Observations	1,267	1,250	1,491	1,491
R-squared	0.209	0.079	0.234	0.354
Controls <sup>b</sup>	Y	Y	Y	Y

<sup>a</sup> The control group is “treated earlier” B. Results are from DID regressions. Standard errors clustered at village level in parentheses. Statistical significance is denoted as \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1. Variables are defined in Table 1.

<sup>b</sup> Household controls are household size, age and literacy of the household head. The village control is number of households. Geographic controls include dummies for the geographic belts (mountain, hill or low land.)

**Table 6: Impacts of Different Types of Protected Areas, Control Group C<sup>a</sup>**

VARIABLES	(1) Wood Collected	(2) Wood Collection Time	(3) Expenditure per Capita	(4) Food Expenditure per Capita
Post*NP/CA	-0.179*** (0.0645)	0.754 (0.964)	1,637 (2,340)	842.5 (912.4)
Post*BZ	-0.0722* (0.0408)	1.504* (0.823)	1,602 (2,041)	1,212 (782.6)
Post	0.00415 (0.0316)	-2.334*** (0.708)	4,643*** (1,708)	1,571*** (581.0)
NP/CA	0.195*** (0.0416)	-0.558 (0.911)	1,746 (1,380)	881.1 (712.2)
BZ	0.0699** (0.0349)	-1.245* (0.677)	-775.2 (1,103)	71.21 (559.5)
Constant	0.222*** (0.0437)	5.833*** (0.998)	-5,177* (3,082)	2,471** (1,110)
Observations	1,061	1,051	1,180	1,180
R-squared	0.197	0.107	0.223	0.299
Controls <sup>b</sup>	Y	Y	Y	Y

<sup>a</sup> The control group is “treated later” group C. Results are from DID regressions. Standard errors clustered at village level in parentheses. Statistical significance is denoted as \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* fpp<0.05, \* p<0.1. Variables are defined in Table 1.

<sup>b</sup> Household controls are household size, age and literacy of the household head. The village control is number of households. Geographic controls include dummies for the geographic belts (mountain, hill or low land.)

**Table 7: Calculations of Percentage Change in Fuelwood Consumption**

Control	Type of policy	Table with results	ATE <sup>a</sup>	Baseline (bhari/day) <sup>b</sup>	% Change <sup>c</sup>
A	Both	Table 2	-0.106	.328	32%
A	Just NP/CA	Table 4	-0.151	.447	33%
A	Just BZ	Table 4	NA	.2926	NA
B	Both	Table 2	-0.0921	.328	28%
B	Just NP/CA	Table 5	-0.164	.447	37%
B	Just BZ	Table 5	-0.0568	.2926	20%
C	Both	Table 2	-0.0996	.328	30%
C	Just NP/CA	Table 6	-0.179	.447	40%
C	Just BZ	Table 6	-0.0722	.2926	26%

<sup>a</sup>ATE is the average treatment effect.

<sup>b</sup>Baseline is the average household consumption of fuelwood in treated villages reported in the Appendix. NA indicates result is not significant.

<sup>c</sup>% Change is calculated as  $(ATE/Baseline)*100$ .



**Table 8: Regressions Evaluating Mechanisms of Change, Control A<sup>a</sup>**

	Market Fuel?	Female Labor Supply	Male Labor Supply	# of Migrants	Stove Choice?	Community Forest?	Unemployed
Post*NP/CA	0.135** (0.0580)	1.081* (0.563)	0.411 (0.656)	0.0953 (0.0697)	0.319 (0.212)	-0.127 (0.0891)	0.0563 (0.102)
Post*BZ	0.0502 (0.0341)	-0.438 (0.486)	-1.058* (0.545)	0.0347 (0.0747)	-0.0863 (0.158)	0.309*** (0.101)	0.0618 (0.0967)
NP/CA	-0.0252 (0.0173)	0.131 (0.427)	0.446 (0.596)	-0.138** (0.0553)	0.0437 (0.110)	-0.0232 (0.0678)	-0.0418 (0.100)
BZ	-0.0499*** (0.0160)	0.738* (0.386)	0.849* (0.447)	0.0146 (0.0644)	0.0323 (0.0913)	-0.00783 (0.0475)	-0.0854 (0.0862)
Post	-0.0195 (0.0210)	2.181*** (0.298)	1.372*** (0.364)	-0.139** (0.0564)	0.105 (0.123)	0.0869 (0.0552)	-0.372*** (0.0693)
Constant	-0.110** (0.0537)	8.109*** (0.760)	6.467*** (0.547)	0.249*** (0.0850)	0.821*** (0.173)	0.303*** (0.0895)	0.309** (0.142)
Observations	1,818	1,595	1,818	1,468	1,817	1,819	1,741
R-squared	0.096	0.208	0.157	0.051	0.182	0.150	0.096
Controls <sup>b</sup>	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

<sup>a</sup> Results are from DID regressions. Regressions with binary outcome variables use linear probability model. The control group is “never treated” group A. Standard errors clustered at village level in parentheses. Statistical significance is denoted as \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1. Variables are defined in Table 1.

<sup>b</sup> Household controls are household size, age and literacy of the household head. The village control is number of households. Geographic controls include dummies for the geographic belts (mountain, hill or low land.)

**Table 9: Regressions Evaluating Mechanisms of Change Control B<sup>a</sup>**

	Market Fuel?	Female Labor Supply	Male Labor Supply	# of Migrants	Stove Choice?	Community Forest?	Unemployed
Post*NP/CA	0.120** (0.0503)	0.981 (0.672)	0.718 (0.696)	-0.0857 (0.0842)	0.359* (0.201)	0.312 (0.249)	0.124 (0.107)
Post*BZ	0.0447* (0.0237)	-0.513 (0.643)	-0.880 (0.550)	0.0391 (0.0958)	0.0706 (0.118)	-0.268 (0.172)	0.141 (0.0925)
NP/CA	-0.832 (0.550)	-0.0519 (0.633)	-0.146 (0.103)	0.0350 (0.0455)	0.0105 (0.0126)	-0.100 (0.120)	-0.338* (0.200)
BZ	-0.125 (0.519)	0.330 (0.462)	-0.138 (0.0854)	0.100 (0.0680)	-0.0109 (0.0094)	-0.0762 (0.0714)	-0.0423 (0.119)
Post	2.92e-05 (0.0124)	2.311*** (0.476)	1.191*** (0.376)	0.176** (0.0684)	0.000653 (0.0873)	-0.289** (0.119)	-0.421*** (0.0652)
Constant	-0.0811* (0.0463)	9.480*** (0.946)	7.648*** (0.692)	-0.43*** (0.0975)	1.064*** (0.163)	1.863*** (0.154)	0.547*** (0.154)
Observations	1,818	1,595	1,818	1,468	1,817	1,819	1,741
R-squared	0.096	0.208	0.157	0.051	0.182	0.150	0.096
Controls <sup>b</sup>	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

<sup>a</sup> Results are from DID regressions. Regressions with binary outcome variables use linear probability model. The control group is “treated earlier” group B. Standard errors clustered at village level in parentheses. Statistical significance is denoted as \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1. Variables are defined in Table 1.

<sup>b</sup> Household controls are household size, age and literacy of the household head. The village control is number of households. Geographic controls include dummies for the geographic belts (mountain, hill or low land.)

**Table 10: Regressions Evaluating Mechanisms of Change Control C<sup>a</sup>**

	Market Fuel?	Female Labor Supply	Male Labor Supply	# of Migrants	Stove Choice?	Community Forest?	Unemployed
Post*NP/CA	0.0839* (0.0462)	0.283 (0.672)	2.129*** (0.769)	-0.169** (0.0782)	0.255 (0.225)	0.153 (0.315)	0.0652 (0.119)
Post*BZ	0.00802 (0.0289)	-1.276* (0.697)	0.383 (0.646)	-0.0776 (0.0860)	-0.0876 (0.176)	-0.496** (0.236)	0.0171 (0.0776)
Post	0.0291 (0.0256)	3.065*** (0.543)	-0.118 (0.505)	0.273*** (0.0628)	0.130 (0.164)	-0.0829 (0.211)	-0.350*** (0.0583)
NP/CA	0.0129 (0.0189)	-0.850** (0.396)	-1.233** (0.571)	0.0750* (0.0423)	-0.115 (0.155)	0.0260 (0.237)	-0.00585 (0.0973)
BZ	-0.0164 (0.0146)	0.0740 (0.424)	-0.464 (0.491)	0.0854 (0.0547)	-0.0710 (0.121)	0.374* (0.189)	-0.0413 (0.0768)
Controls	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Constant	-0.158*** (0.0557)	10.45*** (0.876)	7.832*** (0.646)	-0.528*** (0.116)	0.956*** (0.236)	1.425*** (0.200)	0.179 (0.112)
Observations	1,179	1,008	1,171	1,180	1,178	1,148	1,131
R-squared	0.111	0.254	0.133	0.347	0.143	0.198	0.099

<sup>a</sup> Results are from DID regressions. Regressions with binary outcome variables use linear probability model. The control group is “treated later” group C. Standard errors clustered at village level in parentheses. Statistical significance is denoted as \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.1$ . Variables are defined in Table 1.

<sup>b</sup> Household controls are household size, age and literacy of the household head. The village control is number of households. Geographic controls include dummies for the geographic belts (mountain, hill or low land.)

**Table 11: Treatment Effect Heterogeneity<sup>a</sup>**

	(1) Seasons	(2) Altitude	(3) Seasons	(4) Altitude
Post*Treat	-0.149** (0.0621)	-0.155*** (0.0496)		
Post*Treat*Rainy	0.0594 (0.130)			
Post*Treat*Autumn	0.153 (0.114)			
Post*Treat*Winter	0.328*** (0.0776)			
Post*Treat*Hill		0.177** (0.0770)		
Post*Treat*Lowland		0.0499 (0.0747)		
Post*NP/CA			-0.206*** (0.0751)	-0.213*** (0.0646)
Post*BZ			-0.139*** (0.0511)	-0.115** (0.0566)
NP/CA*Post*Rainy			-0.00348 (0.152)	
NP/CA*Post*Autumn			0.145 (0.149)	
NP/CA*Post*Winter			0.439*** (0.0789)	
BZ*Post*Rainy			0.201 (0.139)	
BZ*Post*Autumn			0.154 (0.112)	
BZ*Post*Winter			0.308** (0.120)	
NP/CA*Post*Hill				0.273** (0.109)
BZ*Post*Hill				0.169** (0.0704)
BZ*Post*Lowland				0.0101 (0.0796)
Constant	0.109** (0.0545)	0.262*** (0.0302)	0.114** (0.0523)	0.261*** (0.0293)
Observations	1,509	1,719	1,509	1,719
R-squared	0.197	0.242	0.197	0.242
Controls <sup>b</sup>	Y	Y	Y	Y

<sup>a</sup> Triple DID regressions for heterogeneous treatment effects. Standard errors clustered at village level in parentheses. Statistical significance is denoted as \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1. Regressions use control group A (“never treated”) and follow Equation (3). Column 1 and Column 2 are the results for the aggregated treatment group. Column 3 and Column 4 are the results for treatment groups with different protection intensities.

<sup>b</sup> Every regression includes the household, village, and geographic controls; columns (1) and (e) also include the season dummy variables as controls.

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