



Brazil's National Environmental Registry of Rural Properties: Implications for Livelihoods



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ABSTRACT

In Brazil, the Cadastro Ambiental Rural (CAR) is currently being implemented. This policy aims to pro-reference all properties and promote monitoring of, and compliance with, natural vegetation conservation requirements. Scholarly efforts and policy attention have so far concentrated on possible environmental impacts hereof, while the attention devoted to how the CAR might affect farmers' livelihoods has been limited. In this paper, we evaluate potential livelihood impacts of the CAR and programs that facilitate CAR registration. We do so by developing a conceptual framework and using evidence from semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders including farmers, governments, and funding agencies. We find that while the CAR and programs facilitating CAR do not have explicit livelihood impact goals, they nonetheless affect livelihoods, both positively and negatively, depending on the initial amount of natural vegetation on farmers' properties, farmers' access to credit and infrastructure, and changing market conditions. We argue that environmental interventions and policies need to consider potential livelihood impacts, especially if the policy intervention area has high poverty rates.

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1. Introduction

Brazil faces major challenges in the implementation of the 2012 Forest Code which replaces the previous code from 1965 (Kröger, 2016). Deforestation in many areas, such as the Legal Brazilian Amazon, has been on the rise since 2013 and prospects for the future are not good as political appointments are sending anti-environmental signals (Fearnside, 2015; Fearnside, 2016a; Ferreira et al., 2014). However, one potentially promising mechanism of the new Forest Code is the Cadastro Ambiental Rural (the Rural Environmental Registry – CAR) (Soares-Filho et al., 2014). With the CAR, it is mandatory for all rural properties to be registered and caps have been set on the proportion of natural vegetation that can be legally cleared on any rural property (as low as 20% in the Amazon). The CAR also lays out guidelines for which areas should be permanently preserved. The implementation of the CAR requires georeferencing and identification of property boundaries, Legal Reserves (LR), and Areas of Permanent Preservation (APP).

The CAR is primarily expected to enhance the ease of monitoring and enforcement of the Forest Code and other environmental legislations. This may in turn directly or indirectly affect what activities landowners

can conduct on their land and subsequently impact landowners' livelihoods. For example, to achieve compliance with the Forest Code, reforestation may be required or landowners may need to pay taxes that they did not have to pay previously because their property was not registered in the state registry system (Kröger, 2016). Therefore, enforcement of the CAR is likely to affect not only the natural vegetation but also the livelihoods of private property owners through changes in land use, monitoring, and resulting changes in the provision of ecosystem services, such as water purification.

While many studies have evaluated the impacts of environmental conservation programs such as protected areas on local livelihoods (e.g., Andam et al., 2010; Clements et al., 2014; Ferraro and Hanauer, 2014; Miranda et al., 2016), and of large scale infrastructure as well (Fearnside, 2016b), few studies have systematically evaluated the impacts of the CAR on local livelihoods. Both scholarly and policy efforts have concentrated on environmental aspects (Azevedo and Saito, 2013; Gibbs et al., 2015; L'Roë et al., 2016) with little assessment of how livelihoods (the capabilities, assets, and activities required for a means of living (Spoonon, 1998)) may be affected. Although livelihood impacts may not be an intentional objective of the CAR, some agencies, such as the Brazilian Development Bank that manages funds to facilitate CAR registration, do expect livelihood impacts to occur, albeit the specific nature of such impacts remain unknown (BNDES, 2015). Notably, the Brazilian Development Bank has been open to engage in additional or new activities that can specifically help farmers compensate for

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