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Unintended consequences of conservation: estimating the impact of

protected areas on violence in Colombia

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Running title: The effect of protected areas on violence in Colombia

## Abstract

Protected areas are designed to conserve ecosystems and their services, but the re-1 strictions they impose create the potential for unintended consequences. For instance, 2 poverty advocates have long voiced concerns that protected areas might exacerbate 3 poverty in surrounding communities. Here we examine another potential unintended 4 consequence of protected areas: illegal activities. We use data from Colombia to esti-5 mate the impact that protected areas had on violence perpetrated by guerrilla groups. 6 We find protected areas that were established prior to 2002 significantly increased the 7 number of guerrilla attacks in affected municipalities during the surge of violence in the 8 mid-2000s. Our results are robust to the choice of estimator and numerous additional 9 tests. We find evidence that guerrillas were using protected areas as havens to conduct 10 their operations and that our impact estimates are largely driven by protection in the 11 most rural areas. 12

Keywords: causal inference, matching, guerrilla, heterogeneity, conflict, difference-in difference, FARC, Latin America, terrorism

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