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## **ARTICLE, ANALYSIS: ECOLOGICAL ECONOMICS**

**Title:** Why Do Farmers Join Payments for Ecosystem Services (PES) Schemes? An Assessment of PES Water Scheme Participation in Brazil

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## 1. Introduction

As discussed in the growing body of literature on Payments for Ecosystem Services (PES), in the last two decades such schemes have become a popular and attractive policy instrument for many rural developers, environmental managers, and other practitioners, as well as a fashionable concept for academics (Engel et al., 2008; Ferraro, 2011; Ferraro and Kiss, 2002; Ottaviani and Scialabba, 2011; Pagiola et al., 2002; Pirard, 2012; Wunder, 2005). Part of the attraction of this instrument is the apparently simple rationale behind it: In certain situations, providing economic incentives can prove more effective and efficient than taking regulatory measures in supporting the provision of ecosystem services (ES) for land users.

However, even though at first sight the logic of PES schemes may appear uncomplicated, in practice, paying land users in exchange for a service is by no means a simple and straightforward task. ES result from a number of ecological interactions, many of which are only moderately understood by science. Any guarantee that a payment will secure or provide such a service is subject not only to underlying ecological uncertainties but also to those entailed by the kinds of social interaction that are inherent to policy implementation.

Different frameworks have been advanced to conceptualize PES schemes at the theoretical level. The previously predominant view of PES as a market-based Coasean solution (Wunder, 2005) has been increasingly challenged by institutional economists (Vatn, 2010) who suggest alternative conceptual frameworks that pay more attention to, for example, aspects of conditionality and positive incentive theory (Sommerville et al.,

47 2009) or issues related to governance and institutions (Muradian et al., 2010).  
48 Furthermore, recent studies have been debating the limits of what can be considered to be  
49 PES schemes (Pirard and Broughton, 2011) and how they should be governed (Muradian  
50 and Rival, 2012).

51 This lively debate on and critique of PES schemes has prompted a cautious attitude  
52 among those discussing them from both theoretical and practical perspectives (Muradian  
53 et al., 2013). Current concerns are related to a lack of evidence regarding the  
54 effectiveness of PES schemes (Calvo-Alvarado et al., 2009) and their limited  
55 additionality, with the latter focused on whether an ES would indeed not be secured or  
56 provided in the absence of a PES scheme. These concerns are found even in those  
57 projects that have been considered to be successful and inspiring examples (Arriagada et  
58 al., 2012; Robalino et al., 2008). Equity implications and asymmetric power distributions  
59 between actor groups and their consequences for the legitimacy of PES projects are other  
60 areas of attention. Some authors even claim that existing power imbalances and the  
61 resulting inequalities and vulnerabilities might even be reinforced by the design and  
62 implementation of PES projects (Corbera et al., 2007a; Corbera et al., 2007b).

63 In Brazil, there is a growing trend of proposing PES schemes to address environmental  
64 issues. Even though PES schemes are a rather new policy tool in Brazil – the concept was  
65 relatively unknown in the country until the early 2000s – since then, the country has been  
66 experiencing a “PES boom”. A recent report has revealed the existence of more than 70  
67 independent projects using PES schemes as the main instrument of intervention. Most of  
68 these schemes are related to the field of water resources protection and carbon-related

payments and have been introduced in the rather well-off center-south area of the country (Guedes and Seehusen, 2012).

Given this increasing importance of PES schemes in Brazil's environmental policy agenda, the absence of studies that touch upon the issue of participation in them is somewhat surprising. The present article tries to fill this gap by presenting and discussing evidence regarding farmer's reasons for participating in three PES water projects: two municipal projects in Extrema, Minas Gerais State (*Extrema*) and Apucarana, Paraná State (*Oásis*) and one state-level program in the State of Espírito Santo (*ProdutorES*) (see Figure 1).

**HERE FIGURE 1**

## **2. Importance of Participation in PES schemes: A literature review**

Notwithstanding the differing views on the conceptualization of PES schemes, voluntary participation – or at least the claim that participation in a scheme is voluntary – forms a distinctive characteristic of this policy instrument. This feature of PES schemes has profound implications for both their effectiveness in securing or restoring ES and for their intended social outcomes. Particularly in the case of watershed protection, PES objectives will only be attained if there is sufficient participation of land users within a given watershed. This is, for instance, due to the close interdependencies between different land uses, land users, and the potential effects of upstream water management on downstream water users.

92 There are also equity issues related to participation. It is important to consider whether  
93 poor households are actually able to join a scheme as easily and frequently as better-off  
94 land users. Even though hitting two targets – environmental effectiveness and  
95 distributional equity – with a single arrow might prove difficult from a practical  
96 perspective (Pattanayak et al., 2010), to neglect the distributional effects of PES may  
97 delegitimize the tool itself (Corbera and Pascual, 2012). Concerns about equitable  
98 participation in PES schemes have been voiced in the literature from very early on  
99 (Grieg-Gran et al., 2005; Pagiola et al., 2005; Pagiola et al., 2002). However, only a few  
100 studies have analyzed the issue as a primary research objective (Corbera et al., 2007b;  
101 Kosoy et al., 2008; Pagiola et al., 2008, 2010). The results generated by this body of  
102 literature are mixed: In some cases, poor households were indeed discriminated against  
103 because they lacked formal land titles necessary for contract arrangements, whereas in  
104 others poor communities benefited more than richer ones, because they were the  
105 preferential target of a PES scheme (e.g., Grieg-Gran et al., 2005). The main structural  
106 limitations that potentially inhibit participation of poor households include lack of  
107 effective property rights (either formal or informal) and high transaction costs, such as  
108 time and resources that need to be dedicated to negotiating and agreeing on contract  
109 details (Wunder, 2005). Pagiola et al. (2005) suggest categorizing the factors that might  
110 affect participation into three groups: i) eligibility factors (who is selected to participate,  
111 i.e., belongs to the target group or target area), ii) desirability factors (who wants to  
112 participate), and iii) ability factors (who can participate). Econometric analyses have been  
113 conducted to identify these factors and their relative importance (Pagiola et al., 2010;  
114 Zbinden and Lee, 2005), suggesting that observable characteristics, such as farm size,

household assets, and other economic factors, are relevant to participation as well as transactions costs and procedural aspects. Other studies, favoring more holistic approaches embedded in institutional theories (Kosoy et al., 2008), have stressed the importance of procedures and stakeholder interaction. Few studies, however, have proposed a combination of quantitative and qualitative empirical techniques (Arriagada et al., 2009; Kosoy et al., 2007). Such an approach is thus employed in this article, aimed at understanding farmers' decisions by taking into consideration farmer characteristics, assets, and values as well as procedural issues related to how schemes are designed and governed.

### **3. Methods**

The emergence of an institutional economics critique and corresponding alternative frameworks to conceptualize PES has widened the range of issues that might be covered when analyzing these schemes. In particular, it has raised more attention towards aspects related to governance; institutions, in particular property rights; and power relations among actors (Muradian and Rival, 2012). It is thus apparent that a comprehensive analysis of farmer participation in PES schemes has to go beyond the identification of characteristics that explain the propensity of farmers to participate. It also needs to focus on the process of designing PES schemes and on contract negotiations between land users and scheme providers.

In order to address these issues, two complementary empirical approaches were combined in doing the research for this article: (i) a qualitative institutional analysis

guided by the Institutions of Sustainability (IoS) Framework (Hagedorn et al., 2002) and (ii) a quantitative analysis consisting of a logistic regression model. While the first approach pays more attention to governance and institutions, the second analysis estimates factors that, in a statistically significant way, may increase or decrease the probability of farmer participation in PES schemes.

In order to integrate these different approaches, qualitative data collection and pre-analysis was performed prior to the conducting of field surveys, which then formed the data source for the regression estimates. This preparatory step was important not only for completing and refining the questionnaires but also for clarifying, for example, the different roles of actors in the design process of the PES schemes. At the same time, we regard the qualitative inputs as valid sources for understanding the relevance of and interdependence between factors that were later tested in the regression analysis. Meanwhile, besides assisting in framing the data collection and pre-analysis, the IoS framework proved to be a relevant tool for contextualizing and interpreting the statistical results.

### *3.1 Cases: selection and main characteristics*

To select the three study sites, eight potential sites with water-related PES schemes “under implementation” were identified from previous studies (Gavaldão and Veiga Neto, 2011). Water-related PES schemes were preferred to other kinds for a number of reasons, such as their prominence in the conservation-policy landscape of Brazil, the existence of previous documentation efforts that could set the stage for analysis of a more

scientific character to be undertaken and the importance of sufficient participation in water-related schemes for the ecological effectiveness of the instrument. The three selected study sites represent schemes where contracted farmers were already receiving payments, conservation or restoration activities were being implemented, and land use changes were being monitored.

The selection procedure was guided by five criteria. The three cases – *Extrema*, *ProdutorES*, and *Oásis* – were selected because, at the time of data collection, they were already *active projects* with *active participation* (criteria 1 and 2), meaning that a substantial number of farmers – more than 60 – were already contracted and had been receiving payments for at least one year. The three cases also shared *similar ecological objectives* (criterion 3): watershed protection, restoration of riparian vegetation, and increase in forest cover. Finally, they also represented *different farming regions* (criterion 4) but, more importantly, *different governance structures* (criterion 5) in terms of coordinating organizations, sources of funding, and monitoring systems.

Although the three selected cases shared similar ecological objectives, they present striking differences in terms of their overall rationales. While *ProdutorES* was created with the specific objective of establishing a financial incentive scheme for reducing forest conversion<sup>2</sup>, *Oásis* and, to a lesser extent, *Extrema*, aim at strengthening enforcement of Brazilian environmental legislation applied to private land properties. The Forestry Code of 1965, which was recently reformed in 2012, has established a set of restrictions on

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<sup>2</sup> It is important to mention that *ProdutorES* was a pilot project supported by the National Water Agency and other organizations, and it was concluded in late 2012. Since 2011, the State of Espírito Santo has been working on the broader and more comprehensive program *Reflorestar*, which incorporated lessons and aspects of *ProdutorES*, besides at least five other environmental programs running in the State. In addition to other interventions types, such as incentives for forest recover and agroforestry systems, *Reflorestar* is keeping the PES mechanism for already existing forest cover, although implementation is still in an early stage.

land use, the two most important ones being Permanent Protection Areas (APPs) and Legal Reserves (RLs). APPs are environmentally sensitive areas – such as margins of rivers and hilltops – on private lands that have to be safeguarded by their owners. An RL is a quota for each parcel of private property which must be protected for the sustainable use of natural resources, conservation, and rehabilitation of ecological processes as well as biodiversity conservation – in the three cases, it was equivalent to 20% of the total farm land (Brazilian National Congress, 1965). Due to weak or absent law enforcement, however, these two legal provisions are repeatedly ignored, particularly the RLs. Thus, an important difference between our cases is that, in practice, *ProdutorES* pays for already existing forest tracts that might be either endangered or are not facing real pressure for conversion, while *Oásis* and *Extrema* seek to restore forest cover. Thus, in the case of *ProdutorES*, additionality is harder to demonstrate than for the other two. Moreover, particularly in the case of *Extrema*, the Municipal Environmental Agency has been assuming a strong role and bearing the costs of implementing restoration activities, from tree seedling to the fencing of APPs to block the entrance of cattle. Table 1 shows other dissimilarities in terms of funding sources, organizations involved, and primary contract features between the cases.

## HERE TABLE 1

### 3.2 Qualitative analysis: Institutions of Sustainability analytical framework

The Institutions of Sustainability (IoS) framework is an analytical tool designed for policy and institutional analysis of complex social-ecological systems (Hagedorn, 2008; Hagedorn et al., 2002). It locates its theoretical origin in the New Institutional Economics (North, 1994; Williamson, 1985, 1998) and in other institutional approaches which are increasingly being applied to agriculture and natural resource management, in particular the work of Elinor Ostrom (2005, 2009) and Daniel Bromley (1989; 1991). The IoS framework identifies four interconnected key factors shaping the contexts in which social and ecological interactions are undertaken, influencing outcomes: *properties of transactions, characteristics of actors, institutions, and governance structures* (see Figure 2).

## HERE FIGURE 2

Two important concepts in the IoS literature are *transactions* and *institutions*. The former are understood in terms of their physical dimensions, according to transaction cost economics, which defines the term as follows: “A transaction occurs when a good or service is transferred across a technologically separable interface. One stage of activity terminates and another begins” (Williamson, 1985, p.1). The IoS framework considers environmental problems derived from production or consumption activities as transactions between resource users and the public. Moreover, these nature-related transactions present notable kinds of complexity, for instance, heterogeneity, nonlinearity, and high variability.

In New Institutional Economics, *institutions* are usually understood according to Douglas North's definition: "institutions are the rules of the game in a society or, more formally, are the humanly devised constraints that shape human interaction" (1990, 3 ff). They can be formal, such as laws, other written rules, and codes of conduct, as well as informal, such as cultural conventions, verbal agreements, and moral norms.

The emergence of *governance structures*, understood as coordination mechanisms that make institutions effective, are dependent on "the properties of the transactions and the characteristics of the actors involved in such transactions" (Hagedorn, 2008, p. 369). The IoS framework conceives the emergence and performance of these institutions and governance structures to be taking place in *action arenas*, which are the spaces where different groups of actors interact.

For the purpose of this study, we follow Prager (2010) and employ an adaptation of the IoS framework (Figure 2) to analyze decisions in three sub-arenas: at the farm, policy implementation, and policy design levels. In each sub-arena, stakeholders were identified and interviewed according to a semi-structured guide developed with reference to the four analytical categories of the IoS Framework. For example, when exploring characteristics of actors at the farm level, questions were designed to illuminate motivations and voluntariness, while at the policy design and implementation levels, the concern was whether different types of farmers were involved and had an influential voice during policy discussions.<sup>3</sup>

### 3.3 Quantitative analysis: logistic regression

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<sup>3</sup> The general guide, constructed on the basis of the IoS Framework, is provided as supplementary material 1.

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248 For farmers, whether or not to participate in a given PES scheme is a binomial decision.

249 The payment amount can differ, depending on the characteristics of the farm holding –

250 for instance, the size and slope of land plots or the presence of water springs – and

251 farmers can be pressured or coerced to participate. But, ultimately, the decisions of

252 farmers remain limited to joining or not joining the PES scheme. Dichotomous decisions

253 can be analyzed using logistic regression models, which enable estimating how a series of

254 independent variables affects the probability of one dependent binominal variable. These

255 models are popular in many natural sciences and health studies, but their application to

256 social science and economics is also widespread, for instance in studies analyzing the

257 adoption of conservation techniques or organic farming (Garbach et al., 2012; Mzoughi,

258 2011).

259 For selection and operationalization of the study's independent variables, first, the

260 literature on farmer participation in PES schemes and other agri-environmental schemes

261 (Defrancesco et al., 2007; Edwards-Jones, 2007; Falconer, 2000; Kauneckis and York,

262 2009; Knowler and Bradshaw, 2007; Mzoughi, 2011; Pattanayak et al., 2003; Toma and

263 Mathijs, 2007) was reviewed to identify those variables that have been found to be

264 important for explaining participation, either using regression models or other empirical

265 methods. Since these studies were conducted in different contexts, in-depth interviews

266 were used to validate, correct, and complement the set of independent variables to be

267 used in the questionnaire. The final questionnaire and selection of variables were refined

268 after a preliminary test with project managers and a pre-test with five farmers.<sup>4</sup>

269 The independent variables were classified into three groups:

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<sup>4</sup> The complete list of variables and measurement can be found in the second column of Table 5.

- i) *Farmer and household characteristics*: age, gender, time living in the area, education level, household size, family labor composition, income, share of off-farm income, residence at the farm, and membership in a farmers' association;
- ii) *Farm structure/practices*: farm size, diversity of agricultural activities, main agricultural activity, slope, and forested area on farm; and
- iii) *PES scheme factors*: payment, perception of its value, share of PES payment relative to total household income, use of PES payments, satisfaction level, interest in renewing the contract after expiration, ownership of the decision to participate, opportunity costs, and difficulties related to negotiation and application of PES contracts.

For those items representing perceptions and opinions, categorical variables were used. Some of these categories were constructed by coding answers to an open question (e.g., use of payment [x27] and ownership of decision [x30]). Some of these variables only have values assigned to those respondents that actually participated in a PES scheme (e.g., satisfaction level). These, together with those variables which were ex-post, were not used in the modeling exercise but only considered in the descriptive statistics and analysis.

Four attitude variables belonging to the group of farmer and household characteristics – namely, access to information [x12], general environmental concern [x13], knowledge about environmental legislation [x14] and access to credit [x15] – were not directly observable and, therefore, were estimated through the use of latent variables. Following Toma and Mathijs (2007, p. 149), constructed variables were validated following a two-step procedure. First, a factor analysis using Principal Component Analysis and varimax

rotation was applied to a set of 12 indicators to assess the appropriateness of defining the four latent variables. Second, a separate factor analysis for each of these factors was performed to assess the indicators' total variance, explained by each of the generated factors. All indicators present factor loadings higher than .65, and the total variance explained by each factor varied between 59% and 82%, confirming the appropriateness of reducing the indicators to the selected factors.<sup>5</sup> The complete list of latent variables and their constituent indicators is reproduced in Table 2.

## HERE TABLE 2

On-site opportunity cost estimates were processed for each farmer, combining available information on potential revenues of typical agricultural activities in the region with specific farm characteristics. Given the temporary nature of these PES contracts (three to four years), estimates of Net Present Value (NPV) would have been the preferred method. However, for simplification and since the contracts are only short term, all opportunity cost estimates make reference to a given year, in this case 2011. Given the specificities of the three PES projects analyzed in this article, different means and sources of reference values were employed. It is necessary to note that, particularly for those farmers not participating in the PES schemes, important data for estimating opportunity costs were unavailable – for instance, the marginal payment amount for which farmers would have participated. For estimating these missing values, several assumptions were made. (Details on sources and assumptions are described in Table 3.) All in all, the

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<sup>5</sup> Full results of the validation process are provided as supplementary material 2.

conclusions drawn from these opportunity cost estimates should be considered as being preliminary and interpreted with caution.

### HERE TABLE 3

The field work was undertaken from February to May 2011. Semi-structured in-depth interviews were executed with 24 project managers, environmental and agricultural experts, government officials, farmers, and local leaders. Meanwhile, questionnaires were conducted with 163 farmers, balanced between the three PES cases: 54 from *Extrema*, 57 from *ProdutorES*, and 52 from *Oásis*.

A stratified randomly selected sample of farmers participating and not participating was interviewed. Of the 163 farmers contacted, 91 (55.8%) declared themselves to be participating in the PES scheme, while 72 (44.2%) said that they were not participating. Yet this proportion clearly does not reflect the general participation rate of eligible farmers, which is estimated to be much lower, as indicated in Table 4.

### HERE TABLE 4

A complete list of variables, units of measurement and their results is presented in Table 5. Statistical tests were performed comparing means of participant and non-participant groups. Variables that presented significant differences and which were not ex-post (mostly PES scheme factors) were considered to be factors potentially influencing farmers' decisions and formed the first basis for the logistic regression estimates.

## HERE TABLE 5

A three-step procedure was applied to determine the final version of the model: i) an initial selection of variables based on literature and summary statistics results; ii) a second run of the model, with the elimination of seven observations where farmers declared their decision was not completely voluntary and that they were either coerced or threatened to participate; iii) a third model specification only with significant variables, in order to generate more reliable odds ratios ( $e^{\beta}$ ). Following Garson (2011b), who claims that logistic regression models are very sensitive to outliers, seven outliers were excluded from the analysis. After the elimination of involuntary participation and outliers, 149 observations were retained in the model.

## 4. Results

This section seeks to identify the determinants of participation in the PES schemes being implemented in the case study areas. First, we explore the results revealed by qualitative analysis of three aspects covered by the IoS framework: properties of transactions, actor characteristics, and governance structures. Then we describe the results of the logistic regression.

### 4.1 *Properties of transactions*

At least two main *transactions* can be identified in all PES schemes: 1) a monetary transaction typical of PES policies and 2) a transaction related to how the service itself is being produced and delivered, meaning, the transaction (or the set of potential transactions) induced by changes in land-use practice which, in general, effectively support water quantity and quality provision, erosion control or other ecosystem services provision. While the monetary transaction is simple and generally easily understood by project managers and farmers, the second transaction – how land-use secures ecosystem services provision – is subject to a complex set of ecological interactions, marked by high uncertainty as well as other factors. Indeed, in one case presented here (*Extrema*), a substantial number of farmers from both participant *and* non-participant groups doubted that improving forest cover was a meaningful approach to increasing water quality. While some farmers argued that there are more efficient ways of dealing with the problem of water quantity and quality, others totally rejected the idea of increasing forest cover for better water infiltration and stabilization of water flow during dry and wet seasons. This perception appeared to be indirectly influencing the decisions of some farmers not to participate in the program, as they argued that they were not willing to cooperate in implementing an intervention with which they did not agree and did not believe would generate results. It also affected the satisfaction levels of some farmers already engaged in the PES scheme, who argued for other types of interventions rather than reforestation.

#### 4.2 Actor characteristics

How representative farmer bodies are organized and whether these organizations influence the design of PES schemes were identified as factors highly affecting participation rates. In all cases, farmers were asked if they were active members of farmer-related associations, cooperatives, or unions and if they felt themselves to be properly represented by one of those organizations. In *Extrema*, only a minority of farmers (29.1%) were members in any of these representative bodies, distributed between the local farmers' union branch and the association of rural residents. Although the local rural farmers' union and the association of rural residents expressed their support of the PES scheme, the vast majority of the interviewed farmers declared that they did not consider these organizations to be important means of impacting local public policymaking. In a nutshell, the association was portrayed as limited in terms of resources and the union as being distant from its constituency.

Meanwhile, in *ProdutorES*, membership in farmer-related representative bodies was considerably higher (72.1%), distributed between the local farmer's unions, rural residents' associations, a rural tourism association, and coffee cooperatives. Interviews confirmed that these bodies were considered important channels of political engagement and economic support, as in the case of the cooperatives. Moreover, being a state-level PES scheme, the managers of *ProdutorES* recognized from the start that effective partnerships with local and representative organizations were necessary to reach farmers in their localities.

A similar situation was found in *Oásís*, where 42.3% of the farmers were members of a representative body, though here concentrated in a single local rural union of the region. Farmers generally claimed to be aware of the activities of the union and recognized its

role in influencing PES scheme design. This connection was clearly facilitated by the fact that the current president of the farmers' union has personal links with the local environmental manager and coordinator of the *Oásis* PES scheme, who was a former president of the union himself. However, the assignment of a single organization as the only representative excluded some members of the farming community. Some rural dwellers – farmers with very small properties and a high share of off-farm income – declared that they did not feel represented by the local farmers' union. They argued that their interests were not properly reflected in the PES scheme design and, therefore, this PES policy was detrimental to their particular cases, favoring instead larger and more professionalized farmers. As can be expected, lower satisfaction levels were found among this group, even leading to formal complaints to the local environmental agency.

#### 4.3 Governance structures

The way the PES schemes are governed proved to be extremely relevant in influencing participation. In *Extrema*, the local environmental agency is responsible for all stages of the scheme. Although legislation with respect to the scheme was discussed and approved by the local municipal council, this process was led by the local environmental agency. Further, all implementation steps – identifying potential areas and contracting partners, concluding contracts, monitoring, sanctioning, and carrying out conservation measures – are exclusively conducted by this agency. This top-down approach has advantages and disadvantages with respect to farmer participation. On the one hand, a rather high level of participation has been achieved with this governance structure; an estimated 43% of the

429 total eligible area was already under contract by the fourth year of PES scheme operation.  
430 On the other hand, in comparison to the other two PES schemes, farmers participating in  
431 the *Extrema* scheme are proportionally less satisfied and more doubtful about whether to  
432 renew their contracts or not. Here, almost a quarter of the interviewed farmers declared  
433 that they were engaged in the scheme involuntarily. They felt either obliged or were  
434 threatened with possible future sanctions if they decided not to participate. In all cases,  
435 these were the most unsatisfied farmers, regardless of their payment levels or opportunity  
436 costs.

437 In contrast, in *ProdutorES* a greater division of responsibilities for scheme development  
438 and implementation between different organizations was observable. Here, policy  
439 development is also almost completely concentrated at the state level, but with policy  
440 implementation being shared between the state environmental agency, local state  
441 authorities, local public-private bodies, and two environmental NGOs. Further,  
442 interventions – if necessary, since the majority of contracts so far demand ‘only’ keeping  
443 the forest intact – are carried out by farmers themselves. Basic technical support can be  
444 provided to farmers to carry out conservation activities, but this support has been much  
445 lower than expected or necessary, according to interviewed farmers.

446 In the case of *Oásís*, as with *Extrema*, both PES scheme development and  
447 implementation are concentrated in one organization, the municipal environmental  
448 agency (SEMATUR). In *Oásís*, however, legislation was more extensively discussed in  
449 cooperation with the farmers, resulting in a higher feeling of ownership of the scheme  
450 among the latter. Moreover, the environmental agency responsible for conducting the  
451 scheme there is not the same state agency that is in charge of monitoring and sanctioning

noncompliance with environmental legislation. In contrast, in *Extrema*, both the PES scheme and environmental law enforcement are being executed by the same local environmental agency, with support from state-level authorities. In *Extrema*, many farmers mentioned that their initial level of aversion towards the PES scheme had been high because the managers were the same people who, years ago, had tried to change the farmers' land use practices by command-and-control policies. This complaint was not found in either the *Oásis* or *ProdutorES* schemes, because different state agencies have been executing different policies there.

#### *4.4 Determinants of participation*

The estimated coefficients of the third and final run of the logistic regression model – which included only the significant variables found in the second run of the model – are reproduced in Table 6.

#### **HERE TABLE 6**

In all logistic regression trials carried out for this study, income differences were never found to be a significant explanatory factor for participation. In all three PES schemes, poor households could participate in the same proportion as better-off households.

In contrast, the logistic regression results do indicate that labor intensity is a significant factor for explaining different participation rates, yet with a very low odds ratio of 0.038. More precisely, the probability of farmers participating decreases significantly for

households that are more dependent on family labor. This suggests that the transformation of the farming system, which is required when a farmer joins a PES scheme, is more costly when dependency on family labor is high. This could be explained by the necessity of looking for new off-farm jobs by some members of such families.

The highest odds ratio was found for the variable of access to information. The odds of a farmer participating in a PES scheme are augmented by a factor of 6.015 if there is a one-point increase in this constructed variable. General environmental concern seems to be a very important determinant also, with an odds factor of 1.827.

Further, the odds of a farmer participating in a PES scheme are reduced by a factor of 0.134 if his/her farm does not have a registered Legal Reserve and by a factor of 0.198 if the farm land includes a Legal Reserve without it being registered<sup>6</sup>. This can be explained by the local contexts in which the PES schemes were negotiated. The PES scheme of *Extrema*, for example, has required the restoration of native vegetation in the Legal Reserves for those farmers that are interested in renewing their contracts after expiration. Meanwhile, the *Oásis* scheme specifically targets those farmers that have already registered their Legal Reserves. And even in the case of *ProdutorES*, which does not require Legal Reserves or other environmental designations for participation, a substantial number of participants interviewed declared that they respect and agree with this legal stipulation. Therefore, it was revealed that Legal Reserves are not only an important element for targeting PES schemes but also that compliance with Legal Reserves is an important driver of PES participation.

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<sup>6</sup> According to the Forestry Code, farmers are obliged to register the Legal Reserve on their farm land at the local notary. Nevertheless, it is common for farmers to keep the mandatory proportion of native vegetation but opt for not registering these specific areas, thus avoiding the registration costs.

Finally, opportunity costs were found to be significant, at 0.01, meaning that farmers with lower opportunity costs have a higher probability of participating in a PES scheme. The results indicate that an increase in the average opportunity costs of a farmer by R\$ 1/ha<sup>7</sup> would decrease the odds of participating by a factor of 0.995. This is consistent with earlier studies (Arriagada et al., 2009), nevertheless, one has to take these opportunity costs results with extreme caution, given the assumptions used to construct opportunity costs values.

## 5. Discussion

Whether poor households can, in comparison to more affluent families, equally participate in PES schemes is an important question raised in the literature. Distributional implications are also a common concern expressed by PES managers in Brazil. Similar to Pagiola et al. (2010), the results from our study suggest that poor households can indeed participate in PES schemes. In contrast with Zbinden and Lee (2005), neither the logistic model results nor the qualitative analysis suggest that economic factors such as income or farm size determine participation in the three studied cases. This obviously does not guarantee that PES are equitable instruments *per se*, since equity goes beyond just distribution of benefit and costs, touching upon issues of decision making and overcoming of structural constraints (McDermott et al., 2012). Moreover, it does not guarantee that poor households always benefit from PES schemes, given that in some cases participation can imply changes in an existing agricultural system and production which might not be fully compensated by PES payments. But it is certainly a positive

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<sup>7</sup> Approximately USD 0.59/ha. In 2011 the annual average exchange rate was USD 1 = R\$ 1.67.

argument for those promoting PES schemes, not only as an instrument to address environmental issues but also as a rural development instrument with potential poverty alleviation features (Grieg-Gran et al., 2005).

As described above, a considerable number of farmers – participants and non-participants – have expressed dubious perceptions about whether increasing forest cover implies improvement in water quality and quantity. This result differs from Kosoy et al. (2007), who find a rather homogenous and almost consensual perception among participants and non-participants that “more forest leads to better water quantity and quality”, although the authors also point out that mismatch between scientific evidence and popular belief is potentially higher regarding water quality than quantity. Doubts about and resistance to accepting the basic theory of change proposed by PES schemes can originate from the complexity and uncertainties related to their hydrological or environmental functioning. But it can also represent a strategic position adopted by some landholders to voice their discontent with coercion and pressure applied by PES managers, as seemed to be the case in *Extrema* presented in this paper.

Access to information emerged as an extremely relevant factor driving participation. This is not surprising, since other studies have pointed towards to the importance of effective communication strategies between scheme managers and rural communities (Garbach et al., 2012; Zbinden and Lee, 2005). But the relationship between information and participation is not straightforward. While analyzing voluntary conservation programs in Germany, Frondel et al. (2012) concluded that information can have positive and negative influences on decisions to join the programs. Farmers may opt to decline participation when, for instance, they are informed that the program may imply negative

542 consequences for themselves, that is, when opportunity costs outweigh PES payments.  
543 Moreover, in some contexts, farmers may have limited ability to absorb information  
544 transmitted through written and other formal channels. And intensifying communication  
545 certainly has its limits, given that becoming informed about a scheme is merely the entry  
546 point for a farmer's decision about whether to join it or not.

547 The present study, however, found that, even when controlled for opportunity costs,  
548 access to information appeared to be the most important single factor explaining higher  
549 propensity to participate in the PES schemes. In all three schemes, meetings and direct  
550 contact through technicians and extension officers were preferred as the main  
551 communication channel. While, on one hand, this approach favors information  
552 transmission in areas where formal education is restricted, on the other hand, it can be  
553 costly and demanding in terms of personnel. But regardless of the nuances in the  
554 communication strategies tried by PES managers in the three schemes, there still seemed  
555 to be insufficient communication. In fact, while in the field, it was many times easier to  
556 find farmers who had never even heard of the PES schemes than those who were  
557 minimally informed. This is particularly relevant because, being a controllable factor  
558 from the point of the view of the PES manager – compared for instance with  
559 environmental concern – it indicates a likelihood that communication strategies are being  
560 overlooked in the Brazilian context. Indeed, in many situations, interviewed managers  
561 demonstrated themselves to be more concerned with finding the right payment level or  
562 polish optimal contract terms than with effective communication with rural dwellers.

563 Our results also support recent studies which stress increased attention to the governance  
564 structures of PES schemes (Matzdorf et al., 2013; Muradian et al., 2013). We found that

more centralized and top-down approaches, such as the case of *Extrema*, may have advantages in reaching a higher share of land users in a relatively short period. However, this may also put relationship and trust building in jeopardy, as indicated by the significantly lower levels of satisfaction among *Extrema* farmers, in comparison with those in *ProdutorES* or *Oásis*. This cannot be explained by the payment levels or opportunity costs involved, since they were higher and lower, respectively, than in the other two cases, but by the lack of ownership of the decision to participate in the PES scheme for the farmers. The development of more disaggregated governance structures might be time consuming, requiring presence on the ground, and it might prove difficult to manage. However, as indicated by Sommerville et al. (2010), poor governance can be detrimental to trust building, endangering the sustainability of a scheme in the long term (Muradian et al., 2013).

Certainly, trust is a highly contextual factor, strongly affected by past interactions and social relationships between actor groups, as the cases have evidenced. In *Extrema*, the fact that the agency coordinating the scheme was the same responsible for monitoring compliance with environmental legislation was not a conducive aspect. But trust can also be developed. In *Oásis*, convincing farm union leaders was crucial to reducing entry barriers caused by suspicion or misunderstanding. In *ProdutorES*, distribution of responsibilities with local associations facilitated contact between the state-level agency and land users. This demonstrates that accommodating existing institutions and organizations in scheme design and implementation can be a meaningful way of developing ownership and trust between managers and communities.

## 6. Conclusions

Results from this study confirm findings made by other authors that non-economic factors, such as trust and participation in scheme design, play a crucial role in determining decision by land users on whether to participate in PES schemes in a sustained way (Corbera and Pascual, 2012; Van Hecken and Bastiaensen, 2010). Although economic factors cannot be disregarded – as confirmed by the results regarding opportunity costs – this study has demonstrated that other features, such as the process of designing and implementing PES schemes, are critical for successfully engaging farmers in them. Moving beyond *homo economicus* (Gintis, 2000) will assist PES scheme managers in shaping better schemes.

Some factors identified in this study are apparently out of reach for PES scheme managers in the short run, for example levels of environmental concern and farm characteristics, exogenous in the short term.

However, some highly relevant factors are distinctively within the scope of such programs and could have profound implications for policymaking. Access to information, identified as the single most important explanatory factor for the probability of farmers to join PES schemes, is not receiving the deserved attention, at least in the Brazilian context. In addition, decentralized and multi-level governance structures proved to be more effective in trust building, in contrast to more centralized approaches. We conclude that greater investment in effective interaction activities between PES scheme managers and land users should be designed. This could, we believe, lead to a much higher pay-off than simply increasing payment levels.

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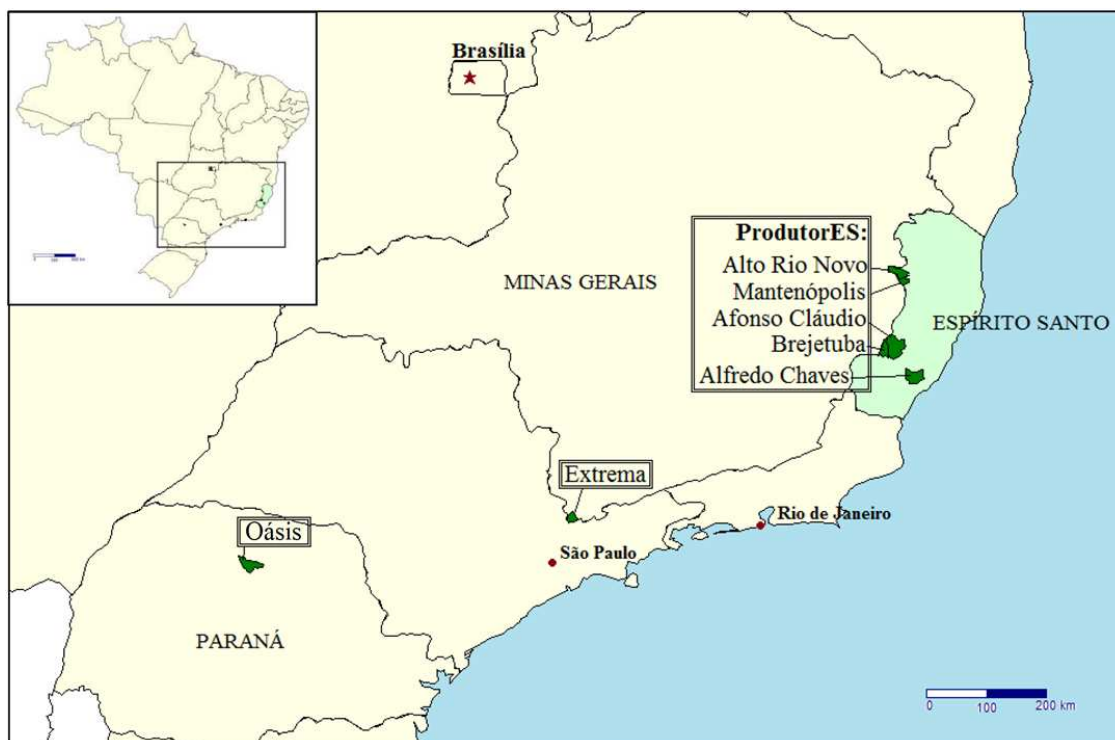
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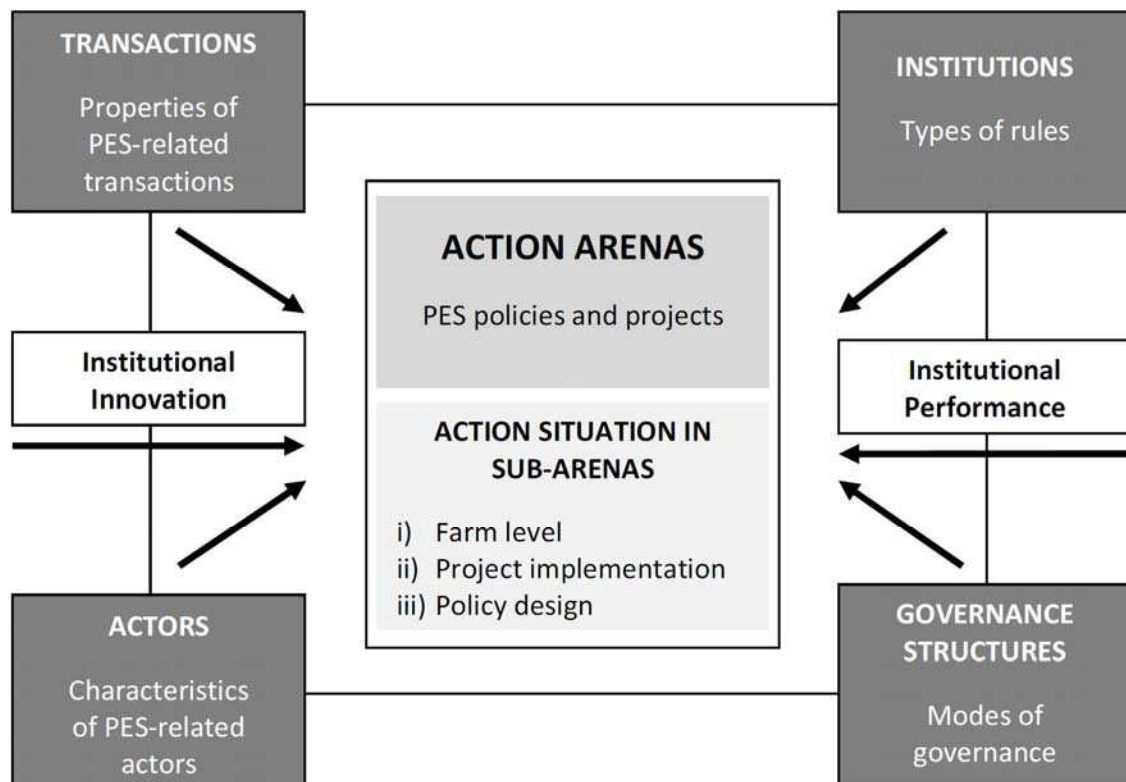
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**Figure 1: Extrema, ProdutorES and Oásis locations**



**Figure 2:** *Institutions of sustainability (IoS) framework applied to PES*



769 **Table 1.** Main characteristics of *Extrema*, *ProdutorES* and *Oásis*

	Extrema	ProdutorES	Oásis
Funding sources	Primary source: municipality budget. Secondary source: public–private partnerships and funds from a regional watershed committee ( <i>Piracicaba and Jaguari River Basin Committee – Comitê PCJ</i> )	State Fund for Water Resources (FUNDAGUA), financed by a 3% transfer of oil and gas royalties, with complementary funding from the State budget	Tax on local water company gross profit (1%), channeled to the Municipal Environmental Fund
Organizations and roles	Municipal Environmental Agency leads the process	State Environmental Agency (IEMA) leads the process but relies strongly on partnerships formed with municipal councils, river basin committees, farmers associations, and NGOs	Municipal Environmental Agency leads the process but relies strongly on a partnership established with an NGO
Main contract features	4 years, renewable; fixed payment of R\$ 176/year <sup>a</sup> (proxy of the estimated opportunity costs: OCs) per hectare of total farm area	3 years; payment determined by an equation subject to plot slope, forest stage level, and an estimation of the OCs in the region; premiums paid per hectare of forest within 100m from a water body; average value is R\$ 146 per hectare enrolled	4-years; payment defined by a table of ecosystem services valuation, where preservation of water springs is the main factor; annual payments vary from R\$ 864 to R\$ 7,250 per farm (R\$ 20/ha to more than R\$ 200/ha)

<sup>a</sup> In 2011, the annual average of the exchange rate was USD 1 = R\$ 1.67.

Source: authors' field data

771 **Table 2.** Latent variables and constituent indicators

Variable	Description	Unit/M Measurement
<i>ACI (x12): access to information on PES scheme</i>		
ACI1	Have you heard about the PES scheme?	0 = no, 1 = yes
ACI2	Have you participated in meetings about the scheme?	0 = no, 1 = yes
ACI3	Have you been visited to discuss the scheme?	0 = no, 1 = yes
<i>GEC (x13): general environmental concern</i>		
GEC1	How important is to take care of forests in general?	5-point Likert scale
GEC2	How important are forests for water quantity/quality?	5-point Likert scale
GEC3	How interested are you in the environment?	5-point Likert scale
<i>KEL (x14): knowledge about environmental legislation</i>		
KEL1	Do you know what a Legal Reserve is?	0 = no, 1 = yes
KEL2	Do you know what Permanent Protection Areas (APPs) are?	0 = no, 1 = yes
KEL3	How much do you know about the Forestry Code?	5-point Likert scale
<i>CRED (x15): access to credit</i>		
CRED1	New farm investment in the past five years?	0 = no, 1 = yes
CRED2	Has total cultivated/pasture area increased in the past five years?	0 = no, 1 = yes
CRED3	Credit was taken in the past five years?	0 = no, 1 = yes

772 *Source:* authors' field data

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774 **Table 3.** Opportunity cost estimations: formulas and sources

General formula:
$OC_i = \frac{(B_i - PES_i)}{A_i}$ <p>Where: <math>OC_i</math> is the Opportunity Cost of farmer <math>i</math> in R\$/hectare  <math>PES_i</math> is the PES value of farmers <math>i</math><sup>a</sup>  <math>A_i</math> is the total farm area of farmer <math>i</math><sup>b</sup>  <math>B_i</math> is the potential income of alternative economic activity of farmer <math>i</math>, defined as:</p>
1) Extrema:
$B_i = APP_i * 150$ <p>Where: <math>APP_i</math> is the Permanent Protection Area of farmer <math>i</math><sup>b</sup>, in practice, the area that receives intervention from the PES schemes<sup>c</sup>  R\$ 150/ha is the reference value for renting land in the region. No slope correction is used, since dominant activity is pasture grazing<sup>c</sup></p>
2) ProdutorES:
$B_i = IA_i * 740s$ <p>Where: <math>IA_i</math> is the intervention area of farmer <math>i</math><sup>d</sup>  R\$ 740/ha is the reference value of best alternative forgone in the region, <math>s</math> is a slope correction factor, assumed as<sup>c</sup>:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ 1.00 if variable SLOPE (<math>x_{20}</math>) = 1, 2 or 3</li> <li>▪ 0.75 if variable SLOPE (<math>x_{20}</math>) = 4: high amount in slope area (60-90%)</li> <li>▪ 0.50 if variable SLOPE (<math>x_{20}</math>) = 5: almost all in slope area (&lt;90%)</li> </ul>
3) Oásis:
$B_i = A_i * 0.25 * PF_j$ <p>Where: <math>A_i</math> is the total farm area of farmer <math>i</math><sup>b</sup>  0.25 is an assumption of the intervention area (20% for RL, plus 5% for additional APP areas)  <math>PF_j</math> is the reference value of dominant activity conducted by farmers:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ R\$ 1666/ha for grains<sup>c</sup></li> <li>▪ R\$ 1180/ha for coffee, which is the average profitability of 2010 and 2011 (DERAL/SEAB, 2011)</li> <li>▪ R\$ 148/ha for pasture<sup>c</sup></li> </ul>

<sup>a</sup> For farmers participating in the PES scheme, payment level is as stipulated in the contract. For farmers not participating in the PES scheme, the median value per hectare of PES payments and the minimum and maximum limits per farmer were assumed. <sup>b</sup> As stipulated in the contract. <sup>c</sup> According to interviewees (farmers and project managers). <sup>d</sup> For farmers participating in the PES scheme, intervention area is as stipulated in the contract. For farmers not participating in the PES scheme, the median proportion of the intervention area of the total farm area was assumed.

Source: authors' field data

775 **Table 4.** Population, sample, and participation rates in PES schemes

	Extrema		ProdutorES		Oásis	
	Pop.	Sample	Pop.	Sample	Pop.	Sample
Participating <sup>a</sup>	96 (32.4%)	37	180 (9.3%)	27	133 (19.1%)	27
Non-Participating <sup>b</sup>	200	17	1752	30	562	25
<b>Total</b>	<b>296</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>1932</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>695</b>	<b>52</b>
<b>3 PES cases</b>						
Participating <sup>a</sup>	409 (13.2%)	91				
Non-Participating <sup>b</sup>	2694	72				
<b>Total</b>	<b>3103</b>	<b>163</b>				

<sup>a</sup> Figure in parenthesis refers to proportion of participants in total number of eligible farmers.

<sup>b</sup> While the number of participants is an easy-accessible and reliable data given by local managers, the number of non-participants was estimated from Agricultural Census data. These figures have high chances of overestimation, since they are based on self-declaratory farmers' responses, which generally declare to contain more forest area in their farms than in reality in order to comply with environmental legislation. An exception is the case of *Extrema*. For this PES scheme, detailed geo-referenced maps of the two eligible micro watersheds were produced, with reliable information also about non-participants.

Sources: authors' field data, Agricultural Census 2006.

776 **Table 5.** Variables, units of measurement, and summary statistics

Variable	Units of Measurement	Participating	Non-participating	Sig.
<i>Dependent variable</i>				
PARTICIPATION ( $z$ )	0 = no, 1 = yes	n = 91	n = 72	
<i>Farmer and household characteristics</i>				
AGE ( $x_1$ )	years	57.1 (14.4)	54.2 (12.3)	<sup>a</sup> 0.180
GENDER ( $x_2$ )	in %			<sup>b</sup> 0.022**
Female		13.2	27.4	
Male		86.8	72.6	
TIME LIVING IN THE REGION ( $x_3$ )	years	43.84 (20.77)	40.75 (21.12)	<sup>a</sup> 0.350
EDUCATION ( $x_4$ )	years of formal study	6.10 (4.88)	6.48 (4.93)	<sup>a</sup> 0.624
HOUSEHOLD SIZE ( $x_5$ )	number of members	3.11 (1.52)	3.06 (1.54)	<sup>a</sup> 0.822
FAMILY LABOUR INTENSITY ( $x_6$ )	worker/hectares	0.10 (0.27)	0.20 (0.52)	<sup>c</sup> 0.126 <sup>d</sup> 0.050** <sup>e</sup> 0.053*
DEPENDENCY RATIO ( $x_7$ )	children/elderly per total number of household members	0.22 (0.30)	0.17 (0.24)	<sup>a</sup> 0.269
HOUSEHOLD INCOME ( $x_8$ )	in %			<sup>b</sup> 0.486
< 1 min. salary (R\$ 545)		2.7	2.2	
1-3 min. salaries		49.3	37.8	
4-10 min. salaries		34.2	44.4	
> 10 min. salaries		13.7	15.6	
OFF-FARM INCOME SHARE ( $x_9$ )	in %			<sup>b</sup> 0.051*
almost nothing	>10%	14.4	20.8	
low amount	10-30%	15.6	2.8	
considerable amount	30-60%	16.7	20.8	
high amount	60-90%	32.2	26.4	
almost everything	>90%	21.1	29.2	
RESIDENCE AT FARM ( $x_{10}$ ) –	head of the household main residence			<sup>b</sup> 0.408
no	in %	23.1	17.8	

yes		76.9	82.2	
ASSOCIATION MEMBERSHIP ( $x_{11}$ )	in %			<sup>b</sup> 0.496
no		49.5	54.8	
yes		50.5	45.2	
ACCESS TO INFORMATION ( $x_{12}$ )	Latent variables (see supplementary material 2)	0.58 (0.68)	-0.73 (0.83)	<sup>a</sup> 0.000***
GENERAL ENVIR CONCERN ( $x_{13}$ )		0.25 (0.91)	-0.32 (1.02)	<sup>a</sup> 0.000***
KNOWLEDGE OF ENVIR LEGISLATION ( $x_{14}$ )		0.04 (0.93)	-0.05 (1.07)	<sup>a</sup> 0.598
ACCESS TO CREDIT ( $x_{15}$ )		0.07 (0.98)	-0.08 (1.01)	<sup>a</sup> 0.308
<i>Farm structure/practices</i>				
FARM SIZE ( $x_{16}$ )	hectares	45.65 (58.61)	42.69 (116.7)	<sup>a</sup> 0.833
DIVERSIFICATION ( $x_{17}$ )	number of agricultural activities	2.66 (1.10)	2.38 (1.07)	<sup>a</sup> 0.109
DOMINANT AGRI ACTIVITY ( $x_{18}$ ) <sup>f,g</sup>	in %			<sup>b</sup> 0.045**
dairy/beef cattle		35.2	27.4	
grain		6.6	13.7	
other crops		1.1	8.2	
coffee		31.9	26.0	
planted forest		7.7	7.7	
leisure/residence		9.9	15.1	
aquaculture		3.3	0.0	
rural tourism		3.3	5.5	
others				
FARM MAIN ACTIVITY IS ( $x_{19}$ )	Dominant Extrema = dairy/beef cattle			<sup>b</sup> 0.310
dominant in the region	Dominant ProdutorES = coffee	62.6	54.8	
alternative in the region	Dominant Oásis = coffee/grains	37.4	45.2	
FARM SLOPE AREA( $x_{20}$ ) <sup>d</sup>	in % of total farm area			<sup>b</sup> 0.041**
almost nothing & low share	>10% + 10-30%	26.7	39.7	
considerable share	30-60%	25.6	31.5	
high share	60-90%	37.8	17.8	
almost all in slope area	<90%	10.0	11.0	
FOREST AREA ( $x_{21}$ )	in % of total farm area			<sup>b</sup> 0.007***
<10%		13.2	36.1	
10-24%				

25-50%		52.7	37.5	
>50%		19.8	16.7	
		14.3	9.7	
Legal Reserve: RL ( $x_{22}$ )	in %			<sup>b</sup> 0.028**
no		23.1	32.9	
yes		44.0	52.1	
yes and registered		33.0	15.1	
Permanent Protection Area: APP ( $x_{23}$ )	in %			<sup>b</sup> 0.038**
none		22.0	16.4	
only riparian vegetation		13.2	26.0	
only vegetation in high slope areas		14.3	23.3	
all required APPs		50.5	34.2	

*PES scheme factors*

OPPORTUNITY COSTS ( $x_{31}$ )	See section 2.2.1	-80.93 (387.82)	30.11 (198.63)	<sup>a</sup> 0.028**
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Parenthesis are standard deviations

\* significant at  $p < 0.1$ ; \*\* significant at  $p < 0.05$ ; \*\*\* significant at  $p < 0.01$

<sup>a</sup> Independent t-test (continuous variable, equal variances assumed); <sup>b</sup> Pearson chi-square test (categorical variable); <sup>c</sup> independent-samples Mann-Whitney U test (continuous variable, unequal variances assumed); <sup>d</sup> independent-samples median test (continuous variable, unequal variances assumed); <sup>e</sup> independent-samples Kolmogorov-Smirnov test (continuous variable, unequal variances assumed); <sup>f</sup> cells without count were eliminated; <sup>g</sup> cells with less than three counts were merged into 'others' or into the subsequent category

Source: authors' field data

777 **Table 6.** Model results: third run

Variables	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Odd ratio(e <sup>B</sup> )
Family Labor Intensity ( $x_6$ )	-3.262	1.431	5.200	1	.023**	.038
Access to Information ( $x_{12}$ )	1.794	.321	31.164	1	.000***	6.015
General Environmental Concern ( $x_{13}$ )	.603	.275	4.803	1	.028**	1.827
No Legal Reserve ( $x_{22}$ )			5.788	2	.055*	
Unregistered Legal Reserve ( $x_{22}$ )_1	-2.010	.890	5.105	1	.024**	.134
Registered Legal Reserve ( $x_{22}$ )_2	-1.620	.740	4.789	1	.029**	.198
Opportunity Costs ( $x_{31}$ )	-.005	.002	8.072	1	.004***	.995
Constant	2.078	.687	9.149	1	.002***	7.991

Seven involuntary participants and seven outliers were eliminated (n = 149)

Reference category for RL ( $x_{22}$ ): no [Indicator]

Hosmer and Lemeshow Test: chi-square = 8.663, df = 8, Sig. .371

-2 Log likelihood = 103.447, Cox & Snell R Square = .497, Nagelkerke R Square = .663. Overall percentage of right prediction = 86.6%

\* significant at  $p < 0.1$ ; \*\* significant at  $p < 0.05$ ; \*\*\* significant at  $p < 0.01$

Source: authors' field data

779 **Supplementary material 1.** Interview guide780 *Launching question:* Who are the main actors and actor groups in the PSE discussion, and who represents them?

781

Objectives / keywords	Questions
<b>Sub-theme: characteristics of actors and actor groups</b>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Motivations</li> <li>• Innovative actors</li> <li>• Unsupportive groups</li> <li>• Power relations</li> </ul>	<p>What are the main motivations for each group to engage in the negotiation process?</p> <p>Was there any key actor who introduced, suggested, or supported this institutional innovation? Who were the founding parents?</p> <p>Was there any actor group that was against it and had acted against the development of the negotiating process?</p> <p>What are the distinct power relations between the different groups, public and private? Are these differing power relations significant for the final [result of] policy design?</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Involuntary exclusion</li> <li>• Voluntary non-participants</li> </ul>	<p>Are there farmers that wished to participated, but could not?</p> <p>Are there farmers that are against and who wish to keep holding exclusive rights over the land use under their properties? Are these influential farmers?</p>
<b>Sub-theme: resource characteristics and transactions</b>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ecosystem rationale</li> <li>• Forest–water connection</li> <li>• Direct–indirect measurement</li> </ul>	<p>What is the ecosystem rationale behind the PSE scheme in the region?</p> <p>In what manner do you expect that forest cover increases and recovery could contribute to increases in water quality?</p> <p>Are there bio-physical targets for measuring this direct effect? Or do you expect to perform only indirect measurement?</p>
<b>Sub-theme: property rights and institutions</b>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Buyer definition</li> <li>• Property rights: land &amp; water</li> <li>• Social function</li> <li>• Government as intermediary</li> </ul>	<p>Who pays for the environmental service provision? In which way?</p> <p>Are the property rights exclusively related to land or are rights also attached to rivers and water springs?</p> <p>Who holds water rights? Also society/public? In the case of water, is there any clear mandate like “land use with a social function”?</p> <p>Does the public service act as an intermediary between water buyers and consumers?</p>
<b>Sub-theme: governance structures</b>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Negotiating parties</li> <li>• Policy design</li> <li>• Policy implementation</li> <li>• Standard or case-by-case</li> <li>• Procedures</li> <li>• Monitoring</li> </ul>	<p>Who are the negotiating parties of the contracts?</p> <p>What organisations are responsible for policy design?</p> <p>What organisations are responsible for policy implementation and payment definition? Where do the resources come from?</p> <p>Are there standard procedures, or are contracts negotiated case-by-case? Is there a “proposal–counter proposal” procedure?</p> <p>What are the necessary steps for farmer inscription and payment? What is necessary for applying? (transactions costs)</p> <p>Who performs the monitoring? How?</p>
782	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Bonus question:</b> After recovery is completed, how to engage farmers in long term strategies of water quality and forest conservation? How to maintain positive results in the long term, if the financial incentive is ceased? <i>Source:</i> authors.</li> </ul>
783	

## Supplementary material 2: Construction of latent variables

Four attitude variables – belonging to the group of farmer and household characteristics – are not directly observable and, therefore, were estimated through the use of latent variables. Different scaling techniques can be employed to construct unobserved variables. In this study, we grouped indicators and validated each constructed variable using factor analysis. Nonetheless, it is important to note that the combination of indicators should not follow a subjective selection process, since indicators have to represent a “single underlying continuum of meaning” (Garson, 2011a, p.7). In the context of farmers’ motivations, this continuum of meaning is represented by opinions, preferences, or perceptions related to a particular attitude, and the chosen indicators have to connect to these opinions. This continuum of meaning may also represent other non-observable categories, such as information or knowledge access. The complete list of latent variables and their constituent indicators is reproduced in Table 1 of this supplementary material. Some of the indicators were directly measured by binary response; others were qualitatively measured using a 5-point Likert scale.

**Table 1.** Latent variables and constituent indicators

Variable	Description	Unit/Measurement
<i>ACI (<math>x_{12}</math>): access to information on PES scheme</i>		
ACI1	Have you heard about the PES scheme?	0 = no, 1 = yes
ACI2	Have you participated in meetings about the scheme?	0 = no, 1 = yes
ACI3	Have you been visited to discuss the scheme?	0 = no, 1 = yes
<i>GEC (<math>x_{13}</math>): general environmental concern</i>		
GEC1	How important is to take care of forests in general?	5-point Likert scale
GEC2	How important are forests for water quantity/quality?	5-point Likert scale
GEC3	How interested are you in the environment?	5-point Likert scale

<i>KEL (x14): knowledge about environmental legislation</i>		
KEL1	Do you know what a Legal Reserve is?	0 = no, 1 = yes
KEL2	Do you know what Permanent Protection Areas (APPs) are?	0 = no, 1 = yes
KEL3	How much do you know about the Forestry Code?	5-point Likert scale
<i>CRED (x15): access to credit</i>		
CRED1	New farm investment in the past five years?	0 = no, 1 = yes
CRED2	Has total cultivated/pasture area increased in the past five years?	0 = no, 1 = yes
CRED3	Credit was taken in the past five years?	0 = no, 1 = yes

*Source:* authors' field data

Following Toma and Mathijs (2007, p. 149), testing the validity of latent variables followed a two-step procedure. First, a factor analysis using Principal Component Analysis and varimax rotation was applied to the full set of 12 indicators to assess the appropriateness of defining four latent variables. According to the Kaiser criterion (Eigenvalues > 1) and interpretation of the screen plot, the reduction to four factors was appropriate. The total variance explained with four factors accounted for 68.68%. Second, a separate factor analysis for each of these factors was performed to assess the indicators' total variance explained by each of the generated factors. All indicators present factor loadings higher than .65, and the total variance explained by each factor varied between 59% and 82%, confirming the appropriateness of reducing the indicators to the selected factors. These high values indicate that the study's logistic regression can be modeled with the scores of the four proposed latent variables without losing too much information. The results for this validation exercise are presented in Table 2 of this supplementary material.

**Table 2.** Separate factor analyses<sup>a</sup> of constituent indicators for each latent variable

<b>Factor/Component</b>		<b>Total Variance Explained</b>
<i>ACI (x12): access to information on PES scheme</i>		<i>59.275%</i>
Component Matrix		
ACI1	.764	
ACI2	.753	
ACI3	.792	
<i>GEC (x13): general environmental concern</i>		<i>82.005%</i>
Component Matrix		
GEC1	.924	
GEC2	.915	
GEC3	.877	
<i>KEL (x14): knowledge about environmental legislation</i>		<i>61.340%</i>
Component Matrix		
KEL1	.738	
KEL2	.773	
KEL3	.836	
<i>CRED (x15): access to credit</i>		<i>63.704%</i>
Component Matrix		
CRED1	.877	
CRED2	.841	
CRED3	.659	

<sup>a</sup> Extraction method: Principal Component Analysis

Source: author's field data

