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## 4 **Reconciling farmers' expectations with the demands of the emerging UK agricultural soil carbon** 5 **market**

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### 9 **Abstract**

10 This paper explores farmers' and land managers' perceptions of the emerging agricultural soil carbon  
11 market in the UK and examines their willingness to adopt soil health management practices to enhance  
12 and/or maintain soil carbon stocks and enthusiasm for and interest in participation in soil carbon  
13 sequestration schemes. Data were collected through online questionnaires administered to 100 farmers  
14 and six organisations responsible for the operationalisation and development of carbon codes in the UK  
15 using online questionnaires. The results indicate that farmers' prior adoption of practices that promote  
16 soil health does not necessarily translate into a willingness to adopt additional practices and/or "buy  
17 into" soil carbon sequestration schemes. Farmers have reservations about planning and implementing  
18 soil carbon projects due to the terms and conditions associated with participation in the emerging UK  
19 agricultural soil carbon market. Although the carbon market may attract new entrants, early adopters of  
20 soil health management practices are likely to be excluded from soil carbon sequestration schemes  
21 established by public and private sector actors based on additionality criteria. The results of this study  
22 also suggest early adopters' expectations regarding their scope to derive benefits from participation in  
23 the carbon market are at odds with the demands of the carbon market as articulated by the carbon codes  
24 driving the development and growth of the market. These results highlight that the key role that early  
25 adopters may play in encouraging new entrants to engage with the carbon market should not be  
26 underestimated. It contends that enhancing the transparency, robustness, and integrity of the carbon  
27 market hinges on incentivising early adopters to adopt additional practices that promote soil health and  
28 facilitate their participation in the market, alongside new entrants. The paper argues that kick-starting  
29 and supporting the growth of the agricultural soil carbon market is contingent on reconciling farmers'  
30 expectations with the demands of the market, during an initial transition period, through flexible  
31 implementation of rules and regulations outlined by carbon codes regarding soil carbon sequestration  
32 and storage in agricultural soils.

### 33 **1. Introduction**

34 The potential for sequestering carbon in agricultural soils has been widely advocated by global  
35 initiatives such as the '4 per 1000 Initiative: Soils for Food Security and Climate' which aims to increase  
36 soil organic carbon (SOC) by 0.4% annually and, thereby, contribute to efforts to keep global warming  
37 below 1.5 degrees above a pre-industrial baseline (Rumpel et al., 2020; Soussana et al., 2019; Minasny

38 et al., 2017). Soil carbon sequestration is considered part of the solution to drive the global economy  
39 towards net zero, and achieving the goals of the UNFCCC Paris Agreement. In line with its objective  
40 of being net zero by 2050, the UK government has committed to a drastic cut in greenhouse gas (GHG)  
41 emissions from all sectors, including those from agricultural activities. A reduction in GHG emissions  
42 is essential to meet net zero targets, however, greenhouse gas removal (GGR) will be essential to  
43 balance residual emissions in hard-to-abate sectors in 2050, such as aviation, agriculture, and certain  
44 heavy industries (BEIS, 2021b). The UK has in recent years explored and invested in different solutions  
45 to capture and ensure long-term storage of greenhouse gases (GHG) from the atmosphere, including  
46 Nature Based Solutions (NBS). NBS have the potential to contribute to both climate change mitigation  
47 and adaptation while delivering multiple benefits for nature and people (Seddon et al., 2020). To date,  
48 the UK discourse related to NBS has been dominated by narratives around peatland, woodland, and salt  
49 marsh protection, restoration, and creation (Bradfer-Lawrence et al., 2021). However, carbon  
50 sequestration in agricultural soils is increasingly recognised by UK academics, policymakers and  
51 practitioners alike as constituting a viable NBS and an important GGR option and, therefore, a climate  
52 change mitigation strategy (Wentworth and Tresise, 2022; Stafford et al., 2021). This shift in the NBS  
53 discourse is a reflection of a growing consensus among scientists, policymakers, public and private  
54 investors, and civil society actors globally that management of soil organic carbon (SOC) constitutes a  
55 ‘natural climate solution’ and that the SOC climate mitigation opportunity has not yet been realised  
56 (Bossio et al., 2020, p. 391).

57 As evidenced by the establishment of the UK Voluntary Carbon Markets Forum in April 2021, there is  
58 growing momentum with regard to creating a high-integrity ecosystem market capable of assessing and  
59 verifying the effectiveness of NBS, including carbon sequestration in agricultural soils. Although only  
60 10% of total GHG emissions in the UK are estimated to stem from the agricultural sector (DEFRA,  
61 2021), it is envisaged that the current development of a policy framework by DEFRA for ecosystem  
62 market development and an agricultural soil carbon market could catalyse the broader land use change  
63 required to realise net zero emission targets outlined by the UK government in its landmark strategy  
64 published in 2021 (BEIS, 2021a). Globally, there are growing calls for concerted action to bring soils  
65 to the forefront of the carbon agenda for climate change and adaptation (Amelung et al., 2020; Minasny  
66 et al., 2017) and for improved soil management to be scaled up through soil carbon sequestration  
67 schemes (Vermeulen et al., 2019).

68 In the UK, academics, policymakers, and practitioners alike are increasingly regarding soil carbon  
69 sequestration schemes as key to securing the provision and regulation of ecosystem services associated  
70 with the global carbon cycle (e.g., carbon sequestration and greenhouse gas and climate regulation) (Lal  
71 et al., 2021). These schemes reward farmers and farm managers (hereafter referred to as farmers) for  
72 their adoption of soil carbon management practices (Mills et al., 2020). Farmers do not adopt practices  
73 explicitly to increase soil organic matter and enhance soil carbon stocks, rather they adopt management

74 practices that promote soil health (Miner et al., 2020). Their motivation to implement such practices  
75 (e.g., planting cover crops, establishing herbal leys, etc.) stems from a desire to improve soil functioning  
76 and properties, and safeguard the ecosystem services provided by soils (Lehmann et al., 2020), address  
77 agricultural production constraints (e.g., declining soil fertility, soil erosion, soil degradation, etc.)  
78 (Henderson et al., 2022; Dumbrell, Kragt and Gibson, 2016). In addition to generating private benefits  
79 for farmers - reduced production costs due to reduced need for and use of external agricultural inputs,  
80 (e.g., synthetic fertiliser and pesticide) labour, and energy (Tiefenbacher et al., 2021), the adoption of  
81 soil health management practices, importantly, can deliver public goods societal co-benefits (e.g.,  
82 increased soil water holding capacity, reduced water- and wind-induced soil erosion, reduced nutrient  
83 runoff, improved hydrological function and water quality, biodiversity, and climate change mitigation,  
84 etc.) (Banwart et al., 2014; Mooney and Williams, 2007).

85 Farmers' decision-making as regards which practices to adopt is nuanced and context-specific, with  
86 their preference typically being to adopt practices that can be incorporated with relative ease into their  
87 agricultural production systems under existing conditions rather than practices that necessitate a major  
88 change to their farming strategies (Henderson et al., 2022). Farmers are not a homogenous population  
89 and their choice of practices not only reflects their ability to navigate social and political barriers faced  
90 in making changes to their farming strategies but also their access to financial and other resources (e.g.,  
91 labour, information, knowledge, and skills) (Henderson et al., 2022; Lal, 2021; Mills et al., 2020). The  
92 extent to which practices are deemed cost-effective hinges on associated upfront investment costs,  
93 ongoing maintenance costs, and opportunity costs; the likely impact of practices on farm profitability  
94 and productivity; and the likely time-lag as regards benefits derived (Henderson et al., 2022; Lal, 2021;  
95 Mills et al., 2020; Dumbrell, Kragt and Gibson, 2016).

96 In the UK, as in other countries, transforming soil carbon sequestration from an aspirational to a widely  
97 implemented, mainstream climate mitigation strategy (Amelung et al., 2020) hinges on addressing  
98 carbon accounting issues currently undermining farmers' willingness to participate in soil carbon  
99 sequestration schemes and the agricultural soil carbon market (Keenor et al., 2021; Kreibich and  
100 Hermwille, 2021). A proliferation of farm-focused greenhouse gas emissions calculators has reduced  
101 the transaction costs associated with direct measurement or empirical and process-based modelling of  
102 changes in soil carbon stocks (Paustian et al., 2019). Confidence in the robustness, transparency, and  
103 integrity of the carbon market, however, continues to be undermined by the issuance of non-equivalent  
104 credits, reflecting the continued pervasiveness of carbon accounting issues relating to the additionality  
105 and permanence of carbon sequestered in agricultural soils, leakage, and the perceived risk of reversals  
106 (Oldfield et al., 2022).

107 Addressing farmers' perception of soil carbon sequestration and participation in the carbon market as  
108 entailing risk (Buck and Palumbo-Compton, 2022) necessitates policymakers adopting an innovative

109 and responsive science-based approach to developing institutional agreements, processes, and  
110 arrangements governing the production, trade, and/or direct sale of soil carbon credits to public and  
111 private sector actors (Dynarski, Bossio, and Scow, 2020; Rodríguez de Francisco and Boelens, 2015).  
112 Beyond considering, for example, whether ecosystem service payments should be bundled/stacked and  
113 public finance should be blended with multiple, co-ordinated private schemes to ensure that public  
114 funds are reserved for landscapes and services not paid for by the market (Reed et al., 2022), it is  
115 imperative that policymakers determine terms and conditions associated with market participation  
116 deemed acceptable and attractive by farmers. In the absence of farmers' enthusiasm for and willingness  
117 to "buy into" soil carbon sequestration schemes, 'the market for soil carbon offsets can be expected to  
118 remain thin or not function at all' (Gramig and Widmar, 2018, p. 518).

119 In the UK, the emergence of an agricultural soil carbon market has led to calls for its regulation and the  
120 development of minimum standards – with a recommendation for these standards recently developed  
121 by the 'UK Farm Soil Carbon Code' (UKFSCC) project funded by the Environmental Agency Natural  
122 Environment Investment Readiness Fund (NEIRF) and Yorkshire Integrated Catchment Solutions  
123 Programme (iCASP) (Sustainable Soils Alliance, 2022). The standards are aimed at governing the  
124 operations and actions of carbon codes (i.e., organisations mandated with monitoring and verifying  
125 changes in soil carbon stocks and/or reductions in soil-derived GHG emissions and overseeing the  
126 production of soil carbon credits) and all other individuals and entities participating in the market (i.e.,  
127 farmers, public and private sector actors) (Black et al., 2022). The development of context-specific  
128 guiding principles for the market is in line with broader global demands for context-specific, rigorous,  
129 and transparent protocol standards for measuring, reporting, and verifying soil carbon sequestration  
130 and/or reductions in soil-derived GHG emissions resulting from the adoption of soil carbon  
131 management practices in line with soil carbon sequestration schemes (Beka et al., 2022; Jackson  
132 Hammond et al., 2021; Alexander et al., 2015).

133 Taking the UK as a case study, this paper aims to elicit farmers' perceptions of the emerging UK  
134 agricultural soil carbon market and compare their expectations with the demands of the market as  
135 articulated by the carbon codes driving its development and growth. The first hypothesis of this study  
136 is that farmers' adoption of soil carbon management practices does not necessarily translate into a  
137 willingness to adopt additional practices and "buy into" soil carbon sequestration schemes. Indeed,  
138 farmers have reservations about planning and implementing soil carbon projects due to the associated  
139 terms and conditions with participation in the carbon market. Recent international studies have explored  
140 farmers' motivation to engage with the global agricultural soil carbon market and, based on an analysis  
141 of barriers faced, examined the extent to which participation in the market constitutes an opportunity  
142 for new entrants (Buck and Palumbo-Compton, 2022; Davidson, 2022; Fleming et al., 2019). However,  
143 we are not aware of any study, either in the UK or elsewhere, that has explored how, alongside new  
144 entrants to the carbon market, early adopters of soil carbon management practices - excluded from soil

145 carbon sequestration schemes established by public and private sector actors based on additionality  
146 criteria - might be incentivised to adopt additional practices and participate in the carbon market.  
147 Anecdotally, farmers' expectations regarding their scope, as early adopters of practices, to derive  
148 benefits from participation in the carbon market are conceptualised as being at odds with the demands  
149 and reality of the market as articulated by the carbon codes driving its development and growth. The  
150 second hypothesis of this study is, thus, that a discrepancy exists between early adopters' expectations  
151 and the demands of the carbon market. Early adopters of practices are expected to play a key role in  
152 encouraging new entrants to engage with the carbon market, by transmitting information and reducing  
153 the level of uncertainty surrounding agricultural technologies and practices, and promoting individual  
154 and social learning (Chavas and Nauges, 2020). The third hypothesis of this study is, therefore, that  
155 incentivising early adopters to adopt additional practices and facilitating their participation in the  
156 market, alongside new entrants, is contingent on reconciling farmers' expectations with the demands of  
157 the market.

## 158 **2. Methodology**

### 159 **2.1 Sampling strategy and study area**

160 This study was conducted in the UK, with data collected from farmers through a self-administered  
161 online questionnaire which was available for completion by potential participants between March and  
162 June 2022. The use of an online rather than a face-to-face questionnaire facilitated data collection,  
163 within a relatively short period of time, from a large and geographically distributed target population of  
164 farmers and rendered the process less costly and time-consuming and, arguably, more cost-effective  
165 than traditional data collection methods (e.g. face-to-face, postal or telephone surveys) (Wright, 2017;  
166 Regmi et al., 2016; Lefever, Fal, and Matthíasdóttir, 2006). An online questionnaire benefits the  
167 respondent who can choose to answer questions at a convenient time and take as much time as they  
168 need to respond to questions (Regmi et al., 2016). Equally, it benefits the researcher who, while waiting  
169 for the desired number of responses to accumulate, can engage in preliminary analysis of data already  
170 collected (Wright, 2017). As data collection is automated (i.e. answers to questions are saved as a  
171 respondent progresses through the pages of an online questionnaire) and data is compiled into a database  
172 that can be downloaded easily and quickly for data analysis purposes, data entry costs are eliminated,  
173 and data management is convenient and reliable (Wright, 2017; Regmi et al., 2016).

174 A purposive and convenience sampling strategy was used to select individuals from the target  
175 population of farmers in the UK. Although the objective was to draw a diverse and representative  
176 population sample, in the end, self-selection bias led to the majority of respondents sampled (90%)  
177 being located in England. The counties of Gloucestershire, Devon, Yorkshire, Cambridgeshire,  
178 Cornwall, Norfolk, Cumbria, Lincolnshire, North Yorkshire, and Worcestershire accounted for  
179 approximately two-thirds of the final sample drawn from the target population (Fig. 1). Respondents



196 one question section to the next, farmers were required to provide an answer to each question displayed,  
197 unless in-built skip patterns were activated. Recognising that this limited farmers' ability to refrain  
198 completely from answering a given question, answer options such as "I don't have a preference", "I  
199 don't know" and "I don't agree with any of these statements" were included. The majority of questions  
200 were multi-choice questions, with respondents ticking a box or number of boxes to indicate that they  
201 were selecting a pre-determined response option or set of options from a given list, respectively. In  
202 answering several of the questions, respondents were asked to select up to three options or permitted to  
203 select a maximum of three options only. Although this inhibited farmers' ability to select all answers  
204 deemed relevant, it reduced the likelihood of farmers selecting all options in answering questions (e.g.,  
205 questions related to motivation to adopt and benefits derived from adopting management practices  
206 promoting soil health) and facilitated the identification and subsequent ranking of the most-selected  
207 options. In addition, the questionnaire comprised two questions that asked farmers to provide written  
208 answers in free text boxes. These questions were included to reduce the risk of fraudulent, inattentive,  
209 and/or implausible responses being recorded and facilitated such responses being identified and  
210 removed from the database during the subsequent data cleaning process. To contextualise the data  
211 collected, the questionnaire also comprised four additional close-ended questions to capture the  
212 respondents' socio-demographic characteristics (e.g. age, gender, level of education, and years of  
213 farming experience).

### 214 **2.3 Process by which the online questionnaire was administered**

215 The questionnaire was pilot-tested by six farmers to ensure that it would facilitate the collection of  
216 reliable and valid data. Skip patterns were built in to ensure that it was user-friendly in design and  
217 layout, enabling respondents to provide answers to individual follow-up questions or sections of the  
218 questionnaire that were not relevant. The pilot farmers were asked whether the instructions provided  
219 regarding the objective of the research were clearly worded and easily understood. Moreover, they were  
220 asked whether the questions that they had answered were appropriate, comprehensive, and ordered in a  
221 logical sequence and whether it did not take too much time to respond to each question. It took the pilot  
222 farmers on average ten mins to complete the questionnaire.

223 Research participants were recruited to complete the questionnaire, which was revised based on the  
224 feedback received during the piloting stage, through social media platforms (e.g. Twitter and LinkedIn).  
225 Furthermore, they were recruited through a link to the questionnaire circulated via an email to self-  
226 registered stakeholders of the UKFSCC project, providing information about the study and its context  
227 within the broader UKFSCC project. This information and a link to the questionnaire was also shared  
228 via online newsletters by several organisations (e.g. NGOs, private sector actors) providing extension  
229 services and advice to farmers across the UK.

230 In total, 170 farmers started filling out the questionnaire, but only 100 farmers completed it; a total of  
231 70 farmers who did not provide full responses to Q1-Q24 were removed from the final dataset. A total  
232 of 57 respondents who indicated that they were not farmers or farm managers (Annex 1, Q1) were  
233 automatically excluded from the study.

#### 234 **2.4 Additional data collection through an online questionnaire completed by UK carbon codes**

235 To compare farmers' expectations of the carbon market with the demands of private sector actors  
236 driving the development of the carbon market, data were also collected through a short online  
237 questionnaire (Annex 2) sent by email to 10 organisations responsible for the operationalisation or  
238 development of carbon codes in the UK. Six organisations responded to the call for participation in the  
239 research, with the data that they provided anonymised to protect their commercial interests. The  
240 questionnaire comprised 23 close-ended questions related to the codes and their scope; carbon project  
241 eligibility, rules, and administration; approaches to determining soil carbon sequestration; and the  
242 carbon market.

#### 243 **2.5 Data management and analysis process**

244 The data generated by the online questionnaire administered to farmers were downloaded as a database  
245 for data cleaning and descriptive analysis was conducted using R statistical software.

### 246 **3. Results**

#### 247 **3.1 Demographic characteristics of farmers sampled**

248 Table 1 presents the demographic characteristics of the farmers who completed the questionnaire.  
249 Respondents who completed the questionnaire were predominantly male; aged between 35-64 years;  
250 had completed formal education related to farming and had extensive farming experience - more than  
251 60% of the sampled population had >20 years of experience. Approximately one-quarter of farmers had  
252 not completed any formal agriculture-related education. The majority of respondents (85%) engaged in  
253 agricultural production on land that they owned, however, more than a third of farmers also rented land  
254 under a short-term or long-term farm business tenancy agreement. Most respondents were farmers who  
255 had landholdings of less than 500 hectares. Nevertheless, several respondents were farmers who had  
256 large farms (i.e., 500-1000 hectares) and several respondents were farm managers responsible for  
257 managing estates of more than 1000 hectares on behalf of a land manager or an agribusiness company.  
258 Half of the farmers derived their income solely from mixed crop-livestock production, livestock (e.g.,  
259 beef and/or sheep production in lowland and/or less-favoured areas), or crop production (e.g., potatoes,  
260 beet, peas, beans, cereal, and oilseed crop production). Two-fifths of the respondents, however, reported  
261 that they also derived a source of income from off-farm activities; this is a high proportion of farmers  
262 given that many owned >100 ha of land from which they derived a farm-related income.



263 Table 1: Demographic characteristics of farmers sampled (n = 100)

		n	
Gender (Q19)	Male	78	
	Female	19	
	Prefer not to say	3	
Age (Q20)	18-24 years	1	
	25-34 years	9	
	35-44 years	20	
	45-54 years	26	
	55-64 years	26	
	65 years and over	15	
	Prefer not to say	3	
Education (Q21)	I have not completed any formal training	24	
	Engaged in ongoing technical/vocational training (e.g. BASIS)	25	
	Bachelor's degree	32	
	Master's degree	13	
	Doctorate degree	6	
Farming experience (Q22)	Less than 5 years	9	
	6-10 years	8	
	11-20 years	22	
	21-30 years	18	
	More than 30 years	43	
Source of income (Q6)	Earning income from farming, but also off-farm activities	45	
	Earning sole source of income from farming	38	
	Earning income by managing a farm on behalf of a company	12	
	Not earning an income from farming	3	
	Earning income from farm diversification/value-adding activities	2	
Land tenancy situation (Q4)	Own land	85	
	Land rented under a short-term agreement	29	
	Land rented under long-term FBT	9	
	Share farm (arable) land	2	
Farm size (ha) (Q5)	0-50	28	
	51-100	14	
	101-200	18	
	201-500	19	
	501-1000	10	
	More than 1000	8	
Type of farm (Q3)	Mixed crop-livestock production	34	
	Livestock production	Lowland grazing livestock production	16
		LFA grazing livestock production	14
		Dairy production	2
	Crop production	Specialist pig production	1
		Arable production	28
		Horticulture and arable production	3
		Horticulture production	2

265 **3.2 Soil health management practices adopted and drivers of adoption at farm level**

266 Table 2 presents an overview of the wide range of soil health management practices that farmers are  
 267 already implementing on their farms. Moreover, the table outlines the range of factors which motivated  
 268 them to adopt these practices, such as declining soil fertility and high production costs associated with  
 269 the use of agrochemicals and/or synthetic fertilisers, and their perception of the benefits derived from  
 270 these practices, beyond the primary benefit of improved soil health.

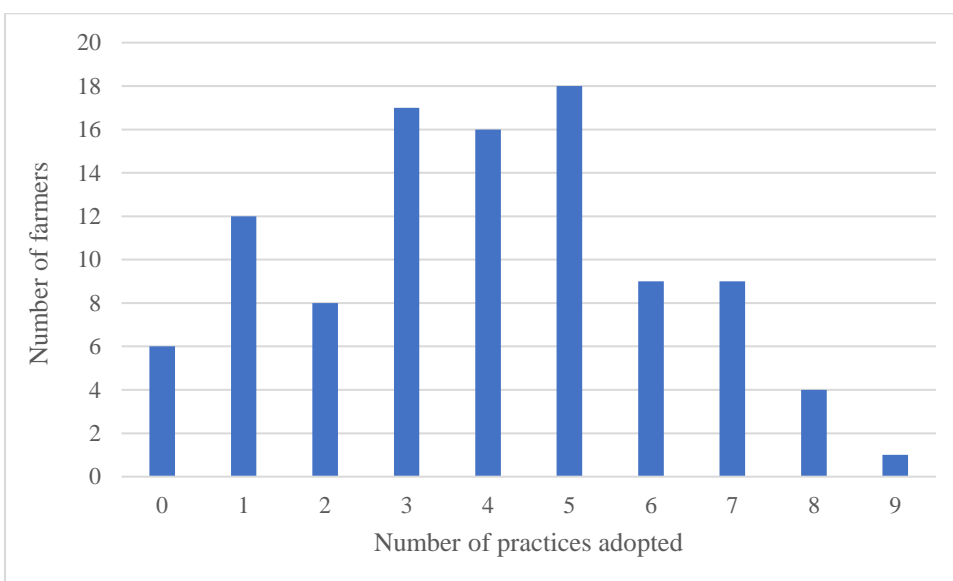
271 Table 2: Type of practices adopted, factors influencing adoption of these practices, and willingness to  
 272 adopt additional practices (n = 100), (respondents were asked to indicate the three most important  
 273 options in answering Q8 and Q9 and as many as applicable in Q7)

		N
Adopted practices (Q7)	No/low/minimal/conservation tillage	63
	Incorporation of a mix of legumes and herbs into grasslands	61
	Low intensity/rotational/mob grazing	60
	Management of field margins	56
	Incorporation of organic amendments into soils	54
	Cover crops	52
	Introducing leys in crop rotations	34
	Agroforestry	19
	Application of biochar	4
	Not implementing any practices	5
Motivation to adopt practices (Q8)	Desire to reduce reliance on agrochemicals and/or synthetic fertilisers	50
	Declining soil fertility	31
	Desire to express my pro-environmental identity	26
	Exposure to extreme weather events	23
	High production costs	22
	Government subsidies/payments	21
	Pressure to contribute to climate change mitigation	12
	Pressure to align practices with certification standards	4
	Pressure from customers/consumers to change farming strategy	2
Desire to gain respect in the community	1	
Benefits derived from adopted practices (other than soil carbon sequestration) (Q9)	Improved soil health	66
	Increased biodiversity on the farm	49
	Improved soil fertility	34
	Reduced production costs	31
	Reduced soil erosion	20
	Increased resilience to extreme weather events	17
	Access to new markets for my produce	6
	Increased crop yields	5
Improved standing in the community	3	
Willingness to adopt additional	Willing to adopt additional practices if paid to do so	61
	Not willing to adopt additional practices, but would like to receive a 'carbon payment' for already adopted practices	19

practices	Willing to adopt additional practices, but no interest in ‘carbon payment’	11
and/or	Not interested in adopting additional practices and/or a ‘carbon payment’	3
interest in	Not sure	6
‘carbon		
payment’		
(Q10)		

274 The majority of respondents (63%) regarded reducing tillage as the single most important step they  
275 could take to enhance and/or maintain soil health. Respondents primarily adopted in-field practices,  
276 such as incorporating legumes and herbs into grasslands and managing livestock stocking rates and  
277 introducing cover crops (e.g. mixed winter forage crops) and leys in rotations, incorporating straw into  
278 the soil, and applying biologically-complete composts. However, providing optional ‘other’ responses  
279 (to Q7), respondents indicated that they also sought to manage field margins by establishing hedges,  
280 taking margins out of cropping, and allowing margins to re-vegetate naturally or sowing wildflower  
281 species and/or cover crops. Approximately one-fifth of respondents (19%) reported that they maintained  
282 part of their farm or the estate managed as an agroforestry system; for example, grazing cattle or sheep  
283 in an area of land shaded by trees.

284 Only a minority of respondents (6%) had not yet implemented any of the soil health management  
285 practices, listed in Table 1, on their farms. Thus, 94% of farmers had already adopted multiple practices  
286 (Figure 1) with a view to improving soil health, addressing soil fertility decline, and reducing production  
287 costs. In the context of calls for farmers in the UK to adopt practices that result in carbon sequestration  
288 in agricultural soil and participate in the carbon market, it is noteworthy that farmers’ adoption of soil  
289 health management practices could lead to an increase in soil carbon stocks; however, it could,  
290 concurrently, undermine their future ability to satisfy one of the key principles underpinning  
291 participation in the emerging UK agricultural soil carbon market, namely, the principle of additionality.



292

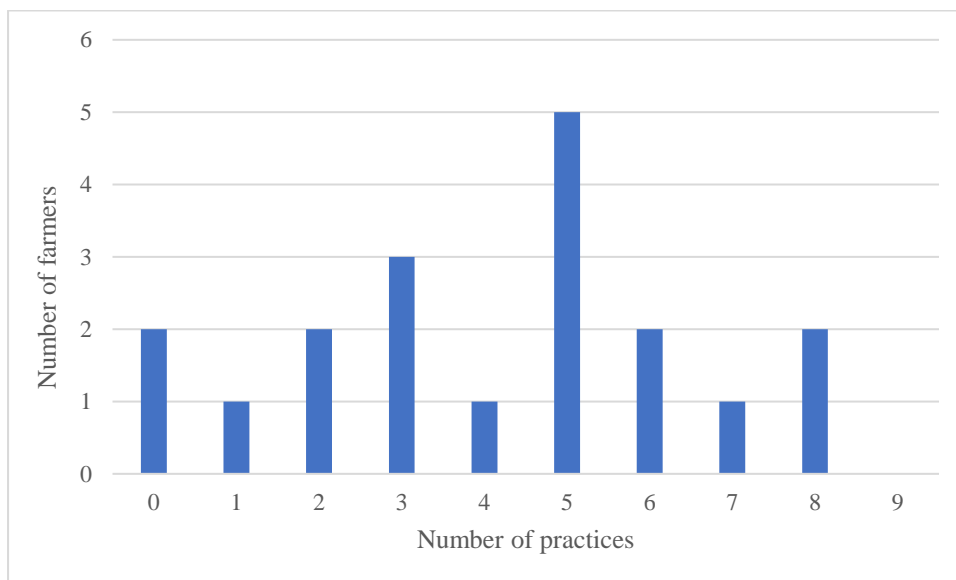
293 Figure 1: Number of practices adopted by farmers (n=100); on average, farmers had adopted 3.9  
294 practices

295 Respondents were driven to implement soil health management practices for a variety of reasons. The  
296 majority of farmers (71%) selected three of the given options in explaining their motivation to adopt  
297 practices. Several farmers (7%) indicated that just two of the given options had informed their adoption  
298 of practices, while a minority of farmers (2%) cited a single given option as underpinning their decision  
299 to adopt practices. Respondents recognised that soil fertility was declining and reported that high input  
300 costs had led them to explore strategies to improve soil fertility that did not involve relying on  
301 agrochemicals and/or synthetic fertilisers. Although respondents were cognisant of the impact of  
302 extreme weather events on agricultural production, only a minority of farmers (12%) perceived a  
303 responsibility to contribute to climate change mitigation, recognising the importance of and the potential  
304 for their adoption of soil health management practices to contribute to soil carbon sequestration and,  
305 therefore, to building carbon stocks. Electing to solely provide an optional 'other' response (to Q8), 8%  
306 of farmers indicated that they had not necessarily been motivated by any particular reason to adopt  
307 practices. Farmers who chose to provide an optional 'other' response in addition to either one of the  
308 given options (1% of farmers) or two of the given options (6% of farmers), primarily referenced  
309 'tradition' as the main reason for their adoption of soil health management practices, asserting that they  
310 'ha[d] always farmed this way'.

311 Beyond improved soil health, respondents indicated that they had derived multiple benefits from the  
312 adoption of practices. The majority of respondents (71%) selected three of the given options in detailing  
313 the benefits of practices. Several farmers (7%) indicated that they had derived two of the given benefits,  
314 while a minority of farmers (2%) were of the opinion that they had derived just one of the given benefits.  
315 Respondents reported reduced production costs, improved soil fertility, reduced soil erosion, and  
316 increased resilience to extreme weather events. Additionally, they reported deriving co-benefits such as  
317 increased biodiversity on their farms. Although farmers were of the opinion that the condition of their  
318 soils had improved as a consequence of practices adopted, they did not consider practices to have  
319 translated into increased crop yields. Few respondents reported that the implementation of practices had  
320 led to direct economic benefits (e.g., higher prices for produce), enabled them to gain access to new  
321 markets for their produce (e.g., certification), or led them to receive compensation from an entity within  
322 their supply chain (e.g., payment for providing soil-related ecosystem services). Electing to solely  
323 provide an optional 'other' response (to Q9), 10% of farmers indicated that it was 'too early to say at  
324 this stage' what the impact of practices had been on farm profitability and productivity and they were  
325 unsure as the 'tools to measure soil improvements are not reliable or easily available'. Farmers who  
326 chose to provide an optional 'other' response in addition to either one of the given options (4% of  
327 farmers) or two of the given options (2% of farmers), primarily cited personal benefits including

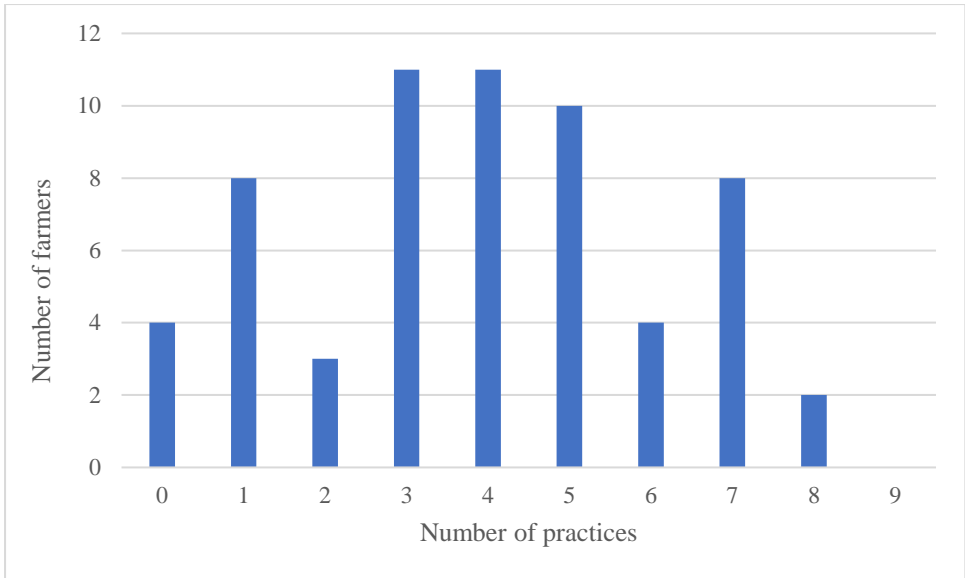
328 'personal satisfaction', 'improved personal understanding of the ecology of soil health' and an 'ability  
329 to farm in harmony with nature'.

330 The majority of respondents (72%) indicated they were willing to adopt practices additional to those  
331 which they were already implementing on their farm to improve soil health. Most respondents (61%)  
332 stated that their adoption of additional practices would be contingent on being paid to do so, however,  
333 several farmers (11%) indicated that they were willing to adopt practices in the absence of a 'carbon  
334 payment', indeed, they did not want to receive any form of monetary compensation. Approximately  
335 one-fifth of respondents (19%) asserted they did not want to adopt additional practices; however, they  
336 wanted to be paid for practices already adopted and for maintaining existing soil carbon stocks. Only a  
337 minority of farmers (3%) indicated that they were neither interested in adopting additional practices nor  
338 receiving a carbon payment. The extent to which farmers had already adopted practices did not  
339 significantly influence their willingness to adopt additional practices (Figures 2-6).



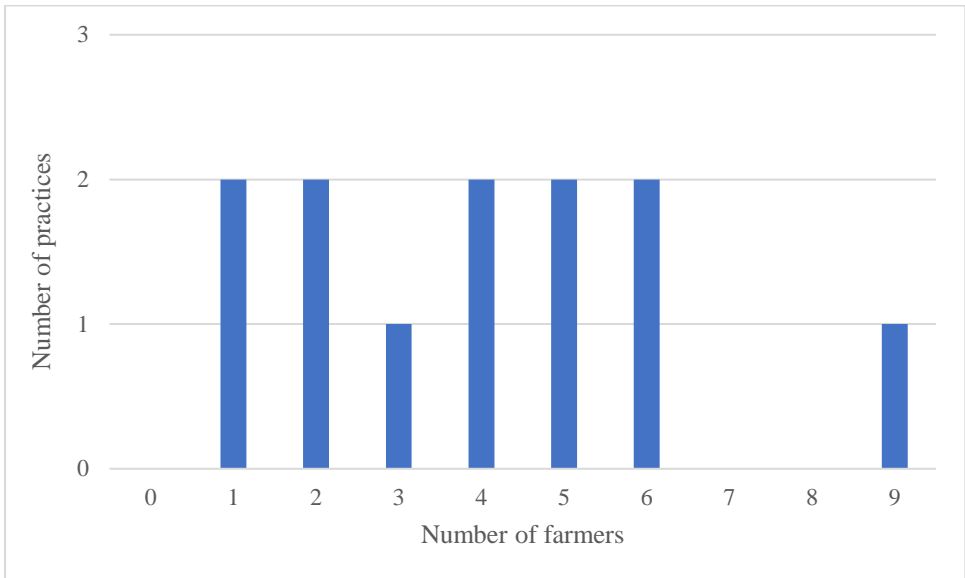
340

341 Figure 2: Number of practices already adopted by farmers who did not want to adopt additional practices  
342 but wanted to be paid for existing carbon stocks (19% of farmers); on average, these farmers had  
343 adopted 4.1 practices (more than the average for the whole sample of farmers, i.e., 3.9 practices)



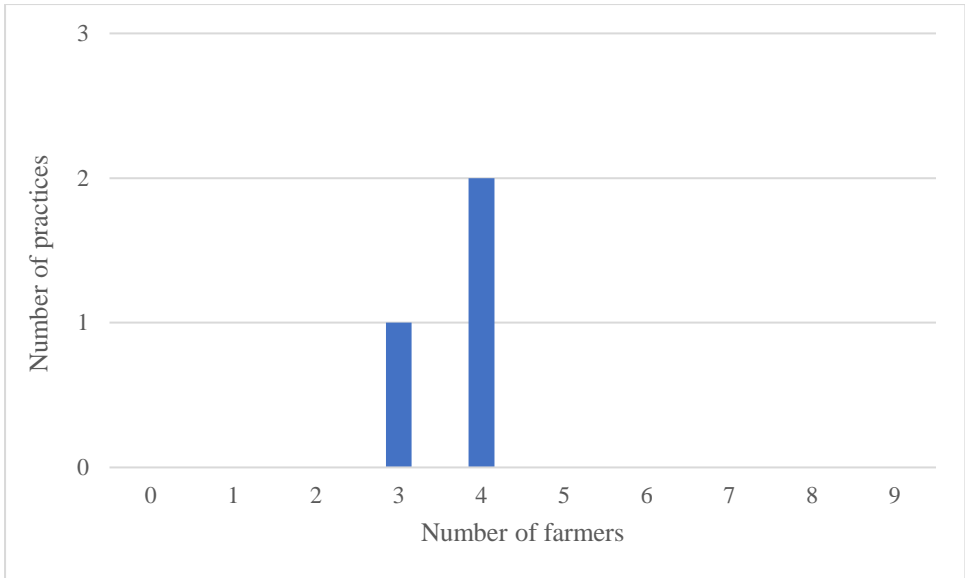
344

345 Figure 3: Number of practices adopted by farmers who were willing to adopt additional practices if paid  
 346 to do so (61% of farmers); on average, these farmers had adopted 3.9 practices (equivalent to the average  
 347 for the whole sample of farmers, i.e., 3.9 practices)



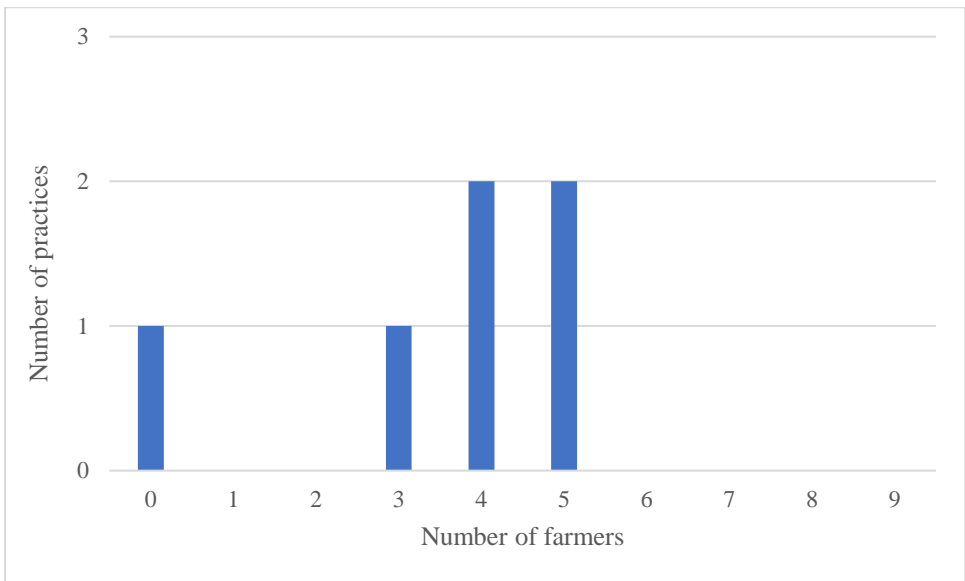
348

349 Figure 4: Number of practices adopted by farmers who had adopted practices but were willing to adopt  
 350 additional practices but had no interest in 'carbon payment' (11% of farmers); on average, these farmers  
 351 had adopted 4.4 practices (more than the average for the whole sample of farmers, i.e., 3.9 practices)



352

353 Figure 5: Number of practices adopted by farmers who were not sure about whether they were willing  
 354 to adopt additional practices and/or receive a carbon payment (3% of farmers); on average, these  
 355 farmers had adopted 3.5 practices (less than the average for the whole sample of farmers, i.e., 3.9  
 356 practices)



357

358 Figure 6: Number of practices adopted by farmers who were not interested in adopting additional  
 359 practices and/or getting a carbon payment (6% of farmers); on average, these farmers had adopted 3.7  
 360 practices (less than the average for the whole sample of farmers, i.e., 3.9 practices)

361 **3.3 Preferences and opinions regarding soil carbon sequestration schemes and the carbon market**

362 As indicated by Table 2, a subset of farmers (i.e., 80 of the 100 farmers) was willing to participate in  
 363 soil carbon sequestration schemes; these farmers were interested in either receiving a ‘carbon payment’  
 364 for adopting additional practices (61% of farmers) or as compensation for already adopted practices  
 365 (19% of farmers). Table 3 presents an overview of this subset’s preferred source of ‘carbon payment’;  
 366 preferred partner in planning and implementing a soil carbon project; willingness to enter into a contract

367 for a fixed number of years and the length of time deemed acceptable; and willingness to maintain soil  
 368 carbon stocks beyond the initial contract period.

369 Table 3: Preferences regarding the design and implementation of soil carbon projects (n = 80)

		n (%)
Preferred source of 'carbon payment' (Q11)	From several different sources (e.g. public funding sources and private investors)	46 (58)
	From a public funding source	20 (25)
	From private investors (e.g. agribusinesses and/or the food industry, banks, pension funds, aviation industry)	6 (8)
	No preference	5 (6)
	Not sure	3 (4)
Preferred partner in planning a 'soil carbon project' contract (Q12)	A carbon project developer	26 (33)
	A not-for-profit NGO	24 (30)
	A government department	13 (16)
	An entity within the supply chain (e.g. processor)	2 (3)
	No preference	1 (1)
	Not sure	8 (10)
Length of time willing to enter into a contract (Q17)	Not interested in being involved in the design of a contract	6 (8)
	Less than 5 years	27 (34)
	5-10 years	41 (51)
	11-20 years	7 (9)
	21-50 years	1 (1)
	More than 50 years	2 (3)
Willingness to maintain carbon stocks after a contract has ended (Q18)	Not sure	2 (3)
	Less than 5 years, unless another contract is initiated	35 (44)
	5-10 years	29 (36)
	11-20 years	5 (6)
	21-50 years	6 (8)
	More than 50 years	1 (1)
	Not sure	4 (5)

370 Few respondents appeared to have confidence in planning and implementing a carbon project in  
 371 conjunction with a government department or entity from their supply chain, instead expressing their  
 372 preference to work with a project developer or not-for-profit NGO, which would likely allow them to  
 373 assert a greater degree of control over the project design and implementation process. Nevertheless,  
 374 one-fifth of farmers indicated that their preference was to receive a 'carbon payment' from a public  
 375 source of funding. Although one-fifth of respondents did not want to sign up for contracts longer than  
 376 five years, almost one-third of respondents were willing to accept a contract of 5-10 years duration.  
 377 80% of respondents were unwilling to commit to maintaining soil carbon stocks post-contract beyond  
 378 a period of 10 years.



379 Table 4 presents an overview of farmers' positions on the agricultural soil carbon market as indicated  
380 by their agreement with pre-formulated statements and their preferences regarding soil carbon project  
381 contract conditions (e.g., actions capable of generating carbon credits and 'carbon payments'; timing of  
382 'carbon payments'; acceptable share of carbon credits to contribute to a buffer).

383 Table 4: Agreement with statements about the agricultural soil carbon market and preferred soil carbon project contract terms and conditions (n = 100),  
 384 (respondents were able to choose three answers and up to three options only in answering Q13 and Q14, respectively)

	n	
Agreement with statements about the emerging soil carbon market (Q13)	Farmers should be paid based on in-situ measured increases in soil carbon stocks before and after a contract	48
	There should be two rates of payment - one rate for farmers who have historically managed soils 'well' and another rate for farmers who have not historically managed soils 'well'	33
	Farmers should be paid based on modelled (estimated) changes in soil carbon stocks	24
	Farmers should only be paid if adopt new, additional farming practices	19
	Farmers should not be paid for existing soil carbon stocks, even if farms are managed 'well' and soil is not degraded	8
	I do not agree with any of these statements	8
	Actions cable of generating carbon credits and 'carbon payments' (Q14)	Increasing the amount of carbon stored in the soil
Avoided emissions from fertiliser manufacturing, linked to reduced use of synthetic fertilisers		46
Reduction in emissions of all GHG from soils		44
Reduction in GHG emissions linked to reduced on-farm use of fossil fuels		36
Reduction in soil erosion		35
Avoided emissions linked to increased use of renewable energy		25
I don't know		3
Timing of 'carbon payments' (Q15)	In several instalments during the contract, based on in-situ measurements and/or modelled increases in soil carbon stocks and reductions in GHG emissions	85
	Upfront, based on predicted (modelled) carbon uptake as a result of implementing certain practices	12
	Retrospectively, after 5-10 years, based on measured and/or estimated (modelled) increases in soil carbon stocks and/or GHG emissions avoided during the contract	8
	I don't know	3
Perception of acceptable share of carbon credits to	Less than 5%	28
	5-10%	43
	11-20%	18
	More than 20%	2

---

contribute to a buffer  
(Q18)      I don't know

---

9

385

386 Regardless of their interest in implementing a soil carbon project and participating in the emerging soil  
387 carbon market, respondents were of the opinion that the emerging soil carbon market should be  
388 governed by certain conditions to generate economic and non-economic benefits. One-third of  
389 respondents took the view that there should be two rates of payment to acknowledge that farmers had  
390 historically adopted different approaches to managing their land and that this had resulted in differences  
391 in SOC stocks between farms (i.e., farms will have different SOC baselines depending on past  
392 management). One-fifth of respondents opined that farmers should be paid solely if they adopted new,  
393 additional practices. Only a minority of respondents (8%) thought that farmers should not be paid for  
394 existing soil carbon stocks.

395 Half of the respondents believed that carbon payments should be based on in-situ measured increases  
396 in soil carbon stocks before and at the end of a contract period, while one-fifth of respondents thought  
397 payments should be based on modelled or estimated changes in soil carbon stocks. Beyond receiving  
398 payments for soil carbon sequestration, many respondents took the view that carbon payments should  
399 be provided where farmers reduced their on-farm use of synthetic fertiliser (46% of farmers) or  
400 increased their use of renewable energy (25% of farmers), resulting in avoidance of emissions  
401 associated with on-farm use of fossil fuels. One-third of respondents thought that carbon payments  
402 should be provided when farmers reduced their use of fossil fuels, while one-third of respondents  
403 thought that those who reduced soil erosion on their farms should also receive carbon payments. Half  
404 of the respondents thought the carbon market should compensate farmers for reducing all GHG  
405 emissions (i.e. carbon dioxide, nitrous oxide, and methane).

406 The majority of respondents (85%) believed that carbon payments should be received in instalments  
407 throughout a carbon contract rather than upfront, at the start of a contract, or retrospectively, based on  
408 an increase in soil carbon stocks and/or GHG emissions avoided during a contract. Respondents were  
409 divided as to their willingness to contribute a share of carbon credits to a buffer to compensate for  
410 unavoidable consequences resulting in reversals of carbon sequestered and/or leakages; the option most  
411 preferred by farmers was a share of 5-10% credits. Only a minority of farmers (2%) were willing to  
412 contribute a share of carbon credits equivalent to more than 20% to a buffer.

### 413 **3.4 Terms and conditions of six UK carbon codes sampled**

414 Table 5 provides an overview of the six soil carbon codes and the conditions for carbon project  
415 ownership. Distinct in their design and scope, the carbon codes were found to differ in the criteria they  
416 imposed on farmers as regards monitoring, reporting and verification of soil carbon sequestration and/or  
417 GHG emissions reductions.

418 Table 5: Overview of six carbon codes sampled and their respective terms and conditions for soil carbon projects

	Carbon Code A	Carbon Code B	Carbon Code C	Carbon Code D	Carbon Code E	Carbon Code F
Owner organisation (Q1)	Not-for-profit	Commercial	Not-for-profit	Commercial	Commercial	Commercial
Quantification approach (Q2)	Modelling and in-situ measurement	Modelling and in-situ measurement	Modelling, in-situ measurement and/or use of emissions factors	Modelling, in-situ measurement and/or use of emissions factors	Modelling and in-situ measurement	Modelling and in-situ measurement
Carbon project owner (Q3)	Farmer	Farmer	Farmer	Farmer	Farmer	Farmer
Entity that can register a carbon project (Q4)	Carbon project developer	Farmer	Farmer/ Carbon project developer	Farmer/ Carbon project developer	Farmer/ Carbon project developer	Farmer
Legal rights to land required (Q5)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Registration costs (Q6)	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes

419 All of the carbon codes that completed the online questionnaire stipulated that carbon projects could  
420 only be initiated by farmers with a legal right to land. The codes did not specify that those implementing  
421 projects should be land-owning farmers, yet the condition around legal rights favours those who are  
422 pursuing agricultural production on their own land. In the case of tenant farmers, their capacity for  
423 initiating a soil carbon project hinges on their relationship with the landowner and the conditions of  
424 their tenancy agreement. Some of the codes indicated that farmers themselves were permitted to develop  
425 and register carbon projects, while other codes only accepted projects being registered by carbon project  
426 developers contracted by farmers and/or farm managers. This increases the costs associated with  
427 initiating a soil carbon project and also has implications for farmers' capacity to participate in the carbon  
428 market. Although most codes require farmers to monitor changes in soil carbon stocks change through  
429 modelling or in-situ measurement, two of the codes additionally permit farmers to use GHG emissions  
430 factors in calculating and reporting reductions in GHG emissions.

431 Table 6 presents an overview of the land use types and management practices stipulated by carbon  
432 codes currently operating in the UK as eligible for inclusion in soil carbon projects. All of the carbon  
433 codes regard cropland and grassland as eligible land use types. However, two of the codes exclude  
434 permanent pasture, one excludes permanent crop production (i.e. orchard production) and another code  
435 excludes land used for root vegetable production from being used in the generation of carbon credits.  
436 Most carbon codes have predefined lists of practices that farmers can choose from and implement on  
437 their farms to sequester carbon in the soil and/or reduce soil-derived GHG emissions. One code does  
438 not specify which agricultural practices farmers should adopt; however, like the other carbon codes, it  
439 mandates that practices should be 'additional' and outlines several additionality-related criteria that  
440 should be met for practices to be deemed eligible for inclusion in a soil carbon project.

441 Table 6: Types of land use and practices permitted for inclusion in soil carbon projects

	Carbon Code A	Carbon Code B	Carbon Code C	Carbon Code D	Carbon Code E	Carbon Code F
Eligible land use (Q7)	Crop/grassland	Cropland	Crop/grassland	Crop/grassland	Crop/grassland	Cropland
Ineligible land use (Q8)	No response	Permanent pasture, woodland/forest, permanent crop production (e.g. orchard crops)	No response	No response	No response	Permanent pasture, woodland/forest, peatland, mineral soils, production of root vegetables
Eligible carbon sequestering practices (Q9)	No predefined list of practices	Predefined list of practices	Predefined list of practices	Co-developed, pre-defined list of practices	Practices must meet specified criteria	Predefined list of practices
Additionality criteria (Q10)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Practices adopted must not be ‘common’ (i.e. widely adopted) in a region</li> <li>Practices adopted must be ‘new’ to a farm (i.e. not already adopted)</li> <li>Practices may not be adopted in response to government subsidies</li> <li>Practices may be adopted using funding from other financial sources</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Practices adopted may be ‘common’ (i.e. widely adopted) in a region</li> <li>Practices adopted must be ‘new’ to a farm (i.e. not already adopted)</li> <li>Practices may be adopted in response to government subsidies</li> <li>Practices may not be adopted using funding from other financial sources</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Practices adopted may be ‘common’ (i.e. widely adopted) in a region</li> <li>Practices adopted must be ‘new’ to a farm (i.e. not already adopted)</li> <li>Practices may not be adopted using funding from other financial sources</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Practices adopted must be ‘new’ to a farm (i.e. not already adopted)</li> <li>Practices may not be adopted using funding from other financial sources</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Practices adopted must not be ‘common’ (i.e. widely adopted) in a region</li> <li>Practices adopted must be ‘new’ to a farm (i.e. not already adopted)</li> <li>Practices may be adopted in response to government subsidies</li> <li>Practices may be adopted using funding from other financial sources</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Practices adopted must not be ‘common’ (i.e. widely adopted) in a region</li> <li>Practices adopted must be ‘new’ to a farm (i.e. not already adopted)</li> </ul>

442

443 Table 7 presents an overview of the conditions that project participants are expected to satisfy as regards  
444 soil carbon project contract length; soil carbon stocks permanence, the establishment of soil carbon  
445 stock baselines, and the reporting of modelled and/or in-situ measured changes in soil carbon stocks  
446 and/or reductions in soil-derived GHG emissions. The carbon codes differ in their conceptualisation of  
447 permanence and expectations of the length of time that soil carbon stocks should be maintained after a  
448 carbon project contract has ended, with permanence timeframes stipulated ranging from 5-25 years.  
449 Two of the codes did not provide information regarding the length of time that they envisaged carbon  
450 stocks should be maintained. Most carbon codes stipulate that a baseline should be established at the  
451 start of a carbon project, to enable retrospective carbon crediting as well as to facilitate measurement of  
452 changes in soil carbon stocks and/or reductions in GHG emissions over the contract period. Two of the  
453 carbon codes take a fixed average approach to establishing a baseline (i.e., the baseline is constant and  
454 approximated based on historical baseline values captured within a fixed reference timeframe), while  
455 the other codes regard baselines as dynamic (i.e., the baseline changes and is calculated based on a  
456 ‘moving’ reference timeframe, e.g., 5 years). The amount of historic field management data required to  
457 establish a baseline varies by code. While all of the carbon codes expect that modelling takes place on  
458 an ongoing yearly basis, the frequency of measuring soil carbon stocks and/or reductions in soil-derived  
459 GHG emissions varies by code.



460 Table 7: Permanence, baselines and reporting of modelled/measured changes in soil carbon stocks

	Carbon Code A	Carbon Code B	Carbon Code C	Carbon Code D	Carbon Code E	Carbon Code F
Contract commitment (Q11)	Project duration	No response	No response	Project duration and permanence period	No response	No response
Permanence duration (Q12)	25 years	10 years	No response	5 years	No response	25 years
Historic data required to establish a baseline (Q13)	No response	No response	Less than 3 years	3-5 years	10 years	No response
Type of baseline (Q14)	Dynamic	No response	Dynamic	Dynamic	Fixed average	Fixed average
Frequency of reporting in-situ measured changes in SOC stocks (Q15)	2-5 years	No response	Yearly	2-5 years	6-10 years	Yearly
Sampling strategies for measuring SOC stocks (Q16)	No response	20cm	No response	30-60cm	30cm	No response
Frequency of reporting modelled changes in SOC stocks / GHG emissions reductions (Q17)	Yearly	Yearly	Yearly	Yearly	Yearly	Yearly
GHG emissions covered (Q18)	CO <sub>2</sub> , N <sub>2</sub> O, CH <sub>4</sub>	No response	No response	CO <sub>2</sub> , N <sub>2</sub> O, CH <sub>4</sub>	CO <sub>2</sub> , N <sub>2</sub> O, CH <sub>4</sub>	CO <sub>2</sub> , N <sub>2</sub> O, CH <sub>4</sub>

461

462 Table 8 presents an overview of the conditions associated with carbon payments. The majority of carbon  
463 codes permit retrospective carbon crediting (i.e., issuance of credits for soil carbon evidenced as  
464 accumulating during a limited period of time, before the start of a carbon project, e.g., 3-5 years), and  
465 half of the codes allow for stacking of payments, facilitating blended finance (i.e., public and private  
466 funding of practices resulting in soil carbon sequestration). All codes require farmers to contribute a  
467 share of carbon credits generated to a buffer fund; in the case of one code, a share of 20% of carbon  
468 credits is required. Most carbon codes do not offer a guaranteed carbon floor price (i.e., a binding  
469 minimum price for future carbon sequestered and/or GHG emission reductions to reduce carbon price  
470 volatility and the level of risk faced by carbon credit producers and buyers); however, three of the codes  
471 have put discounting arrangements in place in anticipation of contingencies and developments in the  
472 carbon market (e.g., ensuring that the carbon price is equivalent to ~70% of the agreed sales price for  
473 one tonne carbon dioxide equivalent).

474 Table 8: Carbon payment conditions

	Carbon Code A	Carbon Code B	Carbon Code C	Carbon Code D	Carbon Code E	Carbon Code F
Retrospective crediting permitted (Q19)	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No
Stacking of carbon payments with other payments permitted (e.g. subsidies) (Q20)	Yes	No response	No response	Yes	Yes	No response
Buffer funds required (Q21)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Guaranteed carbon floor price (Q22)	No	Yes		No	No	No
Discounting arrangements in place (Q23)	Yes	Yes	Yes	No response	Yes	No response

475

## 476 **4. Discussion**

477 The following section discusses the results with regard to the study hypotheses (farmers' adoption of  
478 soil carbon management practices does not necessarily translate into a willingness to adopt additional  
479 practices and "buy into" soil carbon sequestration schemes; a discrepancy exists between early  
480 adopters' expectations and the demands of the carbon market; and incentivising early adopters to adopt  
481 additional practices and facilitating their participation in the market, alongside new entrants, is  
482 contingent on reconciling farmers' expectations with the demands of the market).

### 483 **4.1 Farmers' adoption of soil health management practices**

484 The results of this study show that farmers in the UK are actively adopting practices that promote soil  
485 health and, in doing so, may increase the carbon content of their soils. These practices are known to  
486 promote the recycling of carbon-containing biomass and reduce the rate of decomposition of organic  
487 matter by the soil microbial community, the physical disturbance of soil which increases the stability  
488 of soil aggregates, and the rate of carbon loss to the atmosphere via respiration (Lal, 2021; Tiefenbacher  
489 et al., 2021; Thamo et al., 2020; Alexander et al., 2015). Soil carbon sequestration and/or a reduction in  
490 soil-derived GHG emissions may be realised through reduced tillage or no-tillage to improve rotations  
491 (i.e. establishment of cover and catch crops, reduction of bare fallow, a shift from annual to perennial  
492 crops; incorporation of ley crops into rotations; set-aside of arable land) (Henderson et al., 2022;  
493 Alexander et al., 2015). Equally, soil carbon stocks are thought to be enhanced and/or GHG emissions  
494 reduced through practices ranging from organic resource management (i.e. application of organic  
495 amendments such as livestock manure, crop residue retention, and application of biochar) (Tiefenbacher  
496 et al., 2021; Alexander et al., 2015); optimised nutrient management to enhance net primary  
497 productivity (Henderson et al., 2022); management of soil pH levels (i.e. liming acidic soils)  
498 (Tiefenbacher et al., 2021); management of soil water content (i.e. irrigation) (Tiefenbacher et al., 2021;  
499 Alexander et al., 2015); and soil erosion control (Tiefenbacher et al., 2021; Dumbrell, Kragt and Gibson,  
500 2016; Aertsens et al., 2013). Moreover, carbon stocks can also be enhanced and GHG emissions reduced  
501 through grazing land management (optimised stocking density, restoration of pastureland, sward  
502 management, incorporation of leguminous and non-leguminous species); integration of livestock and  
503 trees into crop systems; and improved fire management (Henderson et al., 2022; Lal, 2021).

504 While the majority of farmers were implementing tillage-, grassland sward-, and grazing management-  
505 related practices, other practices, such as agroforestry production or biochar application, were less  
506 widely adopted as a strategy to promote soil carbon sequestration and/or reduce soil-related GHG  
507 emissions. It is important to note, however, that Table 2 must be interpreted with caution as the results  
508 are not indicative of farmers' uniform conceptualisation of practices and understanding of the impact  
509 of these practices on soil carbon stocks and/or GHG emissions. In an agricultural research context, there  
510 is, equally, disagreement around the exact definition of practices, with terms used broadly to describe

511 practices adopted by farmers to manage production systems without consideration of perspective-  
512 specific and context-specific variations characterising their implementation of these practices (Derpsch  
513 et al., 2014). In the case of tillage-related practices, this has resulted in confusion as to the ‘true’ effect  
514 of tillage systems on crop production and environmental outcomes (Derpsch et al., 2014). The extent to  
515 which soil carbon sequestration is attributed to reduced tillage and/or no tillage under experimental  
516 conditions is typically determined by the depth of sampling, with minimal tillage changing the soil  
517 profile distribution for SOC and not total carbon stock (Sun et al., 2018), and the concentration of SOC  
518 along a soil profile rather than overall SOC content thought to reflect soil disturbance or lack thereof  
519 (Baker et al., 2007). Similarly, the use of a variety of terms to describe grazing-related practices -  
520 reflecting different philosophical and physical approaches to grassland management - has led to  
521 confusion (Fielding, 2022; Garnett et al., 2017). The inconsistent and interchangeable use of terms by  
522 farmers, as well as practitioners and scientists, has rendered it difficult to compare and discuss the  
523 environmental outcomes of grazing management-related practices on soil carbon stocks and/or GHG  
524 emissions and verify benefits claimed by advocates of continuous and intermittent grazing, respectively  
525 (Zaralis, 2015).

#### 526 **4.2 Factors driving farmers’ adoption of practices**

527 Farmers are adopting soil health management practices to address the issue of declining soil fertility  
528 and reduce production costs associated with the use of external inputs such as fertilisers. Although they  
529 are not necessarily adopting practices to sequester carbon in the soil and build carbon stocks, their  
530 motivation for practices (Table 2, Q8) suggests an awareness of the adverse impacts of historical land  
531 use patterns on soils (e.g., declining soil fertility), as does their perception of benefits derived from the  
532 adoption of practices (e.g., improved soil health; reduced soil erosion) (Table 2, Q9). The impact of  
533 land use change, land management and land degradation on soil carbon stocks globally has been  
534 extensively documented, including by Henderson et al. (2022), Subedi et al. (2022); Lal (2021),  
535 Tiefenbacher et al. (2021), Smith et al. (2016) and Frank et al. (2015). The results of this study suggest  
536 that approximately one-quarter of farmers are aware that their farming strategies and those of previous  
537 generations have rendered soils and, by extension, agricultural production, vulnerable to the impacts of  
538 extreme weather events (Table 2, Q8). The adoption of practices could be indicative of a growing  
539 realisation among farmers that enhancing carbon inputs to the soil from vegetative biomass has the  
540 potential to halt and reverse soil degradation and can positively impact resilience to climate change, as  
541 well as soil health, biodiversity, structure, moisture retention and nutrient storing capacity, as  
542 documented by Saco et al. (2021) and Dumbrell, Kragt and Gibson (2016).

543 The importance placed by farmers on adopting practices that promote soil health suggests that they  
544 recognise that soils have become degraded due to intensive farming strategies and that by adopting soil  
545 health management practices they can maintain and build soil organic matter and increase the organic

546 carbon content of soils. Beyond improving soil fertility and reducing soil erosion, farmers may be aware  
547 that the adoption of soil health management practices deliver tangible, co-benefits such as improved  
548 food and nutritional quality, improved water quality and availability, and increased biodiversity. In  
549 contrast, the results of this study suggest that an awareness of the non-tangible co-benefits of soil carbon  
550 sequestration and climate change mitigation do not currently underpin farmers' adoption of soil health  
551 management practices. From a soil carbon sequestration and net zero perspective, this is noteworthy  
552 given that farmers who are well-informed about the agricultural soil carbon market yet choose not to  
553 adopt practices that promote soil carbon sequestration may be incentivised to do so, to a greater extent,  
554 by information regarding these co-benefits rather than information relating to the market opportunities  
555 to earn financial compensation (Dumbrell, Kragt and Gibson, 2016). The results of this study, however,  
556 suggest that farmers in the UK are neither fully aware of the soil carbon-related co-benefits of practices  
557 nor the opportunities to augment their income through the adoption of additional practices (which  
558 promote soil carbon sequestration) and participation in the carbon market.

#### 559 **4.3 Farmers' willingness to adopt additional practices and participate in soil carbon sequestration** 560 **schemes**

561 Intrinsically motivated to adopt practices to improve soil health and reduce production costs rather than  
562 implementing practices in response to extrinsic rewards (e.g. government subsidies, incentives from  
563 within the supply chain), farmers appear to be willing to adopt additional practices if paid to do so  
564 (Table 2, Q10). Given that studies have shown economic incentives can crowd out intrinsic motivations  
565 for providing social goods such as soil carbon sequestration (Buck and Palumbo-Compton, 2022), it is  
566 encouraging that the results of this study suggest that, alongside a desire to reduce production costs and  
567 their reliance on agrochemicals and synthetic fertilisers, farmers' inherent pro-environmental identities  
568 and values may play a role in driving their adoption of soil health practices, including those that promote  
569 soil carbon sequestration. However, there are nevertheless several challenges associated with public  
570 and private sector incentivisation of farmers' adoption of soil health management practices and  
571 participation in the emerging agricultural soil carbon market in the UK.

572 Beyond access to information regarding the carbon-related co-benefits of soil health management  
573 practices and opportunities to derive personal benefits from participation in the emerging UK  
574 agricultural soil carbon market, several factors may currently be contributing to the reluctance of one-  
575 third of farmers, despite their adoption of practices, to engage with the market (Table 2, Q10). It is  
576 important to differentiate between barriers to the adoption of practices that promote soil carbon  
577 sequestration and barriers to participation in the carbon market (Kragt, Dumbrell and Blackmore, 2017).  
578 Although farmers - particularly those who own their land or have an additional, off-farm source of  
579 income - may not face barriers in adopting practices, their capacity to engage with the carbon market  
580 may nevertheless be undermined by the conditions associated with participation in soil carbon

581 sequestration schemes. Their willingness to engage with the market may be eroded, for example, by  
582 conflicting information regarding practices and carbon sequestration schemes and uncertainty related  
583 to changes in climate change- and carbon-related policies and carbon prices. Furthermore, it may be  
584 undermined by perceptions of carbon credit buyers; carbon calculators and methodologies currently  
585 used to verify changes in carbon stocks; intergenerational implications of carbon project contracts and  
586 commitments to ‘permanently’ maintain carbon stocks (Kragt, Dumbrell and Blackmore, 2017;  
587 Rochecouste, Dargusch and King, 2017); and perceptions that regulations may change and that they  
588 may, in the future, be expected to be carbon neutral themselves before trading and/or selling carbon  
589 credits (Fleming et al., 2019). Education and training may also play a key role in undermining farmers’  
590 willingness to adapt practices and participate in soil carbon sequestration schemes, with farmers who  
591 have the skills and knowledge required to adapt to changing circumstances finding themselves in a  
592 better position to survive in an ever-evolving sector (Augère-Granier, 2017)

#### 593 **4.4 Farmers’ expectations of the carbon market compared to the demands of ‘carbon codes’**

594 The results of this study (Table 6, Q9) underscore that, although farmers may, in theory, be willing and  
595 have the resources to adopt practices beyond those already implemented, their scope to do so may, in  
596 effect, be curtailed by UK carbon codes’ stipulation that they adopt practices from a predefined list of  
597 practices deemed scientifically sound in terms of their potential to enhance soil carbon stocks and/or  
598 reduce soil-derived GHG emissions. Farmers adopt practices based on an assessment of their cost-  
599 effectiveness and likely impact on farm productivity and profitability (Henderson et al., 2022; Lal,  
600 2021; Mills et al., 2020); this reflects a degree of autonomy and independence which is at odds with the  
601 demands of private and/or public sector actors. Although two-thirds of farmers were willing to adopt  
602 additional practices if paid to do so, the results of this study regarding practices adopted (Table 6, Q7)  
603 highlight and affirm the fact that the crucial carbon market principle of additionality constitutes a barrier  
604 to participation in the market, as also reported by Blum (2009). Farmers’ ability to participate in the  
605 market may be undermined by a ‘common practice test’ (whereby a given farmer is compared to similar  
606 peers); this test is designed to ensure that soil carbon stocks are enhanced and/or soil-derived GHG  
607 emissions reduced through the implementation of practices that would not be adopted in a ‘business as  
608 usual scenario’ (i.e. in the absence of a carbon payment) (Rochecouste, Dargusch and King, 2017).

609 Many UK carbon codes require that farmers select practices from pre-defined lists (Table 6, Q9). This  
610 condition, and the related condition that practices adopted are ‘additional’, has implications as regards  
611 curtailing farmers’ freedom of choice in determining their farming strategy, as also outlined by Renwick  
612 and Wreford (2011). The results of this study also highlight a disconnect between expectations  
613 regarding the opportunities for deriving compensation from participation in the agricultural soil carbon  
614 market and the actual compensation offered by the market. Whereas farm and farm managers anticipate  
615 that they will be compensated for historically sequestered soil carbon as a result of already-adopted

616 practices and continued maintenance of soil carbon stocks (Table 2, Q10; Table 3, Q13), UK carbon  
617 codes permit retrospective crediting only for a short period of time prior to the start of a soil carbon  
618 project (Tables 8, Q19). Albeit offering a value proposition similar to international carbon codes (Black  
619 et al., 2022), the results suggest that, in compensating farmers for their soil stewardship, there is  
620 currently a failure among private and public sector actors to recognise and appreciate that new entrants  
621 to the carbon market start from different positions in terms of SOC stocks and potential to sequester  
622 more SOC. Moreover, there is a failure to fully acknowledge that this may, perversely, incentivise  
623 farmers to lower soil carbon stock baselines before initiating a soil carbon project, for example, by  
624 refraining from practices or reverting from minimal tillage or direct drilling back to conventional tillage.  
625 The results of this study underscore the imperative to address the risk of such perverse incentives being  
626 created and avoid the release of carbon from soils before entering into a soil carbon sequestration  
627 scheme, as has also been argued by Oldfield et al. (2022).

628 Farmers' preference to receive a carbon payment from several different sources rather than a single  
629 source (Table 3, Q11); this is in agreement with the UK carbon codes' willingness, in principle, to  
630 permit stacking (Table 8, Q20). However, in reality, stacking is complex; albeit recognising the  
631 interconnectedness of ecosystem services on a landscape level (Deal, Cochrane and LaRocca, 2012), it  
632 constitutes a challenge for all actors participating in the carbon market, with the risk of double counting  
633 of carbon credits undermining policymakers and carbon buyers confidence in the market, and farmers  
634 potentially facing high transaction costs in participating in the market and trading and/or directly selling  
635 carbon credits to different buyers (Duguma et al., 2018).

636 The results of this study suggest there are gaps between farmers' expectations and the demands of the  
637 market regarding the conditionality of carbon payments. Farmers' preference is to obtain public sector  
638 compensation for carbon sequestration, for example, through the soil standards of the Sustainable  
639 Farming Incentive (SFI) component of the new Environmental Land Management Scheme (ELMS) in  
640 England. This is not in line with post-Brexit political pressure to both use 'public money for public  
641 goods' and ensure good value for money and social benefit returns to public spending (Bateman and  
642 Balmford, 2018). Although the results of this study suggest that farmers prefer public to private funding  
643 or blended finance, there is pressure to move away from a 'dominant market-based, ecosystem services  
644 'public goods' approach [that] does not provide any meaningfully transformative avenues to foster  
645 sustainable and equitable food systems' (Coulson and Milbourne, 2022, p. 133).

646 Farmers' preference to sign carbon contracts that stipulate they contribute a share of 5-10% of carbon  
647 credits to a buffer is also at odds with the demands of carbon codes that request farmers to contribute  
648 as much as 20% of credits to a buffer. Moreover, farmers are unwilling to sign carbon project contracts  
649 perceived as equating to intergenerational commitments to implementing soil carbon management  
650 practices during the contract period and, thereafter, maintaining carbon stocks 'permanently'. The



651 extent to which legal liability associated with contract noncompliance constitutes a barrier to farmers'  
652 participation in carbon markets has been documented, including by Thompson et al. (2022). The results  
653 of this study indicate that 80% of farmers want contracts of <10 years, while only 9% of farmers were  
654 willing to sign up to >20 years contract, perceiving such a contract as a lengthy commitment given that  
655 they would also have to respect an agreed-upon permanence period. Such a permanence period could  
656 potentially transform a farmer's commitment into >40 years and, therefore, equate to an  
657 intergenerational commitment. The results of this study underscore that permanence requirements are  
658 perceived by farmers as 'a cumbersome and unrealistic expectation' and suggest that 'there is need for  
659 timely translation of scientific knowledge of soil C longevity to inform effective policy' (Dynarski,  
660 Bossio and Scow, 2020, p. 5).

661 As Krzywoszynska (2019, p. 160) notes, social learning underpinned by two-way communication  
662 between the scientific community and farmers, and the emergence of a shared language around  
663 sustainable soil management, is key to ensuring that knowledge is co-produced, 'collective meanings'  
664 regarding best practices are co-created, and 'shared visions of agrarian futures which put soils at their  
665 heart' are co-produced. Currently, policy and science-based definitions regarding the permanence of  
666 newly sequestered soil carbon do not align (Dynarski, Bossio and Scow); the results of this study  
667 demonstrate that there is also a gap between farmers' expectations and the demands of the carbon  
668 market regarding permanence. This indicates that there is a need for policymaking and the development  
669 of carbon codes (outlining rules regarding permanence) and minimum standards aimed at regulating the  
670 carbon market to be informed to by farmer consultation.

#### 671 **4.5 Implications of findings for carbon market development: incentivising early adopters,** 672 **alongside new entrants, to adopt additional practices and participate in the carbon market**

673 As the agricultural soil carbon market continues to develop in the UK, it will likely be possible to  
674 classify farmers who are interested in establishing soil carbon sequestration schemes and participating  
675 in the market along a continuum, with one segment of the farming population classified as early adopters  
676 of soil carbon management practices and the other segment identified as late adopters of practices and,  
677 consequently, as new entrants to the carbon market. The majority of farmers (94%) who completed the  
678 online questionnaire and participated in this study had already adopted practices and can, therefore  
679 classified as early adopters of practices. The willingness of 80% of farmers to participate in soil carbon  
680 sequestration schemes and either receive a 'carbon payment' for adopting additional practices (61% of  
681 farmers) or compensation for already adopted practices (19% of farmers) has implications for the  
682 continued development of the carbon market. The results of this study indicate that rules and regulations  
683 outlined by current carbon codes in the UK, regarding issues such as additionality and permanence of  
684 sequestered carbon, do not line up with farmers' expectations and, in particular, do not facilitate the  
685 participation of early adopters of management practices that promote soil carbon sequestration.  
686 Moreover, carbon contract conditions undermine early adopters' willingness to participate in the carbon

687 market. Given that early adopters are likely to play a key role in instilling confidence among late  
688 adopters of practices and incentivising their participation in the market, the results of this study suggest  
689 that there is an imperative to reconcile farmers' expectations with the demands of the carbon market.

690 Specifically, the results of this study imply that a transition period is required during which carbon  
691 codes relax their rules and regulation to kick-start and support the growth of the agricultural soil carbon  
692 market, enabling early adopters to enter the market and encouraging others farmers to follow. During  
693 this transition period, there is an imperative to encourage farmers along the adoption continuum to adopt  
694 soil health management practices that are known to promote soil carbon sequestration and sensitise  
695 farmers to the importance of soil carbon sequestration, the UK's Net-Zero targets and the conditions  
696 associated with participation in the carbon market to the demands of the market as expressed by carbon  
697 codes operating in the UK. Farmers should neither be penalised for being early or late adopters of soil  
698 health management practices that promote soil carbon sequestration nor perversely incentivised to  
699 reverse carbon stocks. In this context, there is an imperative for public sector funding to protect soil  
700 carbon stocks by incentivising early adopter to continue implementing practices that sequester carbon  
701 in the soil, and for private sector funding to support a transition by late adopters towards adoption of  
702 practices that promote soil carbon sequestration. This will also ensure that there is no competition  
703 between public and private sector funding for incentivising farmers' contribution to the UK's Net-Zero  
704 targets and compensating them accordingly. A transition period could serve to maintain carbon stocks  
705 and facilitate early adopters in shifting towards additional practices where possible, while also  
706 encouraging late adopters that there is a rationale and evidence base for managing soil carbon stocks  
707 and a business case for adopting practices that sequester carbon in the soil. Alternatively, early adopters  
708 could be paid for the carbon their land stores compared to farmers in similar social, economic,  
709 environmental and technological circumstances (i.e. the difference between their baseline and a peers'  
710 reference baseline) with carbon markets paying for the additional uptake of carbon above the baseline  
711 resulting from a farmer's continued implementation of practices or adoption of additional practices.  
712 This would be in line with the recent proposal for carbon removal certifications published by the  
713 European Commission to regulate 'carbon farming' activities in the European Union.

714 The challenge facing the public and private sector actors who are expected to provide carbon payments  
715 is to incentivise soil carbon sequestration by the UK farming population as a whole in a manner which  
716 does not disincentivise early adopters who are further along their journey towards achieving carbon-  
717 neutral status and/or have historically contributed to a greater extent to the UK's Net-Zero targets than  
718 their peers. Ensuring that farmers are not discouraged from participating in a carbon market hinges on  
719 the flexible or gradual implementation of rules and regulations aimed at addressing carbon accounting  
720 issues relating to additionality and permanence, leakage (associated with a change in farm strategies),  
721 and the perceived risk of reversal of carbon sequestered. There is an imperative to incentivise carbon  
722 capture and storage in agricultural soils by farmers who may currently not be interested in adopting

723 practices and/or receiving a carbon payment due to their perception that the terms and conditions  
724 associated with soil carbon sequestration schemes are too restrictive. Conversely, it is important that  
725 carbon codes' contribution to developing the carbon market is not undermined and that the  
726 transparency, robustness, and integrity of carbon credits generated and traded or sold directly to public  
727 and private sector actors is enhanced.

#### 728 **4.6 Limitations of the study**

729 The results of this study indicate that there is scope, interest, and willingness among farmers - in  
730 particular, those less than 65 years of age - to contribute to the UK's Net-Zero targets by adopting  
731 practices that have been shown to increase SOC stocks. However, it is important to note that the sample  
732 of farmers drawn for the study may not be representative of the target population due to the limitations  
733 associated with the data collection method (i.e., an online questionnaire). This non-representativeness  
734 is underscored by two key demographic characteristics (i.e. age and farm size). Namely, farmers in  
735 England represented 90% of study participants and the majority of farmers (82%) who participated in  
736 this study were less than 65 years of age, despite the most recent agricultural census indicating that, in  
737 2016, a third of farmers in England were over the age of 65 years (DEFRA, 2021). Moreover, the  
738 average farm size managed by questionnaire respondents was 413 hectares, whereas the average UK  
739 farm size in 2019 was 81 hectares (DEFRA, 2021). Although many farmers rented land under short-  
740 term or long-term farm business tenancy agreements, the majority of respondents owned the land on  
741 which they were pursuing mixed crop-livestock, crop, or livestock production. Consequently, tenancy  
742 did not emerge as an issue that could undermine a transition towards the UK's Net-Zero goals, despite  
743 often being regarded as a potential barrier to farmers' participation in the carbon market (Coulson and  
744 Milbourne, 2022; Reed et al., 2022; Mills et al., 2019; Ingram et al., 2014).

745 This study did not explore whether the fees associated with initiating a soil carbon project were  
746 perceived by farmers as prohibitive and whether the costs associated with soil testing and establishing  
747 a soil carbon stocks baseline could serve to disincentivise their participation in the carbon market.  
748 Moreover, perceptions of the market as an opportunity or risk and exploring farmers' confidence in  
749 market developments and issues such as the uncertainty around carbon prices were deemed to be beyond  
750 the scope of this project. Given that such issues may influence farmers' willingness to participate in soil  
751 carbon sequestration schemes and the emerging agricultural soil carbon market, further research must  
752 be conducted.

#### 753 **5. Conclusion**

754 This paper concludes that farmers' adoption of soil health management practices does not necessarily  
755 translate into a willingness to adopt additional practices and "buy into" soil carbon sequestration  
756 schemes. This is likely due to the fact that they are motivated to adopt practices to address issues of  
757 declining soil fertility and to reduce production costs stemming from a reliance on agrochemicals and

758 synthetic fertilisers. Farmers are, currently, not motivated to adopt practices by carbon payments or  
759 perceived pressure to contribute to climate change mitigation and the UK's Net-Zero targets. Farmers  
760 have reservations about signing up for soil carbon sequestration schemes, and planning and  
761 implementing soil carbon projects, due to the current terms and conditions associated with participation  
762 in the emerging UK agricultural soil carbon market but also their expectation that these terms and  
763 conditions may change over time as the market evolves and minimum standards regulating the market  
764 are developed and adopted by carbon codes. Although the carbon market may attract new entrants, early  
765 adopters of soil carbon management practices are likely to be excluded from soil carbon sequestration  
766 schemes established by public and private sector actors based on additionality criteria, and a gap  
767 between their expectations and the carbon codes' demands regarding the permanence of soil carbon  
768 storage, and length of carbon project contracts and commitments. Early adopters' expectations  
769 regarding their scope to derive benefits from participation in the carbon market are at odds with the  
770 demands of the carbon market as articulated by the carbon codes. As early adopters are likely to play a  
771 key role in encouraging new entrants to engage with the carbon market, this paper contends that  
772 incentivising early adopters to adopt additional practices and facilitating their participation in the  
773 market, alongside new entrants is paramount to the development and growth of the market.  
774 Consequently, there is much at stake; without farmers' buy-in to soil carbon sequestration schemes and  
775 adoption of soil health management practices that capture and store carbon, the climate change  
776 mitigation potential, and associated ecosystem services, of sequestering carbon in agricultural soils  
777 across the UK will not be realised.

#### 778 **Ethical clearance**

779 Ethical clearance for this study was obtained from the University of Leeds' School of Business,  
780 Environment and Social Services (AREA) Committee, with the ethics approval reference given as  
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## Annex 1

### UK 'Farm Soil Carbon Code' (FSCC) questionnaire

#### Introduction

Thank you for your interest in completing this questionnaire and participating in a research study being undertaken by the University of Leeds and a consortium of partners to develop a UK 'Farm Soil Carbon Code' (FSCC). This Code will outline minimum standards that can regulate the emerging UK agricultural soil carbon market and the production, verification and trade or sale of 'carbon credits' generated by farmers adopting alternative management practices on their farm. It will complement the existing Woodland and Peatland Carbon Codes that have already been operationalised.

The purpose of this questionnaire is to gain insight into your knowledge of the agricultural soil carbon market; elicit your views of the proposed FSCC; and gauge your willingness and capacity to adapt your farming strategy as appropriate to include practices that store carbon in the soil. The questionnaire should take you **approximately 15 minutes** to complete.

#### Confidentiality, Data Use, and Anonymity

You will not be asked any personally identifiable information, only general information about your farming activity and views. All information and data will be kept on password-protected computer systems in line with University of Leeds protocols and the UK Data Protection Act and will not be shared beyond the research team. The results of the questionnaire will be used for academic and other relevant publications. The results will only be published at an aggregated level, and it will not be possible to identify answers from any individual participant. If you have any questions about this questionnaire or the research, you can contact Dr Lisette Phelan at the University of Leeds ([l.phelan@leeds.ac.uk](mailto:l.phelan@leeds.ac.uk)).

#### Withdrawal of Consent

You may request that your answers be withdrawn up to 30 days after your interview by contacting the email address above. We will then destroy and not use your responses. If you contact us after the 30 days have passed, we will not be able to delete all your responses.

This research is funded by the Environment Agency's Investment Readiness Fund and iCASP. It has been approved by the Ethics Committee of the University of Leeds.

Please tick below to confirm that you have understood the above information and that you consent to take part in this questionnaire.

- I consent to take part in this study

Q1. Which best describes you? (please select one option)

- Farmer
- Agronomist
- Allied agricultural business
- Researcher
- Government/policy-maker
- Charity worker
- Other

Q2. Where are you based? (please provide the first half of the postcode of your farm)

\_\_\_\_\_

Q3. What type of farm are you managing? (tick all that apply)

- Arable farm
- Horticulture farm
- Specialist pig farm
- Specialist poultry farm
- Dairy farm
- LFA grazing livestock farm
- Lowland grazing livestock farm
- Mixed farm

Q4. Do you...? (tick all that apply)

- Own land
- Rent land under a short-term rental agreement ( $\leq 5$  years)
- Other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

Q5. How much of your land (in hectares) is...? (please put 0 in categories not applicable)

- In agricultural production (including grassland) \_\_\_\_\_
- In fallow, not in use \_\_\_\_\_
- In other use \_\_\_\_\_

Q6. Are you...?

- Earning sole source of income from farming
- Earning income from farming, but also an additional off-farm source of income
- Earning income by managing a farm holding on behalf of a company
- Other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

Q7. Which of the following practices are you implementing on your farm? (please tick **all answers** that apply)

- Low intensity/rotational/mob grazing
- No/low/minimal/conservation tillage
- Cover crops
- Incorporation of organic amendments into soils
- Introducing leys in crop rotations
- Incorporation of a mix of legumes and herbs into grasslands
- Agroforestry
- Management of field margins
- Application of biochar
- Other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_
- I am not implementing any of the above practices on my farm

Q8. What motivated you to adopt these particular farming practices? (please indicate the **three most important** factors)

- Government subsidies/payments
- High production costs
- Exposure to extreme weather events
- Declining soil fertility
- Desire to reduce reliance on agrochemicals and/or synthetic fertilisers
- Pressure to align practices with certification standards
- Pressure from customers/consumers to change farming strategy
- Pressure to contribute to climate change mitigation
- Desire to gain respect in the community
- Desire to express my pro-environmental identity
- Other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

Q9. What benefits have you derived from your adoption of these farming practices? (please indicate the **three most important** benefits derived)

- Improved soil fertility
- Improved soil health
- Reduced soil erosion
- Increased crop yields
- Increased biodiversity on farm
- Increased resilience to extreme weather events
- Reduced production costs
- Improved standing in the community
- Access to new markets for my produce
- Other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

Q10. In the future, farmers may be paid to increase the amount of carbon in their arable soils and/or reduce their greenhouse gas emissions from cultivation. Would you be willing to adopt **additional** practices (to those you mentioned implementing on your farm in Q7) if you were offered a ‘carbon payment’ to do so?

- Yes, I would be open to adopting additional practices if I was paid to do so
- Yes, I would be open to adopting additional practices, but I am not interested in receiving carbon a payment for this
- No, I am not interested in adopting any additional practices or getting a ‘carbon payment’
- No, I am not interested in adopting any additional practices, but I would like to be paid for those practices which I am already implementing which have increased soil carbon
- I don't know yet

Q11. Do you have a preference as regards who would provide this ‘carbon payment’?

- My preference would be to receive this payment from public funding sources
- My preference would be to receive this payment from private investors (e.g. agribusinesses and/or the food industry, banks, pension funds, aviation industry)
- My preference would be to receive payments from several different sources (e.g. public funding sources and private investors)
- I don't have a preference
- I don't know yet

Q12. With whom would you prefer to design a 'soil carbon project' contract? This contract would outline the conditions for a carbon payment. (please tick **all answers** that apply)

- I am not interested in being involved in designing a contract to generate 'carbon credits'
- No one, I would prefer to do it by myself (with the help of a carbon project developer)
- An entity within my supply chain (e.g. processor)
- A not-for-profit NGO
- A government department
- I don't have a preference
- I don't know yet

Q13. Which of the following statements about carbon markets do you agree with? (please tick those statements you **most agree** with, you can tick up to **three** statements)

- Farmers should not be paid for existing carbon stored in the soil, even if they have been managing their farms 'well' and the soil is not degraded
- Farmers should only be paid if they implement new, additional farming practices
- Farmers should be paid based on in-situ measured increases in soil carbon, before and after the contract
- Farmers should be paid based on modelled/estimated changes in soil carbon
- There should be two rates of payment for farmers – one rate for farmers who have historically managed their soils 'well' and one rate for farmers who have not historically managed their soils 'well'
- I don't agree with any of these statements

Q14. What of the list below should count towards 'carbon credits'? (please tick those options you **most agree** with, you can choose up to **three** options)

- Increasing the amount of carbon stored in the soil
- Reduction in soil erosion
- Reduction in emissions resulting from reduced fuel use on farm
- Avoided emissions linked to increasing use of renewable energy on farm
- Avoided emissions from fertilizer manufacturing, linked to a reduction in on-farm use of synthetic fertilisers
- Reduction all GHG emissions from soils (i.e. carbon dioxide, methane, and nitrous oxide)
- I don't know

Q15. When do you think farmers should receive 'carbon credits' (and payment)? (please tick **all answers** you agree with)

- Upfront, based on predicted (modelled) carbon uptake associated with implementation of certain practices
- Retrospectively, after 5 or 10 years, based on measured and/or estimated (modelled) increase in soil carbon stock and/or GHG emissions avoided during the contract
- In several instalments during the contract, based on measurements and/or estimates of the increase in soil carbon/reduction in greenhouse gas emissions
- I don't know

Q16. For what length of time would you be willing to implement a 'soil carbon project' contract, knowing that you would have to sign a legally-binding contract indicating your commitment to implementing **specific** farming practices for the duration of the contract?

- Less than 5 years
- 5-10 years
- 11-20 years
- 21-50 years
- More than 50 years
- I don't know

Q17. A 'soil carbon project' contract will require you to legally commit to maintaining the soil carbon you sequestered (during a contract period) after the contract has ended. For what length of time would you be willing to commit to maintaining a store of carbon in the soil?

- Less than 5 years, unless I enter into a subsequent contract
- 5-10 years
- 11-20 years
- 21-50 years
- More than 50 years
- I don't know

Q18. Farmers receiving 'carbon credits' would be required to contribute a share to a pooled 'buffer' of credits to mitigate risks of unintended or unavoidable reversal/loss of carbon stored in soils or 'leakage' of carbon emissions elsewhere on your farm. What do you think would be **an acceptable share of 'carbon credits'** to contribute to such a buffer?

- Less than 5%
- 5-10%
- 11-20%
- More than 20%
- I don't know

Thank you for answering our questions. For us to understand the representativeness of the responses, we would appreciate if you can tell us...

Q19. What is your gender?

- Male
- Female
- Other
- Prefer not to say

Q22. How old are you?

- 18-24 years
- 25-34 years
- 35-44 years
- 45-54 years
- 55-64 years
- 65 years and over
- Prefer not to say

Q23. What is the level of education, related to farming, that you have completed?

- I have not completed any formal training
- On-going technical/vocational training (e.g. BASIS)
- Bachelor's degree
- Master's degree
- Doctorate degree

Q24. How many years of farming experience do you have?

- Less than 5 years
- 6-10 years
- 11-20 years
- 21-30 years
- More than 30 years



Q25. Is there anything else related to the topics discussed (i.e. UK 'Farm Soil Carbon Code' (FSCC), carbon markets, and 'carbon credits') that you would like to share today?

Q26. How best can the University of Leeds and consortium partners support you in familiarising yourself with the proposed UK 'Farm Soil Carbon Code' (FSCC), drawing up 'carbon credits' contracts, and producing and trading 'carbon credits' in the voluntary carbon market or sell directly to private investors?

Q27. In the coming months we will be holding phone interviews and online workshops to further understand farmers' perspectives on carbon markets and other concerns/synergies of those practices on farms. Would you be interested in participating in these interviews and online workshops?

Yes

No

Q28. As you answered "Yes" to the last question (about follow-up interviews and workshops), can you please give us a contact email and/or phone number:

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## Annex 2

### Questionnaire for UK Carbon Codes

#### Introduction

Thank you for your interest in completing this questionnaire and participating in a research study being undertaken by the University of Leeds and a consortium of partners to develop a UK 'Farm Soil Carbon Code' (FSCC). This Code will outline minimum standards that can regulate the emerging UK agricultural soil carbon market and the production, verification and trade or sale of 'carbon credits' generated by farmers adopting alternative management practices on their farm. It will complement the existing Woodland and Peatland Carbon Codes that have already been operationalised.

The purpose of this questionnaire is to gain insight into the carbon code that your organization has operationalised or is currently developing for roll-out in the UK, and your experience of working with farmers and farm managers who have adopted or are interested in adopting soil carbon management practices with a view to producing, verifying, and trading or selling carbon credits to private sector investors or receiving compensation from public sector actors. The questionnaire should take you **approximately 15 minutes** to complete.

#### Confidentiality, Data Use, and Anonymity

You will not be asked any personally identifiable information, only general information about your farming activity and views. All information and data will be kept on password-protected computer systems in line with University of Leeds protocols and the UK Data Protection Act and will not be shared beyond the research team. The results of the questionnaire will be used for academic and other relevant publications. The results will only be published at an aggregated level, and it will not be possible to identify answers from any individual participant organisation. If you have any questions about this questionnaire or the research, you can contact Dr Lisette Phelan at the University of Leeds (l.phelan@leeds.ac.uk).

#### Withdrawal of Consent

You may request that your answers be withdrawn up to 30 days after your interview by contacting the email address above. We will then destroy and not use your responses. If you contact us after the 30 days have passed, we will not be able to delete all your responses.

This research is funded by the Environment Agency's Investment Readiness Fund and iCASP. It has been approved by the Ethics Committee of the University of Leeds.

Please tick below to confirm that you have understood the above information and that you consent to take part in this questionnaire.

- I consent to take part in this study

## Scope of Code

1. What type of organisation are you?
  - Commercial
  - National government
  - Not-for-profit
  - Research organisations
  - UN-affiliated organisation
  - Other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_
  
2. What is your approach to quantifying changes in carbon stocks?
  - In-situ measurement
  - Modelling only
  - Use of emission factors only
  - Hybrid approach of measurement, modelling and/or use of emission factors

## Project eligibility, rules and administration

3. Who can register a carbon project against your carbon code?
  - Farmer (tenant or landowner)
  - Landowner
  - Project developer
  
4. Who is the owner of a carbon project registered against your carbon code?
  - Farmer (tenant or landowner)
  - Landowner
  - Project developer
  
5. Is the owner of a carbon project required to have legal rights to the land?
  - Yes
  - No
  
6. Are there costs associated with registering a carbon project against your carbon code?
  - Yes
  - No
  
7. What types of land use are eligible for inclusion in a carbon project?

- Cropland
- Grassland
- Crop and grassland

8. What types of land use are ineligible for inclusion in a carbon project?

- Permanent pasture
- Woodland/forest
- Permanent crop production (e.g. orchard crops)
- Production of root vegetables
- Peatland
- Mineral soils

9. Does your carbon code specify which carbon sequestration practices should be implemented?

- Yes, there is a predefined list of practices
- No, there is no predefined list of practices
- Yes, there is a co-developed predefined list of practices
- No, but practices adopted by farmers should meet certain specified criteria

10. What additionality criteria must be adhered to by those implementing carbon projects against your carbon code?

- Practices adopted must not be 'common' (i.e. widely adopted) in a region
- Practices adopted must be 'new' to a farm (i.e. not already adopted)
- Practices may not be adopted in response to government subsidies
- Practices may be adopted using funding from other financial sources

11. What period of time does a carbon project contract cover?

- Project duration
- Permanence
- Fixed period not project duration
- Other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

12. What is the expected duration of permanence (number of years) for a carbon project?

\_\_\_\_ years

### **Soil carbon sequestration**

13. How many years of historic data are required to establish a baseline for a carbon project?

- Less than 3 years
- 3-5 years
- 6-9 years
- 10 years
- More than 10 years

14. What type of baseline does your carbon code expect for carbon projects?

- Fixed
- Fixed average
- Dynamic
- Other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

15. How often do in-situ measurements of changes in soil carbon stocks need to be reported?

- Every year
- Every 2-5 years
- Every 6-10 years

16. At what depth are soil carbon stocks measured in-situ?

- Less than 20cm
- 20-29cm
- 30-60cm
- More than 60cm

17. How often do modelled changes in soil carbon stocks and/or GHG emissions reductions need to be reported?

- Every year
- Every 2-5 years
- Every 6-10 years

18. What GHG emissions are covered by your carbon code?

- CO<sub>2</sub> only
- CO<sub>2</sub> and N<sub>2</sub>O
- CO<sub>2</sub>, N<sub>2</sub>O and CH<sub>4</sub>

## **Carbon market**

19. Does your carbon code permit retrospective crediting?

- Yes
- No

20. Does your carbon code permit stacking of carbon payments with other payments?

- Yes
- No

21. Does your carbon code expect contributions to a buffer fund?

- Yes
- No

22. Does your carbon code guarantee a carbon floor price?

- Yes
- No

23. Are there discounting arrangements in place to account for changes in the carbon market?

- Yes
- No