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1 **On track to achieve No Net Loss of forest at Madagascar’s biggest mine**

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9

10 **Abstract**

11 Meeting the Sustainable Development Goals requires reconciling development with biodiversity  
12 conservation. Governments and lenders increasingly call for major industrial developments to offset  
13 unavoidable biodiversity loss, but there are few robust evaluations of whether offset interventions  
14 ensure No Net Loss (NNL) of biodiversity. We focus on the biodiversity offsets associated with the  
15 high-profile Ambatovy mine in Madagascar and evaluate their effectiveness at delivering NNL of  
16 forest. As part of their efforts to mitigate biodiversity loss, Ambatovy compensate for forest clearance  
17 at the mine site by slowing deforestation driven by small-scale agriculture elsewhere. Using a range  
18 of methods, including extensive robustness checks exploring 116 alternative model specifications, we  
19 show that the offsets are on track to avert as much deforestation as was caused by the mine. This  
20 encouraging result shows that biodiversity offsetting can contribute towards mitigating  
21 environmental damage from a major industrial development, even within a weak state, but there  
22 remain important caveats with broad application. Our approach could serve as a template to facilitate  
23 other evaluations and so build a stronger evidence-base of the effectiveness of No Net Loss  
24 interventions.

25 **Keywords:** mitigation hierarchy; environmental impact assessment; Net Gain; Net Positive Impact;  
26 forest conservation; biodiversity offset; impact evaluation; counterfactual; statistical matching

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30

31 **Main text**

32 **Introduction**

33 The UN Sustainable Development Goals underline the importance of economic growth and  
34 infrastructure development in alleviating poverty, while at the same time emphasising that halting  
35 biodiversity loss is vital for global prosperity<sup>1,2</sup>. Policies aimed at delivering No Net Loss (NNL) of  
36 biodiversity, in theory, allow development to proceed whilst avoiding environmental damage<sup>3,4</sup>. NNL  
37 depends on implementation of the mitigation hierarchy: damage to biodiversity resulting from  
38 development must first be avoided, minimised and restored<sup>5</sup>, and any residual biodiversity loss offset  
39 through equivalent gains elsewhere<sup>6</sup>. One hundred and one countries either mandate some form of  
40 biodiversity compensation or support voluntary measures<sup>7</sup>. In countries with less established  
41 environmental governance, lender requirements, such as the International Finance Corporation  
42 performance standards, are important drivers of NNL commitments<sup>8,9</sup>. Over 12,000 biodiversity  
43 offsets exist worldwide<sup>10</sup>, yet evaluations of their effectiveness are rare and most do not use robust  
44 methods<sup>11</sup>.

45 Offsets generate gains in biodiversity by creating or restoring habitat, or protecting existing habitat  
46 which would have otherwise been lost (so called 'averted loss' offsets<sup>12</sup>). Offsets are controversial due  
47 to questions of permanence<sup>3</sup>, equivalence<sup>6</sup>, equity<sup>13,14</sup>, and for generating gain against a background  
48 rate of biodiversity decline<sup>4,15</sup>. However, where high-quality habitat remains but is threatened by  
49 unregulated sectors, averted loss offsets may result in the best possible biodiversity outcomes<sup>16</sup>.  
50 Biodiversity is an inherently complex concept so proxy measures are used to calculate losses and  
51 gains<sup>6</sup>. In forested ecosystems where the majority of species are forest-dependent, forest loss can be  
52 a useful measure.

53 Quantifying the biodiversity gains from averted loss offsets requires estimation of the counterfactual  
54 scenario – the loss which would have occurred without protection<sup>15</sup>. While the counterfactual is  
55 inherently unknowable, statistical approaches exist to approximate it and consequently evaluate the

56 impact of interventions on outcomes such as deforestation<sup>17-19</sup>. Statistical matching is commonly used  
57 to estimate the counterfactual based on outcomes in matched control units, yet can be contingent on  
58 arbitrary modelling choices<sup>20</sup>. Recent advances which test the robustness of estimates to a range of  
59 valid, alternative matching model specifications<sup>20</sup> and different regression models<sup>18,21</sup> can improve the  
60 quality of inference.

61 The Ambatovy nickel and cobalt mine (Fig. 1) is one of the largest lateritic nickel mines in the world. It  
62 is located within the biodiversity-rich eastern rainforests of Madagascar which are highly threatened  
63 by deforestation, driven principally by shifting agriculture<sup>22,23</sup>. From the outset, Ambatovy promoted  
64 itself as a world-leader in sustainable mining and committed to ensure NNL, and preferably net gain,  
65 of biodiversity<sup>24,25</sup>. Its offset strategy was a pilot for the influential Business and Biodiversity Offset  
66 Programme<sup>24</sup> which shaped guidelines widely used in mitigating biodiversity loss from  
67 development<sup>16,25</sup>. We use statistical matching and regression models to estimate the avoided  
68 deforestation achieved by Ambatovy's four biodiversity offsets and check the robustness of our results  
69 to 116 alternative matching model specifications (Fig. 2). We provide encouraging evidence that this  
70 high-profile project, in one of the world's hottest biodiversity hotspots, is on track to achieve No Net  
71 Loss of forest and critically reflect on this finding in the broader context of NNL.

72

## 73 **Results**

74 Ambatovy's offset strategy is based on averted loss. It aims to generate biodiversity gains to offset the  
75 losses incurred at the mine site by preventing an equivalent amount of biodiversity loss within four  
76 biodiversity offset sites (which face a high rate of deforestation from shifting agriculture)<sup>24</sup>. To this  
77 end the company, and its NGO partners, implemented conservation activities aimed at slowing forest  
78 clearance within the four offsets. These included ecological monitoring, establishing community forest  
79 management associations and supporting them with the monitoring and enforcement of resource-  
80 use restrictions, environmental education programmes and promoting alternative income-generating

81 activities in surrounding communities<sup>26,27</sup>. Occasionally the local police are brought in to assist with  
82 enforcement<sup>27</sup>.

83 According to our site-based difference-in-differences regressions (see methods) of the four  
84 biodiversity offsets associated with the Ambatovy mine, two significantly reduced deforestation  
85 relative to the counterfactual (Ankerana and the Conservation Zone;  $p < 0.01$ ). Protection reduced  
86 deforestation by an average of 96% (95% CI: 89 to 98%;  $p < 0.001$ ,  $N = 38$ ) per year in Ankerana and  
87 66% (27 to 84%;  $p < 0.01$ ,  $N = 38$ ) per year in the Conservation Zone (Fig. 3; Supplementary Table 9).  
88 One offset showed no significant effect (Totorofotsy; -41 to +510%;  $p = 0.28$ ,  $N = 38$ ), while the  
89 remaining offset (Corridor Forestier Analamay-Mantadia [CFAM]) could not be assessed due to the  
90 lack of parallel trends in outcomes between the offset and matched control sample in the pre-  
91 intervention period - a critical assumption in difference-in-difference analyses. In CFAM, there was a  
92 significant declining trend in deforestation prior to protection whilst the matched control sample  
93 showed a significant increasing trend (Supplementary Fig. 5). Therefore, CFAM could not be used in  
94 the difference-in-differences analysis.

95 Including all four offsets in a single analysis using a fixed effects panel regression (see methods), we  
96 estimate that protection reduced deforestation by an average of 58% per year (95% CI: 37 to 73%,  $N$   
97 = 152) across all 4 biodiversity offsets, relative to the estimated counterfactual (Fig. 3). We also tested  
98 the effect of excluding CFAM and estimate a greater reduction in deforestation of 72% per year (54 to  
99 83%,  $N = 114$ ; Supplementary Table 12 and Supplementary Fig. 8). Given the two estimates are not  
100 significantly different (Z test,  $p > 0.2$ ), we present the more conservative estimate, which incorporates  
101 the effect of all four offsets, as our main result. Our results are also robust to the alternative  
102 specification of site and year as random effects (-53%, -27 to -69%; Supplementary Table 12).

103

104 **Results robust to alternative model specifications**

105 Arbitrary modelling choices, particularly associated with the decisions made in a matching analysis,  
106 are inevitable yet can exert a significant influence on estimated impacts<sup>28</sup>. Following Desbureaux<sup>20</sup> we  
107 show that our results are robust to 116 alternative matching model specifications, all of which are *a*  
108 *priori* valid (Fig. 4). The vast majority of models for both Ankerana and the Conservation Zone confirm  
109 the results from the main model specification (see Methods for details of the main model), presented  
110 in Fig. 3, of significant avoided deforestation. Where some models show an insignificant result (e.g.  
111 for the Conservation Zone), in most cases these models are not *a posteriori* valid. By this we mean  
112 that more than 90% of treated units were unmatched (i.e. a match within the caliper of the statistical  
113 distance measure could not be found), mean covariate balance exceeded the accepted threshold, or  
114 parallel trends were not achieved. Exploring alternative model specifications also did not substantially  
115 change our results for Torotorofotsy; 78 of the 79 *a posteriori* valid models showed no significant  
116 impact of protection on deforestation, one suggested protection was associated with an increase in  
117 deforestation. For CFAM, the vast majority of alternative specifications, like our main model, were not  
118 *a posteriori* valid as they failed the parallel trends test. Of the 7 *a posteriori* valid models, 6 showed  
119 no significant effect whilst one showed protection was associated with a significant increase in  
120 deforestation relative to the counterfactual. Our result of a significant overall reduction in  
121 deforestation across all four offsets from the fixed effects panel regression was robust for 106/116  
122 alternative model specifications and none showed a significant increase in deforestation. Therefore,  
123 the evidence of avoided deforestation presented in Fig. 3 is robust.

124 We explored which modelling choices had the greatest influence on estimated impacts and found that  
125 the choice of statistical distance measure and model parameters had the most consistent, significant  
126 effect whilst the effect of including additional covariates is mixed (Supplementary Table 13).

127

128 **No Net Loss of forest nearly achieved by the offsets**

129 The mine has destroyed or significantly degraded 2,064 ha of natural forest at the footprint and upper  
130 reaches of the slurry pipeline (henceforth mine site)<sup>24</sup>. The offsets have been in operation for between  
131 7 and 12 years. Using site-based difference-in-differences regressions we estimate that between the  
132 year of protection and January 2020, 1,922 ha (95% CI: 669 – 5,260 ha) of deforestation has been  
133 avoided within Ankerana, and 26 ha (5 – 71 ha) has been avoided within the Conservation Zone (Fig.  
134 5; see Supplementary Methods). This equates to 1,948 ha of total avoided deforestation (over 94% of  
135 the forest loss caused by the mine), with the majority achieved in Ankerana. Using the fixed effects  
136 panel regression incorporating all four offsets, we estimate an overall reduction in deforestation of  
137 1,644 ha (674– 3,122 ha) between 2009, when the first offset was protected, and January 2020 (Fig.  
138 5). This represents more than 79% (33 – 151%) of the forest loss caused by the mine. From 2014, when  
139 all the offsets became protected, an average of 265 ha of deforestation was avoided each year until  
140 2020. If this rate continued, by the end of 2021 2,174 ha of deforestation will have been avoided, fully  
141 offsetting forest loss at the mine site. Using the upper and lower bounds of estimated avoided  
142 deforestation (674 ha and 3,122 ha) suggests NNL will be achieved between 2018 and 2033. In 2014  
143 the company estimated they would achieve NNL between 2022 and 2035<sup>24</sup>. Our data therefore  
144 suggests Ambatovy is on track to achieve NNL of forest earlier than anticipated.

145 Our estimate of the reduction in deforestation achieved within the Conservation Zone (26 ha, 1.6% of  
146 the total reduction in deforestation achieved within the offsets) is likely attributable to a combination  
147 of conservation management and the site’s location within the mining concession. The company and  
148 its predecessor (Phelps Dodge Madagascar) have been present in the concession area since the early  
149 1990s, albeit with a hiatus from 1998 to 2003 (Supplementary Fig. 1). Therefore, for most of the 19  
150 year study period, access to the concession area, including the Conservation Zone, has been  
151 restricted<sup>27</sup>. This de-facto protection reduced deforestation within the Conservation Zone to low levels  
152 before it was officially designated as an offset (Fig. 6).

153 A number of studies have documented leakage effects from conservation interventions whereby  
154 impacts within the project area are simply displaced outside the boundaries, negating the effect of  
155 the intervention at the landscape-scale<sup>29</sup>. These leakage effects are not observed in our analysis of  
156 Ambatovy's offsets (Supplementary Results) as we found that protection of the biodiversity offsets  
157 had no significant effect on deforestation within a 10km radius (Supplementary Table 16;  $p = 0.15$ ).

### 158 **Putting these results in a broader context**

159 Despite two thirds of the 12,000+ biodiversity offsets which have been implemented worldwide  
160 occurring within forested ecosystems<sup>10</sup>, by 2019 less than 0.05% of these had been evaluated to assess  
161 the effectiveness of forest offsets at achieving NNL, and none of these evaluations used robust  
162 methods<sup>11</sup> (although there have been several robust evaluations of wider offset policies<sup>12,30</sup>). This  
163 makes our estimation of the effectiveness of Ambatovy's biodiversity offsets at avoiding deforestation  
164 valuable. Our results suggest that by January 2020, the mine had offset 79% (33 – 151%) of the forest  
165 loss incurred at the mine site and is on track to achieve NNL by the end of 2021.

166 In recent years there has been an explosion of studies using robust counterfactual methods to  
167 evaluate the effectiveness of other conservation interventions aimed at slowing tropical  
168 deforestation. Borner et al<sup>19</sup> synthesise these findings, using Cohen's d normalised effect sizes to  
169 compare the effectiveness of 136 conservation interventions at reducing deforestation. Converting  
170 our estimate of the total avoided deforestation achieved by Ambatovy's biodiversity offset policy  
171 (1,644 ha according to the fixed effects model) to a Cohen's d effect size yielded an estimate of -0.51  
172 (classified as a 'medium effect'<sup>31</sup>; see Supplementary Results). This increases to -1.03 for the individual  
173 effect of Ankerana and -0.63 for the Conservation Zone (classified as 'large effects'<sup>31</sup>). Comparison to  
174 the normalised effect sizes of the 136 other conservation interventions compiled by Borner et al shows  
175 that overall Ambatovy's biodiversity offsets were more effective at reducing deforestation than 97%  
176 of the other interventions and all but one of the protected area interventions (Supplementary Fig. 10).

177

178 **Discussion**

179 We lack the empirical evidence to explain why Ambatovy's offsets, as a whole, were so successful at  
180 reducing deforestation compared to other forest conservation interventions. We speculate this may  
181 stem from the fact that offsetting is inherently centred on achieving measurable impact (No Net Loss).  
182 All activities are designed specifically to meet this goal and progress can be regularly evaluated.  
183 Furthermore, large companies may possess the sufficient funds to ensure, when they are committed,  
184 that they deliver this outcome. In contrast, public protected areas tend to be more focussed on  
185 measures such as coverage and investment and less explicitly impact-oriented<sup>32</sup>. Another important  
186 question is why conservation efforts were so successful in Ankerana but not in Torotorofotsy. It may  
187 be that enforcement of conservation restrictions was particularly effective within Ankerana,  
188 supported by evidence that local communities lost access to resources after the site was protected<sup>27</sup>  
189 (discussed in more detail below).

190 **Methodological caveats**

191 An important caveat to our positive central result relates to the uncertainty inherent in impact  
192 evaluation using observational data<sup>33</sup>. The validity of causal inference rests on our ability to accurately  
193 model the counterfactual deforestation in the offset sites (what would have happened in the absence  
194 of the intervention) using data from matched pixels in the wider landscape which were not protected  
195 as offsets. In difference-in-differences analyses this assumes that all important factors influencing  
196 selection to treatment and the outcome of interest have been controlled for (or proxied) in the  
197 matching, so that the matched offset and control samples have similar trends in deforestation prior  
198 to the intervention<sup>33</sup>. Omitted variables may leave outstanding differences between the two samples  
199 which can bias results<sup>33</sup>. Our choice of matching covariates is based on a good understanding of the  
200 local drivers of deforestation and selection to the treatment<sup>22,23</sup> (see Supplementary Methods), and  
201 our robustness checks demonstrate our results are robust to alternative specifications (Fig. 4).

202 Our small sample size (N = 38 for the difference-in-differences regressions), limited by the length of  
203 the time series of the deforestation data<sup>34</sup>, reduces the precision of our estimates. In addition,  
204 methods for impact evaluation using observational data are constantly evolving with recent research  
205 highlighting the challenges of evaluating projects with staggered implementation dates<sup>35</sup>. Despite  
206 these caveats, which are the result of inherent challenges from such a real-world evaluation, our  
207 methodology represents a substantial advance in impact evaluation applied to biodiversity offsets.  
208 Whilst our results seem relatively robust to alternative modelling specifications, this is only one case  
209 study. We hope this work will stimulate further impact evaluations of biodiversity offsetting and  
210 emphasize the importance for future researchers to take considerable care over data selection and  
211 modelling choices (particularly the matching covariates, distance measure and model parameters) to  
212 ensure analyses are context-specific, appropriate, and robust.

### 213 **Wider concerns with offsetting**

214 Biodiversity offsets in general, and averted loss offsets in particular, are controversial<sup>16,36,37</sup>. General  
215 criticisms include whether a concept as complex as biodiversity can be meaningfully reduced to  
216 proxies, questions of permanence<sup>3,38</sup>, and the potential social and equity issues of trading biodiversity  
217 (including access to ecosystem services) in one place for that in another<sup>13,14</sup>. Specific criticisms of  
218 averted loss offsets focus on the accuracy of counterfactual scenarios of loss against which gains are  
219 measured<sup>4,36</sup> and the mismatch between stakeholder expectations and how much averted loss offsets  
220 can actually deliver<sup>16,37</sup>. We explore each of these criticisms in turn. In all cases they present clear and  
221 important caveats to our positive central result.

222 The aim of Ambatovy's offset policy is to achieve No Net Loss of biodiversity, whereas our study uses  
223 forest cover as an imperfect proxy. Rarely is the appropriate biodiversity data at the required spatial  
224 and temporal scale available to facilitate independent evaluation of NNL commitments. In forested  
225 ecosystems where most species are forest-dependent<sup>39</sup>, forest loss is a transparent, and crucially  
226 measurable<sup>34</sup>, proxy for biodiversity loss. Furthermore, offsetting development-induced deforestation

227 to achieve NNL of forest is a desirable outcome in itself, given its implications for biodiversity,  
228 ecosystem services and carbon storage. However, our measure of deforestation<sup>34</sup> does not capture  
229 damage to forest biodiversity occurring at smaller scales, from activities such as selective logging,  
230 artisanal mining and harvesting of forest products for food, fuel, and building materials<sup>40</sup>. More  
231 significantly, our method does not capture outcomes for species. In a context of high microendemism  
232 with many threatened species there is a real risk large developments such as Ambatovy could lead to  
233 species extinction. To mitigate this risk the company surveyed areas scheduled for clearance to  
234 identify, catch and relocate priority species to conservation areas outside the mine footprint (see  
235 Supplementary Methods for other mitigation measures), and conducted follow up monitoring of  
236 certain species<sup>24</sup>. Whether the impacts of the mine on biodiversity are truly offset will depend on  
237 species responses to the changing pressures as well as the presence and efficacy of protection of these  
238 species within the offsets, which we were unable to capture in our analysis.

239 While we present strong evidence that Ambatovy has effectively conserved forest within its  
240 biodiversity offsets, questions remain regarding the likely permanence of this achievement. Although  
241 Ankerana and Torotorofotsy have been incorporated into the national protected area network and  
242 CFAM has been proposed as a new protected area<sup>26</sup>, continued effective management after the mine's  
243 involvement ceases remains in doubt, given chronic under-investment in Madagascar's protected  
244 areas<sup>41</sup>. If the offsets become de-facto unprotected after the company pulls out (expected between  
245 2040 and 2050<sup>24</sup>), deforestation is likely to resume and forest within the previously protected offsets  
246 may be lost. Offsets are intended to persist for as long as the impacts of the development remain<sup>3</sup>.  
247 Although Ambatovy have committed to restoring the impact site and have taken steps to prepare,  
248 tropical forest restoration is notoriously difficult<sup>42</sup>. If restoration fails, and the offsets are no longer  
249 protected, a future acceleration in biodiversity loss will jeopardise Ambatovy's claims to NNL.

250 Communities around Madagascar's forests depend on forests for land to practice shifting agriculture  
251 and to provide wild products for food, fuel, and building materials<sup>22,27</sup>. The mine and its associated

252 biodiversity offsets have removed or reduced access to these provisioning ecosystem services. To  
253 compensate for this loss of access, Ambatovy invested in promoting alternative income-generating  
254 activities (including training and the provision of materials) in communities around the mine site and  
255 offsets<sup>26,27</sup>. However, research conducted within four affected communities (two near the  
256 Conservation Zone and two near Ankerana) found that local people did not consider these benefits to  
257 outweigh the significant opportunity costs of the conservation restrictions<sup>27</sup>. The compensatory  
258 activities failed to reach those most affected by the restrictions, and there was a temporal mismatch  
259 between the immediate loss of access to resources following establishment of the offsets, and the  
260 time required for the alternatives to yield benefits<sup>27</sup>. This indicates that poor, rural communities living  
261 around the biodiversity offsets are bearing the cost of achieving NNL. For infrastructure developments  
262 such as Ambatovy to truly contribute towards sustainable development, SDG 1 (No Poverty) cannot  
263 be traded-off for SDG 15 (Life on Land). Instead, project proponents should strive to achieve No Net  
264 Loss for both people and planet<sup>14</sup>.

265 An important criticism of averted loss offsets focuses on the accuracy of estimation of the  
266 counterfactual scenario; the baseline against which biodiversity losses and gains are measured<sup>4</sup>. Many  
267 offset policies use historical background rates of deforestation to define the counterfactual, but  
268 previous studies have shown that this can overestimate the deforestation which would have occurred  
269 and consequently overstate the impact of the intervention<sup>17,38</sup>. We found that the baseline  
270 deforestation rates used by Ambatovy in their loss-gain calculations (based on the highest and lowest  
271 background deforestation rates at the district level between 1990 and 2010<sup>24</sup>) are actually lower than  
272 the counterfactual rates we estimate here using robust methods for impact evaluation, meaning their  
273 estimates were conservative (Supplementary Table 1). However, there is an important caveat to this:  
274 the mine resulted in in-migration to the region<sup>26,27</sup> which may have indirectly increased pressures on  
275 forest resources within the wider landscape, as observed with Rio Tinto's QMM ilmenite mine in  
276 Southern Madagascar<sup>38</sup>. If any mine-related pressures were captured within the period used to define  
277 the 'background' rate of deforestation this would no longer represent baseline conditions in the

278 absence of the mine and inflate the counterfactual (and the resulting estimates of biodiversity gains).  
279 Ambatovy employs approximately 9000 people<sup>26</sup>, many of whom moved to the area from other  
280 regions of Madagascar<sup>26,27</sup>. The influx of migrant workers likely increased local demand for food,  
281 charcoal and fuelwood, which may have increased forest clearance and bushmeat hunting<sup>26,43</sup>. Such  
282 indirect impacts associated with industrial development are notoriously difficult to quantify and  
283 therefore offset<sup>44</sup>. Neither our approach, nor Ambatovy's loss-gain calculations, could account for the  
284 indirect impacts of the mine on regional deforestation.

285 Another criticism of averted loss offsets is that they are premised on a background rate of biodiversity  
286 decline which can be slowed to generate the required biodiversity gains<sup>4,16</sup>. Therefore, even if 'No Net  
287 Loss' as defined by best practice guidelines<sup>8</sup> is achieved, loss of biodiversity has still occurred<sup>36,37</sup>. This  
288 is not what many stakeholders would understand as No Net Loss of biodiversity<sup>45</sup>. However, given  
289 Madagascar's high rates of deforestation<sup>46</sup>, and poor outcomes from tropical forest restoration<sup>42</sup>,  
290 averted loss is likely to be the better offsetting option<sup>16</sup>. Yet Madagascar has little remaining forest  
291 left to lose. Given the importance of the country's biodiversity and the multitude of threats facing it<sup>41</sup>,  
292 future developments could aim to go beyond NNL and contribute towards the overall conservation of  
293 Madagascar's remaining biodiversity<sup>16</sup>.

#### 294 **Hope for mitigating the environmental impacts of mines**

295 There are over 6,000 industrial mines operating worldwide, covering an estimated 57,000 km<sup>2</sup><sup>47</sup> and  
296 impacting around 10% of global forested lands<sup>48</sup>. Low-income countries, like Madagascar, desperately  
297 need economic development. Mining, if well-regulated, can be part of the solution. From the start  
298 Ambatovy promoted itself as a world-leader in sustainable mining and has some of the strongest  
299 commitments to conservation among 29 large-scale mines operating within forests<sup>48</sup>. Given this, and  
300 the resulting substantial investment the company made in NNL, failure would have been worrying for  
301 the concept of mitigating biodiversity loss from development. However, the achievements are  
302 notable, especially considering the challenging institutional and political context<sup>49</sup> in which Ambatovy

303 operates. Our results provide encouraging evidence that Ambatovy's economic contributions to  
304 Madagascar<sup>50</sup> (tens of millions of dollars a year), were made whilst minimising trade-offs with the  
305 island's precious remaining forest habitat. There are many important caveats to this finding, as to any  
306 claim of No Net Loss achieved through offsetting, however the result certainly demonstrates the value  
307 of high aspirations combined with substantial investment in mitigating the biodiversity impacts of  
308 mining.

309

## 310 **Methods**

311

### 312 **Study Site and context**

313 Ambatovy is a very large nickel, cobalt and ammonium sulphate mine in central-eastern Madagascar  
314 owned by a consortium of international mining companies<sup>51</sup>. It represents the largest ever foreign  
315 investment in the country<sup>24</sup> (\$8 billion by 2016<sup>51</sup>) and a significant source of fiscal income<sup>50</sup>. In 2018,  
316 the company contributed approximately \$50 million USD in taxes, tariffs, royalties and other  
317 payments<sup>50</sup> and employed over 9,000 people (93% of whom were Malagasy)<sup>52</sup>. Commercial  
318 production began in January 2014<sup>24</sup> (Supplementary Fig. 1). As key components in batteries supply of  
319 nickel and cobalt is critical to the green energy transition and demand for these metals is predicted to  
320 increase significantly in future<sup>53</sup>.

321 The mining concession covers an area of 7,700 ha located in the eastern rainforests of Madagascar  
322 (Fig. 1) which have very high levels of biodiversity and endemism<sup>54,55</sup>. After avoidance and  
323 minimisation measures were applied (Supplementary Methods) the mine was predicted to clear or  
324 significantly degrade 2,064 ha of high-quality natural forest at the mine footprint and upper pipeline<sup>24</sup>.  
325 Any impacts on plantations or secondary habitat is not included in this estimate. Losses at the impact  
326 site were not discounted in relation to a background rate of decline meaning the company took

327 responsibility for the full area of forest lost<sup>25</sup>. Independent verification by our team (by measuring the  
328 size of the mine footprint on Google Earth) confirms the extent of forest loss at the mine footprint  
329 (Supplementary Fig. 2). Clearance of the footprint accounts for most of the forest loss associated with  
330 the mine as losses associated with the pipeline are small<sup>55</sup>.

331 Ambatovy aims to generate biodiversity gains to offset the mine-induced losses by slowing  
332 deforestation driven by shifting agriculture elsewhere<sup>26</sup>. To this end the company designated four  
333 sites, totalling 28,740 ha, to be protected as biodiversity offsets; Ankerana, Corridor Forestier  
334 Analamay-Mantadia (CFAM), the Conservation Zone and Torotorofotsy<sup>55</sup> (Fig. 1). The offsets are  
335 considered like-for-like<sup>30</sup> and were selected based on similarity to the impact site in terms of forest  
336 structure and type, geology, climate, and altitude<sup>24</sup>. The large combined area of the offsets relative  
337 to the impacted area was designed to allow flexibility, account for uncertainty and incorporate as  
338 many of the affected biodiversity components as possible<sup>24</sup>. Ankerana is the flagship offset, selected  
339 based on its size, connectivity to the CAZ forest corridor and the presence of ultramafic outcrops  
340 thought to support the same rare type of azonal forest lost at the mine site<sup>55</sup>. Extensive surveys  
341 conducted within Ankerana to establish biological similarity concluded the offset to be of higher  
342 conservation significance than the forests of the mine site due to the presence of rare lowland tropical  
343 forest<sup>24</sup>.

344 The Conservation Zone is directly managed by the company, given its location within the concession  
345 area, whilst the other offsets are managed in partnership with local and international NGOs<sup>24,25</sup>.  
346 Ambatovy funds the management of Ankerana by Conservation International and local NGO partners  
347 (although prior to 2015 Ankerana was directly managed by Ambatovy via a Memorandum of  
348 Understanding with Conservation International<sup>24</sup>), supports BirdLife partner Asity with the  
349 management of Torotorofotsy, and a number of local NGOs including Voary Voakajy<sup>25</sup> are involved in  
350 CFAM<sup>26</sup>. The company is also working to secure formal, legal protection for CFAM<sup>26</sup> as part of a  
351 proposed Torotorofotsy-CFAM Complex New Protected Area (although progress on this has stalled).

352

353 **Overview of methods**

354 To estimate the impact of the offsets on deforestation and determine whether this has prevented  
355 enough deforestation to offset forest loss at the mine site, we combined several complementary  
356 methods for robust impact evaluation. First, we used statistical matching to match a sample of pixels  
357 from each biodiversity offset to pixels from the wider forested landscape with similar exposure to  
358 drivers of deforestation. Then we used a site-based difference-in-differences regression for each  
359 matched offset-control sample, and a fixed effects panel regression on the pooled data, to estimate  
360 the effect of protection. We systematically explored how arbitrary modelling choices (including the  
361 statistical distance measure used in matching, caliper size, ratio of control to treated units, matching  
362 with or without replacement and which, if any, additional covariates were included) affected our  
363 inference; exploring the robustness of our results to 116 alternative model specifications.

364

365 **Matching**

366 The former province of Toamasina was selected as the geographic area from which control pixels were  
367 sampled as it encompasses forests of the same type as the concession area with varying degrees of  
368 intactness and accessibility. The 4 biodiversity offsets are located within this province (Fig. 1).

369 The unit of analysis is a 30 x 30 m pixel that was forested in the baseline year 2000<sup>46,56</sup>. It is important  
370 that the scale of analysis aligns with the scale at which the drivers of deforestation (in this case, small-  
371 scale shifting agriculture) operate<sup>57</sup>. The median agricultural plot size (from 564 measured plots) in  
372 the study region is approximately 36 m x 36 m<sup>58</sup>. We took a sub-sample of pixels to reduce  
373 computational effort whilst maintaining the capacity for robust statistical inference<sup>59,60</sup>. We used a  
374 grid-based sampling strategy ensuring a minimum distance between sample units to reduce spatial  
375 autocorrelation<sup>61</sup>, and equal coverage of the study area<sup>59</sup>. A 150m x 150m resolution grid, aligned to

376 the other 30m resolution data layers (Fig. 1C), was overlaid on the province and the 30x30m pixel at  
377 the centre of each grid square was extracted to produce a sub-sample of pixels that are 120m away  
378 from their nearest neighbour. 120m is larger than the minimum distance between units used in  
379 another matching study in Madagascar (68m<sup>60</sup>) but smaller than that used in other studies (200m<sup>62</sup>),  
380 and so strikes an appropriate balance between the avoidance of spatial autocorrelation and  
381 maximising the possible sample cells.

382 Protected areas in the study area managed by Madagascar National Parks were excluded from our  
383 control sample as they are actively managed and therefore do not represent counterfactual outcomes  
384 for the biodiversity offsets in the absence of protection (Fig. 1). However, control pixels were sampled  
385 from within the Corridor Ankeniheny-Zahamena (CAZ) new protected area as legal protection was only  
386 granted in 2015 and resources for management are limited and thinly spread<sup>63</sup>. Additionally, Ankerana  
387 and parts of CFAM overlap with the CAZ and would have experienced the same management, and  
388 likely trajectory, as the rest of the CAZ, had they not been designated biodiversity offsets. Areas within  
389 10km of an offset boundary were excluded from the control sample to reduce the chance of leakage  
390 (where pressures are displaced rather than avoided) biasing results<sup>17,29</sup>. 10km was selected as it is a  
391 commonly used buffer zone within the literature<sup>17,59</sup>.

392 To test for leakage effects, we used Veronoi polygons to partition the buffer area for CFAM, the  
393 Conservation Zone and Torotorofotsy (which overlap) into three individual buffer areas according to  
394 the nearest offset centroid and took a sub-sample of pixels from each (Fig. 1). Areas that overlapped  
395 with the established protected areas of Mantadia National Park and Analamazotra Special Reserve  
396 were excluded from the buffer zones.

397 The outcome variable is the annual deforestation rate sourced from the Global Forest Change  
398 dataset<sup>34</sup>. Following Vieilledent et al<sup>46</sup> these data were restricted to only include pixels classed as  
399 forest in a forest cover map of Madagascar for the year 2000<sup>46,56</sup>, reducing the probability of false  
400 positives (whereby tree loss is identified in pixels that were not forested). The resulting tree loss raster

401 was snapped to the forest cover 2000 layer to align cells, resulting in a maximum spatial error of 15m.  
402 The Global Forest Change (GFC) product<sup>34</sup> has been shown to perform reasonably well at detecting  
403 deforestation in humid tropical forests<sup>64</sup>. In the North-Eastern rainforests of Madagascar Burivalova  
404 et al<sup>40</sup> found GFC data performed comparably to a local classification of very high resolution satellite  
405 imagery at detecting forest clearance for shifting agriculture (although it was not effective at detecting  
406 forest degradation from selective logging). As clearance for shifting agriculture is considered the  
407 principal agent of deforestation in the study area<sup>22</sup> and the forests of the study area are tropical humid  
408 (> 75% canopy cover), the GFC data is an appropriate tool for quantifying forest loss. Although recent  
409 evidence suggests GFC data may have temporal biases<sup>65</sup>, this phenomenon likely affects our control  
410 and treated samples equally and so is unlikely to impact our results.

411 The choice of covariates is extremely important in matching analyses. They must include, or proxy, all  
412 important factors influencing selection to treatment and the outcome of interest so that the matched  
413 control sample is sufficiently similar to the treated sample in these characteristics to constitute a  
414 plausible counterfactual, otherwise the resulting estimates may not be valid<sup>33</sup>. Based on the literature  
415 and a local theory of change we selected 5 covariates which we believe capture, or proxy for the  
416 aspects of accessibility, demand and agricultural suitability which drive deforestation in the study  
417 area<sup>22,60,66,67</sup>. These are slope, elevation, distance to main road, distance to forest edge and distance  
418 to deforestation (see Supplementary Methods for further details). These 5 essential covariates  
419 comprise the main matching specification and form the core set used in all alternative specifications  
420 that we tested in the robustness checks. We also defined 5 additional variables (annual precipitation,  
421 distance to river, distance to cart track, distance to settlement and population density) and tested the  
422 effect of including these in the robustness checks. The additional covariates were so defined because  
423 they were of poorer data quality (population density, distance to settlement), correlated with an  
424 essential variable (annual precipitation, population density) or simply considered less influential  
425 (distance to river, distance to cart track; see Supplementary Methods).

426 Statistical matching was conducted in R Statistics using the MatchIt package version 4.1<sup>68</sup>. To improve  
427 efficiency and produce closer matches we pre-cleaned the data prior to matching to remove control  
428 units with values outside the calipers of the treated sample in any of the essential covariates (see  
429 Supplementary Methods for details on caliper definition). Following the recommendations of  
430 Schleicher et al<sup>69</sup> we tested several matching specifications and selected the one which maximised the  
431 trade-off between the number of treated units matched and the closeness of matches as the main  
432 specification (Supplementary Table 7). This was 1:1 nearest-neighbour matching without  
433 replacement, using Mahalanobis distance and a caliper of 1 standard deviation. This specification  
434 produced acceptable matches (within 1 standard deviation of the Mahalanobis distance) for all treated  
435 units within all offsets. The maximum post-matching standardised difference in mean covariate values  
436 between treated and control samples was 0.05, well below the threshold of 0.25 considered to  
437 constitute an acceptable match<sup>70</sup>. This indicates that, on average, treated and control units were very  
438 well matched across all covariates.

439 Matching was run separately for each offset. The resulting matched datasets were aggregated by  
440 treated status (offset or control) and year to produce a matrix of the count of pixels that were  
441 deforested each year (2001-2019) in the offset and the matched control sample. Converting the  
442 outcome variable to a continuous measure of deforestation avoids the problem of attrition associated  
443 with binary measures of deforestation and is better suited to the framework of the subsequent  
444 regressions<sup>71</sup>.

#### 445 **Robustness checks**

446 Statistical matching requires various choices to be made<sup>69</sup>, many of which are essentially arbitrary.  
447 There therefore exist a range of possible alternative specifications which are all *a priori* valid (although  
448 some may be better suited to the data and study objectives<sup>70</sup>) but which could influence the  
449 results<sup>20,28</sup>. We tested the robustness of our results to 116 different matching model specifications  
450 (Fig. 4). First, we tested the robustness of the estimates to the use of three alternative matching

451 distance measures (standard propensity score matching using generalized linear model regressions  
452 with a logit distribution, propensity score matching using RandomForest, and Mahalanobis distance),  
453 three different calipers (0.25, 0.5 and 1SD), different ratios of control to treated units (1, 5 and 10  
454 nearest neighbours), and matching with/without replacement. Holding the choice of covariates  
455 constant (using only the essential covariates), the combination of these led to the estimation of 54  
456 different models. Second, we tested the robustness of results to the inclusion of the 5 additional  
457 covariates. Holding the choice of distance measure and model parameters constant, we constructed  
458 31 models based on all possible combinations of additional covariates with the core set of essential  
459 covariates. Finally, we explore the robustness of results for 31 randomly selected combinations of  
460 distance measure, model parameters and additional covariates. All 116 specifications are *a priori* valid,  
461 assuming the covariates capture or proxy for all important factors influencing outcomes, but may fail  
462 to satisfy the parallel trends condition or produce matches for insufficient number of treated  
463 observations (<10%), rendering them *a posteriori* invalid. It remains important to test the assumptions  
464 of the alternative models as failure to do so may lead to erroneous conclusions about effect size and  
465 direction being drawn from invalid models. Results are presented through specification graphs based  
466 on codes developed in Ortiz-Bobea et al<sup>72</sup>.

467 Additionally, we tested the robustness of our results from the site-based difference-in-differences  
468 regressions to an alternative temporal specification using an equal number of years before and after  
469 the intervention (8 for Ankerana and the Conservation Zone, 6 for CFAM and 5 for Torotorofotsy) and  
470 dropping individual years from the analysis. This did not change the significance or magnitude of our  
471 results (Supplementary Table 10, Supplementary Figures 6 and 7).

472

### 473 **Outcome Regressions**

474 Deriving estimates of causal effect from statistical comparisons of outcomes between treated and  
475 control samples relies on the assumption that the latter is a robust counterfactual for the former. In a

476 difference-in-differences analysis this assumes that in the absence of the intervention the treated  
477 sample would have experienced the same average change in outcomes over the before-after period  
478 as the control sample<sup>73</sup>. Parallel trends in outcomes between treated and control prior to the  
479 intervention is an essential pre-requisite for this assumption. We tested this for each matched offset-  
480 control dataset using the following formula:

481 Eqn 1:  $\log(\text{count of deforestation} + 1)_{i,t} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \text{Year}_t + \beta_2 \text{CI}_i + \beta_3 \text{Year} * \text{CI}_{i,t} + \epsilon_{i,t}$

482 where the outcome is the  $\log(y+1)$  transformed count of deforestation within sample  $i$  at year  $t$  and  
483 CI is a binary variable indicating whether the observation is from the offset (1) or control (0) sample.

484 Parallel trends in deforestation between offset and matched control samples in the years before the  
485 intervention were present for all offsets except for CFAM (Supplementary Fig. 5). Consequently, CFAM  
486 could not be used in the site-based difference-in-differences analysis. However, its effect is still  
487 captured in the results from the fixed effects panel regression as this is not based on an identifying  
488 assumption of parallel trends between groups in the pre-treatment period<sup>73</sup>.

489 To estimate the impact of protection within each individual offset we ran an ordinary least squares  
490 difference-in-differences regression for each matched offset-control dataset using the following  
491 formula:

492 Eqn 2:  $\log(\text{count of deforestation} + 1)_{i,t} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \text{BA}_t + \beta_2 \text{CI}_i + \beta_3 \text{BA} * \text{CI}_{i,t} + \epsilon_{i,t}$

493 where BA and CI are binary variables indicating whether the observation occurred before (0) or after  
494 (1) the intervention, in the offset (1) or control sample (0). Given the non-normal properties of count  
495 data and the presence of zero values a  $\log(y+1)$  transformation was applied to the outcome  
496 variable<sup>71,74</sup>. The coefficient of BA\*CI and the corresponding confidence intervals were back-  
497 transformed (see Supplementary Table 9) to obtain an estimate of the percentage difference in  
498 average annual deforestation between the offset and the matched control sample after protection,  
499 controlling for prior differences between samples (i.e. the estimated counterfactual).

500 To estimate the overall impact of Ambatovy’s biodiversity offset policy at reducing deforestation we  
501 pooled the data for all four offsets and their corresponding matched control samples and ran a fixed  
502 effects panel regression. The pooled data (N = 152) comprise an observation for each site (i=8, 4 offset  
503 and 4 control) for each year (t =19). The fixed effects panel regression quantifies the effect of  
504 protection on the log-transformed count of deforestation controlling for site and year fixed effects,  
505 according to the following formula :

506 Eqn: 3 
$$\log(\text{count of deforestation} + 1)_{i,t} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 Tr_{i,t} + \alpha_i + \gamma_t + \epsilon_{it}$$

507 where Tr is a binary measure indicating the treated status of sample *i* in year *t* (Tr = 1 for observations  
508 from offset sites in the years following protection and 0 for all other observations),  $\alpha_i$  and  $\gamma_t$  represent  
509 site and year fixed effects respectively and  $\epsilon_{it}$  represents the composite error. The coefficient of  
510 interest ( $\beta_1$ ) and the associated confidence intervals were backtransformed to obtain the percentage  
511 difference in average annual deforestation across all four biodiversity offsets following protection (the  
512 treatment effect).

### 513 **Evaluating deforestation leakage**

514 To determine whether protection of the four biodiversity offsets simply displaced deforestation into  
515 the surrounding forested landscape we repeated the matching and outcome regressions with the sub-  
516 sample of units from each buffer zone assigned as the treated group<sup>17,59</sup> (Supplementary Results).

517

### 518 **Data availability statement**

519 All input data used in this study are available in the GitHub repository accessible here:

520 [https://github.com/katie-devs/Biodiversity\\_offset\\_effectiveness](https://github.com/katie-devs/Biodiversity_offset_effectiveness).

### 521 **Code availability statement**

522 All computer code used in this study are available in the GitHub repository accessible here:  
523 [https://github.com/katie-devs/Biodiversity\\_offset\\_effectiveness](https://github.com/katie-devs/Biodiversity_offset_effectiveness).

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530

#### 531 **Author contributions**

532 KD, SW and JPGJ conceived and designed the study with contributions from SD on the statistical  
533 analysis. KD compiled the data. KD and SD performed the statistical analysis. KD, SD and JPGJ wrote  
534 the paper.

#### 535 **Competing interests**

536 Julia P G Jones co-authored a paper which was quite critical of the social impact of Ambatovy's  
537 biodiversity offsets in 2017. She was later approached by the new leadership of Ambatovy who  
538 asked if she could return to villages visited in that research to explore the current situation. She  
539 collected independent information from a number of villages around the Conservation Zone,  
540 Torotorofotsy and CFAM biodiversity offsets and fed this back to the mine. This work was funded by  
541 an Economic and Social Research Council Impact Accelerator Award to Julia P G Jones. She has never  
542 received any funding from Ambatovy. The remaining authors declare no competing interests.

543

#### 544 **Figure Legends**

545 **Fig. 1: Study area in eastern Madagascar showing the location of Ambatovy's biodiversity offsets**  
546 **and our study design.** A) The study area is the former province of Toamasina. Control pixels were  
547 sampled from pixels which were forested at baseline in 2000 (grey), excluding those within 10 km of  
548 a biodiversity offset, or within established protected areas (grey dashed). The Corridor Ankeniheny-  
549 Zahamena (CAZ) new protected area was included in sampling (see Methods). B) Ambatovy's four  
550 biodiversity offsets: the Conservation Zone (yellow) which is within the mine concession area, the  
551 Corridor Forestier Analamay-Mantadia (CFAM; green), Torotorofotsy (blue), and Ankerana (orange).  
552 The 10 km buffer zone (which excludes established protected areas) around each offset is shown in  
553 lighter shades and was used to explore deforestation leakage. C) Our grid-based sampling strategy  
554 (see Methods). The top layer illustrates the selection of our sub-sample of pixels. Data layers labelled  
555 x represent the outcome variable and covariates; all data used in this study are publicly available  
556 (Supplementary Table 4).  
557

558 **Fig. 2: Flowchart of methods.** Statistical matching was used to match sampled pixels from each offset  
559 to control pixels sampled from the wider forested landscape with similar exposure to drivers of  
560 deforestation (Supplementary Table 4). Difference-in-differences regressions were run for each  
561 matched offset-control sample to estimate the effect of protection within each offset (termed site-  
562 based difference-in-differences). Pooled data was used in a fixed effects panel regression to estimate  
563 the impact of protection across the whole offset portfolio. Resulting estimates were converted into  
564 hectares of avoided deforestation. To test the robustness of results to arbitrary modelling choices, the  
565 matching and outcome regressions were repeated using 116 alternative matching model  
566 specifications (Box A) to produce a range of estimates (Box B). The statistical distance measure used  
567 in matching (e.g. Mahalanobis), caliper size, ratio of matched control to treated units, and matching  
568 with or without replacement (shades of blue/purple) were varied in all 54 possible combinations.  
569 Holding these choices constant, we constructed 31 models based on all possible combinations of 5  
570 additional covariates (shown in shades of red/orange) with a core set of 5 essential covariates (green).  
571 Finally, we explore the robustness of the results to 31 randomly selected combinations of distance  
572 measure, model parameters and additional covariates.

573

574 **Fig. 3: The estimated percentage reduction in annual deforestation within each offset (from the site-**  
575 **based difference-in-differences regressions) and overall, across the entire offset portfolio (from the**  
576 **fixed effects panel regression).** The treatment effect is expressed as the average percentage  
577 difference in annual deforestation between the offset(s) and the estimated counterfactual following  
578 protection. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals (the upper bound for TTF extends to  
579 +510%). The width of the bar is proportional to the area of forest within each offset at the year of  
580 protection (Supplementary Table 2). ANK: Ankerana (orange), CZ: the Conservation Zone (yellow), TTF:  
581 Torotorofotsy (blue). Corridor Forestier Analamay-Mantadia (CFAM; green) could not be included in  
582 the site-based difference-in-differences analysis due to lack of parallel trends in the pre-intervention  
583 period (Supplementary Fig. 5). N = 38 for Ankerana, the Conservation Zone and Torotorofotsy and N  
584 = 152 for the Overall result.

585

586 **Fig. 4: Raw estimates of treatment effect (points) and corresponding 95% confidence intervals (bars)**  
587 **derived from 116 alternative matching model specifications.** The alternative specifications included  
588 54 possible combinations of matching distance measure and model parameters, 31 possible  
589 combinations of the 5 additional covariates with the core set of essential covariates, and 31 randomly  
590 selected combinations of distance measure, model parameters and additional covariates (see  
591 Methods). Results from our main model specification, presented in Fig. 3, are shown in black. An

592 asterix indicates that the main model was not *a posteriori* valid. All alternative specifications are *a*  
593 *priori* valid, but models that are not *a posteriori* valid (i.e., more than 90% of treated units were  
594 unmatched, acceptable covariate balance or parallel trends were not achieved) are shown in lighter  
595 shades. See Supplementary Fig. 11 and 12 for full details of parameters and covariates associated with  
596 each result. Values are reported un-transformed and represent the effect of treatment on the  $\log(y +$   
597  $1)$  transformed count of annual deforestation.

598

599 **Fig. 5: The total observed, counterfactual and the resulting estimate of avoided deforestation within**  
600 **each offset (estimated using site-based difference-in-differences regressions) and overall (using the**  
601 **fixed effects panel regression) between the year of protection and January 2020.** The counterfactual  
602 is an estimate of the deforestation which would have occurred in the absence of protection and was  
603 calculated using the estimated treatment effect (N= 38; Supplementary methods). Avoided  
604 deforestation is the difference between the observed and counterfactual deforestation; negative  
605 values indicate the offset resulted in a reduction in deforestation. The error bars show the 95%  
606 confidence interval of the estimates of counterfactual deforestation (derived from the upper and  
607 lower confidence intervals of the treatment effect) and the resulting estimates of avoided  
608 deforestation. The green dashed line indicates the 2,064 ha of forest loss caused by the mine itself.  
609 The number of years following protection is 9 for Ankerana, 11 for the Conservation Zone, 6 for  
610 Torotorofotsy and 11 Overall (deforestation within later protected offsets is only counted from the  
611 year of protection).

612

613 **Fig. 6; Comparison of the annual deforestation rate within the sample of pixels from each offset and**  
614 **the matched controls over the whole study period.** The offset sample is shown in colour whilst the  
615 matched control sample is shown in grey. The dashed line indicates the year of protection. The offset  
616 and matched control samples contain an equal number of pixels (2862 for Ankerana, 2626 for CFAM,  
617 1340 for the Conservation Zone and 1170 for Torotorofotsy) as the ratio of treated to control units in  
618 the matching was set to 1:1. For each offset, N = 38.

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