

ENVIRONMENTAL RESEARCH  
LETTERS

## LETTER

Strengthening the integrity of REDD+ credits: objectively  
assessing counterfactual methods using placebosE-Ping Rau<sup>1,2,\*</sup> , Jody Holland<sup>1,3</sup> , Thomas Swinfield<sup>1,3</sup> , Abby Williams<sup>1,3,4</sup> , Srinivasan Keshav<sup>1,5</sup>   
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E-mail: [epr26@cam.ac.uk](mailto:epr26@cam.ac.uk)**Keywords:** carbon credit, placebo test, counterfactual analysis, conservation finance, forest conservation, carbon market, emissions reductionsSupplementary material for this article is available [online](#)

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The financing of tropical forest conservation projects through the sale of carbon credits remains a key opportunity to curb forest loss. Reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation (REDD)+ projects generate carbon credits by reducing forest loss within the project area compared with a counterfactual area that faces similar pressures (known as ‘additionality’). Several methods are available for constructing counterfactuals, but comparing their reliability is challenging. Here, we present an evaluation approach based on the creation of placebo projects, where there are no REDD+ activities and in which we would not expect project and counterfactual outcomes to diverge. We compare four methods based on pixel matching that estimate counterfactual deforestation rates. Using 27 placebo projects spread across the tropics, we found that pixel-matching is a reliable way of estimating a key element of additionality (i.e. deforestation in counterfactual areas) when based on data gathered at the end of an evaluation period after project start (i.e. *ex-post* estimation). However, forecasting counterfactual deforestation rates from information available at the start of a project (i.e. *ex-ante* estimation) is much less reliable, reinforcing existing concerns about *ex-ante* crediting mechanisms. We argue that systematic application of the placebo approach can accelerate the development and adoption of more credible counterfactual-estimating methods. As counterfactuals are the basis which underpins the validity claims of most nature credits, strengthening the credibility of counterfactuals will enhance the effectiveness of conservation finance, helping REDD+ and other nature-based solutions realise their full potential in delivering real, measurable benefits.

**1. Introduction**

The escalating deforestation and forest degradation across the tropics (World Resources Institute 2025) have devastating consequences on biodiversity, carbon balance, and climate change (Barlow *et al* 2016, Baccini *et al* 2017, Betts *et al* 2017). The reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation (REDD) programme, as well as the expanded

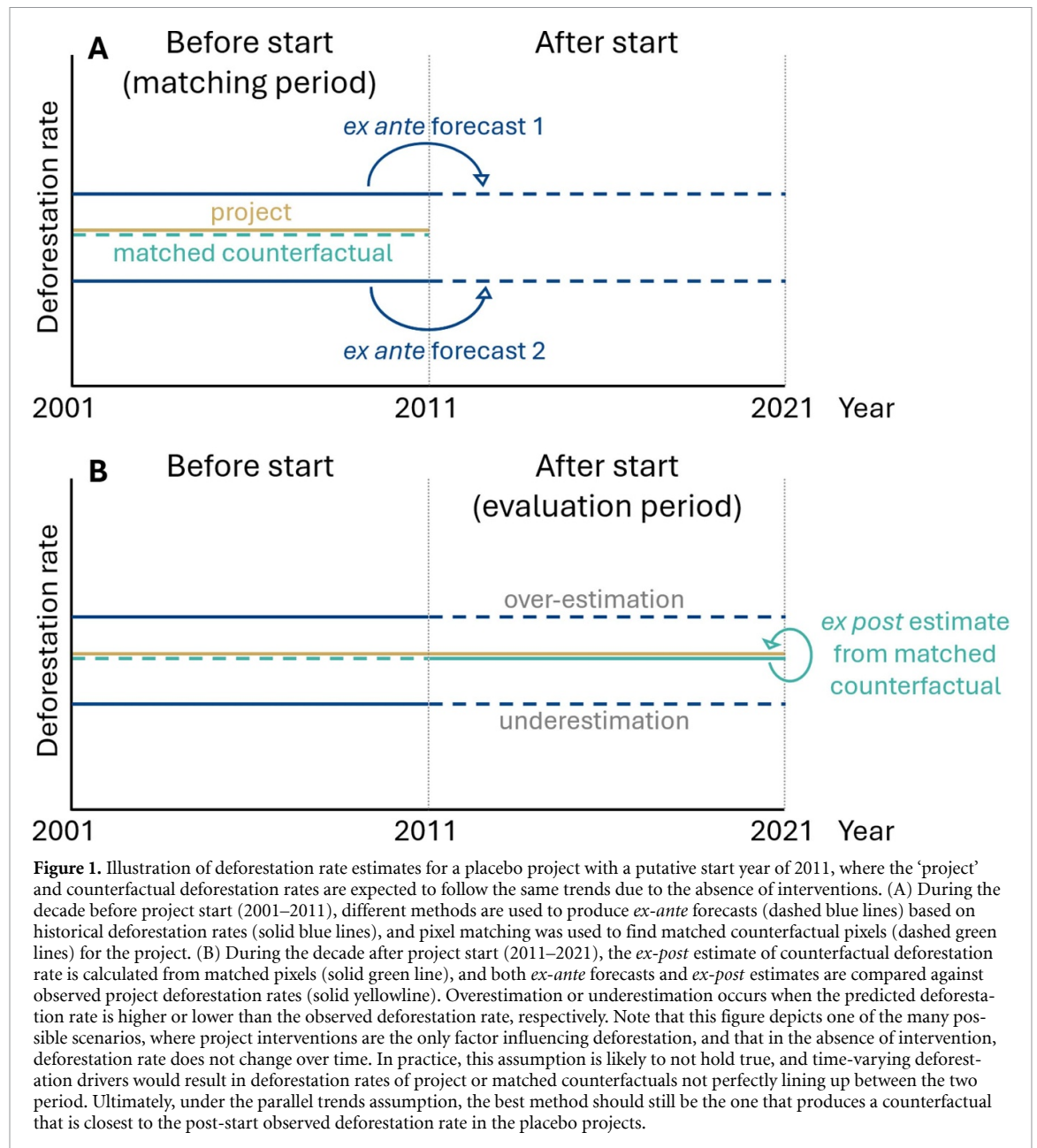
REDD+ framework, aims to reduce carbon emissions by incentivising alternative activities to deforestation while promoting biodiversity and livelihood co-benefits: it is therefore an indispensable tool to mitigate the climate and biodiversity crises (Roe *et al* 2019, Girardin *et al* 2021, Seddon *et al* 2021). To ensure that REDD+ projects provide genuine benefits, emissions reductions must be quantified following the principle of *additionality* as the difference between carbon

losses in the project area and its *counterfactual scenario*—i.e. what would have occurred without the project (ICVCM 2023). Verified emissions reductions are issued as carbon credits and traded in the voluntary carbon markets, providing a critical financing mechanism for REDD+ (Norman and Nakhooda 2015, Seymour and Langer 2021).

However, recent studies showed evidence of widespread over-crediting in REDD+ projects, with only 7%–25% of issued credits representing genuine emissions reductions (West *et al* 2023, Probst *et al* 2024). The ensuing controversy has severely undermined market confidence in REDD+ credibility and shrunk the carbon market value by 61% in 2023 (Procton 2024, Greenfield 2024), further fragilising the already insufficient REDD+ finance (Morita and Matsumoto 2023). Apart from the issue of inadequate carbon accounting and governance, which current development of jurisdictional approaches attempt to address (von Essen and Lambin 2021, Zhao *et al* 2025), the phenomenon of over-crediting also underscores the major challenge of estimating the inherently unobservable counterfactual outcomes. Current methodologies typically rely on historical deforestation trends in expert-defined reference areas to generate *ex-ante* forecasts of counterfactual outcomes before the intervention starts. However, this has been criticised for being prone to biases by failing to adequately account for temporally varying environmental variables that drive deforestation. This creates discrepancies between variables considered important before project start and those that are identified as important after project start, resulting in misestimation of the counterfactual outcomes (Swinfield *et al* in review, Swinfield *et al* 2024, West *et al* 2024). In contrast, counterfactual areas identified by matching their environmental variables to project areas allow for both project and counterfactual outcomes to be evaluated *ex post* (after interventions started) during the same period, which could mitigate misalignment and biases caused by time-varying deforestation drivers. *Ex-post* analyses are increasingly used in independent studies that evaluate claims of emissions reductions in REDD+ projects (Guizar-Coutiño *et al* 2022, Delacote *et al* 2025), but they are currently not employed by any official certification framework, and the adequacy of the statistical matching process has also come under question (Pauly *et al* 2024). Faced with this debate, a standardised and objective assessment of the robustness and accuracy of counterfactual-estimating methods is key to improving the credibility and viability of REDD+ credits (Delacote *et al* 2024, West *et al* 2024), as well as other nature credits based on counterfactuals.

One approach to assess counterfactual-estimating methods is by applying them to *placebo* projects, areas designated to be representative of the deforestation risks of existing REDD+ sites but not yet subject to any REDD+ activities, to examine if the methods correctly capture the absence of effect. The placebo approach has been widely used in the social sciences (Abadie *et al* 2010): for example, Abadie and Gardeazabal (2003) estimated the effect of a treatment on economic activity in the treated region by comparing it to similar but untreated regions as counterfactuals, and they tested the robustness of this analysis by applying it to a comparable untreated region, finding ‘counterfactuals’ for this region. This approach was recently applied to quantify variations in counterfactual deforestation rates in the absence of REDD+ activities, which were then used to construct confidence intervals for the observed REDD+ effects (West *et al* 2020, 2023). We propose that placebos could also allow us to evaluate competing counterfactual-estimating methods, via performance statistics that quantify overall uncertainty and bias of predictions of counterfactual deforestation rates.

In this study, we designate 27 placebo projects within the tropical moist forest (TMF) biome with comparable environmental characteristics to existing REDD+ projects, and track deforestation trends using remotely-sensed data on land class transition. Setting a putative year of project start, we define three *ex-ante* methods that forecast counterfactual deforestation rates after project start for the placebo projects using historical deforestation rates before project start (figure 1(A)). We also generate *ex-post* estimates of counterfactual deforestation rates after project start, using pixel matching to identify counterfactual pixels with similar characteristics to those of project pixels, and estimating deforestation rates in counterfactual pixels after project start (figure 1(B)). Since project and counterfactual deforestation rates should follow the same trend in placebo projects, both *ex-ante* forecasts and *ex-post* estimates can be compared against post-start observed deforestation rates within the placebo projects (figure 1(B)): the most robust counterfactual-estimating method can be identified as the one producing predictions with the lowest uncertainties and biases. Specifically, we address the following questions: (1) How accurate and precise is each method for estimating counterfactual outcomes? (2) How does the performance of each method change through time, and how does it inform us on the strengths and weaknesses of these methods? Finally, we discuss how the placebo approach can contribute towards an operational benchmarking tool for counterfactual-estimating methods.



## 2. Methods

### 2.1. Overview

We adopted a pixel-based approach to identify counterfactuals and track deforestation, based on the PACT 2.0 methodology (Swinfield and Balmford 2023), detailed in Balmford *et al* (2023) and implemented in Python (Dales *et al* 2024). Data analyses and visualisation were conducted in Google Earth Engine and Python 3.12.2 with the libraries *ee*, *matplotlib*, *numpy*, *pandas*, *random*, and *scipy* (Hunter 2007, Van Rossum and Drake 2009, McKinney 2010, Gorelick *et al* 2017, Harris *et al* 2020, Reback *et al* 2020, Van Rossum 2020, Virtanen *et al* 2020, Google Earth Engine Developers 2024), and the code is available at a GitHub repository (Rau and Holland 2025).

The PACT methodology uses the TMF data product (Vancutsem *et al* 2021) to track deforestation

within project areas and a set of counterfactual pixels, identified via pixel matching as having similar environmental variables to project pixels. The TMF data is a Landsat-derived dataset that classifies the land class of every 30-m pixel in the TMF biome annually, providing a time series of forest change since 1990. We focused on the four land classes related to forest cover (undisturbed forest, degraded forest, deforested land, and forest regrowth), and derived compound annual deforestation rates ( $r$ , %) over a given period from the geometric mean of the fraction of remaining forest over said period:

$$r = \left[ 1 - \left( \frac{N_t}{N_0} \right)^{\frac{1}{t}} \right] \times 100 \quad (1)$$

where  $N_0$  and  $N_t$  represent the number of pixels with undisturbed forest class at the start and end of the

period, respectively, and  $t$  represents the number of years within the period.

The use of pixel matching allows us to explicitly control for environmental variables that influence deforestation rates (Busch and Ferretti-Gallon 2023), and the use of global geospatial data, as is common practice with most credit issuing standards and rating agencies (Wawrzynowicz *et al* 2023), ensures consistency, transparency and replicability of our deforestation estimates.

## 2.2. Estimating counterfactual deforestation with *ex-ante* and *ex-post* methods

We designed 27 placebo projects as areas with comparable size and remoteness to existing REDD+ sites but independent of ongoing REDD+ activities, across the wet tropics of South America (10), Africa (8) and Southeast Asia (10) (figure 2). Detailed steps of placebo project selection can be found in Supplementary Information 1.

We defined **project pixels** as randomly sampled pixels within placebo project areas, at a density of 0.25 points/ha for projects <250 000 ha and 0.05 points/ha for larger projects (figure 4, Step 2). We defined the regional **candidate pixels**, to be used for matching and for *ex-ante* forecasts, as pixels sharing the same countries and ecoregions as the project pixels and were unaffected by REDD interventions: detailed procedures for identifying candidate pixels can be found in Supplementary Information 2.

We matched pixels using the following environmental variables that are known proxies of deforestation drivers (Busch and Ferretti-Gallon 2023): (1) historical TMF land classes (undisturbed forest, degraded forest, deforested land, and forest regrowth), (2) historical forest cover, (3) slope and elevation, and (4) remoteness. Historical forest cover was calculated as the proportional cover of the 'undisturbed forest' or 'deforested land' TMF land classes within a 1-km radius of each TMF pixel. Slope and elevation were derived from SRTM data (Jarvis *et al* 2008).

We applied three *ex-ante* forecasting methods (figure 3), setting the putative year of start for placebo projects to be 2011: this is the year with historically the highest number of new REDD+ projects (Atmadja *et al* 2022, figure 5), and the latest year allowing for the availability of at least a decade of post-start TMF data (2011–2021).

1. **Regional method:** we selected all candidate pixels with the same land classes during the matching period (at 2001, 2006, and 2011), and similar values for continuous environmental variables to project pixels:  $\pm 0.1$  for historical forest cover,  $\pm 200$  m for elevation,  $\pm 2.5^\circ$  for slope,

and  $\pm 10$  min for remoteness (measured in walking distances to nearest healthcare facility, proxy for distance to settlements). This method aims to capture deforestation pressures from the broader landscape that the project area had not yet experienced before the project start, but might be exposed to afterward. To prevent out-of-memory errors during computing, we limited the size of the pixel set to 250 000 pixels through random down-sampling.

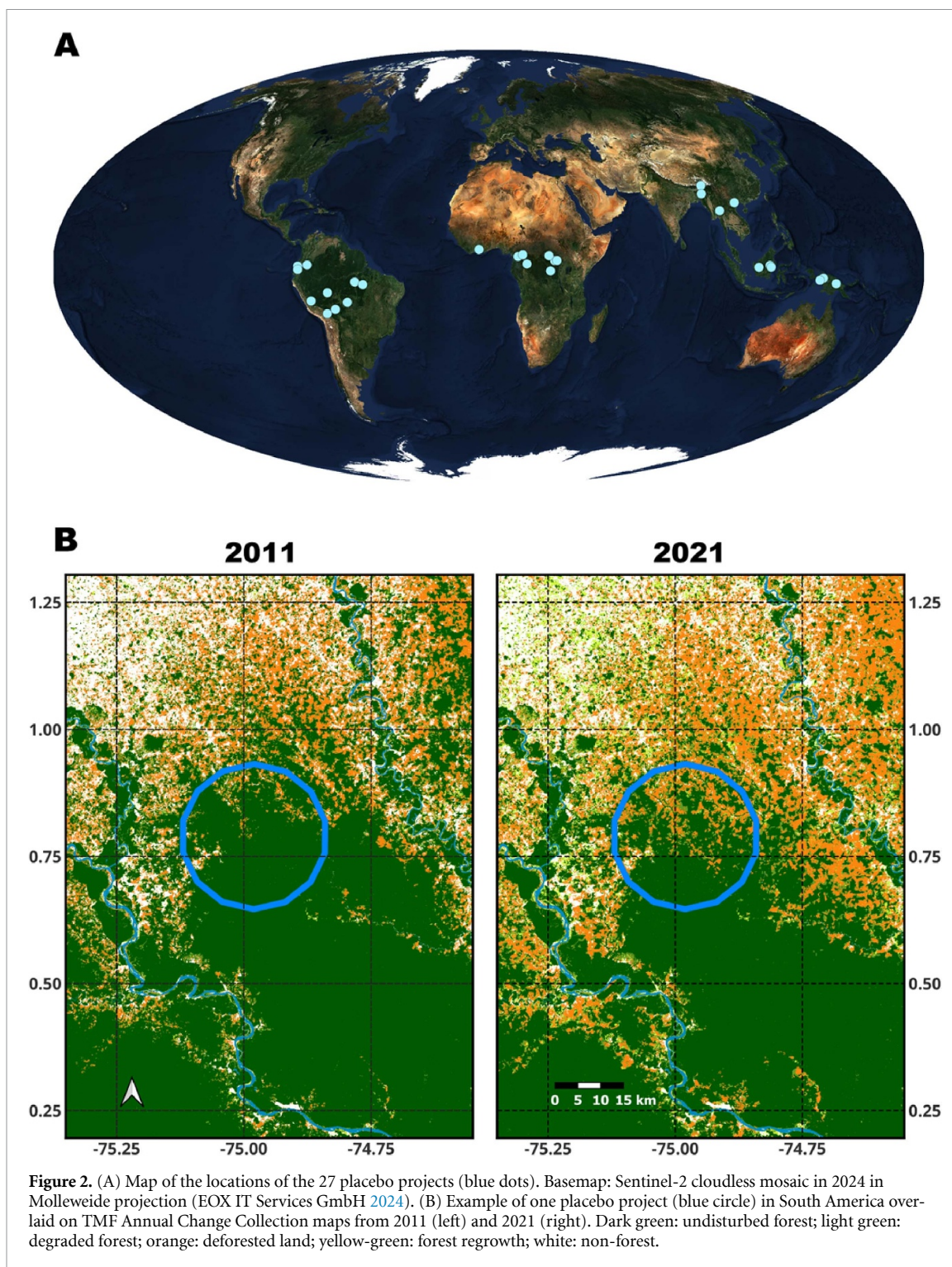
2. **Project method:** we selected sampled project pixels without matching. This method forecasts the counterfactual deforestation rate after project start to follow the historical project deforestation rate.

3. **Time-shifted matching method:** we selected candidate pixels where conditions 20–10 years before the project start (at 1991, 1996 and 2001) matched those of project pixels 10–0 years before start (at 2001, 2006, and 2011), matching pixels with the same land classes and the lowest Mahalanobis distance for continuous environmental variables during the matching period (Guizar-Coutiño *et al* 2022, Balmford *et al* 2023). The rationale for this method is that it produces a 10-year dynamic forecast, using deforestation trends in the past to update the forecast for the future over time, which could help account for time-varying deforestation drivers.

For all three *ex-ante* methods, forecasted counterfactual deforestation rates were calculated as the annual deforestation rates in the selected pixels over the pre-start period (2001–2011). We also estimated counterfactual deforestation rates using the ***ex-post* matching method**, identifying *matched counterfactual pixels* as candidate pixels whose conditions matched those of project pixels 10–0 years before start (at 2001, 2006, and 2011), with the same land classes and the lowest Mahalanobis distance for continuous environmental variables. We then calculated the *ex-post* counterfactual deforestation rate in the matched counterfactual pixels over the decade after project start (2011–2021). A detailed mathematical representation of the methods used is provided in Supplementary Information 3.

## 2.3. Evaluating predictive performance

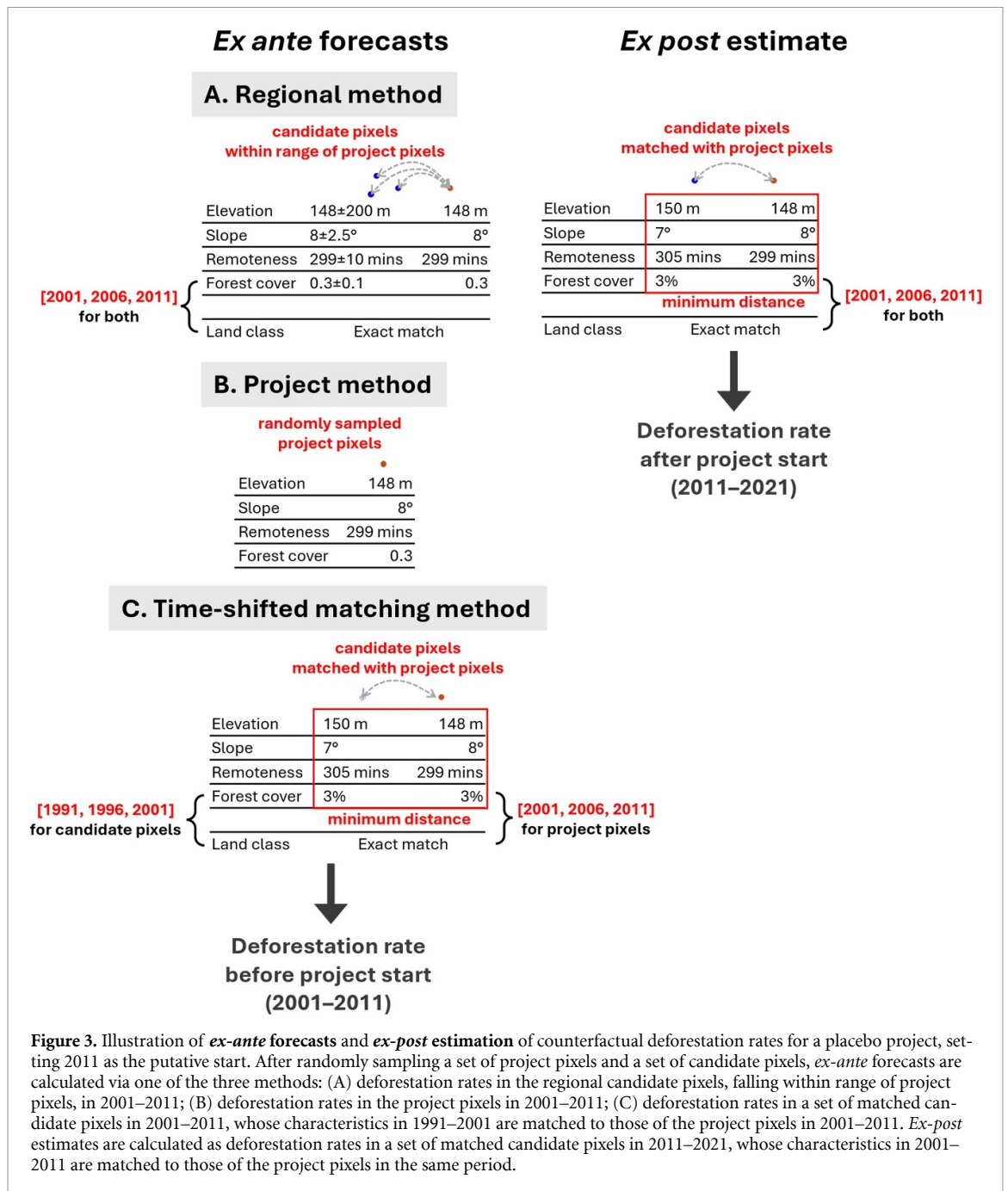
We compared and plotted both *ex-ante* forecasts and *ex-post* estimates with the observed deforestation rates in all placebo projects after project start (2011–2021) (figure 4). We assessed predictive performance across all projects with the following three metrics: (1) mean absolute error (MAE) between observed and estimated deforestation rates (lower values indicating higher precision); (2) mean bias, calculated as the mean difference of predicted minus observed values (lower absolute values



indicating higher accuracy); (3) goodness-of-fit, calculated as the coefficient of determination between predicted and observed values ( $R^2$  over the identity line) (higher values indicating higher precision and accuracy). We also evaluated how well different methods perform when used to predict deforestation rates over periods of varying lengths after the start of the project (figure 5): the detailed method of this analysis can be found in Supplementary Information 4.

### 3. Results

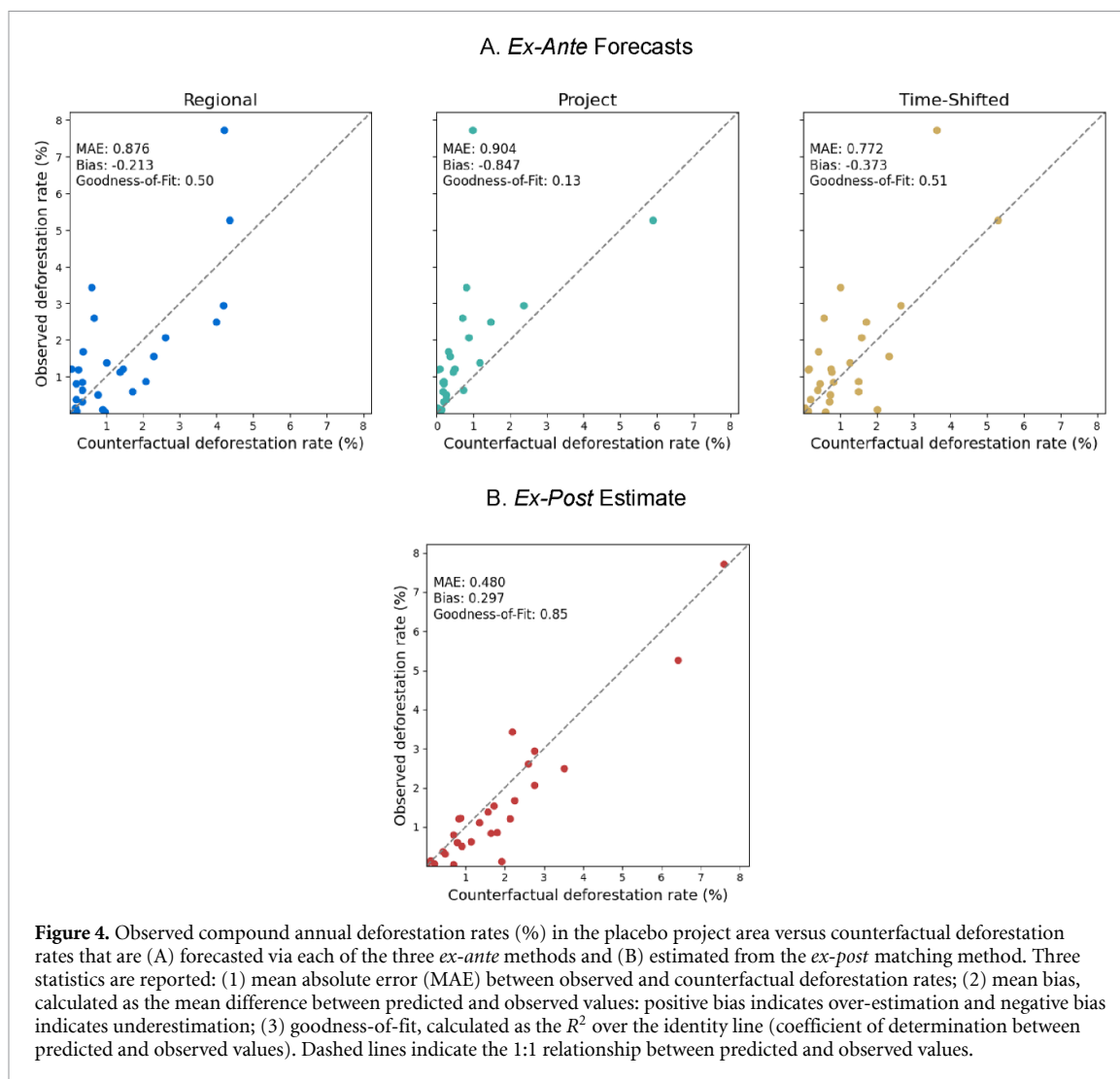
Among the three *ex-ante* forecasting methods, the regional method (MAE = 0.876, goodness-of-fit = 0.50) and the time-shifted matching method (MAE = 0.772, goodness-of-fit = 0.51) produced forecasts with higher robustness for observed deforestation rates than the project method (MAE = 0.904, goodness-of-fit = 0.13) (figure 4(A)). *Ex-post* estimates showed considerably higher robustness than all



three *ex-ante* forecasts (MAE = 0.480, goodness-of-fit = 0.85) (figure 4(B)). All *ex-ante* methods showed negative biases (from  $-0.213$  to  $-0.847$ ), indicating underestimation of the observed deforestation rates, while the *ex-post* method showed positive bias (0.297), indicating overestimation (figure 4).

All three *ex-ante* methods had higher MAEs than the *ex-post* method for all predicted periods (figure 5(A)). Both regional and time-shifted methods slightly over-estimated deforestation rates for periods in the nearer future, but shifted to slight underestimation for longer periods, whereas the project method consistently underestimated deforestation rate, with increasingly severe underestimation; in contrast, the *ex-post* method consistently

exhibited slight overestimation (figure 5(B)). The goodness-of-fit of different methods revealed different temporal trends: initially, the regional method performed poorly with a low goodness-of-fit for shorter time periods in the nearer future, but it improved over time for longer periods (explaining up to 50% of the variation in the observed deforestation rate in the period of 2011–2021). Whereas the project method performed well initially (explaining up to 70% of the variation in the observed deforestation rate in the period of 2011–2012) but deteriorated over time for longer periods. The *ex-post* method consistently showed the highest goodness-of-fit across all predicted periods (figure 5(C)).

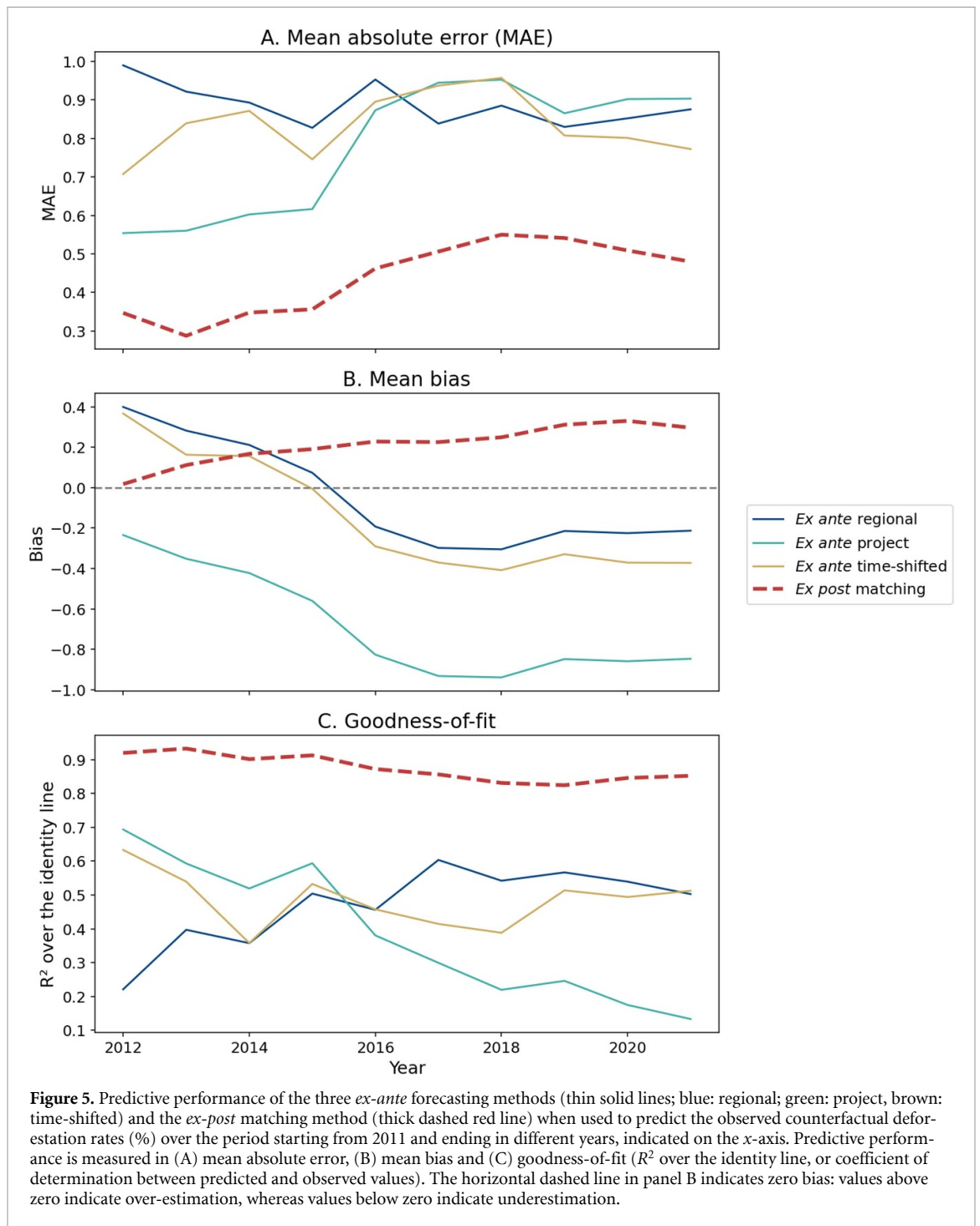


## 4. Discussion

This study introduces a reliable way to evaluate the accuracy and robustness of methods that estimate counterfactual deforestation rates for project-based REDD+ initiatives. By using carefully designated *placebo projects* that are unaffected by REDD+ activities, the unobservable counterfactual deforestation rates become observable as the deforestation rate within the placebo projects. By controlling for properties such as size, remoteness and initial forest cover, we ensure that the placebo projects are representative of the environmental characteristics in existing REDD+ projects and comparable in terms of suitability for project development.

The *ex-post* matching method produced estimates with a remarkably high goodness-of-fit (85%) between observed and counterfactual deforestation rates over a 10 year period. In contrast, the *ex-ante* project method exhibited much lower goodness-of-fit (13%). Because this method uses historical deforestation rates in the placebo projects to directly forecast future deforestation rates in the same

areas, the only factor differing between forecasts and observed values is the timing of the measurement: this strongly suggests that its low performance was caused by time-varying deforestation drivers, whose strength and direction may vary across placebo projects and their surrounding landscapes (Busch and Ferretti-Gallon 2023, Hänggli *et al* 2023, Wells *et al* 2023). The regional and time-shifted methods exhibited higher goodness-of-fit (50%–51%), suggesting that they partially correct for the time variance effect, by using either deforestation trends in the wider surrounding landscape that are expected to progress into project areas over time (regional method), or deforestation trends from an earlier time period that serve as a proxy for future changes (time-shifted method). Nevertheless, the comparison between the *ex-ante* time-shifted method and the *ex-post* method, both using the same pixel-matching criteria and differing only in the matching period, suggests that the time variance effect remains even after these corrections. The negative biases (underestimation of post-start counterfactual deforestation rates) exhibited by all three *ex-ante* methods may suggest overall



accelerating deforestation in the areas examined during 2011–2021 compared to the previous decade, although only partial evidence supports this hypothesis in specific regions (e.g. West and Central Africa and Central America) (Vancutsem *et al* 2021), and the underlying causes of these biases remain uncertain and warrant further investigation. Similarly, the positive bias (overestimation) of the *ex-post* method suggests that the currently used matching variables are not perfect proxies of deforestation trends, and that there is room for improvement. When predicting counterfactual deforestation rates over longer

periods in the future, the *ex-ante* project method showed deteriorating performance, suggesting that time variance of deforestation drivers increase over time; in contrast, the regional method showed slightly improving performance, suggesting that the deforestation trends in the project area takes time to align with the deforestation trends in the wider landscape.

The comparison between *ex-ante* and *ex-post* methods has concrete implications for the REDD+ crediting mechanism. Responding to multiple criticisms towards project-based methodologies

(West *et al* 2023, Swinfield *et al* 2024), jurisdictional approaches have been increasingly advocated in recent years. Jurisdictional approaches evaluate emissions reductions at the level of jurisdictions (national or subnational administrative entities) (von Essen and Lambin 2021). The use of jurisdiction-wide counterfactual scenarios relieves the burden and reduces adverse incentives for local project developers, and the involvement of governments, which have stronger capabilities of enacting policies and land use monitoring, enables the efforts of multiple stakeholders to be aggregated, ensuring a more effective governance (DeFries *et al* 2022, Zhao *et al* 2025). However, newly developed methodologies (e.g. VM0048, ART TREEs) still rely on *ex-ante* methods to provide counterfactual scenarios based on historic averages (ART Secretariat 2021, Bird 2022, Verra 2023). Our results suggest that the performance of *ex-ante* methods could be limited by biases arising from complex and time-variant deforestation drivers (Teo *et al* 2023, Schneider *et al* 2024, Swinfield *et al* in review), while the *ex-post* method adequately controls for such biases because project and counterfactual outcomes are matched and compared over the same period. While we do not claim that our results should be generalised as definitive proof of the superiority of all *ex-post* counterfactuals over all *ex-ante* counterfactuals, they provide support to the strengths of *ex-post* methods and strongly encourage further exploring how they could be adopted in the crediting mechanism. Such a change would not necessarily delay the timing of credit issuance, since *ex-post* evaluation of project outcomes is already required in current methodologies, and it is also in line with the Core Carbon Principles, which recommends that emission reductions be verified *ex post* to ensure robustness (ICVCM 2024).

Nevertheless, we acknowledge that *ex-ante* forecasts can still be valuable for project planning, such as by aiding the selection of locations with high deforestation risks (Olander *et al* 2008, Wendland *et al* 2010, Lin *et al* 2014), or by demonstrating the potential impacts of projects, which is needed to attract investment (Norman and Nakhouda 2015). This is especially important since REDD+ projects frequently experience delays in credit revenue (~5 years) (West *et al* 2020, Atmadja *et al* 2022), and they often require significant upfront investment for readiness activities (Zhu *et al* 2010, Bernard *et al* 2014). Overcoming this obstacle will require carefully designing governance structures to incorporate mechanisms to allow credit issuance to be adjustable over time as *ex-post* measurements are gathered to complement *ex-ante* forecasts, balancing the need for upfront financing with robust quantification of additionality. One relevant

example is the UK Woodland Carbon Code, which offers landowners the option to receive credits based on *ex-ante* forecasts or to wait for *ex-post* verification in exchange for higher credit valuation (Woodland Carbon Code 2025).

Although both *ex-ante* and *ex-post* counterfactual-estimating methods have their role to play within REDD+, the lack of systematic evaluation of the robustness of different methods impedes the development and adoption of best-practice crediting methods (Delacote *et al* 2024), and partially contributes to the low market confidence and price of carbon credits. The placebo approach represents a practical way to fill this technical gap and has the potential to help elevate levels of trust in REDD+ credits: this is needed to increase credit demand and in turn price. We propose that an operational benchmark procedure would involve a publicly available set of placebo polygons that are separated into a training set and a test set. This dataset can be used by developers of counterfactual-estimating methods to evaluate the performance of their methods, akin to how benchmarking datasets are used in machine learning to evaluate algorithm performance and to aid the development of more accurate algorithms (e.g. ImageNet or FOR-instance) (Deng *et al* 2009, Puliti *et al* 2023). They can also be adopted by credit rating agencies as part of their toolkit to evaluate crediting methodologies. The placebo approach could be applied to both voluntary and regulatory markets, and could be adapted to work under either the project-based or jurisdictional framework. Since jurisdictional approaches usually incorporate projects nested under a jurisdiction, placebo projects could still be useful to benchmark the robustness of the evaluation of the nested projects. More generally, it is also conceivable to directly identify placebos for jurisdictions, as is done in social sciences (Abadie *et al* 2010), to assess methods for producing reference emission levels, provided that the challenge of finding adequate candidate regions can be overcome. Moreover, the placebo approach could be extended to other types of nature credits, such as carbon credits generated by Afforestation, Reforestation, & Revegetation (ARR) projects (Agarwal *et al* 2025), or biodiversity credits (Wunder *et al* 2024, zu Ermgassen *et al* 2025), which all follow the principle of additionality: although *ex-post* methodologies for ARR credits have been developed (e.g. VM0047 by Verra), the emerging biodiversity markets so far largely rely on *ex-ante* counterfactuals (Wauchope *et al* 2024, Wunder *et al* 2024), and all of these counterfactuals remain in need of formal assessment.

One important caveat of our study is that the outcome of the placebo evaluation is affected by the

data and the criteria used in placebo selection and in the matching process. For example, replacing the static remoteness data with time series data capturing changes in remoteness over time due to road expansion or creation of new settlements, such as the annual global Human Footprint dataset (Mu *et al* 2022), could potentially improve matching quality. In addition, when designating placebo projects, we explicitly excluded areas with existing REDD+ projects but not other types of protected areas. Although activities occurring in these protected areas are highly diverse and not always comprehensively documented, formally quantifying their effects, for example by examining overlap between placebo projects with protected areas from a global dataset (e.g. WDPA) (Bingham *et al* 2019), is an important future direction. It is also important to assess the extent to which benchmark metrics are influenced by hidden covariates such as shape, spatial continuity, jurisdiction, putative project start and geographical location, and whether accounting for those covariates could improve performance of counterfactuals. Uncertainties in remotely-sensed estimates of deforestation and carbon loss, resulting from factors such as uneven geographic and temporal coverage, geolocation imprecision, and uncertainties in biomass estimation, must also be adequately quantified and reported. Uncertainty estimates provided in available data products should be reported and integrated in the analysis: for example, the GEDI L4A data set contains standard error of the predictions of aboveground biomass density (Dubayah *et al* 2022). Regional geospatial datasets, which may be available in higher resolutions or be validated with more sufficient ground truthing, can also complement global datasets. Finally, systematic propagation of all sources of error should be a crucial part of all carbon reporting, via tools such as Bayesian inference or Monte Carlo simulation, and increasing the expertise in these techniques should be a part of the more concerted governance and implementation (Butler *et al* 2024). Detailed quantification and propagation of uncertainty is recommended by both the Core Carbon Principles (ICVCM 2023) and the UNFCCC COP decisions (UNFCCC 2010), and will also allow us to integrate advances in remote sensing and higher-quality data to improve estimation accuracy (Jucker *et al* 2018, Besnard *et al* 2025). Finally, increasing the number of placebo projects would enhance statistical power and improve the quantification of uncertainties and biases in the estimates of deforestation rates, counterfactual estimates and additionality claims (Golmant *et al* 2023).

In conclusion, this study presents a practical way to evaluate and potentially improve counterfactual-estimating methods in REDD+ programmes using placebos, showing that the *ex-post* matching method significantly outperforms all three of the *ex-ante* forecasting methods we trialled. We

argue a standardised placebo dataset should be used for systematic assessment of the suitability of existing and proposed REDD+ methodologies for carbon credit issuance. By facilitating methodological advancement, this practical tool could ultimately enhance market trust and viability and reinforce the role of REDD+ in global climate mitigation efforts.

### Data availability statement

The Python code used for data processing, analysis and visualisation are available at [https://github.com/epingchris/placebo\\_evaluation](https://github.com/epingchris/placebo_evaluation) (commit: 53e0eb0).

The data that support the findings of this study are openly available at the following URL/DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.15183844>.

Supplementary Information available at <https://doi.org/10.1088/1748-9326/ae0f44/data1>.


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### Conflict of interest


T S is the CSO of Canopy PACT, a registered charity that supports the development of carbon accrediting methodology for REDD+ projects. S K and D A C are trustees of Canopy PACT. The Cambridge Centre for Carbon Credits (4C) has no commercial interest in carbon credits.


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