

## Climate Change and Agriculture: Subsistence Farmers' Response to Extreme Heat<sup>†</sup>

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*This paper examines how subsistence farmers respond to extreme heat. Using microdata from Peruvian households, we find that high temperatures reduce agricultural productivity, increase area planted, and change crop mix. These findings are consistent with farmers using input adjustments as a short-term mechanism to attenuate the effect of extreme heat on output. This response seems to complement other coping strategies, such as selling livestock, but exacerbates the drop in yields, a standard measure of agricultural productivity. Using our estimates, we show that accounting for land adjustments is important to quantify damages associated with climate change. (JEL O12, O13, Q11, Q12, Q15, Q54)*

A growing body of evidence suggests that extreme temperatures have negative effects on crop yields.<sup>1</sup> Based on these findings, current estimates suggest that climate change will bring dramatic shifts in agriculture: a global warming of 2°C, as in the most optimistic forecasts, would reduce agricultural output by almost 25 percent (IPCC 2014). Among those exposed to this shock, the rural poor in developing countries are probably most vulnerable. They are located in tropical areas, where the changes in climate will occur faster and be more intense, and their livelihoods are more dependent on agriculture.

Given these potentially disruptive effects, it is extremely important to understand possible margins of adjustment and the scope for mitigation. Some studies suggest that a possible response to climate change would be the reallocation of economic activity in the form of migration, changes in trade patterns, or sectoral

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<sup>1</sup>See, for instance, Schlenker, Hanemann, and Fisher (2005, 2006); Deschênes and Greenstone (2007); Lobell et al. (2011); Burke, Hsiang, and Miguel (2015); Carleton and Hsiang (2016); Chen, Chen, and Xu (2016); Zhang, Zhang, and Chen (2017). A review of the biological evidence is available at Wahid et al. (2007).

employment (Feng, Oppenheimer, and Schlenker 2012; Costinot, Donaldson, and Smith 2016; Colmer 2018). Other studies, based on farmers' self-stated adaptive strategies, emphasize changes in consumption and savings as potential temporary responses (Gbetibouo et al. 2010; Di Falco, Veronesi, and Yesuf 2011; Hisali, Birungi, and Buyinza 2011). Less is known, however, about the potential for productive responses (i.e., changes in input use and agricultural practices) to attenuate the adverse effects of extreme temperatures.<sup>2</sup>

This paper examines how subsistence farmers respond to extreme temperatures. It has two main contributions. First, it examines a population that has been relatively neglected in the literature, despite comprising a large fraction of the rural poor around the world. Second, it documents the role of short-run productive responses, in particular the increase in land use, as a mechanism to mitigate the negative effects of extreme temperatures on agricultural output. To the best of our knowledge, this margin of adjustment has not been documented before. It has, however, significant implications for the quantification of climate change damages and for understanding the potential long-term effects of weather shocks.

Our empirical analysis combines survey microdata from Peruvian farming households with weather data from satellite imagery. We examine the relationship between temperature and input demands (land and labor), as well as other agricultural outcomes such as total factor productivity, yields, and output. Similar to recent studies of the effect of temperature, we use an approach that exploits within-locality variation in weather.

By focusing on input use, our approach addresses some limitations of existing economic studies of the effect of temperature on agriculture. These studies focus on outcomes such as land prices, profits, and yields that can be informative of the costs associated to raising temperatures (Deschênes and Greenstone 2007; Schlenker, Hanemann, and Fisher 2006). Moreover, since profits and yields already include farmers' responses, they can be used to indirectly assess the scope for mitigation and adaptation.<sup>3</sup> These approaches have, however, two important limitations. First, they are not informative of the mitigation and adaptive strategies used by farmers, only of their net effect. Second, because of their reliance on market prices, profits and land values are not very useful in contexts with incomplete agricultural markets or when revenues and costs are difficult to observe, for instance due to self-consumption or the use of household inputs. This limitation is particularly relevant when studying subsistence farmers in less developed countries.

We find that extreme heat *increases* area planted. The magnitude is economically significant: one standard deviation increase in our measure of extreme heat is associated with a 6 percent increase in land used. Consistent with the additional land being planted with a different crop mix, we find that extreme heat increases the

<sup>2</sup> A recent paper that addresses this question is Jagnani et al. (forthcoming). Using data from Kenya, they find that farmers increase fertilizer use as a response to increased temperatures early in the growing season. They interpret this finding as evidence that farmers undertake defensive investments to reduce the adverse impacts of warmer temperatures.

<sup>3</sup> For instance, Burke and Emerick (2016) find that the effect of extreme heat on crop yields in the United States has not changed over time. They interpret this finding as evidence of limited long-run adaptation. Similarly, Taraz (2018) examines differences on the effect of temperature on crop yields by baseline climate to assess the scope of adaptation among Indian farmers.

quantity harvested (in absolute and relative terms) of tubers. We also find suggestive evidence of increments in the use of domestic—including child—labor on the farm. The increase in input use occurs despite high temperatures reducing agricultural productivity and partially offsets the drop in total output. We interpret these findings as evidence that subsistence farmers respond to extreme temperatures by increasing input use within the growing season. This productive adjustment attenuates undesirable drops in output and consumption.

Our interpretation is consistent with agricultural household models with incomplete markets (de Janvry, Fafchamps, and Sadoulet 1991; Taylor and Adelman 2003). In these models, production and consumption decisions are not separable. Thus, at low consumption levels, farmers may resort to more intensive use of nontraded inputs, like land and domestic labor, to offset the impact of negative income or productivity shocks. This margin of adjustment may be particularly relevant for farmers in less developed countries due to the presence of several market imperfections and limited coping mechanisms.

With this interpretation in mind, we also examine several *ex post* coping mechanisms previously identified in the literature on consumption smoothing, such as migration, off-farm labor, and disposal of livestock (Beegle, Dehejia, and Gatti 2006; Bandara, Dehejia, and Lavie-Rouse 2015; Kochar 1999; Munshi 2003; Rosenzweig and Stark 1989; Rosenzweig and Wolpin 1993). Consistent with previous studies, we find that households reduce their holdings of livestock after a negative weather shock and seem to increase hours working off the farm. Interestingly, the increase in land use as a response to extreme heat occurs even among farmers who resort to other consumption smoothing strategies. This finding suggests that productive responses to extreme temperatures remain important to traditional farmers, even if they have alternative risk-coping instruments at hand.

Our findings have two important implications. First, they suggest a potential dynamic link between weather shocks and long-run outcomes. If the increase in land use comes at the expense of investments (such as fallowing), then this short-term response could affect future land productivity. A similar argument could be made about child labor. While we are unable to examine these implications due to data limitations, future research should explore these links more closely. Second, this farmer response may affect estimations of the damages of climate change on agricultural output. These estimates are usually based on the effect of temperature on crop yields (Deschênes and Greenstone 2007). This is a correct approach under certain conditions—e.g., if land use is fixed. In that case, changes in crop yields are the same as changes in output. However, if area planted increases with temperature, then using crop yields would overestimate the resulting loss in output. To illustrate this point, we use our results to predict damages of climate change by the end of the century under two standard scenarios (RCP45 and RCP85). Using the effect of temperature on yields, as in the existing literature, suggests output losses in the hotter coastal region of up to 26 percent under different scenarios. In contrast, taking into account changes in land use, we obtain smaller losses of up to 12 percent.

The rest of this paper is organized as follows. Section I describes the context and the analytic framework. Section II discusses the data and the empirical strategy. Section III presents our main results and robustness checks. Section IV examines

TABLE 1—SUMMARY STATISTICS (INEI 2007–2015)

|  | All<br>(1) | Coast<br>(2) | Highlands<br>(3) |
|--|------------|--------------|------------------|
| <i>Panel A. Household characteristics</i>                |            |              |                  |
| Poor (percent)   | 51.14      | 26.55        | 55.10            |
| Household size   | 4.34       | 4.41         | 4.33             |
| Primary education completed by household head (percent)  | 50.93      | 58.48        | 49.71            |
| Child works (percent)                                    | 21.82      | 9.65         | 23.79            |
| At least one household member has off-farm job (percent) | 47.54      | 56.45        | 46.10            |
| <i>Panel B. Agricultural characteristics</i>             |            |              |                  |
| Value of agric. output (Y)                               | 1,049.9    | 3,263.2      | 693.4            |
| Land used (T), in ha.                                    | 1.99       | 2.41         | 1.92             |
| Number of household members work on farm                 | 2.31       | 2.21         | 2.33             |
| Hire workers (percent)                                   | 48.85      | 57.08        | 47.52            |
| Uncultivated land (percent of land holding)              | 40.30      | 11.81        | 44.89            |
| Irrigated land (percent land holding)                    | 36.05      | 82.00        | 28.65            |
| Fruits (percent total output)                            | 7.41       | 31.59        | 3.52             |
| Tubers (percent total output)                            | 31.35      | 5.54         | 35.50            |
| Cereals (percent total output)                           | 31.30      | 30.43        | 31.44            |
| Own livestock (percent)                                  | 77.61      | 55.95        | 81.10            |
| Value of livestock                                       | 682.11     | 461.85       | 717.59           |
| <i>Panel C. Weather during the last growing season</i>   |            |              |                  |
| Average temperature (°C)                                 | 22.84      | 33.07        | 21.20            |
| Average degree days                                      | 14.28      | 22.39        | 12.97            |
| Average harmful degree days                              | 0.73       | 2.69         | 0.41             |
| Share of days with harmful degree days                   | 0.136      | 0.383        | 0.097            |
| Precipitation (mm/day)                                   | 3.16       | 0.93         | 3.51             |
| Observations   | 53,619     | 7,439        | 46,180           |

Notes: Output and livestock value measured in 2007 US dollars. Land is measured in hectares. Temperature is measured in Celsius degrees.

other other coping mechanisms, while Section V discusses the implication of our findings for estimating climate change damages. Section VI concludes.

## I. Background

### A. Subsistence Farming in Peru

Our empirical analysis focuses on subsistence farmers from rural Peru. In 2017, the last year of our study, 24 percent of the working population was employed in agriculture, but the sector only accounted for 7 percent of the GDP (INEI 2018). It is, in other words, a sector of very low productivity, with many characteristics in common with subsistence farming in other developing countries: it is mainly composed by small productive units (i.e., households), with low capital intensity, and low levels of technology adoption (Velazco et al. 2014).

Table 1 presents some key summary statistics of the farmers in our sample and defines the setting for our analysis.<sup>4</sup> Most farmers are poor and depend on agriculture

<sup>4</sup>Data sources and variable definitions are described in Section IIA.

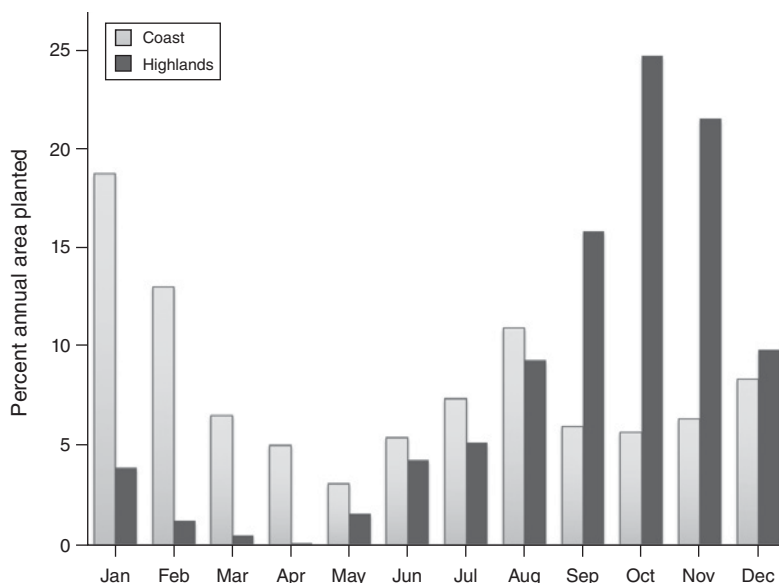


FIGURE 1. PERCENTAGE OF ANNUAL AREA PLANTED IN A MONTH, BY CLIMATIC REGION

*Notes:* Figure depicts the share of annual area planted in a given month, averaged over farmers in a climatic region. We consider only planting of transitory (annual) crops.

*Source:* Data from the Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática (2014–2017).

as their main source of livelihood. The incidence of poverty in our sample of farmers is around 50 percent. For comparison purposes, a similar methodology shows that poverty over the whole of Peru during the period of analysis was 21.6 percent. The average farm is around 2 hectares, has a low degree of specialization, and uses practices akin to traditional, rather than industrial, farming. They rely on domestic labor (including child labor), cultivate a variety of crops instead of monocropping, and leave some land uncultivated. Some of this uncultivated land is reported as fallowing while the rest is covered with grasses, bushes, and forests. These last uses are also consistent with sectoral fallowing and crop rotation, but we can not rule out that part of this land is nonagricultural.

Figure 1 shows the number of hectares planted by calendar month during years 2014–2017. As one can see, most planting occurs during October–March. These months correspond to spring and summer in the Southern Hemisphere and are considered the main growing season in Peru. However, planting is not a one-off activity as it persists throughout the year. This feature suggests that farmers have some margin to adjust their input use during the agricultural year. Figure 2 shows that planting is usually spread over several months, and not necessarily a one-off event. For instance, around 50 percent of farmers engaged in planting in two or more months. This last observation suggests that farmers might have flexibility to adjust their decisions during the growing season. We note that the number of months in which farmers decided to plant could be endogenous to weather realizations, an issue we explore below.

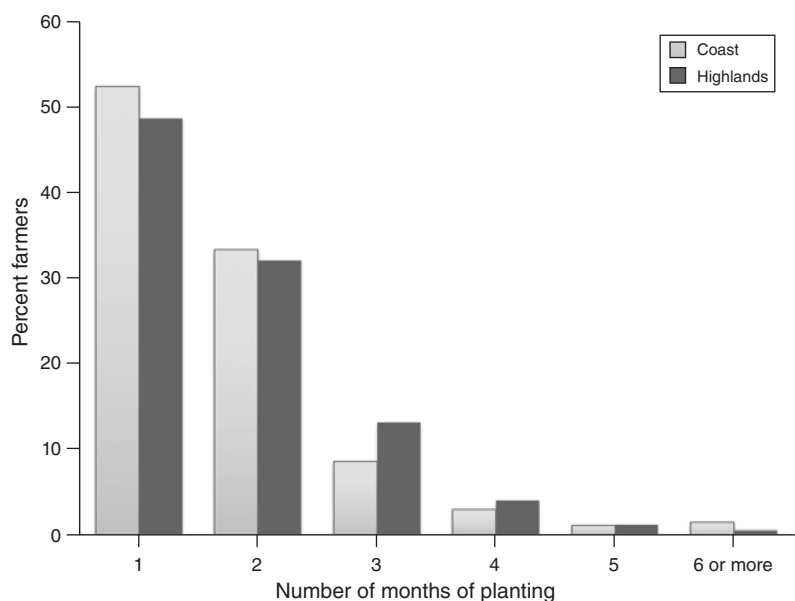


FIGURE 2. NUMBER OF MONTHS OF PLANTING, BY CLIMATIC REGION

*Note:* Figure depicts the proportion of farmers by the number of months in which they plant transitory crops.

*Source:* Data from the Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática (2014–2017).

Our study concentrates on two climatic regions: the coast and the highlands.<sup>5</sup> These two regions exhibit different climate driven by their proximity to the sea and altitude. The coast is a narrow strip extending from the seashore up to 500 meters above sea level (masl). It has a semiarid climate, with warm temperatures and little precipitation. The highlands extend from 500 up to almost 7,000 masl, albeit most agriculture stops below 4,000 masl. It has a much cooler and wetter climate, with seasonal precipitations in spring and early summer.

These climatic differences are associated with different agricultural practices: coastal farmers are more reliant on irrigation, while agriculture in the highlands is mostly rainfed. Coastal farmers are also less likely to be poor and have a different crop mix, cultivating a larger share of fruits and cereals. While these regional differences do not affect the key results in our analysis (see Section IIID), they have important implications in terms of the potential effects of greater temperatures due to climate change.

<sup>5</sup> Peru has three main climatic regions: the coast to the west, the Andean highlands, and the Amazon jungle to the east. We do not include observations from the jungle due to small sample size and poor quality of satellite data. We also drop 282 farmers from the coast and highlands reporting land holdings larger than 100 hectares.

## B. Analytical Framework

This section develops a simple framework to examine how subsistence farmers adjust their production decisions as a response to extreme heat. To this end, we follow standard agricultural producer-consumer household models in the development literature (de Janvry, Chen, and Xu 1991; Benjamin 1992; Taylor and Adelman 2003), where households make simultaneous, potentially interrelated, consumption and production decisions during the growing season.

Without loss of generality, let us assume an agricultural production function with a single input. We call this input “land” but it can refer to any other variable input such as labor. The household has an endowment of land,  $T^e$ . Land can be used for production or “consumed” in nonproductive activities (e.g., leisure).<sup>6</sup> Household utility is  $U(c, t)$ , where  $c$  is consumption of a market good, while  $t$  is the amount of land used in nonproductive activities. Households obtain income by renting their land and by producing an agricultural good. Production is defined by function  $F(A, T)$ , where  $T$  is the amount of land used in agriculture, and  $A$  is farmer’s total factor productivity. Note that  $A$  is a productivity shifter that captures the idea that farmers using identical inputs can have different levels of output due, for instance, to different farming skills, soil quality, or exposure to weather shocks.<sup>7</sup> Consistent with previous studies on the relation between crop yields and temperature, we assume that extreme heat has a detrimental effect on productivity.<sup>8</sup>

Each growing season, the household maximizes utility by choosing the amount of land allocated to productive and nonproductive uses. We consider that land is a variable input. This assumption is driven by the observation that, among subsistence farmers, planting is not a one-off activity, but instead it is spread throughout the year (see Figure 2).<sup>9</sup> Finally, we assume that both the utility and the production functions are increasing and strictly concave.

*Household Responses to Negative Productivity Shocks.*—If input markets exist and are well functioning, we can study consumption and production decisions separately (Benjamin 1992). This separation result is driven by the possibility to trade. Thus, the household’s demand and supply of inputs for production and consumption need not be identical to its endowments. The farmer’s use of inputs on the farm can then be analyzed by solving the profit maximization problem  $\max_T \pi = pf(A, T) - rT$ , where  $p$  and  $r$  refer to output and input prices.

<sup>6</sup>The inclusion of land directly in the utility function is a modeling device to create a positive shadow price (i.e., an opportunity cost of using land) and should not be taken literally. Since land cannot be sold or rented out, without this device, the model would predict that farmers will always use all available land. This prediction is inconsistent with the empirical observation that around 40 percent of land is left uncultivated. An alternative way to generate a nonzero shadow price is to include an intertemporal opportunity cost, for instance by allowing productivity-enhancing fallowing.

<sup>7</sup>In our context, we assume that capital such as irrigation, if used at all, is fixed.

<sup>8</sup>See, for example, Schlenker and Roberts (2009); Burke and Emerick (2016); Auffhammer, Ramanathan, and Vincent (2012); Hsiang (2010, 2016), among others.

<sup>9</sup>Note that multicropping practices, combined with the availability of uncultivated land, implies that both inputs and outputs are flexible throughout the season, during which  $A$  is realized.



The standard solution is the unconditional input demand  $T^*(A, p, w)$ . In this context, a farmer's response to negative productivity shock, such as extreme heat, is unequivocal: she will *reduce* the amount of land used in her farm.

This prediction can change in the case of incomplete markets. To illustrate this, consider a case in which there are no input markets. In this simplified setting, the farmer's problem becomes

$$\max_T U(c, t),$$

subject to

$$c = pF(A, T),$$

$$T + t = T^e.$$

Solving this problem produces an unconditional demand for land that depends not only on prices and productivity, but also on land endowment,  $T(A, p, T^e)$ . Moreover, if utility is sufficiently concave (for instance if consumption levels are quite low or farmer has high risk aversion), then  $dT/dA$  can be negative.<sup>10</sup>

This result suggests that, in context with imperfect input markets, negative weather shocks, such as extreme heat, could result in an *increase* in input use. This occurs because the farmer uses more inputs to attenuate the fall in agricultural output and reduce the drop in consumption. This response is akin to coping mechanisms to smooth consumption, such as selling disposable assets. The key distinction is that it involves adjustments in productive decisions. This prediction is relevant because subsistence farmers in rural Peru (and other parts of the developing world) likely face severe imperfections in input markets (Gollin, Lagakos, and Waugh 2013; Restuccia, Yang, and Zhu 2008).

This framework also points out to alternative explanations for a positive relation between extreme temperature and input use. For instance, this could occur if extreme temperatures have a negative effect on aggregate supply and raise output prices ( $p$ ). Similarly, we would observe a positive relation if there are correlated productivity shocks, such as increase in precipitation; or changes in land endowments (for instance, due to sample attrition of small landholders). We address these potential confounders in our identification strategy and examine the role of prices as an alternative explanation in Section IIID.

With this framework in mind, our empirical analysis focuses on examining the effect of extreme heat on input use, as well as on agricultural productivity. There are, however, other possible responses. For instance, recent work on climate change

<sup>10</sup> Taking total derivatives to first-order condition  $p U_c F_T = U_t$ , we obtain that

$$\frac{dT}{dA} (F_T^2 U_{cc} + U_c F_{TT} + U_{tt}) + F_T F_A U_{cc} + U_c F_{TA} = 0.$$

Assuming strictly concave utility and production functions, this expression implies that a necessary and sufficient condition for inputs to increase with a negative productivity shock ( $dT/dA < 0$ ) is  $-(U_{cc}/U_c) > F_{TA}/(F_T F_A)$ . Assuming a Cobb-Douglas technology  $f = AT^\alpha$ , this condition simplifies to  $-U_{cc}/U_c > 1$ .



and adaptation has stressed changes in crop mix as a possible response (Burke and Emerick 2016; Costinot, Donaldson, and Smith 2016). Similarly, an influential literature highlights how households can smooth consumption by migrating, increasing off-farm work, or selling cattle, among other strategies (see, for instance, Rosenzweig and Wolpin 1993 or Kochar 1999). In the empirical section, we also examine these additional potential responses.

## II. Methods

### A. Data

We combine household surveys with satellite imagery to construct a comprehensive dataset containing agricultural, socioeconomic, and weather variables. The unit of observation is the household-year. We restrict the sample to households with agricultural activities located in the coast and highlands. Our final dataset consists of around 53,000 observations and spans over the years 2007 to 2015. Table 1 presents some summary statistics for our sample.

*Agricultural and Socioeconomic Data.*—Our main data source is repeated cross sections of the Peruvian Living Standards Survey (ENAHO), an annual household survey collected by the National Statistics Office (INEI 2007–2015). This survey is collected in a continuous, rolling basis. This feature guarantees that the sample is evenly distributed over the course of the calendar year.

The survey asks the farmer to report the quantity of crops harvested in the last 12 months, as well as the size and use of parcels planted in that period. We use this information to construct measures of agricultural output and input use. To measure real agricultural output, we construct a Laspeyres index using quantity produced of each crop and baseline local prices.<sup>11</sup> We calculate land used by adding the size of parcels dedicated to seasonal and permanent crops. We distinguish between domestic and hired labor. We measure hired labor using self-reported wage bill paid to external workers in the last 12 months. To measure domestic labor, we use information on household members' employment. In particular, we calculate the number of household members working in agriculture and build an indicator of child labor.<sup>12</sup>

This dataset has three relevant limitations. First, we do not observe the time of planting, only the total land used in the last 12 months. Second, we do not observe which specific crops are cultivated in each parcel.<sup>13</sup> Since most farmers grow several crops and practice intercropping, we cannot calculate crop-specific yields. Finally, the information on household employment is available only for the two weeks before the interview. Given that interviews can occur all year round and labor use is seasonal, our measures of domestic labor may not reflect actual input use during the whole year. While this measurement error does not affect estimates of the

<sup>11</sup> As local prices, we use the median price of each crop in a given department ( $N = 24$ ) in 2007.

<sup>12</sup> Child labor is defined as an indicator equal to one if a child living in the household aged 6–14 reports doing any activity to obtain some income. This includes helping in the family farm, selling services or goods, or helping relatives, but excludes household chores.

<sup>13</sup> We only observe total area planted and, separately, total harvests of each crop.

effect of temperature on land use, it can affect estimates of its impact on labor use. In those cases, we address this concern by restricting the sample to farmers interviewed during the main growing season only.

The survey also provides information on sociodemographic characteristics, agricultural practices, and farm conditions (such as intercropping, access to irrigation, and use of fertilizers), and geographical coordinates of each primary sampling unit or survey block.<sup>14</sup> In rural areas, this corresponds to a village or cluster of dwellings. We use this geographical information to link the household data to satellite imagery.

We complement the household survey with data on soil quality from the Harmonized World Soil Database (Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations 2012).<sup>15</sup>

*Temperature and Precipitation.*—We use satellite imagery to obtain high-resolution measures of local temperature. We prefer to use satellite imagery instead of ground-level measures or gridded products, such as reanalysis datasets, due to the small number of monitoring stations (around 14 in the whole country).<sup>16</sup> We use the MOD11C1 product provided by NASA (Wan, Hook, and Hulley 2015). This product is constructed using readings taken by the MODIS tool aboard the Terra satellite. These readings are processed to obtain daily measures of daytime temperature on a grid of  $0.05 \times 0.05$  degrees, equivalent to 5.6 km squares at the Equator, and is already cleaned of low-quality readings and processed for consistency.<sup>17</sup>

The satellite data provide estimates of land surface temperature (LST) not of surface air temperature, which is the variable measured by monitoring stations. For that reason, the reader should be careful when comparing the results of this paper to other studies using reanalysis data or station readings. LST is usually higher than air temperature, and this difference tends to increase with the roughness of the terrain. However, both indicators are highly correlated (Mutiibwa, Strachan, and Albright 2015).

We complement the data on temperature with information on local precipitation. We use data from the Climate Hazards Group InfraRed Precipitation with Station data (CHIRPS) product (Funk et al. 2015). CHIRPS is a reanalysis gridded dataset that combines satellite imagery with monitoring station data. It provides estimates of monthly precipitation with a resolution of  $0.05 \times 0.05$  degrees.

To link the weather and household data, we attribute to a given household the weather conditions in the cell overlapping its coordinates. Then, we aggregate weather data (which have daily and monthly frequency) to obtain measures of exposure to weather during a given agricultural year. In our baseline specification, we

<sup>14</sup>There are around 3,800 unique coordinate points in our sample. Figure A.1 in the online Appendix depicts the location of clusters used in this study.

<sup>15</sup>This dataset provides information on several soil characteristics relevant for crop production on a 9 km square grid. The soil qualities include nutrient availability and retention, rooting conditions, oxygen availability, excess salts, toxicity, and workability.

<sup>16</sup>Note that reanalysis datasets use ground-level readings as a main input and thus can be less precise in contexts with a low number of monitoring stations (Auffhammer et al. 2013).

<sup>17</sup>MODIS validation studies comparing remotely sensed land surface temperature estimates and ground, in situ, air temperature readings found discrepancies within the 0.1–0.4°C range (Coll et al. 2005; Wan and Li 2008; Coll, Wan, and Galve 2009).

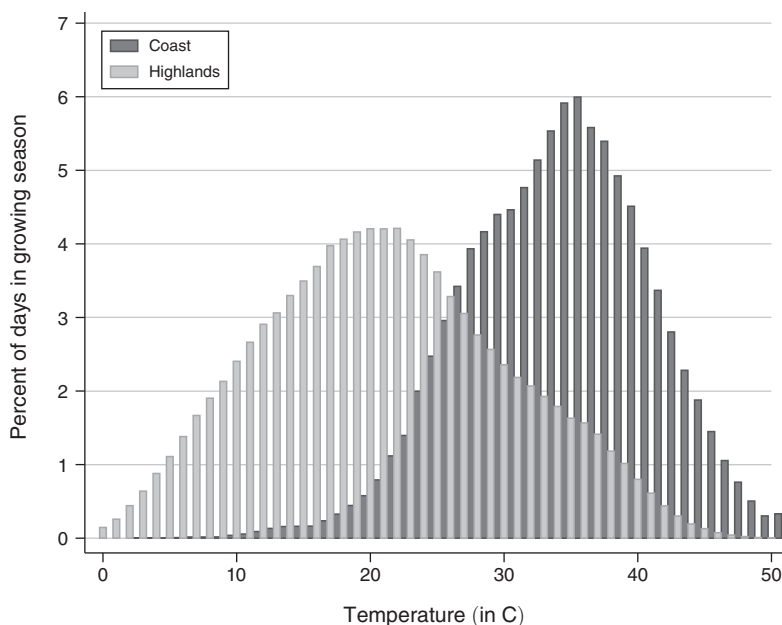


FIGURE 3. DISTRIBUTION OF DAILY AVERAGE TEMPERATURE BY GROWING SEASON

Notes: Density of daily temperatures during the last completed growing season (i.e., October to March). The unit of observation is farmer-growing season.

focus on exposure to weather during the last completed growing season. The growing season is the period in which most of planting and crop growth occurs. As shown in Section IA, even though planting is a year-round activity, it is particularly concentrated in spring and summer. We use this period as our definition of growing season.<sup>18</sup> Figure 3 shows the distribution of temperatures observed during the last completed growing season for our whole sample.<sup>19</sup>

### B. Empirical Strategy

The empirical analysis aims to study how farmers respond to extreme heat. Based on the discussion in Section IB, we focus on productive adjustments, such as changes in input use. To study this response, we estimate reduced-form unconditional factor demands linking input use to weather shocks.

In a standard production model, unconditional factor demands are a function of total factor productivity (TFP), and agricultural prices. In the presence of imperfect input markets, they could also be affected by household endowments.<sup>20</sup> In this

<sup>18</sup> We define the growing season as October to March. In Section IIID, we check the robustness of our results to alternative ways to aggregate weather over time, such as by climatic season or during the last 12 months.

<sup>19</sup> Figure A.3 in the online Appendix shows the average distribution of daily temperatures by growing season and shows that the distribution is mostly stable over the time of our study.

<sup>20</sup> For instance, in the extreme case of no input markets, input use would be proportional to input endowments. See the discussion in Aragón and Rud (2016).

context, weather conditions, such as temperature and precipitation, enter into the factor demand through their effects on  $A$ .

We approximate the reduced-form factor demand using the following log-linear regression model

$$(1) \quad \ln y_{ijt} = g(\gamma, \omega_{jt}) + \phi Z_{ijt} + \rho_j + \psi_t + \epsilon_{ijt},$$

where the unit of observation is farmer  $i$  in district  $j$  and growing season  $t$ . Here,  $y$  is our measure of input use and  $g(\gamma, \omega_{jt})$  is a nonlinear function of temperature and precipitation ( $\omega_{jt}$ ). The parameter of interest is  $\gamma$ : the reduced-form estimates of the effect of weather shocks on input use. Note that our specification exploits within-district variation. Thus, we cannot estimate the effect of climate, but only of weather shocks. This approach is similar to the panel regressions used in recent studies of the effect of climate on economic outcomes (Dell, Jones, and Olken 2014).

The term  $Z_{ijt}$  is a vector of farmer characteristics,  $\rho_j$  is a set of district fixed effects, and  $\psi_t$  are climatic region-by-growing season fixed effects.<sup>21</sup> These control variables proxy for both determinants of TFP as well as other drivers of input use. The  $Z_{ijt}$  vector includes possible drivers of TFP such as indicators of soil quality, household head's education, age, and gender, as well as measures of input endowments like land owned and household size,  $\psi_t$  controls for common productivity shocks but, to the extent that agricultural markets are national, also for agricultural prices. Similarly,  $\rho_j$  accounts for location-specific determinants of productivity, such as climate and soil quality, but can also control for other time-invariant determinants of input use, like proximity to markets.<sup>22</sup>

Similar to previous work, we model the relation between weather and agricultural productivity as a function of cumulative exposure to heat and water.<sup>23</sup> In particular, we construct two measures of cumulative exposure to heat during the growing season (i.e., spring and summer): average degree days (DD) and harmful degree days (HDD).

DD measures the cumulative exposure to temperatures between a lower bound, usually 8°C up to an upper threshold  $\tau$ , while HDD captures exposure to temperatures above  $\tau$ . The inclusion of HDD allows for potentially different, nonlinear effects of extreme heat. Formally, we define the average DD and HDD during the growing season as

$$DD = \frac{1}{n} \sum_{d=1}^n (\min(h_d, \tau) - 8) \mathbf{1}(h_d \geq 8),$$

$$HDD = \frac{1}{n} \sum_{d=1}^n (h_d - \tau_{high}) \mathbf{1}(h_d > \tau),$$

<sup>21</sup> A district is the smallest administrative jurisdiction in Peru and approximately half the size of the average US county. Our sample includes 1,320 districts out of a total of 1,854.

<sup>22</sup> A potential concern is that the inclusion of fixed effects could absorb a significant amount of weather variance and amplify measurement error (Fisher et al. 2012, Auffhammer and Schlenker 2014). We examine this issue and find that there is still relatively large weather variation even after including a rich set of fixed effects (see Tables A.2 and A.3 in the online Appendix).

<sup>23</sup> See, for instance, Schlenker and Roberts (2006) and Schlenker et al. (2006).

where  $h_d$  is the average daytime temperature in day  $d$  and  $n$  is the total number of days in a growing season with valid temperature data. Note that we do not calculate *total* degree days, but instead the *average* degree days. This rescaling makes interpretation easier and help us address the issue of missing observations due to satellite swath errors.

A key issue is to define the value of  $\tau$ . Previous studies in the United States set this value between 29°C and 32°C (Schlenker and Roberts 2006; Deschênes and Greenstone 2007). These estimates, however, are likely to be crop and context dependent and hence might not be transferable to our case.<sup>24</sup> For that reason, we prefer to use a data-driven approach. To do so, we estimate a flexible version of equation (1) using log of output per hectare as outcome variable and replacing  $g(\cdot)$  with a vector of variables measuring the proportion of days in a growing season in which the temperature fell in a given temperature bin.<sup>25</sup> The results, displayed in Figure 4, suggest that point estimates become negative for temperatures above 33°C. We use this temperature as our preferred  $\tau$  in our baseline specification.<sup>26</sup>

We measure exposure to precipitation using the average daily precipitation (PP) during the growing season and its square. With these definitions in mind, we parametrize the function relating weather to productivity  $g(\gamma, \omega_{jt})$  as

$$g(\gamma, \omega_{jt}) = \gamma_0 DD_{jt} + \gamma_1 HDD_{jt} + \gamma_2 PP_{jt} + \gamma_3 PP_{jt}^2.$$

### III. Main Results

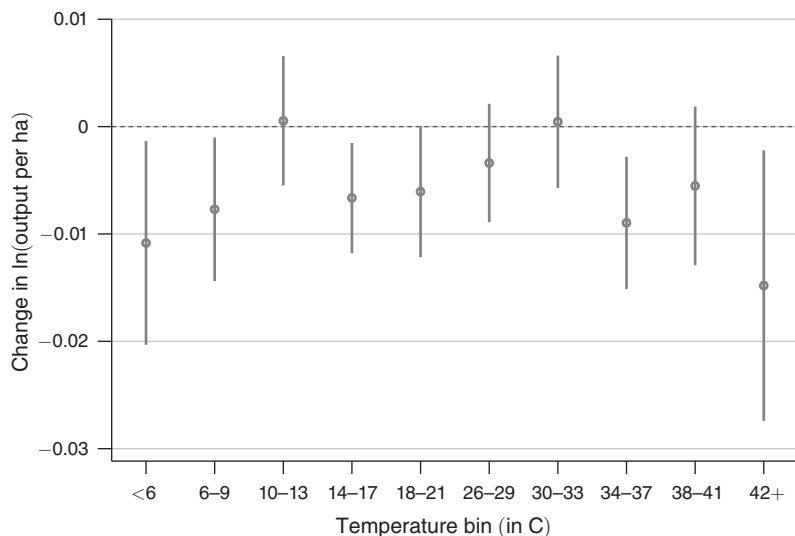
This section presents our main empirical results on farmers' responses to extreme heat. We start by documenting the relationship between temperature and our main outcomes: land productivity and land use. As a first glance at the data, we use a flexible approach using temperature bins instead of degree days.

The results, shown in Figures 4 and 5, suggest that extreme temperatures are associated with reductions in land productivity, but increase in area planted. This negative relationship between productivity and input use is consistent with farmers using more inputs to attenuate the drop in agricultural output. Below, we examine these findings and interpretation in more detail.

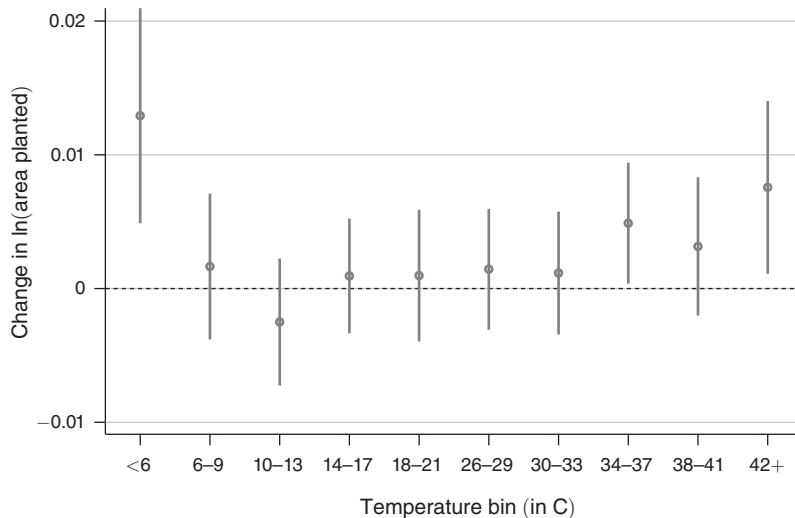
<sup>24</sup> In addition to differences in crop mix and agricultural technology, we use a different measure of temperature (i.e., land surface temperature). These factors make previous estimates not applicable to our case study.

<sup>25</sup> This specification is similar to the one used by Burgess et al. (2017) to study the effect of weather on mortality. Based on the distribution of temperatures in the Peruvian case, we define 11 bins:  $< 6^\circ\text{C}$ ,  $\geq 42^\circ\text{C}$ , and nine  $4^\circ\text{C}$ -wide bins in between. Our omitted category is the temperature bin  $22\text{--}25^\circ\text{C}$ .

<sup>26</sup> As a robustness check, we also estimate  $\tau$  using an iterative regression method similar to those used by Schlenker, Hanemann, and Fisher (2006). We ran 17 regressions with different DD/HDD thresholds ranging from  $26^\circ\text{C}$  to  $42^\circ\text{C}$  and compared their model fit. The results in online Appendix Figure A.4 suggest optimal temperatures in the slightly lower  $30\text{--}32^\circ\text{C}$  range. To ensure that our choice of  $\tau$  does not drive our main results, in Figures A.5 and A.6 in the online Appendix we plot the point estimates of the HDD coefficients for the range of  $\tau$  mentioned above. Reassuringly, point estimates are of similar size, magnitude, and precision between the  $26\text{--}35^\circ\text{C}$  interval.

FIGURE 4. NONLINEAR RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TEMPERATURE AND  $\ln(\text{OUTPUT PER HA})$ 

*Notes:* This figure displays the estimates of the effect of an increase of 1 percentage point in the proportion of growing-season days in a given temperature bin on  $\ln(\text{output per ha})$ . Circles represent point estimates, while lines indicate 95 percent confidence intervals. Standard errors are clustered at the district level. All specifications include same fixed effects and farmer controls as baseline regressions in column 1 of Tables 2 and 3.

FIGURE 5. NONLINEAR RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TEMPERATURE AND  $\ln(\text{AREA PLANTED})$ 

*Notes:* This figure displays the estimates of the effect of an increase of 1 percentage point in the proportion of growing-season days in a given temperature bin on  $\ln(\text{area planted})$ . Circles represent point estimates, while lines indicate 95 percent confidence intervals. Standard errors are clustered at the district level. All specifications include same fixed effects and farmer controls as baseline regressions in column 1 of Tables 2 and 3.

### A. Temperature and Agricultural Productivity

We use two approaches to examine the relation between temperature and agricultural productivity. First, we follow the existing literature and estimate our baseline specification (1) using yields (i.e., output per unit of land) as our measure of (land) productivity. This specification measures exposure to heat using degree days (DD) and harmful degree days (HDD) averaged over the main growing season (i.e., spring and summer). A limitation of this approach is that yields are a measure of partial productivity that reflect changes in TFP and land used. This is not an issue when land is fixed, but can overestimate the effect of extreme heat on productivity if farmers adjust land.

As a second approach, we estimate a production function. Assuming a Cobb-Douglas specification we modify our baseline specification by using log of output as outcome and controlling for log of input use.<sup>27</sup> This approach allows us to estimate directly the effect of extreme heat on TFP. However, it comes at the cost of imposing parametric assumptions and potentially creating an endogeneity problem due to omitted productivity drivers affecting both input use and output. Consistent with the analytical framework proposed in Section IB, we address this issue by using endowments, such as household size and owned land, as predictors for input use in an instrumental variable approach.<sup>28</sup>

Table 2 presents our results. The estimates suggest that extreme heat has a negative effect on agricultural productivity.<sup>29</sup> The magnitude of the effect is economically significant: the most conservative estimate suggests that each additional average HDD results in a 7 percent decrease in agricultural productivity.<sup>30</sup> To put this figure in perspective, note that climate change scenarios discussed in Section V envisage that by the end of this century, the average number of HDD over the growing season could increase between 0.30 and 0.95, while the already warm coast would experience increments between 1.2 to 2.9 HDD.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Assuming a Cobb-Douglas production function  $Y_{ijt} = A_{ijt} T_{ijt}^{\alpha} L_{ijt}^{\beta}$ , applying logarithms, and defining  $A = \exp(g(\gamma, \omega_{jt}) + \phi Z_{ijt} + \rho_j + \psi_t + \epsilon_{ijt})$ , we obtain the following regression model:

$$\ln Y_{ijt} = \alpha \ln T_{ijt} + \beta \ln L_{ijt} + g(\gamma, \omega_{jt}) + \phi Z_{ijt} + \rho_j + \psi_t + \epsilon_{ijt},$$

where  $Y$  is agricultural output, and  $T$  and  $L$  are quantities of land and labor.

<sup>28</sup> Online Appendix Table A.4 presents first-stage estimates. The validity of this IV approach relies on the assumption that any residual correlation between the error term and variable inputs would not carry to endowments. This could be violated, for instance, if there are other unobserved factors that drive both output and inputs endowments, such as political power (Goldstein and Udry 2008). Table A.5 in the online Appendix provides additional checks of the effect of temperature on productivity controlling by endowments and using a more flexible functional form.

<sup>29</sup> These results are consistent with previous findings of negative effects of high temperatures on yields. See, for instance, Auffhammer, Ramanathan, and Vincent (2012); Guiteras (2009); Burgess, Hsiang, and Miguel (2017); Burke et al. (2015); Burke and Emerick (2016); Schlenker and Roberts (2009); Lobell et al. (2011).

<sup>30</sup> The estimates in Table 2 and Figure 4 are not directly comparable since they come from different specifications. However, a back-of-the-envelope calculation suggests that their magnitudes are not implausibly different. To see this, note that the proportion of days with HDD is 13.9 percent and the average HDD is 0.73 (see Table 1). Thus, an increase of 1 HDD is approximately equal to an increase in the share of days above 33°C of 19 percentage points (= 0.139/0.73). For a change of this magnitude, estimates in Figure 4 suggest a decrease in yields of around 19 percent while Table 2 would suggest a reduction of 11 percent. The difference probably reflects the proportional allocation of additional hot days to all bins above the threshold.

<sup>31</sup> Note that our measures of DD and HDD represent the temperatures in an “average” day in the growing season. Thus, an additional HDD represents an average increase of 1 harmful degree (i.e., above 33°C) for all the



TABLE 2—TEMPERATURE, AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTIVITY, AND OUTPUT

| Dependent variable:           | <i>Y/T</i>           | TFP               |                   | <i>Y</i>          |
|-------------------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
|                               | ln(output/ha)<br>(1) | ln(output)<br>(2) | ln(output)<br>(3) | ln(output)<br>(4) |
| Average DD in growing season  | 0.020<br>(0.011)     | 0.014<br>(0.007)  | 0.015<br>(0.007)  | 0.011<br>(0.009)  |
| Average HDD in growing season | −0.114<br>(0.038)    | −0.064<br>(0.033) | −0.069<br>(0.033) | −0.042<br>(0.041) |
| Inputs controls               | No                   | Yes               | Yes               | No                |
| Method                        | OLS                  | OLS               | 2SLS              | OLS               |
| Observations                  | 53,493               | 53,487            | 53,487            | 53,619            |
| <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>         | 0.335                | 0.549             | 0.359             | 0.348             |

*Notes:* Standard errors (in parentheses) are clustered at the district level. All specifications include district, month of interview, climatic region-by-growing season fixed effects, and farmer controls such as: household head characteristics (age, age<sup>2</sup>, gender, and level of education), indicators of soil quality from Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (2012) (nutrient availability, nutrient retention, rooting conditions, oxygen availability, salinity, toxicity, and workability), and the share of irrigated land. Input controls: log of area planted, number of household members working in agriculture, and amount spent on hired labor. Instruments for domestic labor and area planted: log of household size and area of land owned. First-stage joint significance *F*-test is 466.7.

What happens with total output? Consistent with a negative productivity shock, we find that extreme heat reduces agricultural output (column 4). However, the magnitude of this effect is smaller than for TFP or yields, and we cannot reject the null hypothesis at standard levels of confidence. This finding is suggestive of responses (such as changes in production decisions) that attenuate the effect of the productivity shock on total output.

### B. Productive Responses: Changes in Input Use

We examine changes in input use as a potential margin of adjustment to high temperatures. In our main set of results, we focus on changes in land use, both in terms of area planted and crop mix. Our focus on land stems from its importance as an agricultural input and because, in many contexts, it is subject to severe market imperfections, such as ill-defined property rights. Moreover, we have reasonably good measures of land use, but more limited information on other inputs, such as labor.

Table 3 presents our main results. We find a positive and statistically significant effect of HDD on area planted (column 1). An increase in HDD of 1 degree is associated with an increase of almost 6 percent in the total area planted. This estimate already controls for endowments, such as the total area of land available, and thus is not simply picking up changes in the size composition of farmers. The increase in land used is sizable and partially explains why, despite its documented negative

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days in the growing season. Clearly, there are multiple ways to obtain the same average increase. For example, an increase of 1 HDD could occur if the temperature for 50 percent of the days in the growing season increase from 33°C to 35°C (2 harmful degrees), or if the daily temperature for 25 percent of days increase from 33°C to 37°C (4 harmful degrees). An increase of 1 HDD is a sizeable change. To put this number in perspective, note that the mean and standard deviation of HDD in our sample are 0.7 and 1.33, respectively.

TABLE 3—TEMPERATURE AND LAND USE

| Dependent variable:           | ln(area<br>planted)<br>(1) | ln (output)       |                    | Tubers<br>percent output<br>(4) |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------|--------------------|---------------------------------|
|                               |                            | Tubers<br>(2)     | Other crops<br>(3) |                                 |
| Average DD in growing season  | −0.006<br>(0.009)          | −0.197<br>(0.028) | 0.126<br>(0.016)   | −0.029<br>(0.003)               |
| Average HDD in growing season | 0.055<br>(0.018)           | 0.093<br>(0.043)  | −0.160<br>(0.042)  | 0.022<br>(0.004)                |
| Endowment controls            | Yes                        | Yes               | Yes                | Yes                             |
| Observations                  | 53,493                     | 53,493            | 53,493             | 53,493                          |
| $R^2$                         | 0.443                      | 0.454             | 0.463              | 0.525                           |

Notes: Standard errors clustered at the district level (in parentheses). All specifications include district, month of interview, climatic region-by-growing season fixed effects, and the same farmer controls as baseline regression in Table 2. Endowment controls: log of household size and area of land owned.

effects on agricultural productivity, extreme heat has a small and insignificant effect on total output. It also explains why the estimated effect of HDD on yields ( $Y/T$ ) is larger than on total factor productivity (TFP) (see Table 2).

Columns 2 to 4 examine the effect of extreme heat on crop mix. In our context, farmers practice multicropping: the average farmer grows almost six different crops.<sup>32</sup> To study effects on crop mix, we group crops in two categories: tubers (mostly potatoes) and other crops. Tubers are the most important crop among Peruvian subsistence farmers and account for almost 30 percent of the value of agricultural output and 15 percent of the area planted.

We find that extreme heat increases the quantity (in absolute and relative terms) of tubers harvested. Coupled with the evidence in the previous section that farmers adjust their land during the growing season, we interpret these findings as suggestive evidence that the additional land is planted with a higher share of tubers. Hence, farmers adjust their use of land, both in terms of area planted and crop composition, as a response to extreme heat. These results complement recent studies that examine the role of changes in crop mix as a possible way to increase food security and adapt to climate change (Harvey et al. 2014, Burke and Emerick 2016, Colmer 2018).

There are, however, two important caveats. First, we do not observe the area planted with different crops, only the amount harvested. Thus, we are unable to disentangle the effect of extreme heat on planting decisions from different crop sensitivities to temperature. That said, we can rule out that our results are only reflecting less sensitivity of tubers to extreme heat: in that case, we would observe an increase in output share, but a reduction in absolute terms.

Second, our results do not necessarily mean that tubers are more resilient to heat than other crops.<sup>33</sup> Farmers could prefer tubers for several reasons other than heat

<sup>32</sup>In our sample, fewer than 10 percent of farmers report growing only one crop. Multicropping is a common practice among subsistence farmers across the developing world and is in stark contrast with the modern agricultural practices of the United States and other developed countries, which mostly practice monocropping.

<sup>33</sup>There is some evidence that sweet potatoes and cassava are more drought tolerant than other food crops, such as maize (Braimoh et al. 2018; Motsa, Modi, and Mabhaudhi 2015). However, the agronomic literature is less clear about the general heat tolerance of a crop. A main reason is that heat tolerance depends on several context-specific

tolerance. Studies on food security highlight several advantages of tubers (like potatoes, cassava, and sweet potatoes) over other crops, such as short maturity, sequential harvesting, low water and fertilizer requirements, more reliability, and high nutritional content (Woolfe 1992; Devaux, Kromann, and Ortiz 2014; Motsa, Modi, and Mabhaudhi 2015). These features could have made them relatively more attractive than other crops, especially in the presence of negative productivity shocks. For instance, Dercon (1996) documents that Tanzanian farmers manage risk by planting less profitable but more reliable crops like sweet potatoes. Similarly, in a study of small farmers in Madagascar, Harvey et al. (2014) find that a common coping strategy to productivity shocks is to adjust their diet by replacing rice for tubers.

*Timing.*—Do the effect and responses to extreme heat vary according to the time at which extreme temperatures are experienced? Answering this question is relevant to understanding the observed phenomena better and predicting impacts more accurately. For instance, effects could vary if crops are more sensitive to extreme heat at some stages of development (sowing, harvesting) than others, or if farmers face time-varying constraints to adjust to these shocks (i.e., due to seasonal crop or input suitability). Alternatively, we might be observing a delayed response from farmers to extreme temperatures in previous agricultural seasons, not a response to a contemporaneous shock.

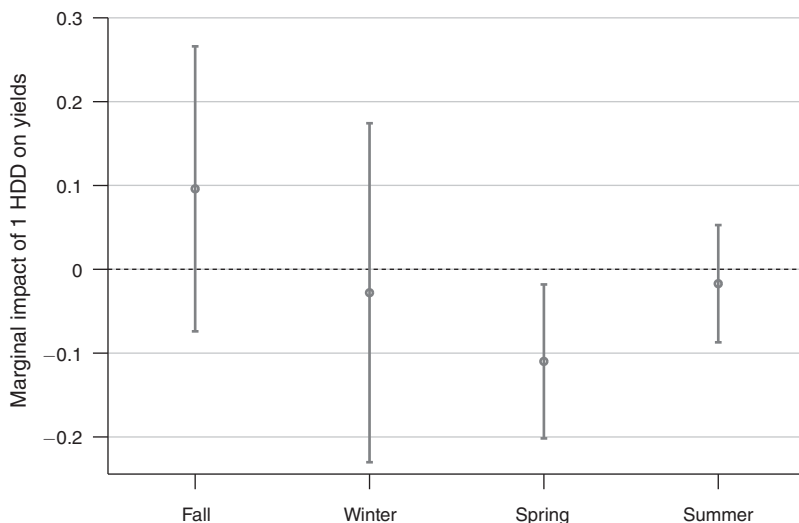
To examine this issue, we first restrict our sample to those farmers interviewed during the fall or winter months (April to September, in the Southern Hemisphere). As mentioned before, although planting and harvesting are year-round activities, the most important planting period (in terms of area) corresponds to spring and summer, the growing season months. Thus, our sample restriction allows us to focus on those farmers who have already completed most of their annual land use decisions.<sup>34</sup> Then we construct separate measures of weather for each of the last four seasons (i.e., fall, winter, spring, and summer). Specifically, if a household is interviewed during the fall or winter of year  $t$ , we match each observation with the weather outcomes in that location during the fall, winter, and spring of year  $t - 1$  (April to December), and for the summer of year  $t$  (January to March). This procedure effectively summarizes the weather conditions over the 12 months previous to the end of the last growing season.

Figures 6 and 7 depict the effect of average HDD in different seasons on our measures of productivity ( $Y/T$ ) and land used ( $T$ ). The main observation is that the effect of extreme heat on productivity and land use is driven by shocks that occur during the spring. This timing is consistent with the biological response (and the human reaction) to heat experienced during a sensitive period in the agricultural

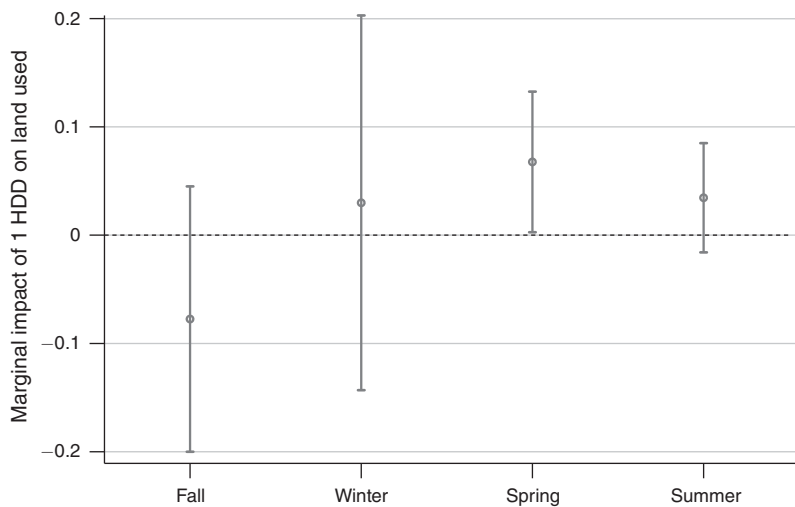
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factors, such as water availability, preconditioning to heat, and developmental stage (Miller, Lanier, and Brandt 2001; Wahid et al. 2007). For instance, potatoes are more sensitive to heat at earlier stages (seeding) while maize is more susceptible to heat damage at later stages (flowering and grain filling). Damage to potato yields can also be offset by increased soil humidity, but this mechanism does not attenuate the negative effects of heat on maize (Basu and Minhas 1991; Rykaczewska 2013; Edreira and Otegui 2012). There is also a large variation in heat tolerance between different varieties of the same crop. For instance, the heat tolerance of some potato cultivars can be twice as large than that of less resilient varieties (Ahn, Claussen, and Zimmerman 2004). Note that in our data, we can only identify crops, not cultivars or varieties.

<sup>34</sup> Recall that interviewers ask about the total land used in agriculture over the past 12 months.

FIGURE 6. EFFECT OF EXPOSURE TO HDD BY SEASON ON  $\ln(\text{OUTPUT PER HA})$ 

*Notes:* Figure displays the estimates of the effect of HDD in different seasons on  $\ln(\text{yields})$ . Circles represent point estimates, while lines indicate 95 percent confidence intervals. Standard errors are clustered at the district level. All specifications include same fixed effects and farmer controls as baseline regression in Table 2.

FIGURE 7. EFFECT OF EXPOSURE TO HDD BY SEASON ON  $\ln(\text{AREA PLANTED})$ 

*Notes:* Figure displays the estimates of the effect of HDD in different seasons on  $\ln(\text{yields})$ . Circles represent point estimates, while lines indicate 95 percent confidence intervals. Standard errors are clustered at the district level. All specifications include same fixed effects and farmer controls as baseline regression in Table 2.

calendar. Previous studies show that, while plants are vulnerable to high temperatures throughout their life cycle, the potential harm is highest during the sowing period (Slafer and Rawson 1994). Moreover, it suggests that the observed changes in land use are a response to productivity shocks within the agricultural season.

To explore the possibility of within-growing season responses by farmer in area planted, we make use of data from the Peruvian National Agricultural Survey, available for four years, between 2014 and 2017 (INEI 2014–2017). This is a longitudinal dataset that has farm-level data of monthly planting over a 12-month period. In Figure A.2 and Table A.1 in the online Appendix, we show the results of regressing the area planted on a given month on monthly HDD realizations (contemporaneous and lagged values), using farmer fixed effects. Thus, we use within-farmer variation to explore how planting by a farmer responds to temperature shocks during the agricultural season. Results show that farmers increase their planting one and two months after they were exposed to harmful temperatures. These findings support the idea that farmers indeed respond during the growing season to extreme heat, and reduce concerns such that the increase in land is picking up differences in timing of planting across different farmers or locations.

*Changes in Labor Use.*—Finally, we examine the effect of extreme heat on labor. We distinguish two types of labor: domestic and hired. In contrast to land use, we do not have good proxies for labor used during the agricultural season. We only observe the wage bill of hired workers in last 12 months, not actual number of workers. More importantly, we only have information on labor outcomes of household members during the last two weeks before the interview, not for the whole agricultural year. Because of these limitations, the results on labor use should be interpreted with caution.

Table 4 presents our findings. Columns 1 to 4 examine the effect on two measures of domestic labor: number of household members working on the farm, and an indicator of child labor. We estimate the effect of HDD using the baseline specification (columns 1 and 2) as well as an alternative specification restricting the sample to farmers interviewed in spring and summer, and using average HDD in spring as a measure of exposure to extreme heat. By focusing on households interviewed at the moment when most of the productivity shock occurs, we can partially address the data limitations mentioned above. Column 5 examines the effect on wage bill: our proxy for hired labor.

Similar to the results on land used, we find that HDD has a positive and, in most cases, significant effect on measures of domestic labor. Interestingly, extreme heat seems to increase the likelihood of child labor. This last result is consistent with findings in the literature on child labor showing that poor households may resort to employing children in productive activities when subject to negative income shocks (Beegle, Dehejia, and Gatti 2006; Bandara, Dehjaia, and Lavie-Rouse 2015). In contrast, the coefficient of HDD on hired labor's wage bill is negative, albeit also insignificant. These findings suggest a slight tendency of farms to use more intensively domestic labor as a response to extreme heat.

### C. Discussion

Our findings are hard to reconcile with predictions from a standard production model. As discussed in Section IB, a standard production model would predict a weakly negative relation between HDD and input use, as well as a negative effect

TABLE 4—TEMPERATURE AND LABOR USE

| Dependent variable:           | Domestic labor                               |                   |  |                   |                               |
|-------------------------------|--|-------------------|--|-------------------|-------------------------------|
|                               | Number of household members work in farm (1) | Child labor (2)   | Number of household members work in farm (3) | Child labor (4)   | Hired labor ln(wage bill) (5) |
| Average DD in growing season  | −0.015<br>(0.005)                            | −0.017<br>(0.004) |  |                   | 0.021<br>(0.015)              |
| Average HDD in growing season | 0.033<br>(0.017)                             | 0.017<br>(0.009)  |  |                   | −0.067<br>(0.056)             |
| Average DD in spring          |  |                   | −0.014<br>(0.007)                            | −0.018<br>(0.004) |                               |
| Average HDD in spring         |  |                   | 0.027<br>(0.020)                             | 0.028<br>(0.010)  |                               |
| Sample                        | Full sample                                  |                   | Spring and summer                            |                   | Full sample                   |
| Endowment controls            | Yes  | Yes               | Yes  | Yes               | Yes                           |
| Mean outcome                  | 2.311  | 0.407             | 2.294  | 0.432             | 2.536                         |
| Observations                  | 53,619                                       | 28,744            | 26,714                                       | 14,352            | 53,618                        |
| R <sup>2</sup>                | 0.448  | 0.271             | 0.464  | 0.312             | 0.244                         |

*Notes:* Standard errors clustered at the district level (in parentheses). All specifications include district, month of interview, climatic region-by-growing season fixed effects, and the same farmer controls as baseline regression in Table 2. Columns 2 and 4 restrict the sample to farmers interviewed during the growing season (spring and summer). Columns 2 and 4 also restrict the sample to households with at least one child aged 6 to 15 years.

on output. The reduction in productivity would drive the negative effect on input use. However, if extreme heat shocks occur after input decisions are sunk (i.e., after planting), there would be no effect of HDD on area planted.<sup>35</sup>

Instead, our findings are consistent with models of subsistence farmers in a context of incomplete markets (de Janvry, Fafchamps, and Sadoulet 1991; Taylor and Adelman 2003). In this scenario, production and consumption decisions are not separable (Benjamin 1992). Thus, farmers exposed to negative shocks may need to resort to more intensive use of nontraded inputs, like land and domestic labor, to offset undesirable drops in output and consumption. In this sense, changes in input use are akin to other consumption smoothing mechanisms, such as selling disposable assets or increasing off-farm work (Rosenzweig and Wolpin 1993; Kochar 1999).

To the best of our knowledge, this margin of adjustment, namely increasing land use on the extensive margin, has not been previously documented in the consumption smoothing literature, nor in existing studies of the effect of temperature on agriculture. However, it may be particularly relevant for farmers in less developed

<sup>35</sup> A model with factor-biased productivity shocks (i.e., extreme temperatures relatively affecting one factor of production more than others) could also generate changes in input ratios and, potentially, increase use of some inputs. However, it is unlikely to explain the observed increase in land and domestic labor. To see this, consider an alternative model with competitive input and output markets, two inputs (land and labor), and a CES production function  $f(T, L) = [AT^\rho + BL^\rho]^{1/\rho}$ , where  $T$  and  $L$  refer to land and labor, and  $A$  and  $B$  are factor-specific productivity shifters. Cost-minimization requires that the input ratio ( $T/L$ ) is equal to  $(Aw/Br)^{1/(1-\rho)}$ , where  $w$  and  $r$  are the input market prices. Note that if extreme temperature affects only land then the land-labor ratio would decrease (because of a drop in  $A/B$ ). This prediction, together with the reduction in output (due to higher costs), implies a reduction in land,  $T$ . The effect on labor is, however, ambiguous.

countries due to the presence of several market imperfections and limited coping mechanisms, such as crop insurance or savings.<sup>36</sup>

Our findings have at least two important implications. First, it suggests a potential dynamic link between weather shocks and long-run outcomes. Leaving land uncultivated (i.e., fallowing) is a common practice in traditional agriculture to avoid depleting soil nutrients, recover soil biomass, and restore land productivity (Goldstein and Udry 2008). If the increase in area planted as a response to extreme temperature comes at the expense of fallow land, then this short-term response could affect land productivity in the medium- or long-term. To explore this hypothesis, we evaluate whether past weather shocks affect current agricultural yields. We do so by adding to our baseline regression values of HDD from the last eight previous years (see Table A.9 in the online Appendix).<sup>37</sup> For most lags, we cannot rule out that their effects are statistically insignificant. However, the effect of HDD lagged seven years is negative and marginally significant ( $p$ -value = 0.083). While suggestive of medium-term effects, we interpret these findings cautiously. We do not have information on the fallow history of a plot or a farm, so we cannot directly link changes in fallowing in the past to current productivity. Similarly, we do not have reliable information on the use of uncultivated land.<sup>38</sup> Thus, we cannot satisfactorily examine the effects of temperature on fallow duration or extent.

Second, this farmer response may affect estimations of the damages of climate change on agricultural output. These estimates are usually based on the effect of temperature on crop yields ( $Y/T$ ). This is a correct approach if land use is fixed. In that case, changes in crop yields are the same as changes in output. However, using crop yields may be less informative in contexts in which farmers respond to weather shocks by changing land use. As we show in Section V, taking into account this adaptive response reduces, in a nontrivial magnitude, the predicted damages.

#### D. Additional Checks

*Alternative Specifications.*—Table 5 presents several checks of the robustness of our main results to alternative model specifications. We report only the estimate associated with the measure of extreme heat (HDD). Each row uses a different specification.

Row 1 restricts our sample only to farmers interviewed in fall and winter. By that time, the main growing season has passed and farmers have reaped the main harvest of the year. This specification drops almost half of the baseline sample, but it

<sup>36</sup> We examine the importance of market imperfections in Table A.10 in the online Appendix. This table estimates heterogeneous effects of HDD on area planted by several indicators of market development, such as share of output sold in market, share of farmers hiring workers, and number of branches of agricultural banks. The evidence is consistent with the positive effect driven by market imperfections. However, we recommend caution to the reader when interpreting these results due to potential endogeneity of the indicators of market development.

<sup>37</sup> We choose this time span based on the fallow duration of six to eight years documented for subsistence farmers in Peruvian highlands (Brush, Carney, and Huamán 1981; Orlove and Godoy 1986). We present results adding one lag at a time, and also all of them simultaneously. This last specification is quite demanding due to correlation between past weather shocks.

<sup>38</sup> Farmers report fallowing in only a quarter of uncultivated land. The rest is reported as covered with bushes, grasses, and forest. These uses are also consistent with fallowing and crop rotation (Denevan 2001, chap.3). However, we do not know if this land is left fallow or is nonagricultural land.



TABLE 5—ROBUSTNESS CHECKS

| Dependent variable:   | ln(output per ha)<br>(1) | ln(area planted)<br>(2) | Tubers<br>percent output<br>(3) | Observations<br>(4) |
|---|--------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Interviewed in fall and winter                           | −0.106<br>(0.045)        | 0.079<br>(0.026)        | 0.019<br>(0.006)                | 26,799              |
| 2. Excluding individual controls                            | −0.120<br>(0.046)        | 0.065<br>(0.020)        | 0.023<br>(0.005)                | 53,493              |
| 3. Clustering by province ( $N = 159$ )                     | −0.114<br>(0.036)        | 0.055<br>(0.020)        | 0.022<br>(0.005)                | 53,493              |
| 4. Using number of HDD days during growing season           | −0.529<br>(0.212)        | 0.313<br>(0.126)        | −0.118<br>(0.042)               | 53,493              |
| 5. Using average HDD in last 12 months                      | −0.165<br>(0.051)        | 0.095<br>(0.030)        | 0.043<br>(0.009)                | 53,493              |
| 6. Diff. thresholds by region<br>33°C coast, 36°C highlands | 0.113<br>(0.043)         | 0.046<br>(0.018)        | 0.021<br>(0.005)                | 53,493              |
| 7. Adding province-by-growing season fixed effects          | −0.121<br>(0.042)        | 0.052<br>(0.018)        | 0.022<br>(0.005)                | 53,480              |
| 8. Adding local prices                                      | −0.122<br>(0.044)        | 0.061<br>(0.021)        | 0.024<br>(0.005)                | 49,713              |

Notes: Standard errors clustered at the district level (in parentheses). All specifications, except in row 2, include the same controls as baseline regression in Table 2. Row 1 restricts the sample to farmers interviewed in fall and winter (i.e., April to August). Row 7 adds province-by-growing season fixed effects while row 8 includes logs of price indexes for tubers and cereals at district level.

reduces concerns of measurement error due to mismatch of planting and harvesting decisions, confounding of current and previous weather shocks, or recall bias. Row 2 estimates a more parsimonious model without any individual or household-level controls, only district and region-by-year fixed effects, while row 3 implements a more conservative clustering at province ( $N = 159$ ) instead of district level ( $N = 977$ ). In all three cases, our results are similar to the baseline specification.

Our results are also robust to alternative ways to measure exposure to extreme heat. Row 4 uses the number of days in growing seasons with HDD, while row 5 uses average HDD during the last 12 months instead of during the last completed growing season. We also obtain similar results when allowing for different HDD thresholds by climatic region—i.e., coast and highlands (row 6).<sup>39</sup> Figures A.5 and A.6 in the online Appendix further assess the sensitivity of our results to different values of the threshold ( $\tau$ ) ranging from 26°C to 42°C. These results show that lower thresholds produce similar results, while higher thresholds increase the magnitude of our baseline estimates and reduce their precision.

*Prices as Omitted Variables.*—An important concern is that our results might be driven by changes in relative prices. Extreme heat shocks can reduce aggregate supply and increase agricultural prices. This price increase would, in turn, create incentives to increase production and input use. In our baseline specification, we address

<sup>39</sup>These region-specific thresholds were chosen by replicating the analysis shown in Figure 4 in the coast and highland observations separately. The results from this exercise are presented in Figure A.7 and A.8 in the online Appendix.

this concern by including a set of climatic region-by-growing season fixed effects. To the extent that agricultural markets are national or circumscribed to climatic regions, this approach would control for agricultural prices. However, if agricultural markets are narrower, we could have an omitted variables problem.

We examine the relevance of this issue in two ways (see rows 7 to 8 in Table 5). First, we add province-by-growing season fixed effects (row 7). This is a much richer set of time-varying controls than our baseline specification and, under the assumption that agricultural markets are province-wide, effectively controls for prices. Second, we add proxies of local prices at district level (row 8). We focus on tubers and cereals: the two main types of crops in our sample. For each crop type, we construct a price index at the district level and add it to baseline regression.<sup>40</sup> In both cases, our results remain similar to the baseline specification.

*Regional Differences.*—As discussed in Section IA, our sample has two distinct climatic regions: coast and highlands. The coast has a warm, semiarid climate with very little precipitation, especially in the central and southern coast. In contrast, the highlands are cooler and receive more rain. These climatic differences are apparent when observing the distribution of daily temperature in these two regions (see Figure 3). The two regions also differ in their agricultural practices. Coastal farmers are, on average, substantially better off, are more productive, more educated, and more likely to have access to irrigation. Compared to highland farmers, coastal farmers are also more likely to specialize on fruits and cereals, less likely to own livestock, and more likely to cultivate a larger share of their land.

Given these regional differences, a relevant question is whether our baseline specification, which pools all observations, may be hiding relevant heterogeneity in the effects and responses to extreme heat. We address this question by relaxing the baseline specification and allowing for different effects of weather variables (DD, HDD, and precipitation) by climatic region. In particular, we modify the baseline specification by including interaction terms of weather variables with an indicator of being located in the highlands. Table 6 shows the estimates of the effect of HDD for each region, and displays the *p*-value of the test of equality of both estimates.

Our main conclusions still remain the same after allowing for regional differences: in both regions, extreme heat has a negative effect on productivity and a positive effect on the quantity of land used. Surprisingly, despite coastal farmers being normally exposed to higher temperatures, there are no statistical differences in the magnitude of the effect on yields in both regions.<sup>41</sup> There are, however, some quantitative differences on the effect on land use. In particular, the increase in area planted is smaller in the coast. In this region, there is also no significant change in crop mix, measured by the share of tubers in total output.

<sup>40</sup> The price index for each crop type is a Laspeyres index using self-reported unit prices and output shares of each crop (within a crop group) in baseline year 2007. We then take natural logarithms.

<sup>41</sup> This result echoes findings by Burke and Emerick (2016) among US corn farmers. Using a long difference approach, they find that extreme heat has similar detrimental effects on crop yields across time, despite the observed increase in average temperatures. Burke and Emerick (2016) interpret this finding as suggestive evidence of limited long-term adaptation to higher temperatures.

TABLE 6—EFFECT OF HDD ON LAND PRODUCTIVITY, OUTPUT, AND LAND USE: BY CLIMATIC REGION

|                                      | ln(output per ha)<br>(1) | ln(total output)<br>(2) | ln(area planted)<br>(3) | Tubers<br>percent output<br>(4) |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------|
| (A) Average HDD × Coast              | −0.114<br>(0.047)        | −0.063<br>(0.047)       | 0.034<br>(0.019)        | 0.006<br>(0.004)                |
| (B) Average HDD × Highlands          | −0.142<br>(0.057)        | 0.016<br>(0.044)        | 0.118<br>(0.047)        | 0.038<br>(0.010)                |
| Difference (B) − (A) <i>p</i> -value | 0.706                    | 0.226                   | 0.097                   | 0.002                           |
| Observations                         | 53,493                   | 53,619                  | 53,493                  | 53,619                          |
| <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>                | 0.336                    | 0.348                   | 0.443                   | 0.526                           |

Notes: Standard errors clustered at the district level (in parentheses). All specifications include district, month of interview, climatic region-by-growing season fixed effects, and the same farmer controls as baseline regression in Table 2.

A possible interpretation of these findings is that mitigation and adaptive responses vary by baseline climate.<sup>42</sup> For instance, warmer areas could have developed different ways to cope with extreme heat other than using their land more intensively. This interpretation is in line with recent papers that combine high-frequency temperature variation with long-run climate differences to study adaptation to climate change (Barreca et al. 2015; Heutel, Miller, and Molitor 2017; Auffhammer 2018).

There are, however, other possible explanations that we cannot rule out. For instance, these findings may reflect lower land availability in the coast. In this region, agriculture occurs in densely populated valleys, surrounded by very arid deserts, and depends heavily on access to irrigation.<sup>43</sup> These features can constrain the expansion of agricultural land. Similarly, they may be driven by coastal farmers having access to other nonagricultural coping mechanisms. This is plausible given that coastal farmers tend to be better off and are closer to cities and other urban areas. For these reasons, we interpret with caution as only suggestive evidence of different responses by climatic region.

*Very Cold Days.*—Our previous results focus on the effect and responses to high temperatures. However, as hinted in Figure 4, low temperatures could also have a negative effect on agricultural productivity. This is especially relevant in the highlands, where around 6 percent of days in the growing season have temperatures below 8°C. To examine this issue, we replicate our main results adding a measure of low-temperature degree days. This measure is similar to our variables DD and HDD, but uses only temperatures below 8°C.

Table 7 shows the results. There are two relevant observations. First, our baseline results of the effect of HDD on yields and land use remain unaffected. Second, similar to extreme heat, low temperatures have a negative effect on yields, and increase

<sup>42</sup> Indeed, we observe similar results when using an indicator of cool and warm regions instead of a climatic region dummy (see Table A.8 in the online Appendix).

<sup>43</sup> The share of uncultivated land is almost 45 percent in the highlands and 11.5 percent in the coast (see Table 1).

TABLE 7—EFFECT OF LOW TEMPERATURES ON LAND PRODUCTIVITY, OUTPUT, AND LAND USE

|                | ln(output per ha)<br>(1) | ln(total output)<br>(2) | ln(area planted)<br>(3) | Tubers<br>percent output<br>(4) |
|----------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Average low DD | −0.122<br>(0.067)        | 0.071<br>(0.051)        | 0.212<br>(0.053)        | 0.047<br>(0.014)                |
| Average DD     | 0.010<br>(0.013)         | 0.017<br>(0.010)        | 0.012<br>(0.009)        | −0.024<br>(0.003)               |
| Average HDD    | −0.105<br>(0.039)        | −0.047<br>(0.041)       | 0.040<br>(0.017)        | 0.018<br>(0.004)                |
| Observations   | 53,389                   | 53,515                  | 53,389                  | 53,515                          |
| $R^2$          | 0.336                    | 0.348                   | 0.444                   | 0.525                           |

Notes: Standard errors are clustered at the district level (in parentheses). All specifications include district, month of interview, climatic region-by-growing season fixed effects, and the same farmer controls as baseline regression in Table 2. Low DD = degree days below 8°C.

land use and share of tubers. These last results are consistent with our interpretation that farmers increase land use as a response to negative productivity shocks.

#### IV. Other Coping Mechanisms

Our main results suggest that farmers adjust input use as a mechanism to cope with the negative effects of extreme temperatures. In this section, we study other coping mechanisms previously documented in the consumption smoothing literature, such as working in nonagricultural activities (Rosenzweig and Stark 1989; Kochar 1999; Colmer 2018), migrating (Munshi 2003; Feng, Oppenheimer, and Schlenker 2012; Kleemans and Magruder 2018; Jessoe, Manning, and Taylor 2018), or selling livestock (Rosenzweig and Wolpin 1993). Then, we examine how these coping mechanisms interact with changes in land use.

We start by examining whether farmers in our context use other coping mechanisms (see Table 8). Our first set of outcomes focuses on the use of livestock as a buffer against income shocks (columns 1 to 3). We find that HDD is associated with an increase in the probability that a farmer reports a decrease in livestock value.<sup>44</sup> This reduction seems to come from households selling, rather than consuming, their livestock. These results are consistent with farmers selling livestock to offset the adverse effects of extreme heat.

Next, we focus on indicators of off-farm work (columns 4 and 5). We use an indicator of a household member having a nonagricultural job, as well as the total number of hours of off-farm work (conditional on having a nonagricultural job). As in Table 4, we restrict the sample to households interviewed during the growing season (i.e., spring and summer). These outcomes capture the supply of off-farm employment in the extensive and intensive margin. In the extensive margin, the estimate is insignificant. However, the estimate on the intensive margin is positive and

<sup>44</sup> Our definition of livestock includes cattle, horses, sheep, llamas, and pigs.

TABLE 8—OTHER RESPONSES TO EXTREME HEAT

| Dependent variable: | Livestock buffer                  |                   |                       | Off-farm work                           |                                 | Short-term migration                 |                   |
|---------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|---|---------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------|
|                     | Decrease in<br>livestock<br>value | Sold<br>livestock | Consumed<br>livestock | Household<br>member has<br>off-farm job | ln(hours<br>worked<br>off-farm) | Household<br>member away<br>30+ days | Household<br>size |
|                     | (1)                               | (2)               | (3)                   | (4)                                     | (5)                             | (6)                                  | (7)               |
| Average DD          | −0.008<br>(0.002)                 | −0.012<br>(0.002) | −0.013<br>(0.003)     | 0.009<br>(0.004)                        | 0.026<br>(0.009)                | 0.003<br>(0.001)                     | −0.006<br>(0.014) |
| Average HDD         | 0.022<br>(0.007)                  | 0.016<br>(0.009)  | 0.007<br>(0.009)      | 0.006<br>(0.011)                        | 0.054<br>(0.025)                | −0.002<br>(0.002)                    | 0.016<br>(0.033)  |
| Mean outcome        | 0.332                             | 0.517             | 0.476                 | 0.464                                   | 57.548                          | 0.085                                | 4.339             |
| Observations        | 48,169                            | 48,169            | 48,169                | 26,726                                  | 12,377                          | 53,619                               | 53,619            |
| R <sup>2</sup>      | 0.077                             | 0.146             | 0.240                 | 0.213                                   | 0.169                           | 0.083                                | 0.244             |

Notes: Standard errors are clustered at the district level (in parentheses). All specifications include district, month of interview, climatic region-by-growing season fixed effects, and the same farmer controls as baseline regression in Table 2. Columns 1 to 3 restrict the sample to farmers who reported having livestock 12 months ago. Columns 4 and 5 restrict the sample to farmers interviewed in spring and summer. Column 5 further restricts the sample to households in which at least one member has an off-farm job. All regressions are estimated using OLS. All regressions, except in columns 5 and 7, have a binary outcome variable.

statistically significant: farmers with off-farm jobs seem to increase the number of hours worked in that activity. While suggestive of off-farm employment as a coping strategy, this result is not robust to using the whole sample of farmers.

In columns 6 and 7, we look for evidence of short-term migration. Due to data limitations, we cannot measure migration directly. Instead, we use proxy variables such as an indicator of whether any member has been away for more than 30 days and household size. Similar to the results on off-farm employment, none of these outcomes seem to be affected by extreme temperature. However, we should interpret these last results with caution. Our analysis focuses on a short period (within a year), and these adjustments may happen over a longer time frame. In addition, our measures of labor and migration may be noisy proxies of actual behavior. These factors likely reduce the power of our statistical analysis and could explain the insignificant results.

*Interactions with Productive Responses.*—Our results suggest that in our sample, farmers seem to use livestock sales as a coping strategy to smooth negative weather shocks. A natural question is how this coping strategy interacts with the productive responses, such as increasing input use, identified in our main results. Does having livestock eliminate the need to change land use, or do they complement each other? These are relevant questions to better understand the portfolio of coping strategies available to subsistence farmers.

We examine these issues by estimating heterogeneous responses to extreme heat for farmers with different ability to use other coping strategies. Based on our previous findings, we interact HDD with indicators of owning livestock 12 months ago and having at least one household member employed in a nonagricultural activity. We use these indicators as proxies of farmers' ability to use livestock and off-farm employment as buffers to negative income shocks.

TABLE 9—COPING STRATEGIES AND PRODUCTIVE RESPONSES

| Dependent variable:                  | Livestock buffer         |                         |                              | Off-farm work                         |                         |                              |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|
|                                      | ln(output per ha)<br>(1) | ln(area planted)<br>(2) | Tubers percent output<br>(3) | ln(output per ha)<br>(4)              | ln(area planted)<br>(5) | Tubers percent output<br>(6) |
| (A) Average $HDD \times D = 0$       | -0.087<br>(0.044)        | 0.055<br>(0.019)        | 0.024<br>(0.005)             | -0.100<br>(0.048)                     | 0.041<br>(0.018)        | 0.017<br>(0.005)             |
| (B) Average $HDD \times D = 1$       | -0.121<br>(0.047)        | 0.018<br>(0.018)        | 0.015<br>(0.005)             | -0.112<br>(0.046)                     | 0.040<br>(0.018)        | 0.020<br>(0.005)             |
| Difference (B) – (A) <i>p</i> -value | 0.059                    | 0.002                   | 0.000                        | 0.392                                 | 0.956                   | 0.113                        |
| <i>D</i> is indicator equal to 1 if  | Household owns livestock |                         |                              | Any household member has off-farm job |                         |                              |
| Observations                         | 53,493                   | 53,493                  | 53,619                       | 53,493                                | 53,493                  | 53,619                       |
| <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>                | 0.336                    | 0.452                   | 0.525                        | 0.335                                 | 0.444                   | 0.525                        |

*Notes:* Standard errors are clustered at the district level (in parentheses). All specifications include district, month of interview, climatic region-by-growing season fixed effects, and the same farmer controls as baseline regressions in Table 2. Regressions includes interaction of HDD with an indicator variable *D* of whether household owned livestock 12 months ago (columns 1 to 3) or has a member with a nonagricultural job (columns 4 to 6). All regressions also include the interaction of HDD with an indicator of climatic region. The third row reports the *p*-value of test of equality of estimates in first two rows.

Our results in Table 9 suggest that the effect of HDD on land use (area planted and relative share of tubers) is qualitatively similar between farmers with and without livestock (columns 2 and 3). However, the magnitude of the effect is larger among farmers who do not own livestock. This result is not driven by these latter farmers experiencing a larger negative productivity shock. As shown in column 1, the effect of HDD on agricultural yields is similar for both types of farmers and, if anything, marginally smaller for farmers without livestock. In the case of off-farm employment (columns 4 to 6), there are no significant quantitative differences in the effect of HDD in any outcome.

We interpret these results as evidence that farmers do not use one strategy exclusively but instead use a combination of responses to cope with extreme heat. These responses include both sale of disposable assets (such as livestock) and adjustments in production decisions (such as changes in land use).

## V. Implications for Estimating Damages from Climate Change

Most models assessing climate change damages use estimates of the effect of temperature on crop yields to calculate the loss of agricultural output and, hence, rural income. This approach is correct if, among other things, the amount of land used is constant. However, if farmers increase land use, as we have documented above, this approach would ignore an important margin of productive adaptation and overestimate the actual fall in agricultural output.

In this section, we quantitatively assess the magnitude of this overestimation of damages. To do so, we obtain end-of-the-century predictions of temperature over our study area from current climate change projections. Then, we calculate the predicted change in agricultural output by extrapolating the effect of these temperatures on

agricultural yields. This is the approach commonly used in the literature.<sup>45</sup> Finally, we compare these results to predictions obtained using our estimates of the effect of temperature on output. These latter estimates take into account changes in land use.

Importantly, this exercise only assumes changes in temperature (DD and HDD) and keeps everything else constant. Thus, it does not account for other potential factors and responses associated with climate change such as changes in CO<sub>2</sub>, increase risk of natural disasters, changes in water availability, degradation of land quality, migration, changes in sectoral employment, etc. For that reason, our results should be interpreted with caution: they do not attempt to predict the effect of global warming on Peruvian agriculture, but only to highlight the importance of accounting for farmers' changes of land use when estimating damages from climate change.

### A. Climate Change Projections

We obtain temperature projections from two climate change scenarios: RCP45 and RCP85. These scenarios, used in the IPCC's Fifth Assessment Report (IPCC 2014), represent two different sets of assumptions about the future trajectory of global greenhouse gas emissions.<sup>46</sup> RCP85 is a "business as usual" framework in which no additional policies to reduce greenhouse gas emissions are introduced. This scenario forecasts an increase of 4.9°C in global temperatures by the end of the century. RCP45 is a more optimistic scenario that assumes increased efforts to curb emissions at a global scale and forecasts an average 2.4°C increase in global temperatures.<sup>47</sup>

For each scenario, we obtain gridded data at a resolution  $1.25 \times 1.875$  degrees of monthly temperatures for the baseline year 2005 and the forecast for the year 2099. We then adjust for model-specific error in a similar way to Deschênes and Greenstone (2011) to account for the fact that the historical temperatures (from MODIS) and predicted temperatures (from the HadGEM2-ES model) are from different sources.<sup>48</sup> Then, we use the predicted temperature distribution for each scenario  $j$  and location  $k$  to calculate  $DD_{jk}$  and  $HDD_{jk}$  for the end of the century.<sup>49</sup>

Panel A in Table 10 presents the predicted average  $\Delta DD$  and  $\Delta HDD$  for our whole sample and each climatic region in both scenarios.<sup>50</sup> Note that the increase in average HDD is 0.305°C in the RCP45 scenario and more than three times, 0.950°C in the "business as usual" scenario. The increase in temperature will create substantially more harmful temperatures in the coast than in the highlands. While the coast

<sup>45</sup> See, for example, Deschênes and Greenstone (2007).

<sup>46</sup> We use the model output produced by the Hadley Centre Global Environment Model version 2 (HadGEM2-ES).

<sup>47</sup> In Table A.12 in the online Appendix, we also include precipitation projections. While the results are qualitatively similar, we focus on temperatures only as there is less consensus ("low confidence") about the sign and the magnitude of projected precipitations patterns (IPCC 2014, chap. 27).

<sup>48</sup> We calculate the implied temperature change (i.e., 2099 compared to 2005) for each month-location according to each HadGEM2 scenario and then add this to the average temperature in our (MODIS) dataset for each day of the year.

<sup>49</sup> We assume the same optimal temperature threshold as discussed in the previous section, 33°C. In both scenarios, average precipitation is predicted to stay within one standard deviation of its natural internal variability, so we do not assume any change in this respect (IPCC 2014).

<sup>50</sup> Formally,  $\Delta HDD_{jk} = HDD_k - \overline{HDD}_k$ , where  $\overline{HDD}_k$  is the average historical HDD in location  $j$ . We use a similar procedure to calculate the change in degree-days  $\Delta DD_{jk}$ .



TABLE 10—PREDICTED EFFECTS OF TEMPERATURE ON AGRICULTURE UNDER TWO CLIMATE CHANGE SCENARIOS

|  | RCP 4.5    |              |                  | RCP 8.5    |              |                  |
|--|------------|--------------|------------------|------------|--------------|------------------|
|  | All<br>(1) | Coast<br>(2) | Highlands<br>(3) | All<br>(4) | Coast<br>(5) | Highlands<br>(6) |
| <i>Panel A. Predicted change of temperature</i>    |            |              |                  |            |              |                  |
| $\Delta$ DD  | 2.001      | 0.820        | 2.196            | 4.385      | 1.565        | 4.850            |
| $\Delta$ HDD                                       | 0.305      | 1.204        | 0.157            | 0.950      | 2.910        | 0.627            |
| <i>Panel B. Predicted effect on agriculture</i>    |            |              |                  |            |              |                  |
| $\Delta$ Yields (ln $Y/T$ )                        | 0.002      | −0.099       | 0.018            | −0.036     | −0.258       | 0.001            |
| $\Delta$ Output (ln $Y$ )                          | 0.007      | −0.051       | 0.016            | 0.016      | −0.136       | 0.041            |
| <i>Panel C. Differences on estimate of damages</i> |            |              |                  |            |              |                  |
| $\Delta$ yields − $\Delta$ output                  | −0.005     | −0.047       | 0.002            | −0.052     | −0.122       | −0.040           |

Notes: Table presents predictions of the effect of increased temperatures on agriculture under two climate change scenarios (RCP 4.5 and 8.5). Predictions uses region-specific estimates of the effect of temperature on yields and output from columns 1 and 3 in Table 6. Precipitation is assumed to remain constant.

is expected to experience 1.20–2.91 additional harmful degrees a day during growing season months, the highlands are expected to experience just up to 0.7 HDD a day, in the most pessimistic scenario. These results are a natural consequence of the current distribution of temperatures in both regions: as previously mentioned, the coast is already drier and hotter than the highlands. Thus, a shift in the distribution of temperature has a larger effect on the frequency of extremely hot days.

### B. Predicted Effects on Agriculture

We calculate the predicted change on agricultural yields and output using the estimated effect of temperature on agricultural outcomes and the predicted changes in temperatures from climate change forecasts. In particular, we calculate the predicted effects as follows:

$$\Delta y_{ijk} = \hat{\beta}_1 \Delta DD_{jk} + \hat{\beta}_2 \Delta HDD_{jk},$$

where  $y$  is the outcome (i.e., yield or output) of farmer  $i$  in location  $k$ , while  $\hat{\beta}_1$  and  $\hat{\beta}_2$  correspond to the estimated effect of DD and HDD for each climatic region (coast and highlands) taken from columns 1 and 2 in Table 6.

Panels B and C in Table 10 present our results. The main observation is that using yields to predict the effect of climate change can lead to a substantial *overestimation* of the loss of agricultural output. This finding suggests that taking into account farmers' adjustments in land use is quantitatively important when estimating damages associated with climate change.

For instance, assuming the quantity of land used is fixed, we would predict that drops in output are equal to drop in yields. This implies a drop in output of up to 4 percent (column 4) under RCP85. However, the predicted change in output is positive: around 0.02 percent. Overestimation is particularly salient in the coast. In that region, assuming land used is fixed, output losses are estimated to range from 10 to 26 percent. These magnitudes are almost twice as large as when allowing for

changes in land used. In the highlands, the differences when using both types of approaches are much smaller, but they produce qualitatively different results: a drop in yields, but an increase in output.

Naturally, land is a finite resource, and thus this particular strategy is not dynamically consistent. In other words, farmers will not be able to offset output losses in the face of higher temperatures by adding more land to their production function indefinitely. Nevertheless, note that the farmers in our sample keep large amounts of unused land during any given growing season (see Table 1). In the case of highland farmers this is as high as 40 percent of their land holdings. It is, therefore, a productive adaptation with a significant margin over the near term.

As a final point, our predictions highlight potentially heterogeneous impacts on agricultural production: while the coast will experience sizable output losses, the impact in the highlands would be slightly positive. This result is consistent with other studies that predict large negative effects of climate change on warm (lower latitude) areas but smaller (albeit less conclusive) effects on cooler (higher latitude) areas (Deschênes and Greenstone 2007, 2012; Auffhammer and Schlenker 2014).

## VI. Conclusion

This paper examines how subsistence farmers respond to extreme temperature. Using microdata from Peruvian farmers, we show that extreme temperatures decrease agricultural productivity, but increase area planted. The expansion of area planted is coupled with changes in crop mix. We also find suggestive evidence of an increase in domestic labor.

We interpret these results as evidence that farmers use productive adjustments, such as changes in input use, as strategies to attenuate drops in output and consumption. This interpretation is consistent with predictions of producer-consumer models in the presence of incomplete markets.

Our results point to a margin of adjustment not previously documented in the literature. This response could be relevant in other contexts with subsistence farmers and incomplete markets. In addition, this paper highlights the importance of high temperature realizations, which are expected to keep increasing due to climate change, as an income and productivity shock. This measure could be used alongside other standard measures, such as rainfall, to study farmers' decisions and would require new policy instruments that would address the consequences of heat exposure among subsistence farmers.

There are, however, several unsolved issues. First, due to data limitations, we cannot investigate other important topics such as the potential long-term effects, interactions with other long-run adaptive strategies (like defensive investments or adoption of new technologies). Second, we cannot directly examine the role of different market distortions on shaping this response to extreme temperatures. Third, while our findings are specific to the Peruvian case (with distinct regional differences), our methodology could be used to study similar phenomena in other contexts. Finally, we are unable to examine how farmers acquire information about weather shocks. This is relevant given that how and when farmers learn about the weather shock can affect their ability to respond to it. Examining these issues warrants future research.

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