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The Economics of Peatland Restoration

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Abstract

Peatlands are the most space-efficient terrestrial carbon store. Peatland restoration offers opportunities for climate change mitigation while providing other important ecosystem services related to erosion control, water regulation and biodiversity. A comprehensive valuation encompassing the relevant public benefits of restoration and how these compare with it is lacking to date, leaving policy makers with little guidance with respect to the economic efficiency of restoring this climate-critical ecosystem. Using Scotland as a case study, this paper quantifies the non-market benefits of changes in peatland ecological condition associated with changes in ecosystem service provision and depending on the location of restoration efforts. Benefits on a per hectare basis are compared to varying capital and recurrent cost in a net present value space, providing a benchmark to be used in decision making on investments into peatland restoration. The findings suggest that peatland restoration is likely going to be welfare enhancing. Benefits also exceed cost in appraisals of previous and future public investments into peatland restoration. The results thus strengthen the economic rationale for climate change mitigation through improved peatland management.

Keywords

climate change mitigation; ecosystem restoration; peatlands; choice experiment; benefit-cost assessment; net present value

1. Introduction

Peatland ecosystems cover over three per cent of the Earth's surface (Joosten, 2009) and store a third of the world's soil carbon (UNDP, 2012), thus representing the largest and the most space-effective carbon store of all terrestrial ecosystems (Yu et al. 2010). Land use and management changes exacerbated by climate change are modifying the structure and function of peatlands. This may result in the global peatland greenhouse gas emission balance to potentially change from a carbon sink to a carbon source (Frolking et al. 2011), and threaten stocks of natural capital that have formed over millennia, undermining the adaptive capacity of peatland systems to climatic and other future changes (Dise, 2009). It has been calculated that the global CO₂ emissions from drained peatlands have increased by 20% between 1990 and 2008 (Joosten, 2009). Peatland degradation also compromises the delivery of other ecosystem services (ES) provided, such as erosion control, water quality regulation and biodiversity (Glenk et al. 2014).

These concerns have raised the attention of policy makers internationally. Peatlands are part of the Aichi 2020 targets of the UN Convention on Biological Diversity and can be accounted for in national targets under the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change

39 (Cris et al. 2014). Increasingly restoration programmes are being deployed across the globe
40 (CBD, 2014) and a Global Peatland Initiative has been launched by the UN Environmental
41 Programme¹. However, ten years after the Stern Review addressing the economics of climate
42 change (Stern, 2017), there is still no comprehensive economic analysis of this climate-critical
43 ecosystem available to help guide restoration decisions.

44 To understand whether investments in the restoration of degraded peatlands are
45 socially desirable from an economic efficiency perspective, the costs and benefits of
46 restoration need to be understood. This implies an economic valuation of goods and services
47 that are, at present, not traded in (well-functioning) markets. There has been an attempt to
48 quantify the carbon benefits of peatland restoration using carbon values based on estimates of
49 the abatement costs to be incurred to meet specific emissions reduction targets (Moxey and
50 Moran, 2014). Few studies have quantified the non-market benefits and trade-offs associated
51 with peatland management using stated preference methods. These comprise of Tolvanen et
52 al. (2013), who use a choice experiment to assess trade-offs between allocating peatland area
53 for timber production, peat production, protection, and restoration in Finland, and Bullock and
54 Collier (2011), who undertook two stated preference surveys to investigate public preferences
55 for Ireland's peatlands. These studies focus primarily on potential management conflicts
56 associated with peatland management, including restoration. Also, unlike the research
57 presented in this paper, both studies do not make explicit links between peatland restoration
58 and associated ES.

59 This paper aims at filling this gap by deriving estimates of the non-market benefits of
60 peatland restoration using stated preference methods, and by comparing these benefits with a
61 range of varying capital and recurrent costs of restoration providing what we refer to as a
62 space of Net Present Values (NPVs). This provides information on cost-benefits that can also
63 serve as a basis for private investment decisions, for example in the form of payments for ES.

64 This NPV space approach is applied here to Scotland. Around 9-15% of Europe's
65 peatland areas are found in the UK, of which more than 77% are located in Scotland (Bain et
66 al. 2011). Peatlands – mainly blanket bogs – cover more than 20% of Scotland's land surface.
67 In the past, peatlands in Scotland were mainly seen as either a source of peat or as wastelands
68 to be converted to other productive uses such as forestry or agriculture (Rotherham, 2011). As
69 a consequence, a large share of Scottish peatlands has been degraded to some extent. More
70 than two thirds of Scottish peatlands are thought to be damaged or degraded to some degree,
71 and degradation is projected to continue if no action is taken (Bain et al. 2011). This has led to
72 a recent surge in policy interest to restore degraded peatlands. Depending on the change in
73 peatland condition, changes in the amount of greenhouse gas emissions from peatlands
74 following restoration can be substantial, potentially yielding annual net savings up to 22.8
75 tCO₂eq per hectare in the UK (Smyth et al. 2015).

¹ <http://www.globalpeatlands.org/>

76 In its recent Draft Climate Change Plan², the Scottish Government has laid out
77 ambitious targets to restore 20,000 hectares of peatlands each year over the next 15 years,
78 supporting this aim through restoration grants available to land managers. This initiative
79 follows a period of investment through the Peatland Action programme that resulted in the
80 restoration of about 10,000 hectares (2013-2016). This paper will develop indicative benefit-
81 cost comparisons for both previous and future public investment into restoring Scotland's
82 peatlands.

83 Apart from providing important economic information to inform restoration decisions,
84 this study adds value to the literature on natural capital valuation more broadly with respect to
85 the way that changes in the provision of ES are valued through their association to the
86 ecosystem's ecological condition. It is challenging, and to some extent questionable, to derive
87 separate benefit estimates for different ES in cases where the management interventions
88 impact on bundles of ES simultaneously; i.e., the provision of key ES is causally related
89 through management interventions, and hence the associated ecological condition of an
90 ecosystem. This is not only the case for peatland ecosystems but applies more generally to
91 cases of ecosystem restoration (Bullock et al. 2011). Through a careful consultative
92 transdisciplinary process with peatland experts and practitioners (The Authors, 2017a³),
93 restoration outcomes in terms of changes in ecological condition were defined with simple
94 narratives describing key patterns of the ecosystem's processes and associated ES. This
95 approach allows a straight forward quantification of restoration benefits on a per hectare
96 basis, making it appealing to use for decision makers, and facilitating further spatial analysis
97 of benefit estimates.

98 Methodologically, this paper contributes to the stated preference literature on the
99 analysis of preferences for spatial attributes of ecosystem service provision. Particularly, we
100 estimate how non-market benefits of restoration differ depending on characteristics of the
101 ecosystems that have a spatial dimension that is unrelated to distance effects and substitute
102 availability as the two theoretically and empirically most prominent spatial concepts in the
103 environmental economics literature (Schaafsma et al. 2012).

104

105 **2. Methods**

106 **2.1 Benefits**

107 2.1.1 Stated preference study design

108 To obtain estimates of social (non-market) benefits of peatland restoration, we employ data
109 from a choice experiment study in Scotland. Choice experiments are a quantitative survey-
110 based technique used to elicit preferences by asking individuals to directly state their
111 preference over hypothetical options representing environmental goods to be valued. The

² <http://www.gov.scot/Resource/0051/00513102.pdf>

³ Details omitted for blind peer review.

112 options are described by a number of attributes, which allows investigation of whether these
113 attributes have a significant influence on respondents' choices. If one attribute represents a
114 change in income of the respondent, the monetary value associated with a change in an
115 attribute can be estimated (Adamowicz et al. 1998). Selection and operationalization of
116 attributes reflecting the complexity of peatlands in a manner that could be understood by the
117 public required an intensive consultative process with a range of peatland specialists and
118 repeated testing of the survey instrument with the public (The Authors, 2017a provide the
119 details on this process and the full range of actors consulted, as well as details on the focus
120 groups carried out with the public).

121 In the final choice experiment set up, survey respondents were asked to choose from
122 two peatland restoration alternatives characterize by five attributes, described as outcomes of
123 a restoration programme by the year 2030. Two attributes described percentage shifts in
124 ecological condition relative to the share of peatlands in each condition in a business as usual
125 (BAU) scenario. We considered three ecological conditions: poor, intermediate and good.
126 Improvements in peatland condition are associated with an increase in ecosystem service
127 provision related to climate change mitigation (carbon storage), water quality improvement
128 and changes to wildlife. This approach therefore differs from ecosystem service valuation
129 studies that attempt to value ES individually, despite them being causally related (in this case
130 with restoration action). To present a rigorous picture of what restoration can entail in terms
131 of outcomes, a narrative was developed that explained how changes in ecosystem condition
132 lead to changes in ecosystem service provision. The narrative was developed to allow
133 conveying complex information in a comprehensible manner (see Supplementary Materials
134 S1 and Figure 1 for an overview of the peatland ecological conditions and associated
135 ecosystem service impacts shown to respondents)⁴.

136 INSERT FIGURE 1 HERE

137 The current share of peatlands in each of three ecological conditions, how these shares
138 develop under a BAU scenario, and the range of feasible shifts in area under a certain
139 condition, were determined in a consensual focus group with Scottish peatland experts since
140 observed data on peatland extent and condition is lacking (The Authors, 2017a). The experts
141 estimated that currently one fifth of Scotland's land surface, approximately 1.6 million
142 hectares, is covered by peatlands. 30% of peatlands were perceived to be in poor ecological
143 condition (40% by 2030); 40% in intermediate (40% by 2030) and 30% in good ecological
144 condition (20% by 2030). Up to 75% of the baseline condition in intermediate and bad
145 condition could be shifted to good ecological condition.

146 Two additional attributes correspond to two spatial criteria aimed at capturing
147 people's preferences with respect to areas where restoration should be prioritized. The criteria
148 emerged to be relevant in preparatory focus groups with the public (The Authors 2017b). The

⁴ The survey, and in particular the information materials, received a lot of positive feedback from respondents (discussed in The Authors, 2017a). This caused us to develop the (slightly modified) version of the whole information package provided in the survey up to the description of choice scenarios into a communication tool, to be accessed here: [Details removed for double blind reviewing].

149 first criterion describes the degree of peatland concentration in an area. Participants found it
150 relevant to preserve either ‘the heart of peatlands’ or ‘the little that is left’. While the first
151 aspect captures concerns about the integrity of peatlands as a whole, the latter reflects the
152 value of preserving peatlands in areas where the habitat is relatively scarce. The second
153 spatial criterion related to the degree of remoteness or accessibility of a peatland. Some
154 participants argued for peatlands to be restored where they should remain undisturbed, while
155 others expressed a preference of restoring them in accessible areas where they can be easily
156 enjoyed. The two spatial criteria were then operationalized in attributes as focusing
157 restoration in i) areas where peatlands cover more or less than 30% of the land surface (high
158 or low ‘concentration’) and ii) remote and inaccessible areas (‘wild land areas’) or relatively
159 accessible areas. Maps were created to illustrate the attribute to respondents (Figure 2).

160 INSERT FIGURE 2 HERE

161 The cost attribute was framed as a tax payment towards a hypothetical Peatland Trust fund
162 responsible for implementing a restoration programme that would deliver the proposed
163 improvements and be in place over a period of 15 years, reflecting relevant planning periods
164 in national climate change policy (Scottish Government, 2017). Each respondent was
165 presented with eight choice situations in which they were asked to choose between the BAU
166 option (at no additional cost to their household) and two options of improved peatland
167 condition in exchange of that cost. 1 summarizes the choice experiment attributes and levels
168 (an example choice set is shown in Figure 3).

169 INSERT TABLE 1 HERE

170 INSERT FIGURE 3 HERE

171 Apart from information on peatlands, ecological condition, restoration and associated benefits
172 and the choice experiment, the survey collected data on reasons for supporting (or not
173 supporting) restoration, perceptions of peatlands including links to cultural identity, general
174 attitudes towards the environment and socio-demographic information about the respondents.

175

176 2.1.2. Survey implementation

177 The experimental design was a D-efficient design created using NGene Software with 40
178 choice sets blocked into five versions which were randomly assigned so that each respondent
179 faced eight choice situations, whose order of appearance was again randomised across
180 respondents. The survey was implemented online using a professional market research
181 company with 585 adult Scottish citizens⁵ between February/March 2016. A quota-based
182 approach was used to sample from the online panel with age and gender as ‘hard’ quotas and
183 a ‘soft’ quota for social grade. The sample was representative of the population of Scotland in

⁵ The sample analysed here was part of larger sample of 1,795 individuals comprising of three different split-samples for methodological purposes outside the scope of this paper.

184 terms of gender, age, and the rural/urban split. In terms of educational attainment, higher
 185 educational levels are slightly over-represented, as well as are respondents with higher
 186 employment-based social grade (see Table 2).
 187

188 INSERT TABLE 2 HERE

189 2.1.3 Econometric Approach

190 Respondents to the choice experiment were repeatedly asked to choose between three options.
 191 Two options described possible restoration programmes, characterised by attributes
 192 describing the changes in the area of peatland condition resulting from restoration \mathbf{x} , attributes
 193 describing areas where peatland restoration efforts should focus on \mathbf{z} , and a cost attribute p .
 194 The third option was a ‘business as usual’ (BAU) or status quo option, describing changes to
 195 take place in the absence of additional restoration at no extra cost to respondents.

196 Following random utility theory, a utility function is characterised by the attributes of
 197 the experimental design in addition to a random error term ε . Cost p and changes in the area
 198 of peatland condition \mathbf{x} enter the utility function as main effects, whereas the attributes
 199 defining the spatial focus of restoration efforts \mathbf{z} are interacted with \mathbf{x} . Following Johnston and
 200 Duke (2009), this avoids obtaining a fixed utility impact for location of restoration even if
 201 changes in shares of peatland condition are zero. It also allows preferences for location of
 202 restoration efforts to be different depending on the type of change in peatland condition,
 203 thus deriving marginal WTP estimates for % shifts in the area under a specific peatland
 204 ecological condition depending on the location of restoration. Since we observe two shifts in
 205 ecological condition (poor to good; intermediate to good) and two spatial criteria for
 206 prioritization of restoration action with two mutually exclusive options (wild land area or not;
 207 high or low concentration of peatlands), we ultimately obtain a total of eight marginal WTP
 208 estimates for potential further use in benefit-cost appraisals. The utility function U for
 209 respondent n and policy option i in choice task t can then be written as:

$$210 \quad U_{nit} = -\alpha_n p_{nit} + \boldsymbol{\beta}_n' \mathbf{x}_{nit} + \boldsymbol{\vartheta}_n' \mathbf{z}_{nit} \mathbf{x}_{nit} + \varepsilon_{nit} \quad (1)$$

211 where α , $\boldsymbol{\beta}$ and $\boldsymbol{\vartheta}$ are parameters to be estimated. The random error term ε is assumed to be
 212 identically and independently distributed (iid) and related to the choice probability with a
 213 Gumbel distribution with error variance $\text{Var}(\varepsilon_{ni}) = \mu_n^2(\pi^2/6)$, where μ_n is a respondent specific
 214 scale factor.

215 If Equation (1) is divided by μ_n a scale-free utility function is derived that has a new error
 216 term, which is constant across respondents (Train and Weeks 2005):

$$217 \quad U_{nit} = -(\alpha_n/\mu_n) p_{nit} + (\boldsymbol{\beta}_n/\mu_n)' \mathbf{x}_{nit} + (\boldsymbol{\vartheta}_n/\mu_n)' \mathbf{z}_{nit} \mathbf{x}_{nit} + \varepsilon_{nit} \quad (2)$$

218 where ε_{nit} is iid with constant error variance $\pi^2/6$. Defining $\gamma_n = \alpha_n/\mu_n$, $\mathbf{c}_n = \boldsymbol{\beta}_n/\mu_n$ and $\boldsymbol{\zeta}_n = \boldsymbol{\vartheta}_n/\mu_n$
 219 as parameters to be estimated provides what Train and Weeks (2005) refer to as the model in
 220 preference space. However, the distribution of marginal willingness to pay (WTP) can be
 221 estimated directly in a model in WTP space. Because marginal WTP for changes in the share

222 of peatland condition is $\mathbf{w}_n = \mathbf{c}_n/\gamma_n$ and marginal WTP for changes in the share of peatland
 223 condition depending on location of peatland restoration efforts is $\mathbf{l}_n = \zeta_n/\gamma_n$ the utility function
 224 in WTP space is:

$$225 \quad U_{nit} = -\gamma_n p_{nit} + (\gamma_n \mathbf{w}_n)' \mathbf{x}_{nit} + (\gamma_n \mathbf{l}_n)' \mathbf{x}_{nit} \mathbf{z}_{nit} + \varepsilon_{nit}. \quad (3)$$

226 Let the sequence of choices over T_n choice tasks for respondent n be defined as $\mathbf{y}_n =$
 227 $\langle i_{n1}, i_{n2}, \dots, i_{nT_n} \rangle$. The random parameter logit (RPL) model enables estimation of
 228 heterogeneity across respondents by allowing γ_n and \mathbf{w}_n to deviate from the population means
 229 following a random distribution. The unconditional choice probability of respondent n 's
 230 sequence of choices (\mathbf{y}_n over T_n choice tasks) is:

$$231 \quad \Pr(\mathbf{y}_n | \gamma_n, \mathbf{w}_n) = \int \prod_{t=1}^{T_n} \frac{\exp(-\gamma_n p_{nit} + (\gamma_n \mathbf{w}_n)' \mathbf{x}_{nit} + (\gamma_n \mathbf{l}_n)' \mathbf{x}_{nit} \mathbf{z}_{nit})}{\sum_{j=1}^J \exp(-\gamma_n p_{njt} + (\gamma_n \mathbf{w}_n)' \mathbf{x}_{njt} + (\gamma_n \mathbf{l}_n)' \mathbf{x}_{njt} \mathbf{z}_{njt})} f(\boldsymbol{\eta}_n | \boldsymbol{\Omega}) d\boldsymbol{\eta}_n \quad (4)$$

232 where $f(\boldsymbol{\eta}_n | \boldsymbol{\Omega})$ is the joint density of the parameter vector for cost and non-cost attributes, $[\gamma_n,$
 233 $\mathbf{w}_n, \mathbf{l}_n]$, $\boldsymbol{\eta}_n$ is the vector comprised of the random parameters and $\boldsymbol{\Omega}$ denotes the parameters of
 234 these distributions (e.g. the mean and variance). The integral in Equation (4) does not have a
 235 closed form and thus requires approximation through simulation (Train, 2003), which were
 236 based on 2,000 Halton draws. In the estimation, we allow for correlation of all random
 237 parameters (full covariance). Starting values for the model with full covariance are derived
 238 from a model with uncorrelated coefficients (Hess and Train 2017).

239 To ensure positivity of the marginal utility of income, the cost attribute parameter is
 240 assumed to follow a lognormal distribution. The marginal WTP parameters of the remaining
 241 non-cost attribute effects are assumed to follow a normal distribution. An alternative specific
 242 constant (ASC) for the business as usual (BAU) option is also specified as a random
 243 parameter following a normal distribution.

244 Although the focus of this paper is on deriving WTP estimates for use in benefit-cost
 245 appraisal, we also analyse whether individual characteristics have a systematic influence on
 246 WTP estimates. Based on the RPL model we calculate 'individual-specific' WTP values for
 247 each sampled respondent based on individual conditional distributions. Making use of Bayes'
 248 theorem, the expected value of marginal WTP for individual n can be approximated by
 249 simulation (Train 2003). A discrete approximation of respondent n 's conditional means may
 250 be written as

$$251 \quad E_n(\widehat{\mathbf{w}}, \mathbf{l}) = \frac{\sum_{r=1}^R L(\mathbf{y}_n | \mathbf{w}_r, \mathbf{l}_r) \mathbf{w}_r, \mathbf{l}_r}{\sum_{r=1}^R L(\mathbf{y}_n | \mathbf{w}_r, \mathbf{l}_r)} \quad (5)$$

252 where \mathbf{w}_r and \mathbf{l}_r are independent and multi-dimensional draws from $f(\boldsymbol{\eta} | \boldsymbol{\Omega})$ (the joint density
 253 of the attribute parameter vector). It should be noted that the conditional estimates reflect the
 254 respondent's most likely position on the estimated distribution of marginal WTP given their
 255 sequence of choices made. This implies that respondents with the same sequence of choices to
 256 identical choice sets will have the same conditional (posterior) WTP. Nevertheless, across the
 257 whole sample, the conditional mean WTP estimates are useful in shedding light on systematic
 258 differences in preferences depending on individual characteristics.

259 This is done by using ordinary least square regressions with conditional marginal WTP
260 estimates as dependent variables and consider as independent variables a range of socio-
261 economic characteristics (age, gender, education), whether respondents' place of residence is
262 located in urban rather than rural areas, general environmental attitude (measured using the
263 revised New Environmental Paradigm scale; Dunlap 2000), perceived consequentiality of the
264 survey, and perceived credibility of choice scenarios.

265

266 **2.2 Cost**

267 Peatland restoration comes at a cost to the private land manager. These costs include upfront
268 capital costs required to implement restoration practices, recurring costs associated with the
269 maintenance and monitoring of restoration sites, and transaction costs. Further, the private
270 land manager faces an opportunity cost in terms of income forgone from alternative land uses.

271 A variety of restoration techniques is available. Frequently applied techniques include,
272 for example, blocking grips, drains and gullies, re-profiling of peat, or stabilisation of bare
273 peat through reseeded or the use of jute mats. In case a peatland is being used for forestry,
274 trees need to be removed before preparing the area for restoration. The cost of applying each
275 technique can vary greatly and also depending on the type of machinery used and accessibility
276 of the peatland area. At present, data on capital costs associated with restoration are
277 essentially anecdotal. Moxey and Moran (2014) refer to an indicative range of £200/ha to
278 £10,000/ha.

279 The Scottish Government has funded about 10,000 hectares of peatland restoration
280 since 2013 through the voluntary Peatland Action scheme administered by Scottish Natural
281 Heritage (SNH). Through the application process and reporting, some information was
282 obtained on restoration cost. However, the information collection process was not specifically
283 designed up to derive per hectare values of restoration costs, and did not systematically
284 capture the variety of techniques vis-à-vis peatland condition. Therefore, additional judgment
285 was obtained from the SNH Peatland Action manager (A. McBride, pers. comm.) to translate
286 the information obtained into indicative per hectare costs. The resulting implementation and
287 management costs vary greatly and span from about £300/ha for restoration of dry heath
288 peatlands to about £5,000/ha for restoration of sites of peat extraction, or where bare peat
289 dominates. Including all project management costs and a wide range of restoration activities
290 including expensive forest to bog and bare peat restoration, the average cost per hectare over
291 the 3 years of the Peatland Action scheme is reported to be about £830 per hectare for all
292 types of restoration.

293 Regarding recurring costs, Moxey and Moran (2014) use a range of £25/ha to £400/ha
294 for aggregate average annual on-going costs. They argue that the lower bound value reflects
295 minimal monitoring costs and no management and opportunity costs, while the upper bound
296 value would be associated with substantial opportunity costs and/or high costs of management
297 and monitoring. As pointed out by Moxey (2016), the opportunity costs of restoring peatlands
298 very much depends on circumstances and hence may only be revealed throughout a period of

299 observation following restoration, collecting detailed information on management changes
300 from individual land managers. Profitability of livestock grazing and grouse management as
301 two prominent land use options on peatlands typically lie in the range of £20/ha to £140/ha,
302 but there is great variation and upland farm enterprises may actually face negative gross
303 margins (Moxey, 2016; Smyth et al. 2015), and early restoration action often takes place in
304 areas of low productivity. An additional important consideration regarding opportunity costs
305 is if land under restoration or previously restored would continue to be eligible for Pillar I
306 payments under the EU Common Agricultural Policy. The current policy climate with respect
307 to eligibility of land for subsidy payments following peatland restoration in Scotland appears
308 to be favourable (Moxey, 2016), but the magnitude and structure of potential payments post
309 Brexit is uncertain.

310 Given that costs appear to be highly variable and that specific information in relation
311 to peatland condition and spatial criteria is unavailable, we will NPVs on a per hectare basis
312 under varying capital and recurring costs. This provides a picture of the combinations of cost
313 elements that still yield an outcome that generates net benefits to society, thereby enabling
314 decision makers to flexibly use this information across a variety of restoration decisions.
315 Policy makers are provided with a space to understand how costs affect economic efficiency
316 of national level programmes. Individual project managers, who are likely to have a more
317 precise idea of the cost of their projects, can locate their projects in this space to assess its
318 NPV.

319

320 **3. Results**

321 **3.1. Choice experiment results**

322 Of the 585 respondents, 53 were found to be serial non-participants; i.e. they chose the BAU
323 option in all eight choice tasks. Using debriefing questions on motives for choosing the BAU
324 option in all tasks enabled us to identify those respondents having protest motives (N=19),
325 which were omitted from subsequent analysis as is standard practice. We investigated the data
326 set for the use of decision rules that suggest that respondents might not have been making
327 trade-offs between all alternatives or have not been trading off costs against restoration
328 outcomes. Four respondents chose either restoration option A or restoration option B in all
329 eight choice tasks. Further, 73 respondents (12.5% of the sample) always chose the cheapest
330 of the two restoration options across the majority of choice sets, else the status quo. Because
331 their choice behaviour strongly suggests that they systematically did not make trade-offs
332 between non-monetary attributes and cost, we omitted them from the sample, resulting in a
333 final sample used for analysis of 489 respondents⁶.

⁶ It is important to note that, using a probit model, no selection bias could be detected that would indicate a systematic effect of a broad range of socio-demographic characteristics on choosing the cheapest alternative in all choice tasks (see Supplementary Materials S2).

334 The modelling results are reported in Table 3. The goodness-of-fit of the RPL model
335 can be considered to be good (Pseudo R-squared value: 0.31) and is considerably improved
336 compared to a conditional logit (CL) model that assumes homogeneity of preferences.
337 Estimates of the alternative-specific constant (ASC) are positive and significantly different
338 from zero. This suggests a tendency among respondents to choose the restoration options over
339 the business as usual for reasons unexplained by the attributes themselves. The mean WTP
340 indicators for changes from poor and intermediate condition to good condition (poor; int) are
341 positive and significantly different from zero, with parameters for changes from poor
342 condition being considerably larger in magnitude relative to parameters for changes from
343 intermediate condition. This indicates sensitivity to scope amongst respondents as
344 theoretically expected. Regarding the interaction terms between condition and spatial criteria
345 (poor x conc; poor x wild; int x conc; int x wild), parameters show opposite signs for
346 interactions related to changes from intermediate to good condition compared to those related
347 to changes from poor to good condition. The spatial criteria therefore affect marginal WTP
348 differently depending on the starting condition for restoration. The magnitude of parameter
349 estimates in WTP terms indicates that respondents show greater differentiation between
350 spatial criteria for changes from intermediate to good condition compared to changes from
351 poor to good condition. The high t-values for all standard deviation parameters and their
352 magnitude relative to estimates of the mean suggest the presence of considerable
353 (unobserved) heterogeneity in preferences.

354

INSERT TABLE 3 HERE

355 The improvements presented were always associated together with the two spatial criteria
356 reflecting prioritization of restoration effort. In other words, restoration has to always take
357 place in areas characterized by one out of the four combinations of spatial criteria. To be
358 meaningful, it is therefore necessary to estimate WTP for the combinations of changes in the
359 share of peatland condition relative to the 2030 baseline and spatial attribute estimates. These
360 values are reported in Table 4 based on model results. The values, expressed in GBP per 1%
361 shift in condition per household and year, again highlight a greater differentiation among
362 spatial criteria for changes from intermediate to good condition. WTP is greatest for a shift
363 from intermediate to good condition in relatively remote and inaccessible areas ('wild land
364 areas') where peatlands make up a large proportion of the land cover ('high peatland
365 concentration'). WTP is not found to be significantly different from zero for a shift from
366 intermediate condition in relatively accessible areas with low concentration of peatlands.

367 The WTP values for a 1% shift in condition per household and year are transformed to
368 annual per hectare values by aggregating the values to the relevant population (2.4 million
369 households), adjusted by the percentage of the sample giving protest answers, and by then
370 dividing this value by the number of hectares that corresponds to a 1% shift in peatland
371 condition relative to the business as usual baseline in 2030 (approximately 6,300 hectares).
372 The results are shown in the lower part of Table 4.

373

INSERT TABLE 4 HERE

374

375 **3.2. Preference heterogeneity**

376 Table 5 reports summary statistics of explanatory variables used in the ordinary least squares
377 (OLS) regressions. Explanatory variables include Age (continuous), gender (=1 if female),
378 education level (=1 if university degree (BSc, MSc or PhD)), annual after tax household
379 income (Medium income: =1 if in interval [£20,00;£41,599]; High income: =1 if > £41,600),
380 and residence in an urban settlement (=1). Dummies were used to indicate if respondents did
381 not provide information on income or education (Incmiss; Edumiss).

382 General environmental attitude is an index variable summarizing the scores given on four
383 scaled items (1=completely disagree; 4=completely agree) of the revised New Environmental
384 Paradigm scale (Dunlap et al., 2000). The scale comprises of 15 items. Item scores for those
385 items where agreement to an item statement indicates lower environmental concern were
386 reversed. The Cronbach's alpha coefficient of the scale was 0.81, suggesting good composite
387 reliability of the scale. The scores across all 15 items were summed and divided by the
388 number of items in the scale (15) to derive the variable used for analysis. Higher scores
389 indicate pro-environmental attitudes and beliefs. Scenario credibility is meant to capture
390 respondent perceptions of the credibility of the hypothetical choice scenarios using the
391 following four-scale item (1=completely disagree; 4=completely agree): “The peatland
392 restoration alternatives presented in the choice situations were credible to me”. Policy
393 consideration is meant to capture perceived consequentiality of surveys conducted in the
394 context of peatland restoration on policy makers. It is measured using the following four-scale
395 item (1=completely disagree; 4=completely agree): “I believe that the results of surveys like
396 this one will be ignored in policy discussions on peatland restoration”.

397 **INSERT TABLE 5 HERE**

398 Results of the OLS regressions are shown in Table 6 below. Across all eight combinations of
399 peatland condition changes and prioritized restoration locations, being female has a negative
400 effect on WTP (Gender). General environmental attitude has a strongly positive effect,
401 suggesting that pro-environmental attitude is related to higher WTP values. Higher perceived
402 credibility of the hypothetical choice scenario (Scenario credibility) shown in the survey also
403 has a positive effect on WTP. If respondents believe that surveys such as the one conducted
404 do not have influence on related policy discussions (Policy consideration), WTP is affected
405 negatively.

406 **INSERT TABLE 6 HERE**

407 3.3. NPV space

408 Variability in cost and lack of biophysical information on the distribution of peatland
409 condition are barriers to a spatially specific analysis of the economic efficiency of peatland
410 restoration. Yet, an understanding of costs and benefits is needed to make informed decisions
411 on further investments and policy development. We therefore provide information on the
412 ‘space’ of NPVs depending on actual costs.

413 Using the per hectare benefit estimates reported in Table 4, we estimated NPVs on a
414 per hectare basis under varying capital and recurring costs for the eight combinations of
415 peatland condition and spatial criteria. In line with 2003 UK government guidance we used
416 an annual discount rate of 3.5% over the 15 year time period to derive NPVs. A value of
417 $NPV > 0$ and a corresponding benefit-cost (B/C) ratio > 1 indicate that the programme or
418 policy would generate welfare gains to society. This analysis, represented in Figure 4, reveals
419 those combinations of costs and benefits that likely yield an outcome that generates net
420 benefits to society.

421 INSERT FIGURE 4 HERE

422 Illustrative benefit-cost analyses are being conducted for two specific policies. For both, the
423 capital cost of restoration is assumed to be £830/ha, with an additional £100/ha per year
424 recurring cost reflecting management costs and income forgone in the middle of the range
425 reported in the literature. The first appraisal aims at an ex-post evaluation of the Peatland
426 Action programme, through which 10,000 hectares of peatlands were restored within three
427 years (2013-2016). NPV for this programme using average benefit estimates across peatland
428 conditions is estimated to be £7.9 million with a corresponding B/C ratio of 1.39. Using the
429 95% confidence interval of the benefit estimates, the lower bound NPV becomes negative at
430 1.9 million and the B/C ratio is 0.9, while upper bound values are £17.7 million for the NPV
431 and a B/C ratio of 1.88.

432 The second illustrative benefit-cost appraisal concerns the target of restoring 10,000
433 hectares in 2017 and subsequently 20,000 hectares per year over the following 14 years
434 defined in the Draft Climate Change Plan for Scotland. The NPV is calculated to be £79.6
435 million for average benefit estimates (B/C ratio: 1.15). NPV is £-12.9 million and £287.6
436 million if the lower and upper bound benefit estimates are applied (B/C ratios: 0.75; 1.56).

437 4. Discussion

439 Choice experiment results indicate that the Scottish public perceives significant benefits for
440 improving the condition of peatlands associated with changes in the provision of ecosystem
441 services (ES) such as carbon sequestration, water quality and support for wildlife habitat.
442 Non-market benefits of peatland restoration are found to vary depending on initial peatland
443 condition and focal areas for restoration.

444 The two theoretically and empirically most well-founded spatial relationships in the
445 environmental valuation literature are distance decay of benefit estimates and the availability
446 of substitutes as an indication of scarcity. Distance decay predicts that values for
447 environmental goods decrease with increasing distance of an individual to that site and hence
448 limited or more costly consumption possibilities (Bateman et al. 2006). Relative scarcity of
449 an environmental good decreases as more substitutes become available to an individual,
450 which *ceteris paribus* is expected to result in lower values for the good in question (Hoehn
451 and Loomis, 1993; Whitehead and Blomquist, 1995). The two phenomena have strong
452 theoretical motivations for goods that are directly consumed and hence provide direct use
453 values, such as recreational benefits, and have been demonstrated in numerous studies to
454 date. Even if we recognise that spatial effects can be more complex and involve, for example,
455 directional heterogeneity (Schaafsma et al, 2012), little evidence was found in the preparatory
456 phase of this study (in the focus groups) that people adhere to the two relationships when
457 expressing preferences for where peatland restoration should take place. Rather, respondents
458 were concerned with spatial characteristics of the ecosystem that are not necessarily related to
459 distance effects and substitute availability, i.e. restoring the ‘heart’ of Scottish peatlands (or
460 where there is little left) and where they have a greater chance of remaining undisturbed (or
461 not). The included attributes are also different from studies to investigate spatial preference
462 heterogeneity through attributes indicating the administrative geographical units or locations
463 where the proposed changes are to take place (Jacobsen and Thorsen (2010); Jørgensen et al.
464 (2013); Brouwer et al. (2010)).

465 Additionally, the relevance placed on spatial criteria, and the average preferences,
466 differed markedly depending on the type of change in ecosystem condition resulting from
467 restoration. Respondents were less sensitive to spatial criteria for changes from poor to good
468 condition compared to changes from intermediate to good condition. This appears plausible:
469 if the current state of the ecosystem is severely deteriorated, results suggest that it should be
470 improved regardless of its location. Together, the findings demonstrate that spatial
471 dimensions of preferences for ecosystem changes may be complex and go beyond the
472 theoretically most widespread concepts. It is possible, and worth of further investigation, that
473 this finding might not be unique to peatlands, but applicable more broadly to ecosystems
474 which are relatively unfamiliar to respondents and have a relatively low use value associated
475 with direct experience of the ecosystem.

476 Our approach, which valued changes in ecosystem condition associated with changes in the
477 provision of bundles of individual ecosystem service, allowed a straight forward
478 quantification of ecosystem restoration benefits on a per hectare basis, making it comparable
479 with costs of restoration. The Authors (2017a) show that this approach proved to be useful in
480 conveying peatland systems’ complexity in a sufficiently simple manner for the public while
481 remaining rigorous from a biophysical perspective. The approach therefore addresses
482 challenges associated with the valuation of individual final ES where ecological production
483 functions would need to be understood by respondents, which has been shown to not always
484 be the case (Johnston et al. 2017); and where specific ecological production functions are not
485 confidently quantified. In the case of peatland restoration, this may at best be the case for

486 carbon emissions (Evans et al. 2014), while data on potentially important ES such as water
487 quality or flood risk mitigation downstream is less established (Martin-Ortega et al. 2014).
488 The generation of production functions is further complicated by the spatially explicit nature
489 of many ES (Glenk et al. 2014).

490 Drawing on the benefit estimates derived from the choice experiment, the NPV space
491 analysis shows how variation in capital and recurrent costs affects net benefits from
492 restoration depending on peatland baseline conditions and location of restoration. Given a
493 lack of accurate cost estimates, the NPV space can serve as a first reference point for general
494 policy appraisal. As better information on costs and the spatial distribution of peatland
495 condition becomes available, the NPV space can be updated and narrowed down to different
496 locations, peatland conditions, restoration activities and applied to relevant policy scales.
497 Because policy concerning peatland management is developing rapidly, we however believe
498 that the analysis reported in this paper provides reasonably robust estimates to assist initial
499 national level policy decisions on investments in peatland restoration. Moreover it can
500 already be used for individual project appraisal, where costs are likely to be well understood
501 by project managers.

502 Improved knowledge on the spatial distribution of peatland conditions, ideally related
503 to information on greenhouse gas emissions and provision of other ES, will be crucial for
504 more targeted restoration decisions and hence a more efficient resource allocation. The same
505 applies to data on restoration costs, which is currently very limited. This becomes
506 increasingly important as commitments are being made to considerably scale up peatland
507 restoration efforts. Capital costs may increase in the short term if increasing demand for
508 restoration services cannot be met by a limited number of suppliers of such services.
509 However, careful planning and adaptive learning from individual projects may help to reduce
510 capital costs over time due to economies of scale and development of more efficient
511 restoration techniques. On the other hand, if early adopters implement restoration on
512 unproductive land, opportunity costs associated with income forgone are likely to increase at
513 some point. Given the information currently available, our findings suggest that greater
514 scrutiny should be applied to identifying costs restoration projects in locations associated
515 with lower benefit values, because they are at greater risk of costs exceeding benefits

516 It should be noted that our study also shows that preference heterogeneity was large in
517 magnitude, suggesting that different respondents likely held opposing views regarding their
518 preferences for (spatial) prioritization of efforts. This is coherent with findings from
519 complementary qualitative work (The Authors, 2017b), which found that public perceptions
520 of peatlands are ambivalent and multi-faceted (e.g. they can be perceived as bleak
521 wastelands, beautiful wild nature and as a cultural landscape). The multiple and ambivalent
522 views of ecosystems such as peatlands may be linked to biophysical characteristics, history,
523 trade-offs between different uses and differences in personal relationships with nature.

524

525 **5. Conclusions**

526 A comprehensive valuation encompassing the public benefits of peatland ecosystems and
527 how these compare with the costs of restoration has been lacking to date. This means that
528 policy makers have thus far had very little guidance with respect to the economic efficiency
529 of investments into restoration of this climate-critical ecosystem on its own or compared to
530 competitive government spending for climate change mitigation and adaptation related to
531 land use or in other sectors. Additionally, the lack of an economic rationale for restoration
532 hampers the potential for developing market-based financing mechanisms such as payments
533 for ecosystem services that could potentially complement publicly financed peatland
534 restoration aimed at climate change mitigation.

535 The economic analysis presented in this paper provides the basis for understanding
536 whether peatland restoration is likely to provide overall welfare gains to society, i.e. whether
537 it is economically efficient to invest in restoration. We recommend the findings to serve as a
538 benchmark for national level policy appraisals, and as a starting point for more detailed
539 assessments of projects on a case by case basis, which should make use of more detailed
540 information on peatland baseline condition and more refined data on restoration costs. Such
541 assessments should also aim to recognise the multi-faceted nature of public perceptions (The
542 Authors, 2017b), issues of fairness and equity in payments made to land owners and potential
543 shared social and cultural value arising from restoration to different groups within society
544 (Reed et al. 2017).

545 The benefit-cost assessments of previous and future investment decisions into
546 peatland restoration in Scotland reported in this paper suggest that peatland restoration has
547 been and is going to likely be welfare enhancing. This provides justification for the ambitious
548 restoration targets set out in Scotland’s Draft Climate Change Plan and underpins, from an
549 economic perspective, the great potential of peatland restoration to contribute to climate
550 change mitigation as well as to provide numerous ecosystem services to society. As
551 restoration efforts gain pace, the important question to be addressed should hence move
552 towards identifying the conditions under which peatland restoration will yield the greatest
553 benefits to society.

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636

637 Table 1. Description of the choice experiment attributes and levels

Attributes	Label	Levels^a
Improvement of peatland share from poor ecological condition to good ecological condition ^a	poor	0%, 25%, 50%, 75%
Improvement of peatland share from intermediate ecological condition to good ecological condition ^a	int	0%, 25%, 50%, 75%
Focus on peatland restoration in wild land areas	wild	Yes, No
Focus on peatland restoration in areas with high or low 'concentration' of peatlands	conc	High, Low
Cost (annual tax, GBP per household and year)	price	10, 25, 50, 75, 150, 250

638 Note: ^a Shifts are relative to the business as usual shares of peatlands for each ecological condition (poor: 40%;
 639 Intermediate: 40%; good: 20%)

640

641 Table 2. Socio-demographic characteristics of the sample compared to the overall Scotland's
 642 population

Variable	Sample	Overall Population (Scotland)^a
Gender distribution		
Female	50.3%	51%
Male	49.7%	49%
Age distribution (years old)		
18-24	6.8%	11.9% **
25-44	36.2%	33.0%
45-64	34.7%	34.2%
≥ 65	22.3%	20.9%
Yearly household income		
GBP per year	£39,615	£38,337
Educational attainment (highest achieved Scotland census level) ^b		
Level 0	13.1%	26.8%
Level 1	20.8%	23.1%
Level 2	18.5%	14.3%
Level 3 and above	45.3%	36.0%
Prefer not to tell	2.4%	–
Social grade (employment-based) ^c		
Higher and intermediate	19.0%	19.0%
Supervisory, clerical, junior	43.2%	32.0%
Skilled manual	9.7%	22.0%
Semi-skilled, un-skilled	18.1%	28.0%
Prefer not to tell	8.3%	–
Average household size		
Persons per household	2.34	2.25
Urban/Rural population		
Urban	65.13%	69.9%
Rural	34.87%	30.1%

643 Note: ^a Scotland Census (2011) by National Records of Scotland
 644 (<http://www.scotlandscensus.gov.uk/>); ^b Population figures include population 16 years old or older
 645 while our survey includes respondents 18 years old or older. The under-representation of the lowest
 646 age range and education level is partly explained by this different lower age bound; ^c Lower
 647 representation of lower levels of social grade might be explained by 'prefer not to tell' answers which
 648 are more likely to correspond to lower rather than higher social grades.
 649

650 Table 3. Conditional logit (CL) and random parameter logit (RPL) model results

	CL		RPL		SD	
	mean		mean			
ASC _{BAU}	-0.2247	**	-0.4721	***	0.9935	***
	(-2.58)		(-3.88)		(8.5)	
poor	0.0036	**	0.0075	***	0.017	***
	(2.71)		(6.59)		(12.81)	
int	0.0031	**	0.0048	***	0.0115	***
	(3)		(5.75)		(10.87)	
poor x wild	-0.0009		-0.0000		0.0026	***
	(-1.17)		(-0.15)		(3.5)	
int x wild	0.0039	***	0.0039	***	0.0055	***
	(4.43)		(6.06)		(5.55)	
poor x conc	-0.0005		-0.0008		0.0035	***
	(-0.73)		(-1.51)		(4.22)	
int x conc	0.0028	***	0.0026	***	0.0038	***
	(3.47)		(5.03)		(5.14)	
price (neg)	0.8357	***	1.0314	***	0.6766	***
	(15.43)		(11.44)		(6.97)	
Log-L	-3964.6		-2951.3			
Rho Square	0.077		0.313			

651 Note: The cost attribute was re-scaled and entered the model as 1/100 of the values in GBP shown on choice
652 cards. Correspondingly, to arrive at estimates in terms of WTP, parameters should be multiplied by 100. poor,
653 int and price entered the choice models as continuous variables, wild and conc as effects coded variables taking
654 1 for Yes (wild) and High (conc), else -1. t-values in parentheses; asterisks indicate if parameters are
655 significantly different from zero: *** at the 0.1% level; ** at the 1% level; * at the 5% level.

656

657 Table 4. WTP estimates (GBP per year) relative to the 2030 baseline and spatial attributes

Per household estimates for a 1% shift in peatland condition						
Condition change	Peat concentration	Wild land area	95% confidence interval			
			mean		lower	upper
Poor to Good	Low	No	0.835	***	0.593	1.077
Poor to Good	Low	Yes	0.817	***	0.540	1.093
Poor to Good	High	No	0.682	***	0.418	0.946
Poor to Good	High	Yes	0.664	***	0.364	0.963
Intermediate to Good	Low	No	-0.177		-0.392	0.039
Intermediate to Good	Low	Yes	0.61	***	0.36	0.860
Intermediate to Good	High	No	0.35	***	0.152	0.548
Intermediate to Good	High	Yes	1.136	***	0.880	1.391
Per hectare estimates						
Condition change	Peat concentration	Wild land area	95% confidence interval			
			mean		lower	upper
Poor to Good	Low	No	304.2		216.0	392.4
Poor to Good	Low	Yes	297.6		196.7	398.2
Poor to Good	High	No	248.5		152.3	344.6
Poor to Good	High	Yes	241.9		132.6	350.8
Intermediate to Good	Low	No	0		0	0
Intermediate to Good	Low	Yes	222.2		131.2	313.3
Intermediate to Good	High	No	127.5		55.4	199.6
Intermediate to Good	High	Yes	413.9		320.6	506.8

658 Note: Asterisks indicate if mean WTP estimates are significantly different from zero: *** at the 0.1% level; **
 659 at the 1% level; * at the 5% level.

660

661 Table 5. Summary statistics of independent variables used in OLS regressions

Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Age	48.348	16.241	18	87
Gender	0.505	0.500	0	1
Education level	0.636	0.482	0	1
Edumiss	0.022	0.148	0	1
Medium income	0.368	0.483	0	1
High income	0.249	0.433	0	1
Incmiss	0.153	0.361	0	1
Urban	0.648	0.478	0	1
General environmental attitude	2.937	0.400	1.733	4
Scenario credibility	3.076	0.624	1	4
Policy consideration	2.591	0.725	1	4

662 Note: N=489 except General environmental attitude (N=485) and Policy consideration (N=487)

Table 6. OLS regression results of conditional WTP estimates on individual specific variables (N=483)

	Poor to Good Condition				Intermediate to Good Condition			
	Low/NoWild	Low/Wild	High/NoWild	High/Wild	Low/NoWild	Low/Wild	High/NoWild	High/Wild
Age	-0.004 (0.004)	-0.001 (0.004)	0.001 (0.005)	0.003 (0.005)	-0.003 (0.002)	-0.006 (0.004)	0.004 (0.002)	0.000 (0.004)
Gender	-0.319 *** (0.123)	-0.379 *** (0.137)	-0.416 *** (0.142)	-0.476 *** (0.159)	-0.145 ** (0.061)	-0.271 * (0.133)	-0.233 *** (0.074)	-0.359 *** (0.134)
Education level	0.026 (0.128)	0.057 (0.142)	0.062 (0.147)	0.094 (0.165)	0.014 (0.063)	0.001 (0.137)	0.066 (0.076)	0.053 (0.138)
Edumiss	0.060 (0.390)	0.054 (0.432)	0.180 (0.450)	0.174 (0.504)	0.015 (0.194)	-0.004 (0.419)	0.097 (0.233)	0.078 (0.423)
Medium income	-0.046 (0.152)	-0.050 (0.169)	-0.070 (0.176)	-0.075 (0.197)	0.005 (0.076)	-0.051 (0.164)	-0.023 (0.091)	-0.080 (0.165)
High income	0.096 (0.171)	0.132 (0.190)	0.083 (0.198)	0.119 (0.221)	0.036 (0.085)	0.137 (0.184)	0.038 (0.102)	0.139 (0.186)
Incmiss	0.066 (0.191)	0.076 (0.211)	0.010 (0.220)	0.019 (0.246)	0.077 (0.095)	0.064 (0.205)	0.015 (0.114)	0.001 (0.207)
Urban	0.086 (0.122)	0.093 (0.135)	0.095 (0.140)	0.102 (0.157)	0.022 (0.060)	0.113 (0.131)	0.026 (0.073)	0.117 (0.132)
General environmental att.	0.642 *** (0.146)	0.777 *** (0.162)	0.853 *** (0.168)	0.987 *** (0.188)	0.287 *** (0.072)	0.587 *** (0.157)	0.464 *** (0.087)	0.764 *** (0.158)
Scenario credibility	0.554 *** (0.092)	0.637 *** (0.102)	0.654 *** (0.107)	0.738 *** (0.119)	0.256 *** (0.046)	0.547 *** (0.099)	0.319 *** (0.055)	0.609 *** (0.100)
Policy consideration	-0.233 *** (0.079)	-0.269 *** (0.087)	-0.274 *** (0.091)	-0.309 *** (0.102)	-0.106 *** (0.039)	-0.206 ** (0.085)	-0.146 *** (0.047)	-0.246 *** (0.085)
Constant	-1.896 *** (0.598)	-2.591 *** (0.663)	-3.051 *** (0.691)	-3.746 *** (0.773)	-1.377 *** (0.297)	-1.927 *** (0.643)	-1.738 *** (0.358)	-2.287 *** (0.648)
R ²	0.157	0.172	0.175	0.182	0.135	0.131	0.179	0.17

Note: standard errors in parentheses. *, **, *** indicates significance at 10%, 5%, 1% level

List of figures

Figure 1. Peatland ecological conditions and associated ecosystem service impacts – overview table shown to respondents

Figure 2. Operationalization of attributes regarding spatial allocation of restoration efforts

Figure 3. Example choice set

Figure 4. Net Present Values (NPV) Space: NPVs in GBP per hectare depending on baseline condition (Poor or Intermediate (Int.)) and spatial characteristics (High/Low Concentration of Peatlands in Area; In Wild Land Area or not)