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Title

Who participates in conservation incentive programs? Absentee and group landholders are in the mix.

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1 Abstract

2 Voluntary incentive programs are widely used to generate conservation actions on private 3 land. Although there is a growing body of research about factors that influence landholder 4 participation in incentive programs, studies generally conceptualise landholders in 5 agricultural landscapes as owner-occupier, farming individuals or families. Few studies have 6 considered participation by absentee landholders and fewer still have recognised group 7 landholders (e.g. non-government organisations or community groups) as potential incentive 8 program participants. We examined participation in a conservation stewardship tender 9 (reverse auction) in South Australia to identify the diversity within participants, and 10 particularly to evaluate the extent of participation by absentee landholders and groups. A 11 diverse set of landholders participated, where nearly a quarter of participants were absentee 12 landholders, and a small component were groups. Although small in number, groups were 13 shown to be important because they were likely to offer larger land areas in the stewardship 14 tender. With very little known about how absentee and group landholders may differ from 15 their counterparts, further research is recommended to inform incentive program design. We 16 recommend that incentive programs consider landholder diversity in order to achieve 17 effective conservation in agricultural landscapes.

18

19 Keywords: stewardship; covenant; auction; native vegetation; Bayesian

20 Model Averaging

21 **1. Introduction**

22 At the global scale, publicly governed protected areas are not sufficient to meet environmental targets on their own (UNEP-WCMC and IUCN, 2016), leaving a significant 23 24 contribution required from private landholders (Figgis, 2004; Knight, 1999; Norton, 2000). 25 Consequently, private landholders have an important role to play in biodiversity conservation 26 and the sustainable provision of other ecosystem services. The public good quality of 27 biodiversity conservation and the implementation and opportunity costs of changing 28 management mean that there are often cost barriers to optimal production of conservation 29 benefits on private land (Kinzig et al., 2011). Offering payments to private landholders for 30 environmental services through voluntary incentive programs is one approach widely 31 employed to generate conservation action on private land (Doremus, 2003; Kamal et al., 32 2015). However the drivers of participation can be complex and in many cases remain 33 insufficiently known (Lastra-Bravo et al., 2015; Sorice and Donlan, 2015). 34 When participation in incentive programs is voluntary, the environmental outcomes of 35 the program rely on appropriate levels of participation (Mettepenningen et al., 2013; Rolfe et al., 2017; Selinske et al., 2015; Zanella et al., 2014). Positive environmental outcomes are 36 37 dependent on sufficient participation from landholders responsible for the assets of interest. 38 However, high participation is not always desirable. In programs with a finite budget where 39 participants compete for funds, interest in participation may extend far beyond the available 40 budget, resulting in avoidable transaction costs and inefficiencies for the program and participants (Whitten et al., 2013). Knowledge of the target audience, and the factors that 41 influence their participation, is therefore required to inform the design of effective incentive 42 43 programs (Mettepenningen et al., 2013; Morrison et al., 2012; Rolfe et al., 2017; Whitten et 44 al., 2013).

45 While the level of incentives offered is a key factor, there are many other factors that influence participation in incentive programs. These include characteristics of the potential 46 participants themselves, their landholdings, their attitudes and behaviour and the social 47 48 context (Lastra-Bravo et al., 2015; Morrison et al., 2012). Research in this area commonly 49 examines factors such as participant age, education level and experience (e.g. Comerford, 50 2014; Pavlis et al., 2016) and dependence on the land or associated resources (e.g. Lindhjem 51 and Mitani, 2012; Petrzelka et al., 2012). Social factors such as trust, connectedness and 52 access to information (e.g. Moon, 2013; Morrison et al., 2012; Zanella et al., 2014) and 53 attitudes and behaviour including personal satisfaction from participation, agreement with the 54 incentive program goals, business orientation and information seeking behaviour (e.g. 55 Comerford, 2014; Morrison et al., 2012; Pavlis et al., 2016; Reimer and Prokopy, 2014) are 56 also frequently addressed. However, as Burton (2014) highlights, findings about the presence 57 and direction of relationships between these factors and participation can be inconsistent or 58 contradictory because the cause of the relationships often remain poorly understood. Another 59 limitation of this area of research is that studies of environmental behaviour in agricultural 60 landscapes almost always conceptualise landholders as owner-occupier farming individuals 61 or families, in empirical studies and reviews (e.g. Burton, 2014; Defrancesco et al., 2008; Hill 62 et al., 2011; Perkins et al., 2013) and in economic choice experiments (e.g. Boxall et al., 63 2017; Wichmann et al., 2016). Exceptions to this prevailing view are a small number of 64 studies that have considered absentee landholders (e.g.Lindhjem and Mitani, 2012; Petrzelka 65 and Armstrong, 2015; Petrzelka et al., 2013; Petrzelka et al., 2012; Ulrich-Schad et al., 2016). In many places, rural land ownership is becoming increasingly diverse, with growing 66 67 numbers of non-primary producer "amenity migrants" (Cooke and Lane, 2015; Gosnell and Abrams, 2011) and absentee landholders (Mendham and Curtis, 2010; Petrzelka et al., 2013). 68 69 While the influence of land use on participation has been addressed by many studies, only a

70 small number of these have examined participation by absentee landholders. Studies of 71 absentee landholder participation indicate that absentee landholders may be less concerned 72 with financial incentives for land management change (Farmer et al., 2015), or accept lower 73 incentives compared with resident owners (Lindhjem and Mitani, 2012), and that access to 74 information can be a key barrier to participation (Petrzelka et al., 2012; Ulrich-Schad et al., 75 2016). Another contribution to the diversity of participants in conservation on private land is 76 made by group landholders such as community groups, not-for-profit conservation 77 organisations, and corporations (Fitzsimons, 2015; Gosnell and Travis, 2005; Selinske et al., 78 2015). To our knowledge, information about group landholders as participants in 79 conservation incentive programs has not been directly examined in the literature. 80 This study aims to investigate the diversity in incentive program participants, and in 81 particular, to identify the role of absentee landholders and groups. We took a novel approach 82 to the characterisation of participants in a conservation stewardship program in South 83 Australia where incentives were allocated by tender (a reverse, single-sealed-bid auction). 84 We examined a range of participant characteristics including their involvement in primary 85 production, whether they are resident or absentee and whether they participated as an 86 individual/family or group. Statistical models were used to test the relationships between 87 these factors and the size of the area offered in the tender. Results are discussed in the context 88 of incentive program design to promote conservation on private land.

89 **2.** Materials and methods

90 To investigate the question of which landholders participate in conservation incentive 91 programs we used the BushBids conservation stewardship program as a case study. This 92 program had 163 unique participants and spanned a large geographic area (more than 30,000 93 km²) in the agricultural regions to the east of Adelaide, South Australia. Average annual 94 rainfall in the program area ranged from approximately 880 mm in the wettest part of the Mt 95 Lofty Ranges to approximately 210 mm in the arid plains to the north of the River Murray 96 (BOM, 2014). Agricultural activities in the program area included broad-acre cropping 97 (cereals, pulses, oilseed), hay and silage production, horticulture, viticulture, livestock 98 grazing, and intensive livestock production (ABS, 2016). The program area's native 99 vegetation was diverse, primarily including eucalypt dominated forests, woodlands, and 100 mallee, as well as grasslands, wetlands, and chenopod shrublands (DEWNR, 2011).

101

102 2.1. BushBids conservation stewardship program

103 The work presented here is based on the BushBids program (Australian Government, 104 2006). The aim of this program was to support private landholders to maintain or restore the 105 ecological function of remnant native vegetation on their property. Briefly, private 106 landholders were invited to tender (bid) for 5 or 10 year contracts to manage and restore 107 native vegetation. Over the period from 2006 to 2013, there were five BushBids projects with 108 a total of eight tender rounds (Table 1). The projects were advertised through a variety of 109 channels: local newspapers and newsletters; local radio and television; agricultural field days; 110 and government and non-government organisation natural resources management networks. 111 Participation was voluntary and landholders were not obliged to bid in the tender, or accept the contract if their bid was successful. After the landholder made an expression of interest, 112 113 an on-site assessment of the location, size and condition of the native vegetation on their

property was made by BushBids, and a native vegetation management plan was prepared for the landholder (O'Connor et al., 2014). Management plans mapped the area of native vegetation offered in the project and outlined management actions designed to maintain or improve the condition or ecological function of the native vegetation. Management of grazing pressure from stock and retaining fallen timber were mandatory, and always included in the management plan, while weed control and feral animal control were usually included and revegetation was occasionally included.

121 At a broad level, management plans were consistent throughout all five BushBids 122 projects, however, the extent to which management actions differed from existing practices 123 depended on participant circumstances. Management of stock grazing pressure under a 124 BushBids management plan required complete stock exclusion from the site in most cases, 125 but a conservative stock grazing regime was allowed in grassy ecosystems where it was used 126 as a management tool to maintain or restore ecological function. For some participants this 127 represented a change in management with associated forgone resources, while for participants 128 who had already excluded stock or were already using conservative grazing practices in 129 grassy ecosystems, there was no or minimal change required. Weed species and feral animal 130 species targeted for control also differed between project locations and to a lesser extent, 131 within project locations according to variation in climate and other environmental conditions. 132 The management actions were intended to maintain or restore ecological function in remnant 133 vegetation in order to address past and continuing declines identified by Duncan and 134 Dorrough (2009) and Perring et al. (2015) for example. However, the ecological outcomes of 135 these restoration actions have not yet been documented in research literature.

136

137 2.2. BushBids project locations

138 The five BushBids projects were located in the Mt Lofty Ranges, Murray-Darling 139 Basin and South East regions of South Australia, where much of the original native 140 vegetation has been cleared to provide land for agriculture (Fig. 1). Native vegetation cover 141 in the project locations ranged from 8 % in the Eastern Mt Lofty Ranges (EMLR) project to 142 61 % in the Woodland (WLND) and River Bend (RBND) projects (Table 2). In addition to 143 having the smallest proportion of remaining native vegetation, the EMLR project location 144 had one of the smallest proportions of native vegetation protected in public protected areas 145 (4%) and the highest proportion of residential land (21%). The WLND project location had 146 the next largest proportion of residential land (7 %) and although it had a large proportion of 147 remnant vegetation, only 7 % was protected by covenants (similar to conservation easements) 148 on private land and only 3 % was in public protected areas. The RBND location, also with a 149 large proportion of remnant native vegetation, had similar levels of protected vegetation to 150 the WLND location, but a smaller proportion of residential land (3 %) and a larger proportion 151 of land used for primary production (87 %). The Southern Mallee (SMLE) project location 152 had the largest proportion of land used for primary production (96%) and small proportions 153 of remnant native vegetation (9%) and residential land (1%). Like the SMLE location, the 154 South Eastern (SEAST) project location had a very small proportion of residential land, 155 however this location had a moderate proportion of remnant native vegetation (22 %), much 156 of which was protected by covenants (16 %) and in public protected areas (59 %).

157

158 2.3. Data

Data about participants and their native vegetation were collected by the BushBids program through the expression of interest and site assessment processes. A subset of these data was made available for this study, including the size of the area offered for management 162 at the draft management plan stage (referred to here as management plan size), the presence 163 of proposed and existing covenants (similar to conservation easements), gender of the primary contact person/people, town of postal address and nearest town to the property, entity 164 165 type, and information about the participant's involvement in primary production. This 166 information was used to generate a set of eight categorical variables and one numerical 167 variable characterising participants. The categorical variables were selected to provide 168 information about the diversity of participants. Entity type, absentee status and primary 169 production status were selected to evaluate the extent to which participants diverged from 170 owner occupier, farming individuals or families. Gender of primary contact was included 171 firstly to identify the extent of gender diversity in participants and secondly to evaluate how 172 the other variables related to this fundamental demographic diversity measure. Although it's 173 been shown that in developed economies women are more likely than men to engage in pro 174 environmental behaviour (Hunter et al., 2004; Raymond and Brown, 2011), in this study, this 175 trend is likely to be hidden by the gender imbalance in management and ownership of rural 176 land noted by Raymond and Brown (2011). Three covenant (conservation easement) status 177 variables were included to allow evaluation of how permanent covenants may interact with 178 participation in the stewardship tender. Finally, the project location variable was included to 179 allow evaluation of how the other participant characteristics varied with location. 180 Entity type includes two categories: individual/family and group. The 181 individual/family category includes individuals or family groups where all members were 182 connected by a familial relationship. All remaining participants shared a common

characteristic in that they were groups where not all group members shared a familial
relationship. This group category comprises a broad spectrum of participants including

185 community groups, non-government organisations and corporations (other than family

business structures), and also extends to include local government and informal groups where
two or more group members were co-owners or co-managers with no familial relationship.

188 The absentee or resident variable was generated using information about the nearest 189 town to the land offered for management and the town of the participant's postal address. 190 Where the town nearest the land offered for management and the town of the postal address 191 of the participant matched or were proximate, the participant was classified as resident. If the 192 town nearest to the land offered for management and the town of the participant's postal 193 address were spatially distant then the participant was classified as absentee. For example, 194 these cases included participants who resided in Adelaide (or a major regional centre) but 195 offered management services on a rural property. Some of the absentee participants resided 196 on rural properties but offered management services on rural property in a different location. 197 Where a participant offered land for management from two or more properties and met the 198 criteria for being resident at one property the participant was classified as resident.

The gender of the primary contact was derived from the contact names participants gave when expressing interest in BushBids, and for the site assessment and development of the management plan. A number of participants provided contact names for more than one person and where male and female contact names were given this was classified as "both" rather than male or female.

The primary production status was assessed using a range of information collected by BushBids. This information included direct observations made by BushBids personnel, satellite imagery of the areas adjacent to the native vegetation and participant reported land use. If there was any primary production activity undertaken by the participant or by another party on the participant's property, then the participant was classified as a primary producer. Primary production activity included livestock, cropping, orchards and vineyards. Keeping horses for recreation and small scale, domestic gardening or poultry keeping were not classified as primary production activity. A small number of participants (six) could not beclassified using the available information.

The project location was also included as a categorical variable. As some participants were involved in more than one BushBids project, participants were classified according to the BushBids project where their bid was successful, or if they did not make a successful bid, they were allocated to the first BushBids project they participated in.

217 The covenant variables categorise participants according to the presence or absence of 218 existing and proposed covenants in their BushBids management plan. The covenants referred 219 to in this study are similar to conservation easements in the USA (e.g. Fishburn et al., 2009), 220 in that they are binding agreements established to conserve environmental values on private 221 land. This study exclusively deals with Native Vegetation Heritage Agreements, a form of 222 covenant in South Australia (Adams and Moon, 2013). Native Vegetation Heritage 223 Agreements establish legally prescribed, usually permanent land use restrictions on a piece of 224 land, with the agreement registered on the land title (Native Vegetation Act, 1991). Land use 225 restrictions under Native Vegetation Heritage Agreements include restrictions on clearance or 226 removal of native flora and fauna, introduction of non-native organisms and fertiliser, and 227 removal or disturbance of soil and rock (Native Vegetation Council, 2017). They are 228 generally consistent regardless of location and ecosystem type, with some relatively rare 229 exceptions for stock grazing in grassy ecosystems (where it is used as a tool for conservation) 230 and in the Monarto area where a specific type of Heritage Agreement was historically 231 established with lower level restrictions. These variations in restrictions are unlikely to affect 232 many of the participants and therefore have not been addressed in the analysis. The three 233 covenant variables used in this study; existing covenant, proposed covenant and existing 234 and/or proposed covenant were created from information about the presence of existing and 235 proposed Native Vegetation Heritage Agreements within the management plans negotiated

with participants. Where a Native Vegetation Heritage Agreement application had been
submitted prior to participation in BushBids but the agreement had not yet been established,
this was treated as an existing covenant.

The numerical variable management plan size was the total size of the area offered by the landholder for BushBids at the draft management plan stage, regardless of whether or not the landholder submitted a bid. Where the landholder participated in multiple BushBids projects and/or tender rounds, the total area offered by that landholder across all projects and rounds was used.

244

245 2.4. Data analysis

The Pearson's Chi-square test of independence with Yates' Continuity Correction was used to test whether absentee landholders and covenants were associated with primary production status. Observations from the unclassified category for primary production status were excluded from this analysis due to the small number of observations in this category. All expected frequencies were greater than five.

251 Ward's hierarchical cluster analysis was undertaken to identify groups within the 252 participants. This method provided a relatively high cophenetic correlation coefficient (0.63) 253 compared with other hierarchical cluster analysis methods and provided an interpretable 254 solution with four groups, each containing a sufficient number of observations. A 255 dissimilarity matrix was created for the cluster analysis using Gower's metric due to this 256 metric's suitability for categorical variables. The dissimilarity matrix used a subset of the 257 data: entity, gender of primary contact, primary production status, resident/absentee status 258 and status for new and existing covenants separately. Observations in the "unclassified" category for primary production status were excluded due to the small number of 259 260 observations in this category.

261 Linear modelling was used to test the relationship between management plan size and 262 the predictor variables entity type, primary production status, absentee status, covenant status 263 and gender of primary contact. The management plan size variable was natural log 264 transformed to meet assumptions of normality, and observations with "unclassified" primary 265 production status were removed from the dataset. A linear model of the main effects was 266 fitted and tested with ANOVA both by adding terms to the model and dropping terms from the model. These two approaches yielded slightly different results, however, we selected the 267 268 more conservative results from the additive approach for presentation here. 269 Generalized Linear Modelling with Bayesian Model Averaging (BMA) (Hoeting et

al., 1999) was then used to confirm the results from the linear model and examine the
relationship of management plan size to predictor variables within each of the four largest
projects. BMA calculates an average of multiple model predictions, weighted by the posterior
model probabilities. When a predictor variable had a 0.75 or greater probability of inclusion
in the model, it was considered to be an important predictor (Thomson et al., 2007; Viallefont
et al., 2001).

All statistical analyses were performed using R 3.2.4. The Gower's dissimilarity
matrix was created using the package cluster 2.0.5 (Maechler et al., 2016), while the package
BMA 3.18.6 (Raftery et al., 2015) was used for Bayesian Model Averaging.

279 **3. Results**

280 3.1. Participants

Of the 163 participants, a large majority were individuals or families (92 %) with the remainder consisting of groups (8 %). The gender of the primary contact person was most frequently male (60 %), although a considerable proportion of primary contacts were female (20 %) or included at least one person of each gender (20 %).

285 A little over half the participants were involved in some kind of primary production 286 (55 %), while approximately 41 % were not involved in primary production and a small 287 number (4 %) could not be classified (Fig. 2(a-d)). At the time of expressing interest in the 288 program, most participants were resident on their property (77 %), however, a considerable 289 proportion were not (23 %) (Fig. 2(a)). Thirty four per cent of participants had an existing 290 covenant (similar to a conservation easement) over part or all of the land offered in BushBids 291 (Fig. 2(c)) and 25 % of participants indicated they would like to apply for a covenant 292 (Fig. 2(d)). Almost half of the participants (44 %) did not have a covenant over the land 293 offered in the project and were not proposing to apply for one as part of their offered 294 management services (Fig. 2(b)).

The Chi-squared independence test revealed that resident/absentee status was dependent on primary production status (Chi-square independence test $X^2=23.4$, df=1, P<0.0001) with a larger proportion of absentee landholders within those not involved in primary production, compared with those landholders who were involved in primary production (Fig. 2(a)). However, no significant relationship was found between covenants and primary production status ($X^2=1.6$, df=1, P=0.2) (Fig. 2(b)).

Four groups of participants were identified through hierarchical cluster analysis and
are here after referred to as clusters (Fig. 3(a-d)). Cluster 1 was the largest and included 45 %
of all participants. It mainly comprised participants who were classed as individuals or

304 families (94 % of Cluster 1) (Fig. 3(a)), resident (85 % of Cluster 1) (Fig. 3(b)), and involved 305 in primary production (65 % of Cluster 1) (Fig. 3(c)). Nearly all participants in this cluster 306 did not have an existing covenant (97 % of Cluster 1) (Fig. 3(d)) and did not have a proposed 307 covenant (99 % of Cluster 1) (Fig. 3(f)). The next largest cluster, Cluster 2, included 23 % of 308 total participants and was comprised entirely of individuals or families (Fig. 3(a)) with a 309 proposed covenant (Fig. 3(f)). This cluster had relatively similar proportions of primary 310 producers (56 % of Cluster 2) and non-primary producers (44 % of Cluster 2) (Fig. 3(c)), a 311 relatively large proportion of absentee landholders (25 % of Cluster 2) (Fig. 3(b)) and the 312 largest proportion of female primary contacts (42 % of Cluster 2) (Fig. 3(e)) compared with 313 the other clusters. Cluster 3 included 17 % of all participants and was comprised exclusively 314 of participants who were not involved in primary production (Fig. 3(c)) and also had a large 315 component of absentee landholders (65 % of Cluster 3) (Fig. 3(b)), groups (31 % of Cluster 316 3) (Fig. 3(c)) and participants with an existing covenant (92 % of Cluster 3) (Fig. 3(d)). 317 Finally, Cluster 4 was the smallest cluster and included 15 % of all participants. Similar to 318 cluster 1, cluster 4 was comprised entirely of participants who were resident (Fig. 3(a)), 319 involved in primary production (Fig. 3(c)) and not proposing a new covenant (Fig. 3(f)). 320 However unlike cluster 1, all members of the cluster 4 had an existing covenant (Fig. 3(d)). 321 322 3.1.1. Absentee landholders

A majority of participating absentee landholders were non-primary producers (76 % of 38 absentee participants) compared with 21 % who were primary producers (Fig. 2(a)). Likewise, more absentee participants were individuals/families (82 % of absentee participants) than were groups (18 % of absentee participants). The WLND project location had the highest percentage of absentee participants (34 % of participants in that project) followed by the EMLR project where 29 % of participants were absentee and the RBND project where 26 % of participants were absentee (Fig. 4(a)). The SMLE and SEAST projects
both had lower rates of absentee participants with 11 % and 9 % respectively.

331

332 3.1.2. Groups 333 Following a similar pattern as the absentee participants, most participating groups 334 were non-primary producers (77 % of 13 participating groups), with the remaining 23 % 335 being classified as primary producers. There was a roughly even division between absentee 336 (seven) and resident (six) participants within those classified as groups. Project locations with 337 the highest proportions of participating groups were the RBND project where 13 % of 338 participants were groups, and both the EMLR and WLND projects where 9 % of participants 339 were groups (Fig. 4(b)). The SMLE project had no participating groups, while 5 % of 340 participants in the SEAST project were groups. 341 342 3.2. Management plan size 343 The size of the area offered by participants in the tenders (referred to here as 344 management plan size) differed by four orders of magnitude ranging from 0.5 ha to 345 4 792.6 ha, with a median of 45.7 ha and interquartile range of 19.0 ha to 179.6 ha. Linear 346 modelling showed a significant relationship between management plan size and both project 347 location and entity type (see Table 3 and Sup. 1). Other participant characteristics (primary 348 production status, covenant status, gender of primary contact and resident/absentee status) 349 were not significantly related to management plan size. 350 Generalised linear modelling with Bayesian model averaging confirmed the 351 relationship between management plan size and project location and entity type with these factors identified as the strongest predictors of management plan size, and the only predictors 352

353 with greater than 75 % chance of inclusion in the model for all project locations combined

354	(Table 4). Entities classified as individuals or families were likely to have smaller
355	management plans (coefficient of -1.14) than entities classified as groups. Compared with
356	EMLR, participants in all other project locations were likely to have larger management plans
357	(coefficients ranging from 0.97 to 2.00). The SEAST project location was the only individual
358	location where predictors with a greater than 75 % chance of inclusion were identified (Table
359	4). These predictors were entity type, gender of primary contact, primary production status
360	and covenant status. Again, participants classified as individuals or families were likely to
361	have smaller management plans than group participants. In the SEAST location, participants
362	with female-only primary contacts were likely to have smaller management plans than
363	participants with primary contacts that included both genders. Non-primary producers were
364	likely to have smaller management plans than primary producers and participants with neither
365	existing nor proposed covenants were likely to have smaller management plans than those
366	with covenants or proposed covenants.

367 **4. Discussion**

368 In this study we characterised participants in a conservation stewardship tender (reverse auction) and examined how these characteristics related to the size of the area 369 370 offered in the tender. The range of landholders interested in participating was diverse, 371 including a considerable proportion of absentee landholders, a small but important constituent 372 of groups and relatively equal proportions of primary producers and non-primary producers. Project location was the best predictor of the size of the area offered in the tender followed by 373 374 entity type, with groups likely to offer larger areas compared with individuals and families. 375 The diversity of landholders participating in the tender is consistent with the increasing 376 diversity within agricultural landscapes highlighted by Mendham and Curtis (2010). Both 377 absentee landholders and groups were found to be important participants, absentee 378 landholders because they made up a considerable proportion of total participants and groups 379 because of the larger areas they offered in the tender. Programs seeking to incentivise 380 conservation actions on private land must understand these ownership structures, particularly 381 where they result in participant behavioural differences compared with traditional, production 382 oriented, family ownership models.

383

384 4.1. Absentee landholders

Absentee landholders made up nearly a quarter of all participants and came from all project locations. This large component of absentee landholders confirms their relevance within the community of private land managers in agricultural landscapes and aligns with studies showing increasing absentee ownership in various parts of the world (Petrzelka et al., 2013) including Australia (Klepeis et al., 2009; Mendham and Curtis, 2010). Further, these results provide empirical evidence of absentee landholders' interest in participating in a conservation stewardship tender, which to our knowledge has not previously been 392 documented. Project locations with the highest rates of absentee landholder participation 393 were the EMLR project location where much of the area is within 50 km of Adelaide (the 394 nearest city) and the WLND and RBND project locations where the majority of the area is 395 within 150 km of Adelaide and there is a relatively large proportion of native vegetation 396 remaining in the landscape. Travel distance from cities is likely to influence the rates of 397 absentee land ownership, at least for non-primary producing landholders, however other 398 interrelated factors may also play a role such as amenity values, land productivity and value, 399 and land use planning and policy. Although there is a substantial body of research relating to 400 amenity migrants (Gosnell and Abrams, 2011), relatively little is known about absentee 401 landholders. More research is needed to better understand the patterns and drivers of absentee 402 ownership and how rates of absentee landholder participation in incentive programs compare 403 with rates of absentee land ownership in agricultural landscapes.

404 Participating absentee landholders included both primary producers and non-primary 405 producers, with most classed as non-primary producers. Absentee primary producers may 406 have included landholders who own two or more spatially separated rural properties to take 407 advantage of resources available in different environments (e.g. seasonal grazing for stock 408 while crops are grown on the primary property), or landholders who reside in an urban area 409 and manage the property remotely. Non-primary producer absentee participants are likely to 410 have included "weekenders" who reside in urban areas and periodically visit their rural 411 properties for recreation and/or other purposes, or groups who jointly use and manage the 412 land for a variety purposes (such as recreation, conservation and/or non-primary production 413 businesses). Recreation has been found to be a widespread purpose for land ownership among 414 absentee landholders and intersection of multiple land uses is also common (Petrzelka and Armstrong, 2015; Petrzelka et al., 2009). To facilitate participation by absentee landholders, 415

416 private land conservation policy makers are advised to recognise that absenteeism may417 coincide with a variety of often co-existing land use objectives.

418 Although they are a diverse group, absentee landholders may face some particular 419 challenges for land management and incentive program participation that set them apart from 420 resident landholders. Absentee landholders may not access the same information sources as 421 resident landholders, therefore presenting a challenge for incentive program recruitment. 422 Time constraints may also be a major barrier for absentee landholders, including at the time 423 of recruitment to a program (Mendham et al., 2012), having insufficient time available to 424 implement management actions (Kendra and Hull, 2005; Klepeis et al., 2009) or experiencing 425 difficulties with the timing or frequency of visits required for management, such as 426 implementing weed control at a critical weed lifecycle stage. The cost of implementing 427 management actions may also be influenced by absentee status (Mendham et al., 2012). For 428 example, there may be additional costs associated with travel and transport to the property 429 and/or hired labour and equipment. However, absentee landholders' possible willingness to 430 accept lower incentive rates (Lindhjem and Mitani, 2012) may offset additional management 431 costs. Another management challenge potentially exacerbated by absenteeism is impacts 432 from unauthorised access to the property (O'Connor, 2016) for activities such as off road 433 vehicle use, camping, hunting (Kendall et al., 2013) and timber theft (Petrzelka et al., 2013). 434 Many of these barriers or challenges faced by absentee landholders can be addressed by 435 incentive program design. For example, program recruitment methods can be designed to 436 reach absentee landholders through the use of appropriate advertising messages (Morrison et 437 al., 2017), advertising channels, and timing of recruitment events (Mendham and Curtis, 438 2010). Absentee participation is also likely to be supported by programs that allow some 439 flexibility in timing for engagement and implementation of management actions. Further

research is needed to determine the extent to which issues affecting absentee landholders are addressed by incentive programs.

442

443 4.2. Groups

444 The number of group participants was relatively small, however the group entity type 445 was positively related to management plan size. This highlights their importance as potential 446 participants in incentive programs. Although groups have been acknowledged as managers in 447 the private land conservation literature (Fitzsimons, 2015; Selinske et al., 2015) and in studies 448 of landholders in agricultural landscapes (Gosnell and Travis, 2005), to our knowledge, they 449 have not previously been considered in studies about participation in incentive programs. 450 Participants classed as groups in this study included a wide range of group forms, from non-451 government organisations to local government, corporations, community groups and small 452 informal groups of individuals who co-own and/or co-manage remnant native vegetation. We 453 acknowledge that this is a very broad spectrum and that motivations for participation in 454 incentive programs and objectives for land management may vary considerably between 455 groups, however, in this study, the small number of participating groups did not allow further 456 classification at a finer scale. Further research is needed to identify group types along with 457 their motivations and constraints for participation in conservation incentive programs. 458 Despite the wide variation in types of groups, there may be some characteristics that group 459 landholders share. For example, groups may require longer time periods for decision making, 460 a need that could be accommodated in incentive program design. As current information 461 relating to groups and their participation in incentive programs is very scarce, it is an 462 important area for future research to inform policy.

463

464 4.3. Covenants

465 Landholders with and without existing covenants (conservation easements) 466 participated in the conservation stewardship tender and some were interested in applying for 467 a new covenant. The largest cluster of participants identified with hierarchical cluster analysis 468 was characterised by participants who did not have an existing covenant and did not express 469 interest in applying for one. This highlights a large constituency of participants who were not 470 prepared to enter into an in-perpetuity covenant but were still willing to offer management 471 services over a five or ten year period. Participants in this cluster were resident, primary 472 producing individuals or families. Given that previous research indicates that participation is 473 reduced when the program employs compulsory covenanting (Comerford, 2013), this large 474 sector of landholders may have been dissuaded from participation if the program had made 475 covenanting mandatory.

476 The next largest cluster was characterised by landholders seeking a covenant and 477 included both primary producers and non-primary producers as well as absentee and resident 478 landholders. Therefore, there was a potential supply of covenants from both primary 479 producers and non-primary producers and absentee and resident landholders. The final two 480 clusters were characterised by participants who had an existing covenant and were not 481 seeking an additional covenant. These clusters show that even with an existing covenant there 482 is a perceived need for additional management cost recovery, that is, these landholders do not 483 consider that a covenant on its own was sufficient to meet their management objectives.

484

485 4.4. Management plan size

486 Location and entity type were the only reliable predictors of management plan size
487 when all project locations were considered together. This relationship between project
488 location and management plan size is probably driven by differences in agricultural

489 productivity, rainfall and proximity to the city of Adelaide and large rural centres, as well as 490 associated differences in average land parcel size, property size and land value. Group 491 entities were likely to include larger areas in their management plans than entities classified 492 as individuals/families. This could be explained by the ability of groups to pool resources and 493 therefore purchase and manage larger areas of land. It might also be a consequence of historic 494 development patterns leaving some large areas of uncleared land with relatively low 495 production value where buyers do not expect to recover their investment through production. 496 With groups being more likely to offer larger areas of land in the incentive program, they 497 may be seen as an important sector of participants to recruit. However, maximising the area 498 of land offered by each participant or the total area offered in the incentive program may not 499 always be desirable. For instance, an adequate number of participants is required to provide 500 competition in a tender making it potentially undesirable to have a small number of 501 participants offering large land areas, and there may also be significant transaction costs for 502 each entrant meaning increasing participation beyond adequate levels is not justified by the 503 total budget for incentive payments (Whitten et al., 2013).

504 The SEAST project location was the only individual project with reliable predictors of 505 management plan size. Here, group entities, primary producers and sites with an existing 506 covenant were associated with larger management plan sizes, while having a female primary 507 contact was associated with smaller management plan size. The relationship to primary 508 production status may be due to the generally larger properties held by primary producers 509 compared with non-primary producers (Mendham and Curtis, 2010), while the relationship to 510 covenant status may be a consequence of previous government legislation (e.g. Upper South 511 East Dryland Salinity and Flood Management Act, 2002) and associated policy having already established covenants on many of the larger remnants in the project location. 512

513 **5. Conclusion**

514 This study challenges the notion that, in agricultural landscapes, landholders 515 interested in conservation incentive programs are typically farming individuals or families. 516 Using empirical evidence from a case study conservation tender program we have shown that 517 participating landholders can be diverse in land use, residence distance from the property and 518 land ownership structure. They may or may not use their property for primary production, 519 they may be resident on the property or absentee and they may own the land individually or 520 jointly as part of a group. Both absentee landholders and groups were important participants 521 in the conservation program, absentee landholders due to their considerable numbers and 522 groups because they were likely to offer larger land areas in the tender. 523 Given the importance of absentee and group landholders revealed by this study, and 524 the extremely limited information currently available regarding these landholder types, we 525 recommend further research to address the following knowledge gaps. Firstly, research is 526 needed to identify more specific group types within the broad category of group landholders and to investigate their motivations and constraints for participation. For absentee 527 528 landholders, research is needed to further explore the drivers and patterns of absentee land ownership and to evaluate how rates of absentee landholder participation compare to rates of 529 530 absentee land ownership. Finally, research is also needed to further examine the extent to which issues affecting absentee landholders, such as access to information, time constraints 531 532 and unauthorised property access, are addressed by incentive programs. This knowledge will 533 be valuable to inform future policy design for conservation incentive programs in agricultural

534 landscapes.

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Project name	Tender	Contract	Contract	No. unique
	Rounds	start	length (years)	participants
Eastern Mt Lofty Ranges (EMLR)	2	2006-07	5 or 10	55
Woodland (WLND)	2	2010-11	5	32
Riverbend (RBND)	1	2013	5	23
Southern Mallee (SMLE)	1	2013	5	9
South Eastern (SEAST)	2	2013	5	44

 Table 1. BushBids conservation stewardship tenders

Project	Total area km ²	Native vegetation km ² (%) ^{a f}	Covenant km ² (%) ^{b d}	Public protected areas km ² (%) ^{b e}	Primary production	Land use (%) ^{c g} Reserve/ vacant/ recreation	Residential
EMLR	2 758	233 (8 %)	88 (38 %)	9 (4 %)	76 %	2 %	21 %
WLND	5 878	3 581 (61 %)	245 (7 %)	120 (3 %)	81 %	10 %	7%
RBND	5 787	3 509 (61 %)	735 (21 %)	105 (3 %)	87 %	10 %	3 %
SMLE	6 964	618 (9 %)	162 (26 %)	44 (7 %)	96 %	1 %	1 %
SEAST	27 899	6 092 (22 %)	961 (16 %)	3 600 (59 %)	84 %	14 %	1 %

Table 2. BushBids project location size, native vegetation cover and land use

NB spatial statistics calculated using Geocentric Datum of Australia 1994 and Albers Equal Area projection in ArcGIS 10.4.1 ^a Per cent of total area. ^b Per cent of native vegetation. ^c Per cent of total mapped land use ('Primary production' includes agriculture, horticulture, livestock grazing and forestry; 'Reserve/vacant/recreation' includes golf, reserve, recreation and vacant; and 'Residential' includes residential, rural residential, non-private residential and vacant residential). ^d Spatial data source (DEWNR, 2017). ^e Spatial data source (DEWNR, 2015). ^f Spatial data source (DEWNR, 2011). ^g Spatial data source (DPTI, 2016).

Df	F value	Pr(>F)	Coefficient ±SE
4	8.4672	0.0004e-02 ***	
			1.2 ±0.3
			1.5 ± 0.4
			1.8 ±0.5
			0.8 ± 0.3
1	8.3245	0.0045**	-1.2 ±0.4
2	1.7511	0.1772	
1	3.7677	0.0542	
1	0.6255	0.4303	
1	2.9944	0.0857	
	Df 4 1 2 1 1 1 1 1	Df F value 4 8.4672 1 8.3245 2 1.7511 1 3.7677 1 0.6255 1 2.9944	Df F value Pr(>F) 4 8.4672 0.0004e-02 *** 1 8.3245 0.0045** 2 1.7511 0.1772 1 3.7677 0.0542 1 0.6255 0.4303 1 2.9944 0.0857

Table 3. Relationship of participant characteristics to management plan size

Predictor/BIC/ R ² /n	All locations		EMLR	SE	SEAST		RBND
	P(inc)	$coeff \pm SD$	P(inc)	P(inc)	$coeff \pm SD$	P(inc)	P(inc)
Intercept	100.0		100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0
(Group entity, Both genders,							
Primary producer, EMLR location,							
Covenant)							
Entity type	92.0		15.4	79.1		59.6	15.1
Individual/family		-1.14 ± 0.52			-1.84 ± 1.26		
Gender of primary contact	0.0		0.0	84.6		2.4	1.2
Female					-1.58 ± 0.89		
Male					-0.10 ± 0.42		
Resident or absentee	6.5		44.9	17.4		11.7	37.2
Primary production status	32.9		11.0	90.5		12.0	49.4
Non-primary producer					-1.40 ± 0.71		
Project location	100.0		NA	NA		NA	NA
WLND		1.29 ± 0.32					
RBND		1.48 ± 0.36					
SMLR		2.00 ± 0.53					
SEAST		0.97 ± 0.31					
Covenant status	14.9		25.4	100.0		12.4	15.5
No covenant					-1.76 ± 0.44		
BIC	-602.3		-151.9	-98.1		-76.3	-41.6
\mathbb{R}^2	0.22		0.06	0.56		0.12	0.19
n	157		53	42		32	21

Table 4. Probability of a non-zero coefficient P(inc), coefficients, Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC) and R^2 for management plan size in all locations combined and in EMLR, SEAST, WLND and RBND locations, determined with Bayesian Model Averaging.

Pr(inc) probability of inclusion

BIC Bayesian information criterion

Coefficient and standard deviation shown only when Pr(inc) >75 %

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Fig. 1 BushBids project locations Eastern Mt Lofty Ranges (EMLR), Woodland (WLND), Riverbend (RBND), Southern Mallee (SMLE) and South Eastern (SEAST) in South Australia, Australia.

Fig. 2 Per cent of participants involved in primary production (unclassified indicated by UC) and (a) absentee or resident, (b) with an existing covenant and/or proposed covenant, (c) with an existing covenant, (d) with a proposed covenant. NB width of bar indicates proportion or per cent of participants in a given category, dark grey indicates 'yes' and light grey indicates 'no' for y-axis variables.

Fig. 3 Characteristics of participant clusters identified with cluster analysis. (a) per cent of entity type (G=group, I=individual/family) within clusters, (b) per cent of absentee and resident landholders within clusters, (c) per cent of primary producers and non-primary producers within clusters, (d) per cent of participants with existing covenants, (e) per cent of primary contact gender (B=both genders, F=female, M=male), and (f) per cent of participants with proposed covenants. NB width of bar indicates proportion or per cent of participants in a given cluster.

Fig. 4 Per cent of (a) absentee participants (Y=yes, N=no) and (b) participating groups (G=group, I=individual/family) in project locations (unlabelled bars are SMLE project location). NB width of bar indicates proportion or per cent of participants in each project location.

Supplement 1 Management plan size (ln ha) showing mean ± standard error for (a) project location, (b) entity type (G=group, I=individual/family), (c) gender of primary contact (B=both genders, F=female, M=male), (d) primary production status (PP=primary producer, non-PP=non primary producer), (e) absentee status (Y=yes, N=no), (f) covenant status (Y=existing and/or proposed covenant, N=no covenant).

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Highlights

- Incentive participants in agricultural areas are generally framed as resident farming individuals
- Empirical data from large conservation tender challenges this conceptualisation
- Participants were diverse in land use, residence location and ownership structure
- Absentee and group landholders were important types of participants























Absentee

Covenant