

An influential biodiversity market may not direct investment towards habitats of national importance

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Keywords: Environment Act; environmental markets; biodiversity net gain; biodiversity offsetting; environmental policy; net outcomes policy; nature conservation; biodiversity metrics; performativity

Abstract

Biodiversity markets are proliferating globally, aiming to increase private investment to address conservation financing gaps. Markets commodify biodiversity to facilitate trade of biodiversity 'units' even across heterogeneous ecologies. However, the metric used to commodify biodiversity can strongly influence which habitats become valuable in biodiversity markets, and there has been little research on whether the biodiversity incentivised through markets maximises conservation value or is aligned with higher-level conservation goals. Here, we address this gap by using an ambitious national biodiversity market as a case study. We simulated habitat transitions in England's Biodiversity Net Gain metric to investigate which habitats deliver biodiversity gains from common habitat baselines, and explored how well these habitats aligned with those outlined in national conservation targets. Our results suggest that the biodiversity metric works well to incentivise avoidance of biodiversity impacts, but without policy coordination, the investment generated by biodiversity markets risks being allocated towards activities that do not maximise conservation potential.

1. Introduction

36 Mobilising finance is vital to halt and reverse losses to biodiversity (Seidl et al., 2021), with the
37 global funding shortfall for conservation estimated at US\$598–824 billion per year (Deutz et
38 al., 2020). To address this deficit, a rapidly accelerating number of international policy goals,
39 national policies, and voluntary initiatives are aiming to upscale private investment in
40 conservation (zu Ermgassen et al., 2024; Löfqvist et al., 2023). These ambitions are
41 embedded at the highest level: Target 19 of the Kunming-Montreal Global Biodiversity
42 Framework aims to mobilise \$200 billion per year for nature, largely through private finance
43 (CBD, 2022).

44

45 One of the primary mechanisms through which these high-level initiatives are attempting to
46 create opportunities for private investment in biodiversity is through the establishment of
47 biodiversity markets. Biodiversity markets aim to facilitate private investment by assigning
48 economic value to biodiversity in some form and allowing buyers to pay sellers for delivering
49 improvements in biodiversity. By far the largest group of biodiversity markets globally are
50 biodiversity compensation markets (estimated to generate >\$11 billion/year; Deutz et al.,
51 2020; UNEP, 2023). These compensation markets facilitate ‘net outcomes’ and so mandate
52 that projects achieve no net loss or net gain of biodiversity by adhering to the mitigation
53 hierarchy and purchasing biodiversity offsets to compensate for unavoidable ecological
54 impacts (Josefsson et al., 2021). Compensatory biodiversity markets have been implemented
55 for decades (Damiens et al., 2020) and are proliferating globally (zu Ermgassen et al., 2019).
56 Biodiversity markets are likely to be a key tool toward mobilising private finance to achieve the
57 goals embedded in high-level conservation policies. For example, in the UK, the government’s
58 Nature Markets Framework aims to drive £1 billion in private investment in nature by 2030
59 through a suite of biodiversity-related markets (HM Government, 2023) – this contrasts with
60 public spending on UK conservation estimated at £600 million/year (JNCC, 2023).

61

62 **1.1 Potential misalignments between the outcomes of biodiversity markets and** 63 **high-level conservation goals**

64 To enable market trading, biodiversity must be commodified into a unit of sale – ‘the nature
65 that capital can see’ (Robertson, 2006). The diversity and complexity of biodiversity makes it
66 difficult to reduce into a fungible unit, and so commodification typically involves the use of
67 proxy metrics for biodiversity value (Robertson, 2006) based on the assumption that their
68 score will reflect wider biodiversity (Cristescu et al., 2013). One common metric type is
69 combined area-condition metrics (Marshall et al., 2020). Combined area-condition metrics
70 multiply habitat area by a function of habitat condition, which is typically based on vegetative
71 features (Borges-Matos et al., 2023). Examples include the Statutory Biodiversity Metric used

72 for Biodiversity Net Gain in England (DEFRA, 2024a), and the Habitat Hectares metric
73 originally used in Victoria's Native Vegetation Framework in Australia (Parkes et al., 2003). By
74 assigning a numerical score to biodiversity, combined area-condition metrics enable relatively
75 simple quantification of biodiversity losses and gains for trading even across heterogeneous
76 ecologies (Carver & Sullivan, 2017; Stanley, 2024b).

77

78 However, the metric used to operationalise biodiversity in a market can have strong impacts
79 on which habitats are most valuable in that market (Kolinjivadi et al., 2017; Stanley, 2024b).
80 Markets tend toward delivering commodities—in the case of biodiversity markets, land
81 management activities that aim to improve biodiversity by a measured amount—offering the
82 greatest returns for the least cost. This is an inherent power of markets: when functioning
83 effectively they theoretically incentivise innovation and allocate resources to actors who offer
84 the best product at the lowest cost (Gómez-Baggethun & Muradian, 2015). Here, the variables
85 quantified in a metric, such as habitat type and condition, become value drivers for the
86 commodity. For example, for a biodiversity metric in which the heaviest-weighted component
87 is number of trees, the value of habitats would largely be driven by their number of trees, and
88 thus the market would incentivise delivering habitats which provide the greatest number of
89 trees for the lowest cost.

90

91 This creates a major opportunity and risk for the designers of biodiversity markets. If the
92 incentives generated through the commodification mechanism lead to delivery of biodiversity
93 improvements which are well-aligned with high-level conservation goals, biodiversity markets
94 can be an effective mechanism to achieve national conservation priorities. However, if these
95 incentives are misaligned, markets have the potential to generate substantial investment, but
96 allocated towards activities that do not maximise its conservation potential.

97

98 **1.2 Current understanding of misalignment between market outcomes and** 99 **conservation goals**

100 The misalignment of biodiversity market outcomes with wider conservation objectives has
101 been hypothesised (Lave et al., 2010; Robertson, 2006; Stanley, 2024b), but there are few
102 empirical studies demonstrating it. One domain of evidence comes from the voluntary carbon
103 market (VCM). Typically, the VCM values offsets based on the volume of carbon dioxide
104 equivalent (CO₂e) reduced, avoided, or removed from the atmosphere. However, the use of
105 CO₂e volume as a proxy for the value of sequestration projects such as afforestation impacts
106 which forests are valuable in the market. Commodifying trees based solely on their short-term
107 carbon sequestration potential has been criticised for encouraging monocultures of fast-
108 growing, non-native tree species which have high rates of carbon assimilation and thus can

109 be sold for high prices in the short term (Díaz et al., 2009; Stanley, 2024a), even though
110 diverse, native forests achieve higher long-term carbon sequestration and co-benefits
111 compared to monocultures (Abreu et al., 2017; Díaz et al., 2009; Jactel et al., 2021; Standish
112 & Prober, 2020; Warner et al., 2023).

113

114 Preliminary patterns of commodification leading to misalignment of market outcomes have
115 also been seen in North American wetland compensation systems. In the US wetland
116 mitigation market, recent work has shown that there are strong incentives to use barrier
117 removal as a management measure in the creation of wetland credits. Crediting rules allow
118 project proponents to claim credits for the entire stream area across which barrier removal is
119 being applied rather than areas adjacent to the barrier removal interventions, generating an
120 unexpectedly large volume of credits relative to the environmental benefits yielded (Theis &
121 Poesch, 2024). This risks encouraging actors to deliver only one type of restoration measure
122 rather than considering those most appropriate for ecosystem restoration in each case.

123

124 Further exploration into potential mismatches between the outcomes of biodiversity markets
125 and high-level conservation goals is vital if markets are to be harnessed to drive largescale
126 private investment towards those goals. We address this gap by analysing the potential effects
127 of the Statutory Biodiversity Metric on the outcomes of a new and internationally high-profile
128 nature market, Biodiversity Net Gain in England. We reveal missed opportunities for the
129 biodiversity market to better support high-level conservation goals, and highlight broader
130 lessons for biodiversity markets globally.

131

132

133

134 **2. England's Biodiversity Net Gain and high-level conservation goals**

135

136 The UK's conservation priorities are outlined across several documents. The Environment Act
137 2021 (EA) set out a legally binding target to achieve the restoration or creation of 500,000
138 hectares of a range of 'wildlife-rich' habitats in England outside of protected areas by 2042
139 (UK Parliament, 2023). Action toward the EA target can be conducted through various
140 mechanisms, including agri-environment schemes, government funds, nature markets, and
141 ecological compensation (where only habitats in excess of the required compensation are
142 counted toward the target). The list of wildlife-rich habitats includes Priority Habitats as defined
143 in Section 41 of the Natural Environment and Rural Communities Act (S41 habitats), as well
144 as other non-priority habitats which are considered wildlife-rich when of 'sufficient quality', as

145 defined by either priority habitat descriptions or the statutory biodiversity metric (Natural
146 England, 2024). In addition to the delivery of habitats of high conservation value mandated
147 under the EA habitat target, the delivery of habitat heterogeneity has been recognised as a
148 vital component in halting and reversing England's wildlife declines in a review of England's
149 conservation approach (Lawton et al., 2010).

150

151 One means through which habitats of conservation importance could be created or restored
152 is through an ecological compensation policy in England also introduced in the EA termed
153 Biodiversity Net Gain (BNG), which came into force in February 2024 (DEFRA, 2024a). BNG
154 mandates that most developments deliver a minimum 10% net gain of biodiversity, maintained
155 for at least 30 years post-development (DEFRA, 2024a). Developers should follow the
156 Biodiversity Gain Hierarchy to first avoid and minimise biodiversity impacts, then enhance or
157 create habitats in the post-development phase to address any residual impacts and deliver a
158 10% gain. Habitats created in excess of the requirement to compensate for losses can be
159 counted toward the EA habitat target. Post-development habitats can be delivered on-site
160 (within the development footprint); off-site through purchase from a biodiversity market; or as
161 a last resort option by purchasing statutory habitat credits from a government-sponsored
162 public body (DEFRA, 2024a). Habitats are not entirely fungible, with penalties for
163 compensatory habitat further away from the impact site and trading rules on which habitats
164 can replace lost ones.

165

166 The biodiversity value of habitats is proxied using the Statutory Biodiversity Metric (hereafter
167 referred to as the BNG metric), a combined area-condition metric (DEFRA, 2024a). The BNG
168 metric is used to estimate the biodiversity 'units' of the baseline habitats found on the site
169 before development commences and the habitats planned post-development, with a 10% unit
170 uplift required. Biodiversity units are calculated by multiplying habitat area by scores for habitat
171 type distinctiveness and condition. Where the delivery of post-development habitats is
172 promised in the future (i.e. compensation measures which are implemented today are
173 expected to deliver a habitat that matures years into the future), post-development units are
174 penalised by the time taken to reach the habitat's target condition at a discount rate of 3.5%
175 per year, and by habitat-specific discounts for difficulty of creation (Natural England, 2023).

176

177

178 Therefore, the BNG metric is used to measure both the ecological value of a site today and
179 predict the future value of the site following development alongside ecological compensation
180 measures. It has two clear roles. Like-for-like compensation for rare and valuable habitats is
181 required where possible (DEFRA, 2024b), and so by penalising the post-development value

182 of these habitats (which are often difficult and timely to replace) it ensures that a larger area
183 is required to replace the same unit value of destroyed habitat. This incentivises avoiding
184 impacts to those habitats, consistent with the mitigation hierarchy. But in addition, the BNG
185 metric is used to guide the activities of actors generating biodiversity offsets for sale into the
186 market, and so the habitats that score the most units under the BNG metric are likely to be
187 those implicitly incentivised in restoration projects for the market.

188

189 BNG permits the use of habitat banking, where habitat transitions are initiated in advance of
190 unit sale to reduce the impact of these multipliers and thus increase the unit value of a site.
191 However, it is unclear whether this resolves any potential misalignment between the BNG
192 metric and high-level conservation targets by changing which habitat transitions are
193 incentivised under the metric.

194

195 To explore what kinds of biodiversity the BNG metric and thus the BNG market is likely to
196 deliver, we simulated the unit value of different habitats under the metric and explored the
197 metric components that drive differences in unit value between habitats. We used the BNG
198 metric to calculate the unit value of habitat transitions from 1 hectare of common pre-
199 development habitats to almost all habitats they could feasibly be converted into within the 30-
200 year timeframe of BNG. We explored how different broad habitat types scored; how the
201 different groups of habitats outlined as UK priorities scored; and how results changed when
202 transitions are started in advance of offset sale. Our results are essential for understanding
203 which habitats may be implicitly incentivised under the BNG market, and thus the coordination
204 between biodiversity markets and high-level conservation goals.

205

206 **2.1 Methods**

207

208 The purpose of our analysis was to determine, for a project proponent starting with a piece of
209 land containing a common baseline habitat type, which habitats they would be implicitly
210 incentivised to deliver by the BNG metric within the BNG market, and whether these habitats
211 are aligned with the ambitions of overarching conservation goals. No information on the prices
212 of different biodiversity units is publicly available in the BNG market, and so here we do not
213 analyse the exact costs and benefits of delivering different habitat types. Instead, we look at
214 the number of biodiversity units generated by transitioning land management towards different
215 habitat types, and so we assume that habitat types which deliver biodiversity unit gains are
216 likely to generate greater revenue than those which deliver unit losses. In practice, we know
217 that biodiversity units for some habitat types will sell for more than others, and that some
218 habitats are more expensive to create. The effect of these factors on the relative profitability

219 of different habitat transitions under BNG is unknowable without public price and cost data.
220 Therefore, we constrain this analysis to analysing and comparing differences in the occurrence
221 of unit gains or losses between different habitat types.

222

223 The unit value of a post-development habitat is influenced by the habitat it is replacing: habitat
224 transitions are either *creations* (transitions to a different broad habitat; e.g. a grassland to a
225 wetland) or *enhancements* (transitions within the same broad habitat type to the same or
226 higher distinctiveness and/or condition level; e.g. low distinctiveness grassland to a higher
227 distinctiveness grassland), and these incur different temporal and difficulty risk penalties.
228 Habitats can also be retained, maintaining the same unit value in the pre-development
229 calculation. We selected the two most common pre-development habitat types identified in a
230 dataset of real BNG projects (Rampling et al., 2024) as the baseline from which to simulate
231 habitat transitions: these were cropland and poor condition modified grassland, comprising
232 53% of pre-development habitat in a sample of six early-adopter local authorities.

233

234 We simulated transitions from one hectare of pre-development habitat to forty-six habitats
235 within four broad habitat types: woodlands, wetlands, scrubs, and grasslands, as these cover
236 the majority of habitats which can be created from the chosen baselines. We simulated
237 transitions to habitats of three condition levels (poor, moderate, and good)—totalling 131 habitat
238 outcomes from each pre-development habitat baseline—and excluded those which could not
239 be achieved within the 30-year BNG period (SI 1). See SI 2 for simulation examples. We
240 calculated the change in biodiversity units associated with each habitat transition. We also
241 excluded individually, and then together, the temporal and difficulty risk multipliers from
242 transitions delivering a unit loss, to investigate the proportion that delivered a loss because of
243 these multipliers.

244

245 To investigate the alignment of the BNG market with the UK's high-level conservation goals,
246 we analysed its contribution toward a diversity of habitat types, and toward different groups of
247 habitats outlined as UK priorities. For the former, we investigated whether the metric biased
248 unit gains towards certain broad habitat types by comparing the number of habitat transitions
249 within each broad habitat type that deliver a unit gain or a unit loss. For the latter, we identified
250 which habitats of which condition levels were included in each of three groups of habitats:
251 habitats which contributed towards the EA habitat target, S41 habitats, and very high- and
252 high-distinctiveness habitats (SI 3). We evaluated S41 priority habitats and high- and very high
253 distinctiveness in isolation from the EA target to identify whether BNG incentivised the delivery
254 of habitats of the highest conservation priority. We explored whether habitats within these
255 groups more often deliver a unit gain than those not in the groups.

256

257 For habitat transitions which delivered a loss in units, we investigated how far in advance
258 landowners would have to begin transitions before sale to deliver a unit gain and whether this
259 ameliorated any biases towards certain broad habitat types or wildlife-rich habitats. Following
260 the methodology above, we re-ran habitat simulations with transitions started iteratively either
261 1,2,3,4,5,7,10 years in advance, and recalculated the unit score of this habitat transition.

262

263 **2.2 Results**

264

265 The BNG metric incentivises a limited range of habitats

266 Simulating habitat transitions from cropland and poor condition modified grassland identified
267 many habitat transitions which failed to deliver a 10% gain—or any unit gain—compared to
268 retaining the low-quality habitat they replaced (Fig. 1).

269

270 Comparing the frequency of biodiversity unit gains across broad habitat types found that
271 habitat transitions towards grasslands and scrubs more often delivered gains relative to
272 transitions towards woodlands and wetlands (Fig. 2a). Broad habitat type had a significant
273 influence on whether habitat transitions delivered unit gains or losses ($\chi^2=27.263$, $df=3$,
274 $p<0.001$). The same trend was apparent for a poor condition modified grassland baseline
275 ($\chi^2=48.61$, $df=3$, $p<0.01$; Fig 2b; SI 4).

276 The bias towards grasslands and scrubs is also evident in the units per hectare delivered by
277 different habitat types (Fig. 3).

278

279

280 The BNG metric's alignment with different conservation priorities

281 The proportion of habitats contributing to the EA habitat target was larger in habitat transitions
282 delivering a gain in biodiversity units than those delivering a loss, but this difference was very
283 marginal (Fig 4a; Fisher's Exact Test, $p=0.03621$, $\Phi=0.2$). There was no difference in the
284 proportion of S41 habitats between transitions delivering a gain and a loss in biodiversity units
285 (Fig 4b; $\chi^2=0.06783$, $df=1$, $p=0.06783$, $\Phi=-0.18$), and the proportion of high- and very high-
286 distinctiveness habitats was smaller in transitions delivering a unit gain than those delivering
287 a loss (Fig 4c; $\chi^2=14.587$, $df=1$, $p=0.0001339$, $\Phi=-0.36$). Results were largely similar from a
288 poor condition modified grassland baseline (SI 5). Habitat transitions which deliver a loss in
289 units include those to lowland mixed deciduous woodland of every condition level, a high
290 distinctiveness S41 habitat which hosts diverse invertebrate and bird species (Fig 5; Lack &
291 Venables, 1939; Stewart, 2001).

292 .

293

294 Most habitat transitions which deliver a loss in biodiversity units do so because of risk
295 multipliers

296 From cropland and poor condition modified grassland, a respective 90.7% (49/54) and 93.3%
297 (42/45) of the transitions which delivered a biodiversity unit loss would deliver a gain if both
298 the temporal and difficulty risk multipliers were removed. Figure 5 illustrates a habitat transition
299 which delivers a unit loss, highlighting the contribution of post-development multipliers. For a
300 breakdown of the multipliers, see SI 6.

301

302

303

304 Advance compensation does not ameliorate metric biases

305 Of the habitat transitions which delivered a loss in biodiversity units from a cropland baseline,
306 the reduced temporal risk associated with advance compensation meant that 31.5% and
307 55.5% deliver a unit gain when the transition is started 1 or 5 years in advance of unit sale,
308 respectively. Results were similar for poor condition modified grassland (SI 7). Even when
309 landowners begin habitat transitions before unit sale, transitions to woodlands, wetlands, and
310 other wildlife-rich habitats were still less likely to deliver unit gains than grasslands or scrubs
311 (SI 8).

312

313

314 **3. Discussion**

315

316 We found that using the BNG metric—the biodiversity currency around which the BNG market
317 is structured—almost half of the possible habitat transitions from common, low-quality baseline
318 habitats would not deliver a gain in units under the current policy. In other words, a land
319 manager starting with cropland or low-quality grassland would not receive any biodiversity unit
320 uplift for delivering many high-quality habitats considered national conservation priorities. This
321 is largely due to the influence of the post-development risk multipliers. In particular, transitions
322 towards high and very high distinctiveness habitats, including many woodlands and wetlands,
323 tend to deliver losses of biodiversity units under the BNG metric rather than gains from a low-
324 quality baseline.

325

326 **3.1 The BNG Metric incentivises avoidance but penalises creation of diverse habitats**
327 **aligned with strategic priorities**

328

329 Biodiversity offsets are conventionally applied as the final stage of the mitigation hierarchy,
330 and one of the most common arguments in favour of compensation markets is the way they
331 price in impacts to biodiversity into regulated sectors, thereby disincentivising damaging
332 valuable or distinctive natural features (Pascoe et al., 2019). The post-development risk
333 multipliers in the BNG metric work well to this end: where possible, high- and very-high
334 distinctiveness habitats must be replaced with the same habitat type (DEFRA, 2024b), and
335 the temporal and difficulty risk multipliers reduce unit score such that a much larger area of
336 habitat is required to replace the same unit value. This larger area required for compensation
337 will likely translate to a high price for developers damaging these habitats, and patterns found
338 by zu Ermgassen et al. (2021) and Rampling et al. (2024) indicate that the BNG metric is an
339 effective incentive for avoidance, with habitat clearance under BNG in their sample occurring
340 mainly on degraded pasture or cropland rather than higher-quality habitats.

341

342 However, our results show that this characteristic of the BNG metric may trade off with the
343 degree to which the BNG market is likely to contribute towards a heterogeneous landscape of
344 habitats important to English conservation goals. We also demonstrate that a metric's
345 alignment to conservation goals depends on how those goals are defined. This demonstrates
346 that small subjective changes to the definition of habitats of conservation priority are important
347 and mask more complex interpretations of whether conservation policies can be considered
348 effective. When we parsed out the habitats of highest conservation priority (S41 habitats and
349 high- and very high- distinctiveness habitats), we see that these habitats are more likely to
350 deliver a unit loss (though the former not significantly), whereas a range of habitats which
351 contribute to the EA habitat target deliver a unit gain under BNG, including for example, good
352 condition Other Neutral Grassland (ONG). ONG is an umbrella habitat representing at least
353 four distinct vegetation sub-communities and has been shown to vary greatly in invertebrate
354 abundance and diversity (Duffus & Atkins et al., 2024). In our dataset it delivers more units per
355 hectare than most more distinctive, priority habitats which are more difficult to create. From
356 low quality baselines, the BNG metric risks incentivising transitions to 'fast delivery' grasslands
357 like ONG *en masse* rather than transitions to a diversity of policy relevant habitat types to
358 achieve national targets.

359

360 This is due to the incentivisation of fast delivery habitats and a lack of incentive for the creation
361 of multi-habitat sites. Multi-habitat landscapes have been shown to be more diverse and stable
362 (Hackett et al., 2024) and plant community heterogeneity on both field- and landscape-levels
363 increases aboveground diversity (Brüggeshemke et al., 2022; Le Provost et al., 2021). Metrics
364 like the BNG metric risk missing opportunities to encourage habitat heterogeneity and habitat
365 diversity.

366

367 Whilst empirical validation of our simulation results was not possible due to the nature of BNG
368 data provided by developers, the bias towards grasslands and scrubs in our results supports
369 empirical findings from Rampling et al. (2024) that the most commonly delivered habitat
370 through BNG is ONG in six councils that adopted BNG before its national rollout. Furthermore,
371 whilst our analysis did not incorporate the profit associated with each habitat transition and so
372 cannot be used to explicitly infer market incentives, we make tentative conclusions based on
373 the assumption that habitat transitions which deliver a biodiversity unit loss are unlikely to be
374 delivered under BNG. The BNG metric has the potential to implicitly incentivise the BNG
375 market toward delivering a limited range of habitats with a short time to target condition and
376 low difficulty of creation, at the expense of diverse and distinct habitats in locations they are
377 well-suited for.

378

379 Given that an estimated fewer than 10% of habitats will be delivered off-site under BNG
380 (Duffus et al., 2024; zu Ermgassen et al., 2021), it is important to maximise the benefits
381 delivered by off-site BNG. Local Nature Recovery Strategies (LNRSs) seek to direct finance
382 from BNG to achieving local priorities for nature by applying a 15% uplift to unit score (before
383 risk multipliers are applied) for habitat transitions which will further the proposed measures in
384 an LNRS or which are described as locally ecologically important and can be demonstrated
385 as providing ecological linkage to other strategically significant locations (DEFRA, 2024b).
386 However, this uplift is unlikely to counter the impact of the risk multipliers such that many
387 habitats otherwise delivering a unit loss deliver a gain when recorded as strategically
388 significant – the post-development woodland in Fig. 3b for example would continue to deliver
389 a unit loss even if awarded a 1.15 strategic significance multiplier. Similarly, whilst high and
390 very high distinctiveness habitats receive multipliers of 6 and 8 respectively, this is applied
391 before post-development multipliers and so their post-development score is often reduced
392 below that of poor-quality baselines like cropland and modified grassland. No direct mitigation
393 of the risk multipliers is possible from low-quality baseline habitats, even if site conditions make
394 creation of wildlife-rich habitats less difficult than typical, and so landowners still incur the same
395 penalties. Whilst beginning habitat transitions in advance of unit sale reduces the risk of
396 biodiversity outcomes failing to be achieved (Bekessy et al., 2010), this creates a financial risk
397 for landowners—a known barrier to entering environmental markets (Alvarado-Quesada et al.,
398 2014)—and our results demonstrate that it does not address the metric's biases.

399

400

401 **3.2 Implications for Biodiversity Net Gain**

402

403 Our results demonstrate that the BNG metric incentivises avoidance well but consequently
404 risks guiding the BNG market towards delivering a limited range of mid-quality habitats,
405 missing opportunities to deliver a diversity of habitats which support high level conservation
406 objectives. Transitioning from no net loss to net gain can be difficult (Bull & Brownlie, 2017):
407 whilst the ability of the BNG metric to incentivise avoidance can mitigate the impact of
408 development on biodiversity, it may require alterations to better incentivise more diverse and
409 ecologically valuable offsets to better contribute to broader conservation goals.

410

411 Policymakers developing biodiversity markets may investigate several potential changes to
412 address these problems. Recent research highlighted the need to integrate different sources
413 of financing and match them with the kinds of habitat they are best suited to delivering, to
414 ensure that the biodiversity financing system as a whole achieves objectives aligned with
415 overarching conservation goals (zu Ermgassen et al., 2024b). By assessing the conservation
416 outcomes delivered by different funding streams and biodiversity-related markets,
417 policymakers could identify ‘cold spots’, types of biodiversity which are not being effectively
418 funded via nature markets as they are not valued enough under commodification mechanisms.
419 The role of public funding could be emphasised for these habitats, or subsidies introduced to
420 tip the balance of incentives in favour of delivering these habitats through market mechanisms.
421 For example, our analysis demonstrates that many woodland and wetland habitats are unlikely
422 to be incentivised under BNG. Whilst woodlands might be incentivised by other biodiversity-
423 related markets like the Woodland Carbon Code and some wetland might be incentivised
424 under Nutrient Neutrality, we expect that some habitats of conservation priority will not be
425 delivered as desired by any of these markets.

426

427 Several changes to area-condition metrics like the BNG metric could be considered, whilst
428 ensuring that changes do not undermine the powerful incentive to avoid harming high-quality
429 habitats initially under the current system. One change may involve relaxing the post-
430 development difficulty multiplier where a site can be demonstrated to fulfil the correct
431 ecological conditions to deliver high-quality habitats. For example, relaxing the difficulty
432 multiplier for lowland calcareous grassland on sites with calcareous soils may avoid
433 incentivising the delivery of an inappropriate neutral grassland type. Relaxing the risk
434 multipliers should only be done in the presence of correct ecological conditions and habitat
435 creation expertise, and should not override the much larger area required in compensation for
436 lost habitat to ensure no net loss of biodiversity (Bull et al., 2017).

437

438 **3.3 Potential lack of coordination between the outcomes of biodiversity markets and**
439 **conservation priorities**

440 More broadly, our simulation study demonstrates that within biodiversity markets,
441 commodification mechanisms risk delivering outcomes that are not well aligned with higher-
442 level conservation goals. We demonstrate that similarly to trends seen in the VCM, choice of
443 proxy metric can have large effects on which habitats become valuable in biodiversity markets,
444 and in this case may lead to the delivery of a limited diversity of habitats with limited alignment
445 with conservation priorities.

446

447 Biodiversity markets are rapidly proliferating around the world, and are expected to become
448 an important component of conservation policy and key strategy for achieving global
449 conservation funding goals. Several metrics have been developed based on the BNG metric,
450 including those developed for use in Sweden, Singapore, the Americas, and a global metric
451 (AECOM, 2024; CLIMB, 2024; Ramboll, 2024). However, for them to actively contribute to
452 higher-level conservation objectives, it is essential that the incentives generated under
453 biodiversity markets align with these high-level objectives, or mechanisms risk generating
454 funding for conservation but investing it in lower quality habitats which make limited
455 contribution to overall conservation goals.

456

457 We identify a risk that conservation investment generated via BNG—one of the world’s most
458 high-profile biodiversity markets—may lean towards funding the delivery of habitats of relatively
459 low ecological value, which are poorly aligned with national policy objectives.

460 Our results suggest that the biodiversity metric works well to incentivise avoidance of
461 biodiversity impacts, but the investment generated by biodiversity markets risks being
462 allocated towards creating many relatively common habitats which are not of highest
463 conservation value, missing a key opportunity to align markets with overall national
464 conservation objectives.

465

466 **Funding Statement**

467 N.M. was funded by S.O.S.E.z.E.'s 2023 NERC Impact Award "Shaping England’s new
468 Biodiversity Net Gain policy". N.E.D. is funded by the Natural Environment Research Council
469 NE/S007474/1 Oxford-NERC Doctoral Training Partnership in Environmental Research and
470 an Oxford Reuben Scholarship. S.O.S.E.z.E. and J.W.B. are supported by EU Horizon 2020
471 project SUPERB (Systemic solutions for upscaling of urgent ecosystem restoration for forest-
472 related biodiversity and ecosystem services; Ref.: GA-101036849).

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474 **Author contribution statement**

475 N.M., N.E.D., S.O.S.E.z.E. and J.W.B. conceptualised the study. N.M. collected the data. N.M.
476 analysed the data and produced the figures. N.M., N.E.D., S.O.S.E.z.E. and J.W.B. wrote the
477 manuscript.

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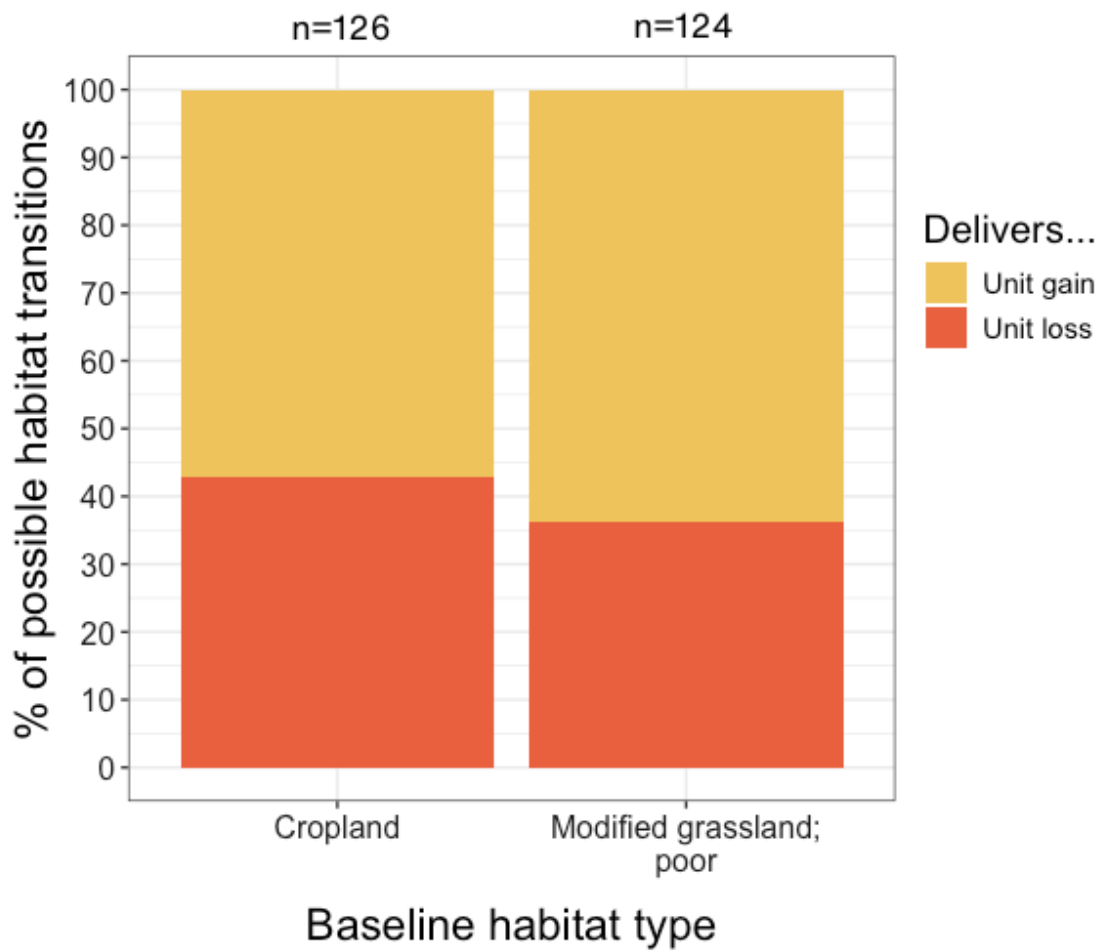
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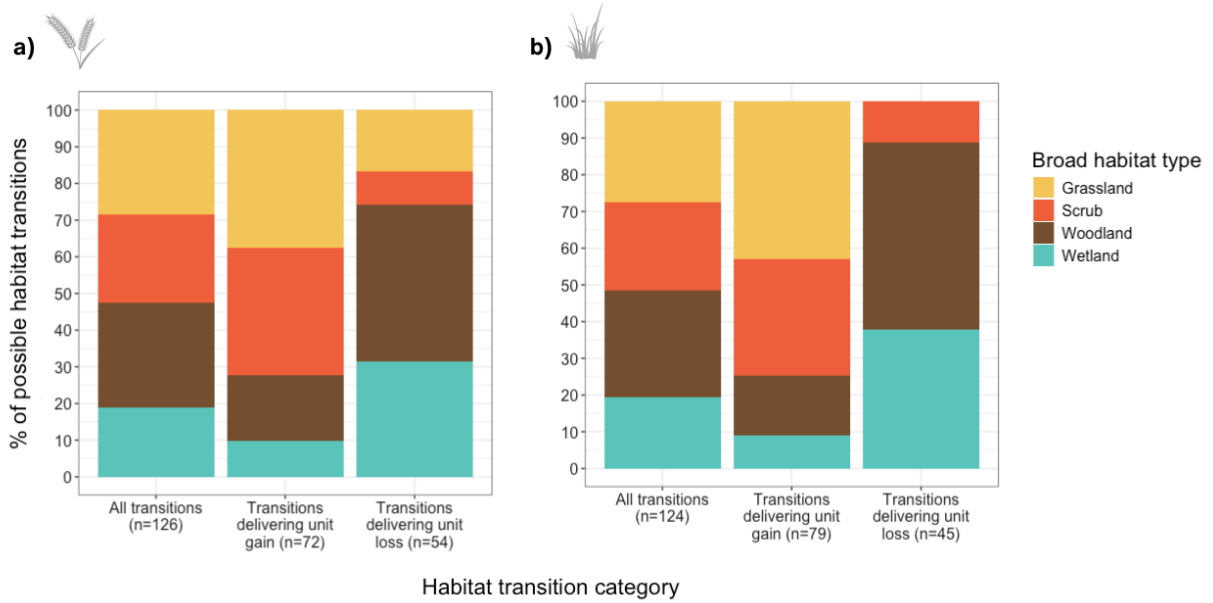
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650 Figure 1. Stacked bar chart illustrating each baseline habitat type, with the proportion of habitat
651 transitions which deliver a unit gain (yellow) and unit loss (orange) from these baselines
652 represented. Numbers at top represent total number of possible habitat transitions from each
653 baseline.
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658 *Figure 2. The broad habitat type breakdown for all habitat transitions; habitat transitions which*
 659 *deliver a gain in units; and habitat transitions which deliver a loss in units, from a baseline*
 660 *habitat of a) cropland, b) poor condition modified grassland. The number of habitat transitions*
 661 *in each category is provided.*

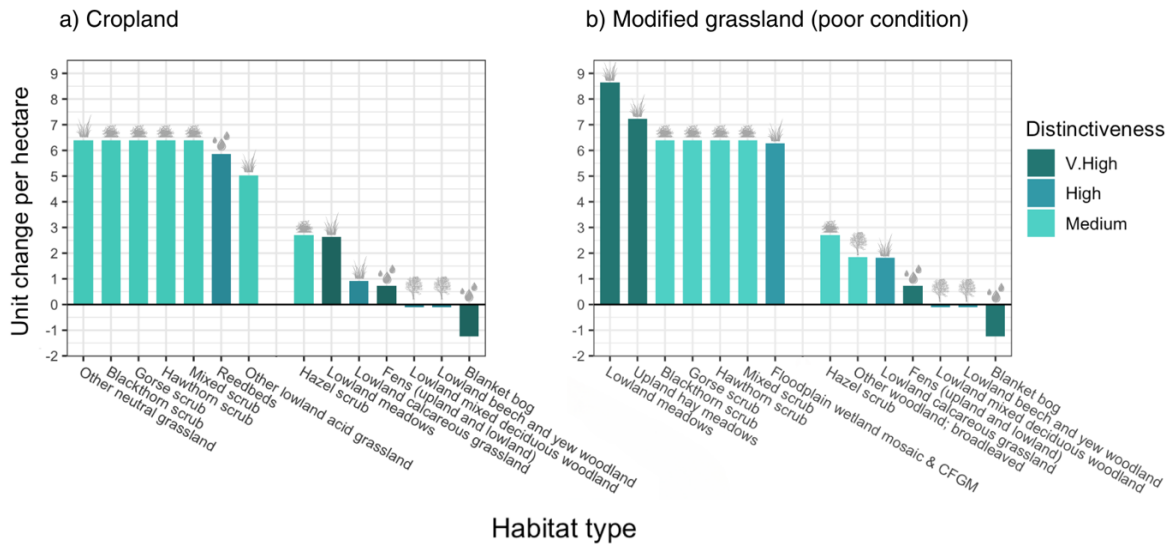


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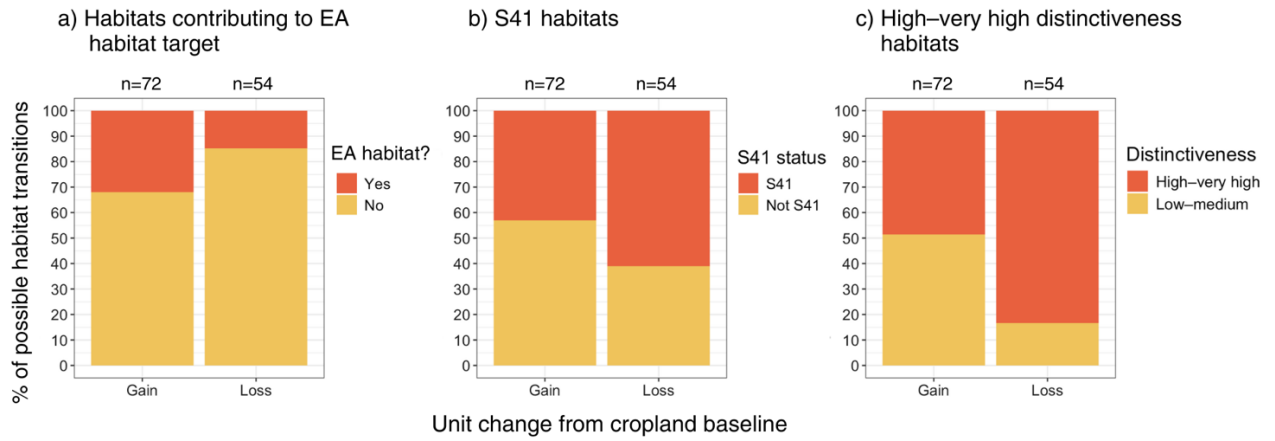
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665 Figure 3. Change in biodiversity unit per hectare given by example habitat transitions from a)
 666 cropland b) poor condition modified grassland baselines. The first seven habitats in each panel
 667 represent the seven highest scoring habitat transitions from each baseline, and the last seven
 668 represent a selection of other habitat transition examples. All transitions are towards good
 669 condition habitats. Icon = broad habitat type. Note that the habitat 'dunes with sea buckthorn'
 670 was excluded as it is restricted to specific coastal habitats in East Anglia.
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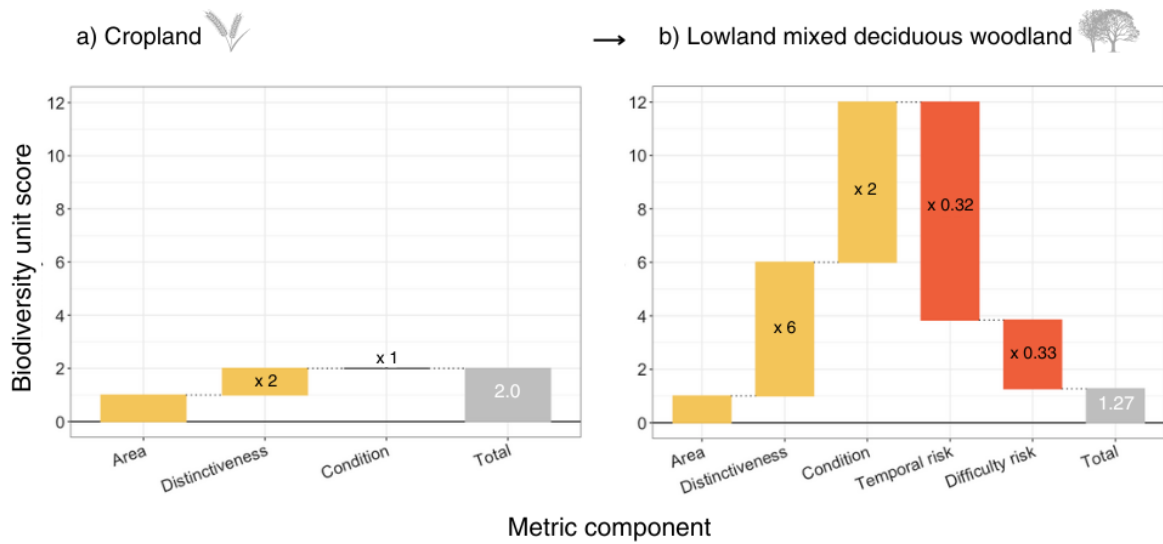
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675 Figure 4. Stacked bar chart illustrating the proportion habitat transitions which a) contribute
 676 towards the EA habitat target, b) deliver S41 habitats, c) deliver high or very high
 677 distinctiveness habitats, for transitions which deliver a gain or loss from a cropland baseline.
 678 Numbers at top represent total number of possible habitat transitions from each baseline.
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685 Figure 5. Decomposed biodiversity unit score of a) pre-development cropland (condition NA)
 686 and b) post-development lowland mixed deciduous woodland habitat (moderate condition) in
 687 an example habitat transition which delivers a unit loss. Black text = value of each component
 688 'multiplier'; white text = final unit score for each habitat. Figures made with waterfalls package
 689 in R (Parsonage, 2022).
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