# Geography and Agricultural Productivity: Cross-Country Evidence from Micro Plot-Level Data

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## Big Picture

- Large differences in aggregate output per worker across countries.
- ► Agriculture important in accounting for aggregate productivity differences between rich and poor countries:
  - (a) Poor considerably more unproductive in agriculture.
  - (b) Poor allocate much more employment to agriculture.
- Key challenge in this literature: What accounts for the rich-poor real productivity differences in agriculture?

## Motivation

Two broad possible explanations for cross-country agricultural productivity differences:

- (1) Poor countries have a natural disadvantage in agriculture (poor land quality, rugged geography, arid lands,...)
- (2) Differences in economic choices between rich and poor countries (misallocation, technologies, capital, intermediate inputs,...)

The vast majority of work has focused on economic choices (2).

#### What We Do

- We ask: Is land quality and geography an important source of poor countries' low agricultural productivity?
- ► We focus on land productivity (yield) differences. ► Background
- We use:
  - High resolution micro-geography data from the FAO's Global Agro-Ecological Zones (GAEZ) project.
  - Spatial accounting framework that aggregates yields up from the crop-plot level to the aggregate country level.

#### What We Find

- ► There is large variation in land quality characteristics across countries in the world but this variation is unrelated to development.
- At the country level, differences in land quality/geography cannot explain much of the observed differences in agricultural productivity.
- ▶ If poor countries were operating each plot according to its *potential* yield rather than the *actual* yield, the rich-poor yield gap would virtually disappear, from more than 200% to 5%.
- ► Additional aggregate productivity gains from:
  - reallocation of production across space
  - changes in the crop-mix within locations

#### Relation to the Literature

► Factors affecting agricultural productivity.

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e.g., Restuccia et al. (2008), Adamopoulos (2011), Lagakos and Waugh (2013), Adamopoulos and Restuccia (2014), Tombe (2015), Donovan (2020).
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Measuring sectoral productivity gaps.

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e.g., Herrendorf and Schoellman (2015), Gollin et al. (2014), Rao (1993).
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Geography and development.

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e.g., Gallup et al. (1999), Sachs (2003), Acemoglu et al. (2002), Rodrik et al. (2004).
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Specific geographical attributes and productivity.

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e.g., Dell et al. (2009), Schlenker and Roberts (2009), Cassman (1999), Wiebe (2003).
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Global Agro-Ecological Zones (GAEZ) Data

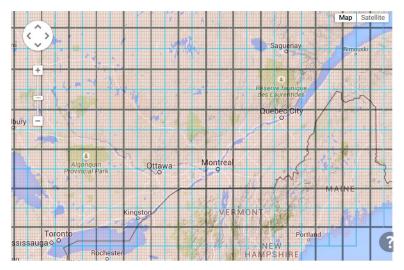
#### GAEZ Data I

- ► High-resolution (5 arc-minutes) micro-geography data.
- ▶ Spatial unit of observation: a cell roughly  $10 \times 10$  kilometers.
- ► Grid of cells covers entire globe (about 9 mil. cells).
- GAEZ provides for each cell a characterization of,
  - ► Soil: depth, fertility, drainage, chemical composition
  - ► Climate: temperature, moisture
  - ► Terrain: elevation, slope

conditions relevant for agricultural production.

# Grid Resolution Example

Pink grid: 5-arc min; Blue grid: 30-arc min; Black grid: 60-arc min.



## GAEZ Data II

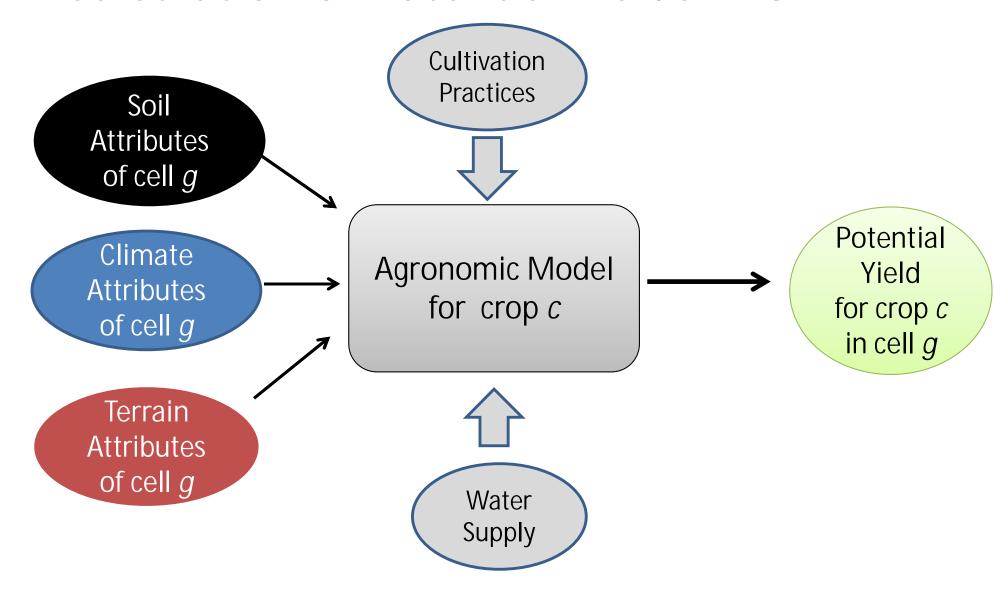
#### Inputs:

- High resolution spatial data on geographic attributes.
- State-of-the-art agronomic models that account for science-based biophysical growing requirements by crop.

#### Outputs:

- Classification of land according to its suitability for the production of specific crops.
- ► Calculation of potential yield that could be attained for each crop for each cell including those where crop not actually produced.

# Calculation of Potential Yields in GAEZ



#### Potential Yields

Parameters that need to be specified for potential yields:

- Cultivation practices:
  - Low level: subsistence, labor intensive, no chemical use
  - Intermediate level: market oriented, some mechanization, some chemical use
  - High level: commercial, fully mechanized, HYV seeds, optimum chemical use
  - Mixed level
- ► Water supply:
  - Rain-fed
  - Irrigated
  - Both

We keep parameters constant across all countries:

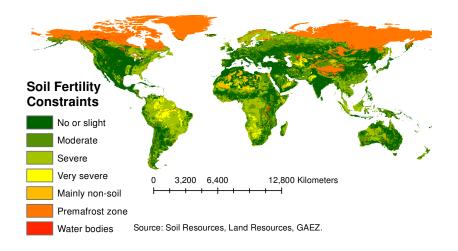
- 1. <u>Baseline</u>: cultivation practices = low level; water supply = rain-fed
- 2. <u>Alternative</u>: cultivation practices = mixed level; water supply = both

## Information by Cell

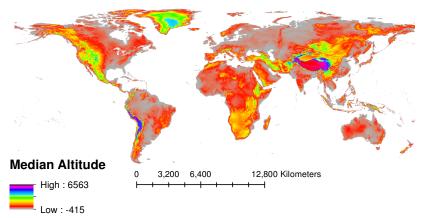
- ► Crop choice: what crops are produced.
- Actual production: tons of output for each crop produced.
- ► Actual area harvested: hectares for each crop.
- Actual yield: tons of output per hectare for each crop.
- Potential yield: tons of output that could be produced of any crop (not only those actually produced).

Land Attributes Across the World

## Soil Fertility

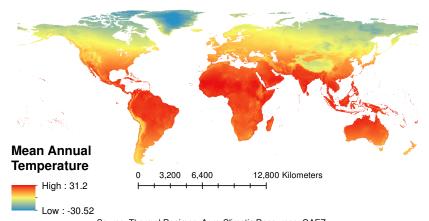


## Median Altitude



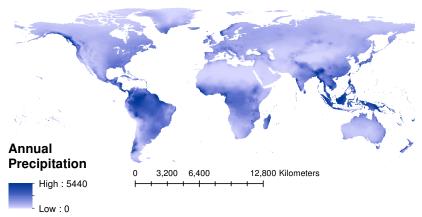
Source: Terrain Resources, Land Resources, GAEZ.

## Mean Temperature



 $Source: Thermal\ Regimes, Agro-Climatic\ Resources,\ GAEZ.$ 

# **Annual Precipitation**



Source: Moisture Regimes, Agro-Climatic Resources, GAEZ.

# Differences in Mean Geographical Attributes

|                             |          | (cou     | untry obs. = 162 | 2)         |
|-----------------------------|----------|----------|------------------|------------|
|                             | Rich 10% | Poor 10% | Top 10%          | Bottom 10% |
| Soil Quality                |          |          |                  |            |
| Fertility (1-4 index)       | 2.37     | 2.19     | 3.32             | 1.10       |
| Depth (1-4 index)           | 2.19     | 1.93     | 3.41             | 1.08       |
| Terrain Conditions          |          |          |                  |            |
| Slope (0-100 index)         | 72.0     | 78.5     | 96.1             | 38.1       |
| Altitude (meters)           | 342.8    | 824.0    | 1799.4           | 60.4       |
| Climate Conditions          |          |          |                  |            |
| Temperature ( $^{\circ}C$ ) | 12.3     | 23.2     | 27.5             | 2.3        |
| Precipitation (mm)          | 899.6    | 1074.9   | 2474.5           | 123.3      |

## Spatial Framework

# Spatial Accounting Framework—Primitives

- ▶ *U* administrative units indexed by  $u \in \mathcal{U} \equiv \{1, 2, ..., U\}$ .
- ► Each administrative unit u comprises  $G_u$  cells, indexed by  $g \in \mathcal{G}_u \equiv \{1, 2, ..., G_u\}$ .
- ▶ Each cell can produce any of *C* crops, indexed by  $c \in C \equiv \{1, 2, ..., C\}$ .
- Cells are heterogeneous with respect to their productivity across crops, i.e, their potential yield: physical quantity of output per hectare.
- ▶ Potential yield from producing crop *c* in plot *g* in unit *u*:



# Spatial Accounting Framework—Primitives

- $y_{gu}^c = \text{real output (in tons) of crop } c.$
- $\ell_{gu}^{c}$  = amount of land (in hectares) used to produce crop c.
- $ightharpoonup z_{gu}^c = rac{y_{gu}^c}{\ell_{gu}^c} = ext{actual yield}.$
- ► For aggregation:
  - ▶ We set  $(y_{gu}^c, \ell_{gu}^c, z_{gu}^c)$  to 0 if no production of a given crop c.
  - ightharpoonup We denote by  $p^c$  the international price of crop c common across countries.

# Spatial Accounting Framework—Aggregates

▶ Total land in unit *u* devoted to agricultural production,

$$L_u = \sum_{c \in \mathcal{C}} \sum_{g \in \mathcal{G}_u} \ell_{gu}^c.$$

► Total aggregate agricultural output in unit *u*,

$$Y_{u} = \sum_{c \in \mathcal{C}} \sum_{g \in \mathcal{G}_{u}} p^{c} y_{gu}^{c}.$$

▶ Aggregate Actual Yield:  $Z_u = Y_u/L_u$ .

# Decomposing Aggregate Yield

► Aggregate actual yield, i.e., real output per unit of land devoted to agricultural production:

$$Z_{u} = \frac{Y_{u}}{L_{u}},$$

$$= \frac{\sum_{c \in \mathcal{C}} \sum_{g \in \mathcal{G}_{u}} p^{c} z_{gu}^{c} \ell_{gu}^{c}}{L_{u}},$$

$$= \sum_{c \in \mathcal{C}} \sum_{g \in \mathcal{G}_{u}} p^{c} z_{gu}^{c} \frac{\ell_{gu}^{c}}{L_{u}}.$$

► The aggregate actual yield is a weighted average of the yields for every crop and cell, where the weight is the share of land in each crop and cell.

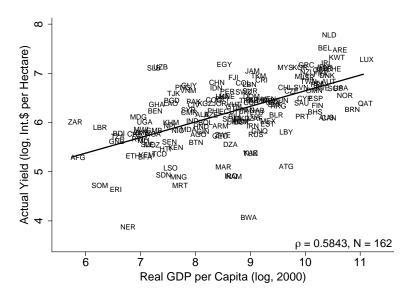
# Decomposing Aggregate Yield

$$Z_{u} = \sum_{c \in \mathcal{C}} \sum_{g \in \mathcal{G}_{u}} p^{c} z_{gu}^{c} \frac{\ell_{gu}^{c}}{L_{u}}.$$

- Production Potential:  $z_{gu}^c \rightarrow \hat{z}_{gu}^c$  holding crop and cell location choices constant (potential yield).
- ► Spatial Potential: production potential + location choices of crops that maximize agricultural output.
- ► Total Potential: spatial potential + crop choices that maximize agricultural output.

#### Results

## Actual Yield across Countries



## Actual Aggregate Yield

|              | Rich 10% | Poor 10% | Ratio |
|--------------|----------|----------|-------|
| Actual Yield | 739.5    | 235.5    | 3.1   |

Question: How much of the actual yield gap between rich/poor countries is due to land quality differences?

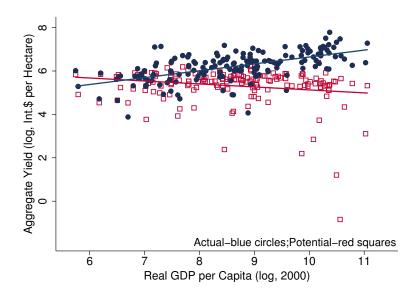
#### **Production Potential**

- ► Construct potential aggregate yield by replacing actual yield with potential yield for each crop/location.
- Comparison of actual to potential gap offers direct assessment of land quality on agricultural productivity:
  - If actual and potential yields similar, then actual yield differences mostly due to land quality.
  - ▶ If potential yield does not differ much across countries, then land quality not an important determinant of actual yield differences.

## **Production Potential**

|                      | All Crops (country obs. = 162) |                 |              |
|----------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------|--------------|
|                      | Actual Yield                   | Potential Yield | Ratio        |
| Rich 10%<br>Poor 10% | 739.5<br>235.5                 | 237.2<br>225.7  | 0.32<br>0.96 |
| Ratio                | 3.14                           | 1.05            | 1/2.99       |

## Actual vs. Production-Potential Yield



## Production Potential — Wheat

| Wheat         |        |  |
|---------------|--------|--|
| (country obs. | = 110) |  |

|                      | Actual Yield | Potential Yield | Ratio        |
|----------------------|--------------|-----------------|--------------|
| Rich 10%<br>Poor 10% | 2.71<br>1.07 | 1.36<br>0.87    | 0.50<br>0.81 |
| Ratio                | 2.53         | 1.58            | 1/1.61       |

## Production Potential — Rice

| Rice          |   |      |
|---------------|---|------|
| (country obs. | = | 104) |

|                      | Actual Yield | Potential Yield | Ratio        |
|----------------------|--------------|-----------------|--------------|
| Rich 10%<br>Poor 10% | 6.64<br>1.30 | 1.16<br>1.16    | 0.17<br>0.89 |
| Ratio                | 5.10         | 1.00            | 1/5.13       |

## Production Potential — Maize

| Maize           |      |
|-----------------|------|
| (country obs. = | 142) |

|                      | Actual Yield Potential Yie |              | Ratio        |
|----------------------|----------------------------|--------------|--------------|
| Rich 10%<br>Poor 10% | 8.56<br>1.31               | 2.77<br>1.73 | 0.32<br>1.31 |
| Ratio                | 6.52                       | 1.61         | 1/4.06       |

# Spatial Potential

- How would the aggregate yield change if production of each crop is reallocated across cultivated cells according to their potential yield holding constant the total land allocated to each crop?
- ▶ Focuses on production potential + reallocation of crops across space

$$\max_{\left\{\ell_{gu}^c\right\}} \sum_{c \in \mathcal{C}} \sum_{g \in G_u} p^c \hat{z}_{gu}^c \ell_{gu}^c$$

subject to

$$\sum_{c \in C} \ell_{gu}^c \le L_{gu}, \quad g = 1, 2, \dots G_u; \tag{1}$$

$$\sum_{g \in G_u} \ell_{gu}^c \le L_u^c, \quad c = 1, 2, ... C;$$
 (2)

$$\ell_{gu}^{c} \ge 0, \quad g = 1, 2, ...G_{u}; \quad c = 1, 2, ...C.$$
 (3)

# Spatial Potential

|                      | All Crops (country obs. = 162) |   |                |              |
|----------------------|--------------------------------|---|----------------|--------------|
|                      | Actual                         | Aggregate Yields<br>actual Production Po. Spatial Po. |                |              |
| Rich 10%<br>Poor 10% | 739.5<br>235.5                 | 237.2<br>225.7  | 288.2<br>307.6 | 1.22<br>1.36 |
| Ratio                | 3.14                           | 1.05  | 0.94           | 1/1.11       |

Spatial crop reallocation contributes further to a reduction in the rich-poor yield gap.

#### Total Potential

- ► How would the aggregate yield change if in each cell g the crop mix was changed towards the production of the highest value yielding crop, keeping the amount of land allocated to agricultural production within each cell fixed?
- Production potential in each plot + crop-location choices to maximize agricultural output.
- Highest amount of output that can be obtained given land.

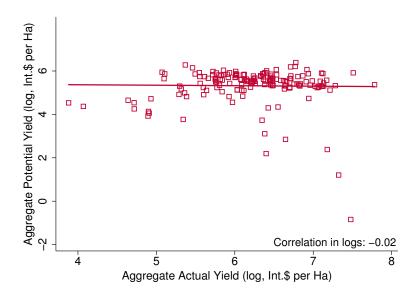
#### **Total Potential**

| All      | Cro  | ps |      |
|----------|------|----|------|
| (country | obs. | =  | 162) |

|          | Aggregate Yields |             |           | Ratio    |
|----------|------------------|-------------|-----------|----------|
|          | Actual           | Spatial Po. | Total Po. | Tot/Spat |
|          |                  |             |           |          |
| Rich 10% | 739.5            | 288.2       | 363.9     | 1.26     |
| Poor 10% | 235.5            | 307.6       | 469.0     | 1.53     |
| Ratio    | 3.14             | 0.94        | 0.78      | 1/1.21   |

▶ Crop choice contributes even more to reducing the rich/poor yield ratio.

#### Production Potential vs. Actual Yield



# Accounting for Actual Yields

Accounting for top/bottom actual yield ratio with production, spatial, and total potentials

$$\underbrace{\underbrace{8.91 \times 0.16}_{\text{production}} \times \underbrace{0.92}_{\text{spatial}} \times \underbrace{0.66}_{\text{total}} = 0.86.}_{\text{production}}$$

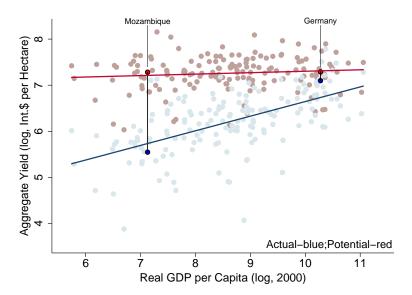
- ▶ 79 percent of the reduction in the aggregate top/bottom yield ratio due to production potential within each crop-plot
- ➤ Spatial reallocation: 4 percent; 17 percent due to changes in crop choice in each location.

## Production Potential: Mixed Inputs

|                      | All Crops (country obs. = 162) |                    |              |
|----------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------|--------------|
|                      | Actual Yield                   | Potential Yield    | Ratio        |
| Rich 10%<br>Poor 10% | 739.5<br>235.5                 | 1,220.0<br>1,160.6 | 1.65<br>4.93 |
| Ratio                | 3.14                           | 1.05               | 1/2.99       |

► Large potential/actual gaps for all countries, particularly poor.

# Actual vs. Potential Yields: Mixed Inputs



#### Robustness

#### FAO prices vs. Calorie "Prices"

Panel A: USDA Calorie "Prices" of Crops (000s of kcal) (country obs. = 162)

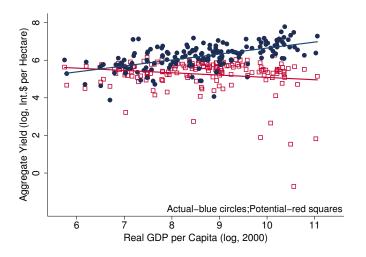
|          | Actual Yield | Potential Yield | Ratio  |
|----------|--------------|-----------------|--------|
| Rich 10% | 18.20        | 5.64            | 0.31   |
| Poor 10% | 5.10         | 4.43            | 0.87   |
| Ratio    | 3.57         | 1.27            | 1/2.82 |
|          |              |                 |        |

Panel B: FAO International Crop Prices (country obs. = 162)

|          | Actual Yield | Potential Yield | Ratio  |
|----------|--------------|-----------------|--------|
| Rich 10% | 739.5        | 237.2           | 0.32   |
| Poor 10% | 235.5        | 225.7           | 0.96   |
| Ratio    | 3.14         | 1.05            | 1/2.99 |

Conclusions do not hinge on the set of "prices."

# Actual vs. Potential Yields: Equal Weights



Conclusions do not hinge on the weighting of crops within cells.

## Aggregate Implications

- ightharpoonup Two sectors, agriculture (a), and non-agriculture (n).
- ▶ Representative farm and firm in each region,

$$Y_a = A_a L^{\theta} N_a^{1-\theta}; \qquad Y_n = A_n N_n$$

- Fixed amount of labor N, allocated to the two sectors:  $N = N_a + N_n$ .
- ▶ Preferences: households consume  $c_a = \bar{a}$  of agricultural goods.
- ► Equilibrium agricultural employment,

$$N_a = \left(rac{ar{a}}{A_a L^{ heta}}
ight)^{rac{1}{1- heta}}$$

▶ A 3-fold  $\uparrow A_a$  implies:  $\downarrow N_a$  from 70% to 13.5%;  $\uparrow$  ag. lab. prod. 5.2-fold.

#### Conclusions

- Use detailed micro-geography data to study the macro-level consequences of land quality for agricultural productivity.
- ► Land quality differences cannot justify the rich-poor agricultural productivity gaps.
- We trace the problem to:
  - the level and allocation of inputs used
  - what crops are produced
  - where they are produced within the country
- ► Future work: what factors prevent poor countries from exploiting their land endowments?

## Some Background

Decomposition of agricultural labor productivity:

$$\underbrace{\frac{Y_a}{N_a}}_{\text{agr. output per worker}} = \underbrace{\frac{Y_a}{L}}_{\text{yield}} \cdot \underbrace{\frac{L}{N}}_{\text{land/population inverse agr. emp. share}} \cdot \underbrace{\frac{N}{N_a}}_{\text{land/population inverse agr. emp. share}}$$

#### Rich-Poor differences:

$$\underbrace{\frac{V_a}{N_a}}_{\approx 60} = \underbrace{\frac{V_a}{L}}_{\approx 3} \cdot \underbrace{\frac{L}{N}}_{\approx 1.3} \cdot \underbrace{\frac{N}{N_a}}_{\approx 16}$$

▶ Back