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Governance analysis of telecoupled systems: Argentinean Forest Law and the European Union Deforestation Regulation

The case of the soy supply chain of Santa Fe Province, Gran Chaco Americano, Argentina



UFZ – FUTURE LANDSCAPES KNOWLEDGE BRIEFS SERIES

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Key Messages

- The Argentinean Forest Law and the European Union Deforestation Regulation (EUDR) share the common goal of protecting forests however, they have different approaches and concepts that are not always compatible with each other.
- Effective implementation of both the Forest Law and EUDR requires comprehensive support, including financial support, recognition of local forest management practices, and more cooperative governance mechanisms to balance global environmental goals with local socio-economic realities.
- Fostering synergies between monitoring frameworks and local data systems can help reduce the transaction costs associated with compliance reporting under regulations like the EU Deforestation Regulation (EUDR).
- In Argentina, regenerative ranching, silvopastoral systems, and integrated forest-cattle management (MIBG) are allowed in certain forest areas classified as 'yellow,' as long as landowners show they meet sustainable management rules under the Forest Law. However, the EUDR does not recognize these practices, creating market barriers that risk reinforcing existing local inequalities.
- Despite initial resistance due to the perceived unilateral EUDR implementation, Argentinean producers and local organizations are adapting to its requirements, highlighting a market-driven response and institutional adaptation to foster the availability of deforestation-free products, particularly in the case of soy provision.
- Interviewees pointed out that both Argentina and the EU appear underprepared and that more time, effort, and resources will likely be needed on both sides to meet the demands of EUDR implementation.

Introduction

Environmental agri-food governance transcends national boundaries, and the case of Argentina's soy value chain is a clear example of this. Telecoupling describes how human activities in one region impact distant areas. This concept, defined as "global inter-regional connectedness" (Kissinger et al., 2011), underscores how sustainability in one place often relies on that of faraway regions and systems (Newig et al., 2020). Similarly, efforts to transform food systems depend on conditions and governance practices elsewhere. In this context, the soybean supply chain between Argentina (as an exporting country) and the European Union (as an importing bloc) reveals the complexities of telecoupled environmental governance.

Since the beginning of the XXI century the Gran Chaco Sudamericano is one of the regions worldwide, where agricultural and ranching activities have expanded the most, making it a world deforestation hotspot (Aguiar et al., 2018; Hansen et al., 2013). The cleared land is commonly used for soy and corn cultivation, as well as cattle grazing (Aguiar et al., 2018; Grau, H. R., Gasparri, N. I., & Aide, T. M., 2005).

This knowledge brief presents a study focusing on the intersection of two key regulatory frameworks: Argentina's Forest Law (Ley de Bosques 26.331/2007) and the European Union Deforestation Regulation (EUDR). Both instruments seek to stop deforestation; however, in different ways; the Argentinean Forest Law is a direct instrument designed and executed in Argentina contemplating opportunity-cost-compensations, conservation and sustainable use of forests, whereas the EUDR is an indirect market-based regulation conceived in the EU and with effects worldwide, that will allow only deforestation free products/raw materials into the EU (Lucas, 2024).

The study reflects on the interactions between these instruments, examining policy alignment, conflict points, and implementation challenges. Through stakeholder interviews, spatial mapping, and discourse analysis, it inductively explores how environmental standards reshape governance, incentives, and perceptions. The results show the power of faraway regulations to shape local landscapes. But they also raise a crucial question: can we build environmental rules that work for everyone—protecting forests while also respecting the needs, knowledge, practices and regeneration demands of those who live and work in them?

Methodological Approach

This research employed a multi-method approach to examine forest policies in Argentina and deforestation-free trade regulations between the EU and Argentina. A literature review was conducted on existing studies related to forest policies in the Chaco region, along with an analysis of the official texts of the Argentine Forest Law and the EUDR. In addition, interviews were carried out with key stakeholders, including academics, NGOs, government officials, and private sector representatives from Argentina, the EU, and other countries, with particular attention to the perspectives of German academics and government on the EUDR. In total nine in-depth interviews were carried out, six from the Argentinean side, two from the EU side and one global expert. Insights were also gathered and systematized from video recordings of the Iguazú Summit (Argentina, March 2024) and specialized webinars on deforestation-free international supply chains.

To assess the effects of these regulations, an inductive and iterative research design was applied—first collecting expert insights, then identifying patterns to better understand the challenges, opportunities, and impacts of these policies. The analysis was guided by Grounded Theory, which emphasizes the development of concepts based on real-world data rather than predefined hypotheses (Gubrium, 2012; Ho, 2021; Strauss & Corbin, 1997). Through three rounds of interviews and successive transcript analysis, a set of themes gradually emerged within each of the research's core analytical concepts: synergies, incompatibilities, challenges, impacts and consequences, and perceptions. This strategy allowed these categories to be refined

and expanded over time, reflecting an evolving understanding of the issues as new insights were integrated during each round of data collection and analysis.

Additionally, forest maps of Santa Fe were generated using QGIS software to illustrate forest areas and classifications, providing a visual representation of the current landscape as a baseline of the existing forests, their classification based on the Forest Law (Ley de Bosques 26331, 2007) and the changes from 2007 (the start of the Forest Law) until 2020 (the reference year for the EUDR). The maps used as an input were the ones of Pensiero (Pensiero & Bortoluzzi, 2021) IDESF (Government Santa Fe, 2024), the Argentinean geographical institute (Instituto Geográfico Nacional, n.d.) and the Argentinean deforestation monitoring in the dry Chaco (REDAF et al., n.d.). 2007 (the start of the Forest Law) until 2020 (the reference year for the EUDR). The maps used as an input were the ones of Pensiero (Pensiero & Bortoluzzi, 2021) IDESF (Government Santa Fe, 2024), the Argentinean geographical institute (Instituto Geográfico Nacional, n.d.) and the Argentinean deforestation monitoring in the dry Chaco (REDAF et al., n.d.).

Results and Discussion

The importance of maps lies in the ability to make visible how global policy decisions, taken in distant political arenas like the EU, may reshape land use, regulatory enforcement, and economic incentives in faraway regions such as the Gran Chaco biome in Argentina. By displaying historical forest data, the maps allow researchers and policymakers to potentially identify spatial patterns of deforestation and areas of legal or illegal land use change, and legal or illegal sustainable forest management in the future, which is directly relevant when assessing compliance with external regulatory frameworks like the EUDR.

Within the Chaco region of Santa Fe, forests are classified according to the national Forest Law and its Native Forest Land Use Planning (OTBN) into three categories: red (high conservation value), yellow (intermediate conservation value, where sustainable forest management is permitted), and green (low conservation value, where deforestation was legally allowed). This system is commonly represented using a traffic light color scheme to aid interpretation (see Figure 1).

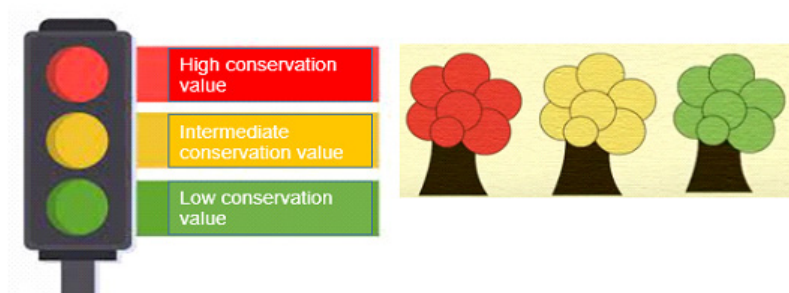


Figure 1: OTBN conservation system according to the Argentinean Forest Law.

Notably, there are no forests remaining in the green category in Santa Fe, meaning that legal deforestation is no longer permitted. The only authorized activity is sustainable forest management—such as selective logging based on prior sustainability assessments—in yellow areas. The spatial distribution of these forest categories, along with patterns of historical deforestation from 2007 to 2020, is shown in Figure 2. These maps reveal how past land-use dynamics intersect with current legal classifications and offer a spatial basis for assessing potential compliance with frameworks such as the EU Deforestation Regulation (EUDR).

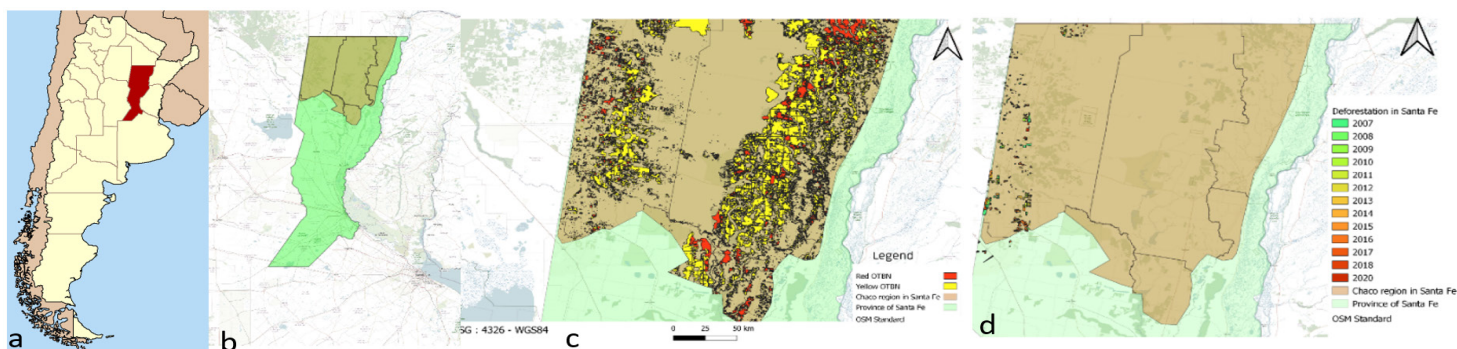


Figure 2: Forest classification and deforestation in Santa Fe, Argentina: (a) location of Santa Fe within Argentina, (b) Chaco eco-region within Santa Fe, (c) forest zoning under the national Forest Law (OTBN), and (d) chronological deforestation from 2007 to 2020 (The author)

• Synergies

Synergies refer to the ways in which the two regulatory instruments complement or reinforce one another, potentially creating efficiencies or mutual benefits in implementation. In the context of forest governance, several interviewees identified important synergies between the Argentine Forest Law and the EU Deforestation Regulation. As Dietz, (2024) pointed out, a clear synergy between the Argentinean Forest Law and the EUDR: both regulations could use the same data and systems already in place in Argentina. This means that instead of creating new procedures for each regulation, the existing procedures could help meet the requirements of both—saving time, reducing costs, and streamlining compliance.

Local authorities play an important role in this process by helping to share information smoothly and on time, which can make it easier for producers to follow the rules and for both regulations to work better together. Likewise, NGO representatives (NGO Actor 1, personal communication, July 18, 2024) emphasized the role of local civil society actors in connecting producers with government institutions. They don't just help with meeting regulatory requirements; they also show producers how to make the most out of the available benefits, like compensation under the Forest Law, or how to stay competitive in changing markets, like with the EUDR. In doing so, NGOs might help create links between these two frameworks, making it easier for producers to adapt.

For these synergies to be effective and socially legitimate, it is important that affected and targeted communities understand both the local and international rules that affect them. This is especially true when new standards, like the EUDR, are created far away, in places with very different social, economic, and environmental

realities. In Argentina, the impact of these distant decisions is already being felt, showing how actions in one part of the world can have real

• Incompatibilities

Incompatibilities refer to areas where the objectives, legal definitions, or operational mechanisms of the regulatory instruments conflict, creating regulatory friction or confusion for stakeholders. In the case of Argentina's Forest Law and the EU Deforestation Regulation (EUDR), findings reveal that—despite both frameworks being considered in relation to future exports under the EUDR—key misalignments remain. Under the Argentinean law, sustainable forest use is allowed in areas classified as green and yellow under the OTBN. However, if soy is grown on land where sustainable forest use is permitted under local regulations, it may still not meet the EUDR's criteria for being deforestation- or forest degradation-free.

Such divergences create a significant incompatibility because, even though the EUDR is an external regulation and not directly enforced in Argentina, it could still influence how producers manage their land and natural resources. This would be the case even if they have been fully complying with national laws up to this point. There are oppositions from the Argentinean side towards a logic of not managing a forest at all because sometimes anthropic actions are necessary to prevent fires, or to manage pests, without mentioning that the extraction of mature trees can create the optimal conditions for new generations of trees, thus ensuring the provision of the forest's environmental services (Lucas, 2024).

Furthermore, regenerative agricultural practices aiming to integrate forest and production as to make sustainable landscapes viable are also excluded.

In the specific case of Santa Fe, there are no green polygons left (low conservation value and where deforestation is allowed), and only yellow and red polygons are represented (see Figure 2c). This means that there is no room for legal deforestation according to the definition of the EUDR. Only forest degradation (according to the EUDR definition) in the yellow polygons could prevent the compliance with the EUDR, even when the Argentinean legislation allows changes that could be considered forest degradation in the yellow polygons (sustainable logging).

For Argentina in general, the usage of the green and yellow polygons would be conditioned by the EUDR premises. The main consequence of this situation is that in Santa Fe, legal sustainable logging is no longer an option under the EUDR framework. This creates a risk for producers and exporters relying on supply chains linked to these areas, as they might face restrictions when accessing the EU market.

Figure 3 illustrates the interaction between the Forest Law and the EUDR. The dotted line represents the division between the requirements of the Forest Law (above) and the EUDR (below). Each funnel shows the filtering process of areas that can or cannot be legally deforested. The incompatibility discussed above is visualized at the point of intersection between the last funnels, where the divergence in definitions and acceptable land-use practices becomes most apparent.

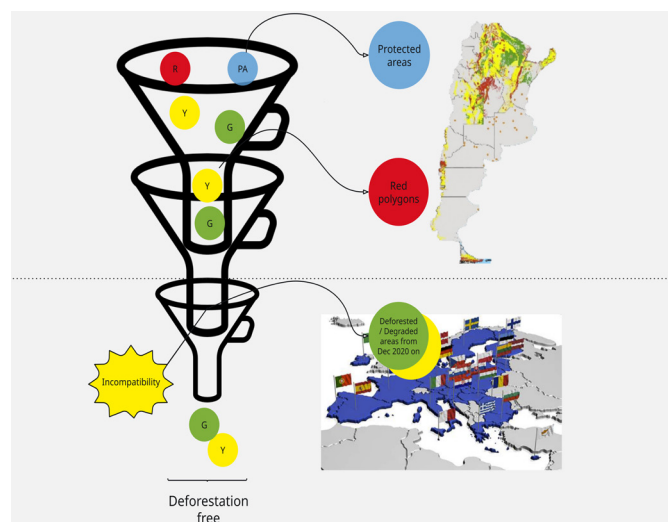


Figure 3: Representation of the two instruments' incompatibilities. Source: made by the author

• Challenges

Challenges describe the practical, institutional, or technical obstacles that actors face in complying with or implementing either or both regulations. A recurring challenge highlighted by a civil association representative (Civil association Actor 1, personal communication, March 6, 2024) concerns the lack of incentives to support forest protection. For instance, the Forest Law stipulates the payments to the compliant landowners; however, these payments are often delayed—sometimes by more than a year—which undermines their effectiveness, especially in the context of macro-economic burdens (Lucas, 2024). Even when those compensations were not paid in a timely manner, there was the understanding or the logic of receiving a “reward” for protecting and sustainably managing forests.

The introduction of the EUDR represents a shift in approach. Unlike the Forest Law, the EUDR does not provide financial compensation or incentives.

Instead, compliance with no-deforestation becomes a non-negotiable prerequisite for access to the European market. According to stakeholders, if the EU were willing to consider compensatory mechanisms—such as covering the opportunity cost of an annual soy harvest—it could significantly strengthen support for forest conservation infrastructure (Civil association Actor 1, personal communication, March 6, 2024). Without such incentives, expectations of competitive advantage in EU markets may not be sufficient to motivate sustainable practices—particularly in a country where around half the population in the first semester of 2024 lived in poverty (INDEC, 2025).

One experience that represents a contrast to this tendency is the REDD+ program in several countries, including Argentina, that provided technical assistance and funds for the forest protection and conservation (Secretaria de Turismo, Ambiente y Deportes, 2024). The REDD+ mechanism is a tool of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) to reduce emissions in developing countries caused by climate change, its goal is to promote conservation, sustainable management of forests and enhancement of forest carbon (UNFCCC, 2024).

Beyond the lack of incentives, another major challenge is the perception of asymmetry in the formulation and implementation of the EUDR. Many Argentinean stakeholders expressed frustration that the regulation's requirements were defined unilaterally by the EU, without adequate consultation or recognition of local socio-economic contexts (Civil association Actor 1, personal communication, March 6, 2024). Moreover, the expectation of swift implementation, despite economic hardship and limited institutional capacity, provoked resistance. Argentina formally requested a delay in the EUDR's enforcement timeline to better prepare for compliance however, without any answers. Despite initial reluctance of compliance, Argentinean producers are preparing to do what is necessary to keep on selling to the EU (Civil association Actor 1, personal communication, March 6, 2024; Civil association Actor 2, personal communication, July 15, 2024), signaling that the EU market mechanism might have effects production practices—even in contexts where local alignment with is contested.

Concerning the due diligence, one the first impressions is that the EUDR is much more ambitious than its predecessor, the EUTR, which regulated only the trade of timber products, whereas the new regulation covers a wide range of commodities. In practice, the EUDR adopts the basic concepts of the EUTR but tries to overcome its weaknesses (Köthke et al., 2023), leading to a substantial increase in reporting requirements and compliance costs. This, in turn, places additional pressure on businesses and regulatory bodies—an issue that was also widely reflected in the findings of this research.

There are also series of technical challenges arising from the preparation for the EUDR such as the need of a legally binding reference map for market actors and competent authorities, a reliable satellite monitoring system, public and accessible data banks to determine the origin of product samples, and a benchmarking from the EU regarding the list of countries classified based on the risk of not complying with the premises of the EUDR (low, standard and high risk). A further logistical obstacle lies in the structure of Argentina's soy value chain.

The widespread use of a "pooling system," in which soy from different sources is mixed, runs counter to the EUDR's requirement for traceability and segregation of compliant and non-compliant batches. This misalignment suggests that the EU may not have fully accounted for the realities of commodity chains in producing countries when designing the regulation.

In response to the EUDR, Argentina has begun developing two domestic EUDR compliance systems: Visec and the certified process of Santa Fe. Although Visec is currently more advanced, both initiatives emerged as local responses to new market demands. Despite facing challenges related to infrastructure and systematization, their progress so far demonstrates Argentina's capacity to adapt quickly to evolving international trade rules. In spite of this, a bottleneck effect can still be observed (see Figure 4): only soy that complies with the EUDR's due diligence requirements—through systems like Visec, the certified process of Santa Fe, or others—will be allowed into the European market as deforestation-free. Soy that does not meet these standards may be directed to other international markets. However, this alternative is likely to shrink over time due to the Brussels Effect, whereby non-EU countries and companies adopt EU standards to maintain access to global value chains (Bradford, 2020).

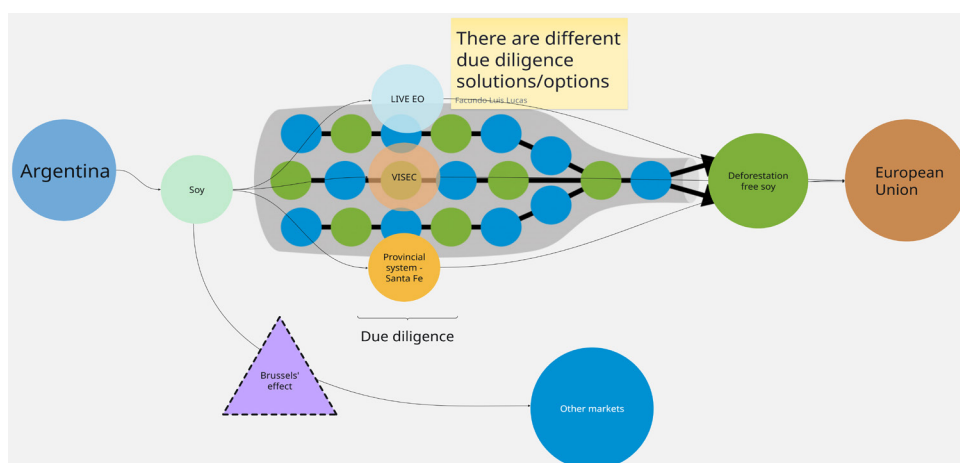


Figure 4: Representation of the bottle-neck effect due to the EUDR's due diligence

The demonstration of absence of legal non-compliance is an aspect that was criticized by Argentinean and European stakeholders. Producers in Santa Fe find it difficult to grasp the idea of having to prove they haven't deforested areas that have been treeless for centuries. One interviewee (Civil association Actor 2, personal communication, July 15, 2024) shared a producer's analogy: *"I was born brown-eyed and dark-haired, and every year they make me prove that I haven't turned into a light blue-eyed blonde,"* This analogy captures the perceived absurdity of the requirement. German stakeholders, some of whom admitted that producers in Germany may be subject to fewer documentation requirements—despite similar historical deforestation patterns. This double standard was cited as a point of friction. However, this challenge may be addressed once the EU publishes its benchmarking system, which could introduce differentiated requirements based on country-level risk classifications.

• Impacts and consequences

Encompassing observable or anticipated outcomes, impacts and consequences describe the intended and unintended effects of these regulations on local actors, land-use practices, supply chains, and international trade dynamics. First and foremost is the compliance from the Argentinean side that is already on its track, because despite the initial reluctance towards the regulation, many soy producers are already specialized in the European markets. This means that Argentina has a market-oriented response towards the EUDR. In the short term, however, a portion of soy production might shift toward international markets with less strict regulations than the EUDR, potentially reducing supply for Europe.

Another significant impact has been the shift in soy suppliers' mindsets concerning globalized chains. Indeed, it becomes clearer to Argentinean producers how complex the soy value chain from a worldwide perspective, as soy sold as a raw material becomes an input for numerous other products and chains distributed across diverse markets. The EUDR exemplifies the "Brussels Effect" described by Anu Bradford (2020), where European standards significantly shape international markets, particularly regarding environmental and food security regulations. This influence was highlighted by Argentine stakeholders who pointed out that Brazilian pet food manufacturers are proactively demanding EUDR compliance from their suppliers to ensure continued access to EU markets (Civil association Actor 1, personal communication, March 6, 2024). This effect would narrow down the probability of soy being sold to nonaligned markets. This scenario mirrors previous cases documented by Purnhagen et al., (2021), who noted a similar "Brussels Effect" related to Geographical Indicators in Thailand.

The EUDR has also created new business opportunities. The requirements for traceability and due diligence have created a niche for companies such as Live EO, which offer tailored services and solutions to importers and exporters. This secondary effect extends beyond the core goal of halting deforestation and forest degradation, and signal the regulatory influence of transnational EU regulations (Lucas, 2024).

Parallel impacts of Argentina's Forest Law have also been observed. Despite budgetary execution, low institutional capacity and oversight shortcomings, this regulation has stimulated the adoption of new technologies and more sustainable agricultural practices, producers now engage more frequently with technical advisors promoting sustainable farm and forest management. Additionally, compensation payments under the Forest Law have empowered producers to invest in necessary infrastructure and hire technical experts, indirectly creating job opportunities. These developments illustrate that combining protective regulations with financial support can yield positive outcomes. Likewise, the EUDR can also lead producers to attuned management approaches to ensure environmental compliance with the new regulation while adopting new technologies in traceability and transparency standards.

A major change in approach was equally observed from a forest management perspective. Initially, the introduction of the Forest Law sparked a dichotomy between productivism and conservationism, but over time, views shifted toward a more balanced approach, with deeper awareness of forests' ecosystem services. Similarly, responses to the EUDR are currently reactive, and it may take time for a more mature stance to develop in Argentina. However, further shifts toward stronger forest protection are expected. Telecoupled governance, as seen with the EUDR, shapes local forest management by introducing external pressures, regulations, and incentives. While initial responses tend to be reactive, these interactions can eventually drive changes, leading to more integrated and environmentally conscious practices.

Regarding impacts on small producers, stakeholder views are mixed. Some argue that small producers will remain largely unaffected, as the EUDR primarily targets larger firms. Others contend there will be power imbalances due to larger companies' greater capacity to meet due diligence demands (Lucas, 2024). Importantly, both Argentinean compliance platforms—Visec and the Santa Fe provincial alternative—include smallholders, using compliance with EUDR requirements as the sole criterion for participation, reducing the transaction costs of participating in the certified soy value chain.

In despite of this, the EUDR's lack of recognition for certain sustainable land-use practices presents additional social risks. In Argentina, regenerative ranching, silvopastoral systems, and integrated forest-cattle management (MIBG) are allowed in certain forest areas classified as 'yellow,' as long as landowners demonstrate compliance with sustainable management rules under the Forest Law. However, the EUDR does not accept these practices within its definition of deforestation-free production, creating market barriers that risk reinforcing existing local inequalities. This issue is particularly relevant because many of these forest areas are inhabited by Indigenous and Criollo communities, populations that have historically been marginalized. Their livelihoods depend on the long-term capacity of forests and land to sustain their communities and local economies, making sustainable management practices essential rather than optional. Ignoring these realities risks deepening existing socio-economic gaps and undermining opportunities for inclusive rural development.

• Perceptions

Perceptions capture how stakeholders interpret, and react to the regulations and their effects, including issues of fairness, legitimacy, and feasibility. In Argentina, and in Santa Fe, both the Forest Law and the EUDR are met with mixed perceptions regarding their effectiveness in halting deforestation. The Forest Law is overall considered as well designed but poorly executed, what aligns with the conclusions of Aguiar et al (Aguiar et al., 2018).

Due to its inconsistent application across the different provinces and its weak enforcement mechanisms. Interviewed stakeholders also expressed uncertainty about the drivers behind the stepped declines in deforestation years after the forest law came into action, noting that lower international soy prices may have played a significant role (Lucas, 2024).

Perceptions regarding the effectiveness of the EUDR are cautiously optimistic. Indeed, there is recognition that deforestation-free certified soy is not yet widely demanded in other markets. However, because soy is used as an ingredient in many food and feed products, some stakeholders believe that international buyers may increasingly prefer soy with certified deforestation-free provenance. This expectation contributes to a growing sense that the EUDR could set a new benchmark for responsible sourcing.

On the topic of self-determination, the development of Visec and the provincial platform of Santa Fe reflect not only interest to continue accessing to European markets, it also shows organizational capacity and agency to drive into perceive new environment. In this case, stakeholders emphasized that their willingness to comply with the EUDR is not in question; rather, the debate centers on *how* and *when* compliance should take place. It is also clear that stakeholders at the two sides —the EU and Argentina— consider essential to continue preparing for the fore coming enforcement of the EUDR.

While initial responses in Argentina tended to be reactive—driven in part by the perception that the EUDR was unilaterally formulated—stakeholders noted that proper preparation and bilateral cooperation could not only help ease the transition but also foster more constructive attitudes toward forest conservation.

Final Remarks

This research highlights the complex interplay between Argentina's Forest Law and the EU Deforestation Regulation (EUDR), illustrating both the opportunities and challenges within telecoupled governance systems. While both regulations aim to halt deforestation, the EUDR's creates tensions by imposing external demands that often conflict with Argentina's right for self-determination and its own designed forest management laws and practices. Strengthening dialogue and fostering cooperation, such as through bilateral mechanisms outlined in Article 30 of the EUDR can help to achieve policy coherence. This can be done via bilateral dialogues or through Mercosur-EU agreement. However, the Mercosur agreement faced another halt in December 2023 and now remains unsigned (Demarais, 2024).

The study identifies significant implementation barriers, primarily financial and logistical constraints. Argentina's Forest Law faces funding delays and insufficient incentives, undermining its effectiveness. Likewise, complying with the EUDR presents costs and complexities for local producers. To support effective and equitable implementation of the EUDR, policy recommendations also include increased funding, attuned technical assistance in sustainable forest management and differentiated pricing for EUDR-compliant commodities. Such measures would help transform the EUDR into a more balanced and cooperative framework that reconciles environmental objectives with local policy and economic realities. Additionally, local EUDR compliance platforms like VISEC and Santa

Fe's certification scheme require technical and financial support to fully meet the EUDR's demanding criteria.

Fostering synergies between monitoring frameworks and local data systems can help reduce the transaction costs associated with compliance reporting under regulations like the EU Deforestation Regulation (EUDR). These costs are often disproportionately shifted to producer countries, raising concerns about fairness in the distribution of implementation burdens. Moving beyond a top-down compliance logic, there is a pressing need for more dialogical approaches to the implementation of EU directives—approaches that recognize the interests, constraints, and capacities of all parties involved and seek co-designed solutions that serve both sustainability goals and local development priorities.

Further research should engage a more diverse set of stakeholders and explore whether regenerative agriculture and ranching could offer more effective environmental and social outcomes than restrictive measures imposed on an inherently dynamic socio-ecological landscape. This question is particularly relevant in the Gran Chaco, where many Indigenous and Criollo communities recognize the need to halt deforestation, yet simultaneously seek viable livelihood opportunities. In this context, policy instruments aimed at halting deforestation should be critically examined—not only for their potential to exacerbate exclusion or foster new forms of extractivism, but also for their ability to support locally grounded transitions.

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El proyecto Paisajes Futuros cuenta con el respaldo de la Iniciativa Internacional de Protección del Clima (International Climate Initiative, IKI). La IKI es una parte importante del compromiso internacional de financiación en materia climática del gobierno alemán. Desde 2022, el Ministerio Federal de Economía y Protección del Clima (Federal Ministry for Economic Affairs and Climate Action, BMWK) implementa la IKI en estrecha cooperación con el Ministerio Federal de Medio Ambiente, Protección de la Naturaleza, Seguridad Nuclear y Protección del Consumidor (Federal Ministry for the Environment, Nature Conservation, Nuclear Safety and Consumer Protection, BMUV) y el Ministerio Federal de Relaciones Exteriores (AA). www.international-climate-initiative.com



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