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Title: "I like to get my hands stuck in the soil": a pilot study in the acceptance of soil-less methods of cultivation in community gardens.

Article Type: Original article

Keywords: Community Gardens; Urban Agriculture; Hydroponics; Soil-less Cultivation.

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Abstract: The aim of this paper is to investigate the role that soil-less methods of food production can play in urban agriculture, particularly in projects that are run by community groups. Over the last years, a drive by people to engage in sustainable lifestyles has resulted in a surge in urban agriculture. Typically, on-soil horticulture is greatly appreciated by urban farmers for its invaluable contribution to urban ecology. Yet, some community projects across Europe are experimenting with indoor soil-less methods, which offer an opportunity to reduce the waste of resources such as water and space, including valuable greenspace. Against this backdrop, the paper investigates the drivers and barriers that may facilitate or hinder soil-less methods for urban farmers. We triangulate information from the literature with a small-scale pilot study, based on interviews in a community garden in Portsmouth, UK, in which a small hydroponic unit was utilised by a group of experienced farmers. We subsequently compare results with a previous pilot study, similar in design but with interviewees who have limited experience in growing food. Qualitative results show a general appreciation of the environmental advantages that the hydroponic unit can yield and at the same time diffidence towards a hydroponic produce which is perceived as non-natural in both groups. Quantitative analysis showed that 90% of experienced farmers had prior knowledge of soil-less methods against 42% of the wider sample group. We conclude that, for the participants to the pilots, higher knowledge of soil-less systems does not necessarily lead to higher acceptance. Yet, feedback gathered suggests that there is interest in soil-less methods, which appears to be linked to the propensity of community gardens to test new arrangements and techniques within their projects.

“I like to get my hands stuck in the soil”: a pilot study in
the acceptance of soil-less methods of cultivation in
community gardens.

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31 **Graphical abstract:**

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34 **Highlights:**

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- 36 • Factors preventing use of hydroponics in urban agriculture are poorly understood
 - 37 • Hindering factors include use of chemicals and hydroponics perceived as non-natural
 - 38 • Hindering factors are stronger amongst experienced urban gardeners
 - 39 • Awareness of overall environmental benefits of hydroponics can combat reservations
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54 1. Introduction.

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2 55 ¹A large body of literature documents the wide range of benefits that, in the global North and beyond,
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4 56 urban agriculture (UA) can generate, which include improvements to the urban biodiversity, to the
5
6 57 local economy and to the health and wellbeing of those who practice it (see Table 1 for an overview of
7
8 58 selected studies). Productivity as a benefit is discussed to a minor extent, although there are a few
9
10 59 studies evaluating its potential; those that exist identify land availability as a major barrier. For
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12 60 example, Garnett (1999) finds that land available in London has the potential of supplying 18% of
13
14 61 Londoners' vegetable intake only. Ackerman et al. (2013) estimated that vacant land in New York
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16 62 (about 4,9884 acres) cannot make the city self-sufficient, although when the extended metropolitan
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18 63 areas are considered, UA can support between 58 and 89% of its population. Lee-Smith (2010)
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20 64 concludes that UA plays a significant role in urban food security and economy in Uganda and Kenya,
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22 65 and Badami and Ramankutty (2015) reach different conclusions, stating that, globally, UA's
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24 66 contribution to food security without the provision of sufficient land is unsatisfactory.

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26 67 Community groups practicing UA have demonstrated great innovation in experimenting with new
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28 68 spatial, economic and horticultural models (Caputo et al., 2016). For example, Community Supported
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30 69 Agriculture has been used as a model enabling economic sustainability while creating new jobs (a
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32 70 case in point is Growing Communities in London - growingcommunities.org). Lack of suitable land is
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34 71 one of the challenges tackled by many community groups, with some experimenting with the use of
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36 72 rooftops and other urban spaces usually overlooked (Orsini et al., 2017). An innovative approach that
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38 73 a few community groups are trialling because of its space and resource efficiency is soilless
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40 74 techniques such as hydroponics and aquaponics. These techniques also have the advantage of
41
42 75 circumventing risks related to soil contamination that can be common in cities (Hursthouse and
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44 76 Laitão, 2016). Groups like Bristol Fish Project in the UK, Hemmeodlat in Malmö and Kääntöpöytä in
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46 77 Oslo have constructed their soil-less systems indoor with limited resources while testing the suitability
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48 78 of new techniques to urban farming. However, the environmental efficiency of indoor hydroponics
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50 79 (Romeo et al., 2018) and aquaponics (Forchino et al., 2017) systems still needs to be proved, since
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52 80 they can utilise high levels of energy. Their contribution to urban ecology and enhanced urban
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54 81 biodiversity, which is one of the benefits of UA when practiced on soil, is also unclear.

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59 ¹ There are a number of abbreviations used in this article. (1) UA: Urban Agriculture. (2) FBL: Fratton Big Local,
60 one of the field sites used for the study. (3) SG: Southsea Greenhouse, one of the field sites used for the study.
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82 In spite of these drawbacks, soil-less techniques enable the possibility to grow anywhere and in any
 83 season. Crops produced in cities can contribute to a more efficient and clean food supply chain, and
 84 increase food security, especially in the perspective of climatic changes and their negative impact on
 85 global food production (Wheeler and Von Braun, 2013). But in a context in which for the majority of
 86 community groups productivity is a lesser objective and the authenticity of the produce matters, what
 87 drives or prevents urban farmers to utilise soil-less methods? There is a paucity of studies that
 88 explore this question, despite increasing pressure on society to produce more food in a more
 89 sustainable manner and the willingness of community groups to experiment with new social and
 90 technological structures that may enable this.

91 The study presented herein addresses such a question by eliciting the perception of soil-less methods
 92 from community groups engaging in UA, thus providing leverage points that can be used to overcome
 93 barriers to their adoption. In the following section, we present a literature review aimed at
 94 demonstrating the propensity to innovation that UA has shown over the last years, which explains the
 95 recent interest for soil-less methods. We subsequently illustrate the methodology of this study and its
 96 results. In section 4, we compare and discuss the views of a group of experienced urban farmers with
 97 inexperienced farmers interviewed in a previous study, aiming to understand prior knowledge of soil-
 98 less growing systems and acceptance of hydroponic produce and growing methods.

100 *Table 1 – Summary literature reviewed, demonstrating benefits of UA*

REFERENCE	AREA OF BENEFIT	PARTICULAR BENEFIT
Biel, 2016	Well-being	UA can provide opportunity for people to be in close proximity with nature
Dobernig and Stagl, 2015	Well-being	UA facilitates a re- engagement with nature
Certomà, 2011	Sustainability	UA stimulates environmental awareness
Barthel et al., 2010	Sustainability	Gardening helps sustaining an “ecological memory” that is being lost within an urban context
Travaline and Hunold, 2010	Sustainability	UA promotes participation and learning, leading to enhanced environmental awareness (ecological citizenship)
Grebitus et al., 2015	Health	Perception of improved health through gardening, gathered from an online survey
Saldivar-Tanaka and Krasny, 2004	Community-building	UA stimulated community building in a Latin American neighbourhood in New York
Firth et al., 2011	Community-building	UA stimulated community building in two community gardens in Nottingham
Holland, 2004	Community-building	Community gardens investigated in this study demonstrate a sense of community, with participation and involvement being particularly strong

		features.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22	Purcell and Tyman, 2015	Political UA enables an independent, self-managed use of public space
23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49	Turner et al., 2011	Political UA improves food security and a sense of safety
50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65	Ghose and Pettygrove, 2014	Political Community gardens as spaces of alternative food production and community development, challenging neoliberal inequities
	Dieleman, 2015	Economic Most of the urban growers In Mexico City sell their crops to the local market.
	Benis and Ferrão, 2017	Environmental UA can help reduce losses and wastage, and can be used to implement a low impact food supply chain,
	Goldstein et al., 2016	Environmental UA sites with onsite renewable energy production can help mitigate climate change
	He et al., 2016	Environmental Lower environmental impact index for organic tomato urban production compared to industrial production
	Beniston et al., 2015	Environmental Soil amendments from urban yard wastes can improve soil quality at previously degraded sites and increase crop yields.

2. The Socio-Cultural Context of Urban Agriculture

2.1 Recent models of UA

New models to grow food in cities that have been experimented with in community projects can be seen as initiated in reaction to changes in society. For example, the multiplication of places to grow food individually or as part of community projects in Detroit is associated with the shrinking of its economy (Colasanti et al., 2012). The surge in demand for spaces to cultivate edible crops coincides with economic downturns (Acton, 2011), including the latest economic crisis in 2007 (Sanyé-Mengual, 2018). UA has moved from a practice of subsistence in wartime to one of leisure in post-war times (Crouch and Ward, 1988), to one that is currently defined as multifunctional. By framing UA as a practice in evolution and presenting some recurrent themes which recently have been at the centre of UA projects, this section outlines the background against which soil-less methods have recently been tested.

2.1.1 Community - Many of the new projects that were started over the last years across Europe are community-based, as opposed to being predominantly confined to the individual/household level, practiced on allotments (Kitao, 2005). One key to interpret this shift (from individual to collective) is the political and economic crisis society is experiencing, which has contributed to view UA as a practice charged with social, political and environmental contents (Ioannou et al., 2016). This is confirmed by Holland (2004) in her study based on 96 questionnaires completed by UK community

121 gardens and city farms. A case in point is the guerrilla gardening movement (see Reynolds, 2014),
122 which utilises UA as a form of protest, particularly pointing at issues of right of access to and
123 ownership and self-management of public space (Adams and Hardman, 2014) which is becoming
124 increasingly difficult within the neo-liberal city (Schwab et al., 2018). The lack of suitable spaces and
125 the complex procedures that are required to allocate and start new ones can lead to radical action
126 (Hardman et al., 2018). Other authors suggest that this protest can be interpreted as a form of civic
127 activism; a desire to beautify cities through vegetation and therefore a demonstration of attachment to
128 places (Certoma', 2011). Regardless of the underlying agenda, community garden projects are
129 typically started by groups, run with the aid of volunteers and willing to network with the local
130 community and organisations in this sector. Their action has a social purpose, in the belief that food
131 can be catalyst for societal improvements, some of which are typically delivered by local authorities
132 because of public interest (management of green areas, educational activities for schools, healthy
133 diets, activities for the elderly people or ethnic minorities, etc.). This has been interpreted as a positive
134 turn by some authors, in that it opens up new possibilities for communities to form and take ownership
135 of local resources (Eizenberg, 2012) and negative by others who see this phenomenon as an
136 opportunity for municipalities to delegate management of public spaces and, by doing so, reduce local
137 authorities' intervention and pre-empt the subversive edge of local groups' requests (Mc Clintock,
138 2014). In a study on community gardens in Berlin, Rosol (2012) shows how by helping start a new
139 urban farm for children, local authorities support the outsourcing of responsibility for public
140 infrastructures such as parks. In both instances, the significant element of the emergence of this
141 phenomenon is that UA is perceived as a practice that is socially meaningful and that has a role to
142 play in society, which goes beyond the provision of healthy food and the leisure associated with its
143 production.

144
145 **2.1.2. Urban space** – One of the consequences of a higher demand for cultivable plots, which is
146 generally not matched by the supply (Wiltshire, 2010), is the utilisation of marginal urban spaces that
147 would not be typically considered for cultivation due to being paved or contaminated. This becomes
148 an opportunity to regenerate neglected areas by populating them with - typically - raised beds, and
149 attracting a flow of volunteers and visitors (see for example Edible Eastside – www.edibleeastside.org). This can develop into an opportunity to occupy spaces that are only temporarily

151 available, since raised beds can be dismantled and the material recycled. A case in point is the Skip
1 152 Garden in London, in which commercial skips are used as planters. The garden has relocated three
2 153 times over a decade, retaining the skips and moving when the site was reclaimed by the owner
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4 154 (Global Generation, n.d.). Municipalities have encouraged the temporary use of sites for a variety of
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6 155 purposes, including gardening, with targeted policies (Németh and Langhorst, 2014). The transient
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8 156 nature of these gardens has conceptual implications; it endows mobility to urban nature (i.e. gardens),
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10 157 which is typically confined to a specific place, hence allowing any place in cities to become part of a
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12 158 green infrastructure that can be reconfigured because it is mobile. It is debatable whether this is a
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14 159 positive or negative feature, with flexibility implying that the future is uncertain for many of these
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16 160 projects whenever owners reclaim land or rooftops that have been temporarily occupied with raised
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18 161 beds (Costa et al., 2016). One advantage of these transient spaces is that the decoupling of the food
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20 162 production from its traditional location (green areas) opens up the possibility of increasing the number
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22 163 of urban gardens without necessarily expanding the surface area of green areas dedicated to
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24 164 gardening. Given that there is a disparity in access to quality green space between communities of
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26 165 different socio-economic status (Rigolon, 2016; Rigolon et al., 2018), mobile agriculture could, at least
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28 166 for short periods of time, reduce this (Mitchell and Popham, 2008). In a survey on existing UA projects
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30 167 in and around buildings, Thomaier et al., 2015 ascertained a widespread use of rooftops and some
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32 168 indoor farms. Just as for the community theme, the novelty here is not only in the forms community
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34 169 gardens take (planters on a roof or in a scapyard) but also in the avenues this approach opens, with
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36 170 green infrastructure that is reconfigurable and highly integrated with buildings, rather than located only
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38 171 on green areas.
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44 173 **2.1.3. Urban (food) systems** – UA is seen as a contributor to the provision of ecosystem services
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46 174 (Langmeyer et al., 2016) and to the utilisation of untapped urban resources such as organic waste
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48 175 and rainwater, and is a critical component of an urban metabolic cycle (Goldstein et al., 2016).
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50 176 Gómez-Baggethun and Barton (2013) show that the monetary value associated to urban ecosystems
51
52 177 generally, can be surprisingly high. This leads to the idea that UA can be embedded within an urban
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54 178 system, delivering benefits that are no longer partial (e.g. food for gardeners and benefits for the local
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56 179 biodiversity and climate) but rather absolute (e.g. circular metabolism of urban resources and reduced
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58 180 need for more agricultural land). In this view, UA becomes systemic and the quantification of its
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181 benefits goes much beyond the place, neighbourhood or city in which UA projects are established. At
182 a theoretical level, the embeddedness of UA in urban systems and the absolute benefits that it can
183 yield are expressed within the concept developed by Viljoen and Howe (2012) of the city as a
184 continuous urban productive landscape. Another conceptualisation linking UA practices with urban
185 systems is ZFarming, a term coined by Thomaier et al., (2015), portraying an urban food production
186 and supply system composed of zero-mile farming approaches. This idea is in line with a stream of
187 studies highlighting the potential of UA to supply a share of the demand for food in cities. Initiated with
188 a study by Garnett (1999) on London, this stream of quantitative investigation is now well established,
189 as previously discussed. With the idea that production can be scaled up, comes also the idea that
190 alternatives to current food systems are both possible and desirable. Food produced in cities reduces
191 food miles, can more efficiently respond to demand and contribute to mitigate the impact that
192 agricultural production has on land (Kulak et al., 2013). The idea that each individual UA project
193 contributes to a broader objective has strong implications in the way these projects are organised and
194 networked.

195

2.1.4. Soil-less production - Hydroponics and aquaponics are space-efficient methods and can be
196 installed indoors or, potentially, in any open space. At a point in time in which soil fertility is greatly
197 depleted by industrial agriculture, these systems have already demonstrated that they can lower
198 demand for agricultural land in rural areas (Despommier, 2010). Although the environmental benefits
199 of these systems are debated, community groups adopting them value their efficient use of resources.
200 A case in point is the aquaponic urban farm Bristol Fish Project, which sets as objectives 'the
201 accessibility of hi-tech urban food growing' to local communities and the application of circular
202 economy principles (Bristol Fish Project, n.d.). Other aquaponic micro enterprises such as GrowUp in
203 London (GrowUp, n.d.) have a similar approach in that they organise their high-tech food business
204 with a clear sustainability and social sustainability drive (e.g. electric vehicles to deliver produce and
205 partnership with a local charity assisting young unemployed people, amongst whom employees are
206 selected from).

207
208 Examples of soil-less UA in community projects are still rare however, and in order to understand this,
209 the relationship between the two requires critical evaluation. Food grown hydroponically is
210 increasingly produced and consumed but its provenance is generally not communicated to consumers

211 in supermarkets. Would they buy this food if they were made aware of the techniques utilised? And
212 would their views on this production method influence its uptake by community gardens? Secondly,
213 the community projects that currently exist utilise relatively simple technologies which, nevertheless,
214 require knowledge of, and enthusiasm for, engineering and IT. This suggests that the profile of urban
215 farmers involved with these projects is changing to include people who have appropriate technical
216 skills alongside horticultural skills, both of which need to be expanded to apply to specific soil-less
217 methods. Given that the aims of community gardens are often directed on a local scale, reflecting the
218 needs of local urban areas and communities, these skills could be difficult to source. Hemmaodlat, a
219 hydroponic scheme in Sweden is a case in point, aiming to promote hydroponic systems in an area
220 where the lack of green space makes such systems ideal to grow food indoors. After two years of
221 activity, Hemmaodlat had been successful in attracting people from all over Sweden, who were willing
222 to be trained, but has been much less successful in attracting neighbours (Hemmaodlat, pers comm,
223 2017). More importantly, the typical profile of participants to the group's activities is closer to the
224 young educated and unemployed rather than the low-skilled worker, not necessarily reflecting the
225 area local to the project and the intended recipients of benefits that the project may provide. This
226 raises questions about our capability to manage technologies that although increasingly affordable
227 and easy to use, may be perceived (perhaps mistakenly) as excessively complex or requiring training.

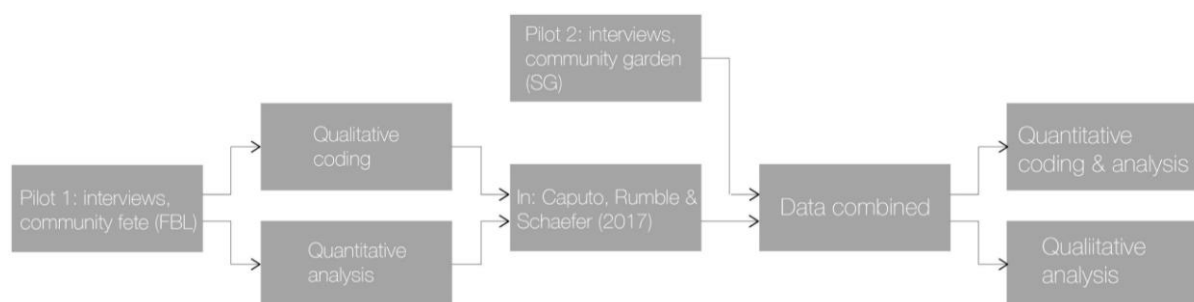
2.2 The need to understand the relationship between UA and soil-less agriculture – Within this
literature review we have identified some emerging trends in UA which show how food production is
used as a test-bed for alternative models that address broader social and environmental challenges.
Urban conditions impeding its diffusion – e.g. lack of suitable space and soil pollution – have been
turned into opportunities to utilise neglected spaces such as rooftops and paved areas. Nature and
horticulture are also used as a social space to pursue a wider agenda for social inclusion and
solidarity, in which experimentation and new methods can be applied. Soil-less growing, which can be
a viable and sustainable technique for food growing aligns with similar aims to those which UA aspire
to achieve but also has the potential to solve some of the particular challenges UA faces, such as a
lack of political and physical space in which to thrive. Yet our review also demonstrates that soil-less
cultivation is rarely used in UA and that where it is used, it may have different challenges in terms of
engaging as wide a social group as more traditional forms of UA. It is not known which theoretical and
actualised barriers to using soil-less methods exist within UA communities in order to resolve this

241 apparent contradiction. We aim to explore these in the following section, presenting the results of a
 242 pilot study run in a community garden in Portsmouth, UK. Determining the drivers and barriers to the
 243 uptake of soil-less cultivation within UA could enable its use more widely, contributing to cleaner and
 244 more efficient UA as well as wider community participation in UA and modern cultivation techniques.

3. Testing the applicability of soil-less methods in urban agriculture: A pilot study

3.1 Methodology

248 The study is based on two groups of interviews, analysed with a mixed methodology, utilising both
 249 qualitative and quantitative methods. Results from the smallest group of interviews (community
 250 garden Southsea Greenhouse) are presented here and subsequently compared with the second
 251 group of interviews, the results of which were documented in a previous conference paper (Caputo et
 252 al., 2017) (see Figure 1).



254
 255 *Figure 1 – Flow chart of the analysis of the two pilots.*

257 Due to the limited number of interviewees, the qualitative evaluation is of greater significance.
 258 Questions posed to the interviewees were grouped under four themes: 1.) the relevance that each
 259 interviewee attributes to UA; 2.) the prior knowledge of hydroponics held by the interviewee; 3.) the
 260 positive or negative perception when compared to conventional on-soil horticulture practice and
 261 produce; and 4.) the willingness to engage with hydroponic cultivation systems. Interviews were semi-
 262 structured: participants were asked to agree, disagree or express uncertainty to each question, and to
 263 elaborate further if they wished. Answers and comments were annotated by the study authors and
 264 counted for quantitative analysis, with comments analysed qualitatively. Comments were coded under
 265 each of the four themes and, when similar comments were expressed by the majority of the
 266 interviewees, the number of participants expressing such comments was counted (Table 2).

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4 269 *Table 2 – Recurrent, coded issues emerging during the interviews.*

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THEMES OF THE INTERVIEW	CODED EMERGENT THEMES
Relevance of UA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Environmental reasons • Preserving a culture of growing food • Economic advantages
Prior knowledge hydroponics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Soil-less methods are used for drugs • Prior knowledge that plants can be grown in absence of soil (counted) • Prior knowledge that hydroponic produce is sold in supermarkets (counted)
Perception of hydroponic produce	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Negative perception because of chemicals used for the production • Negative perception because considered as non-natural • Preference of local, organic produce
Willingness to engage with hydroponics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of space • Preference to get 'hands stuck in the soil'

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271 The community gardens were selected in Portsmouth, because of their availability to engage with a
 272 hydroponic unit for at least one growing season, starting from May 2017. This resulted in one group of
 273 twenty-four participants (Fratton Big Local: FBL) and one group of eleven (Southsea Greenhouse:
 274 SG).

275 SG data that is not being compared to FBL (section 3.2.1) is expressed in absolute numbers of
 276 participants, reflecting the small sample size, with a greater emphasis on qualitative analysis. Data
 277 comparing SG and FBL data is expressed in percentage to overcome differences in sample size,
 278 though it should be noted that these values, as with raw count data, are illustrative; Statistical analysis
 279 was not carried out as the small sample sizes would lead to misleading interpretations of the data.

280 3.1.1 Study site and groups

281 In 2017, Portsmouth, UK, was a city of approximately 215,000 inhabitants (Office for National
 282 Statistics licensed under the Open Government Licence, 2018), with the second highest density of
 283 inhabitants in the UK (Portsmouth City Council, 2011) and only fifteen active community gardens
 284 (<https://volunteer.portsmouth.gov.uk/events/community-gardens-open-day-getgrowing/>). The two
 285 community gardens participating in the study rely on groups of volunteers with different socio-cultural
 286 profiles.

287 The first community garden (FBL) is situated within the grounds of an infant school in one of the areas
 288 with the highest deprivation levels in Portsmouth (DTZ, 2011). The second community garden, (SG),
 289 is within one of the least deprived wards and occupies a small patch of land within the Commons, a

290 green area that borders the southern waterfront of the city. It covers an area of approximately 500m²
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2 291 and includes a small building used as an office and a small greenhouse used as seeding area.
3
4 292 Demonstration hydroponic systems were assembled in each of the study sites. At FBL this consisted
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6 293 of a system built by the authors using readily available materials, e.g. PVC tubing, following an open
7
8 294 source project (BLT Robotics, n.d.) (Plate 1). At SG, an off-the-shelf flood tray was installed. The two
9
10 295 systems were comparable in terms of maintenance load and floorspace, but the FBL system was a
11
12 296 vertical frame. Both systems utilised rockwool cubes as a growing media (Grodan Rockwool B.V.,
13
14 297 Roermond, Netherlands). At FBL rockwool cubes were installed directly into the vertical hydroponic
15
16 298 system. At SG rockwool cubes were transplanted into a bed of clay pebbles (Vitalink, Coventry, UK).
17
18 299



41 Plate 1. Hydroponic frame demonstrated at FBL site, acting as a focal point for interviews that took
42
43 place at a school fete in July 2017.
44

45 300

47 301 At FBL, semi-structured interviews occurred at a school fete held in July 2017. Participants largely
48
49 302 consisted of families of the children. Thus, this sample set was broad and did not necessarily have
50
51 303 prior experience of gardening. At SG, people with a gardening plot, hence with a clear interest in
52
53 304 gardening, were interviewed.

55 305 **3.2 Results**

57 306 **3.2.1 Interviews at SG**

307 *Background of the participants* - The majority of the interviewees (eight) either had their own garden
1
2 308 outside of the community garden or practice gardening on allotments. Three out of eight stated that
3
4 309 they are only interested in growing food, with one saying that 'growing needs to be useful'. Two
5
6 310 interviewees declared that they do not garden because they live in flats and one declared that they
7
8 311 were only interested in 'helping people', (i.e. gardening was not one of their aims, but rather helping
9
10 312 others garden). Two of those who practiced gardening at home grow flowers, with one growing only
11
12 313 flowers and one growing flowers in the garden at home and edible plants on an allotment.

13
14 314 *Motivations to participate in community gardening* - Several participants stated broad environmental
15
16 315 reasons for gardening, relating to food waste ("I like wobbly potatoes. The more I buy those the less
17
18 316 they are thrown away") and a reduction in pesticide, herbicide and inorganic fertiliser use; several
19
20 317 participants were aspiring to grow organically.

21
22 318 Personal satisfaction was another key motivator, with most participants expressing that they achieve
23
24 319 something through gardening ("I like the challenge"; "It helped me appreciate food more").

25
26 320 A key theme between participants also placed importance on the community aspect of gardening in
27
28 321 this way, emphasising the sense of identity that comes with it ("We share the objective of being self-
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30 322 sufficient.", "We teach this to students, and it builds communities").

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32 323
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34 324 *Relevance of UA* – All interviewees agreed that growing food in cities is important. Reasons behind
35
36 325 this opinion were diverse. Three interviewees brought environmental reasons ('keep cities green';
37
38 326 'increase biodiversity' and 'connecting with the natural world'). Four had cultural and social
39
40 327 motivations (knowing where food comes from, sharing, building a community) or a cultural tradition
41
42 328 ("my dad grew vegetables"). Two mentioned health and one specifically mentioned production and the
43
44 329 need to produce more. Only one mentioned economy (i.e. saving money from the subsistence
45
46 330 budget). Finally, one mentioned efficiency of urban resources (greenspace seems wasteful without
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48 331 food growing in it).

49
50 332
51
52 333 *Prior knowledge of hydroponics held by the interviewee* - Eight respondents stated that they knew that
53
54 334 plants can be grown without soil, one respondent did not know and three had heard the term
55
56 335 hydroponics but were not sure what this meant. Five out of the nine respondents who knew that
57
58 336 plants can be grown in soil-less media had good or advanced understanding of the functioning of
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337 hydroponic systems. Two of these respondents had learnt about hydroponics from the media (radio
1 and television). Three of these respondents associated hydroponics with drug production. In spite of
2 338
3 the majority of the interviewees declaring to possess some knowledge about hydroponics, seven
4 339
5 respondents did not know that hydroponically grown produce is on sale in many supermarkets and
6 340
7 four were aware of it, with only one being enthusiastic about the idea.
8 341
9

10 342
11
12 343 *Positive or negative perception when compared to conventional on-soil horticulture practice and*
13
14 344 *produce* - Some interviewees (four out of eleven) would buy food grown hydroponically, although one
15
16 345 would buy it only if nutrients used in the process are not chemically produced. This reflects a notion
17
18 346 that is not rooted in reality: to our knowledge, there are no commercial and certified organic nutrients
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20 347 for hydroponic systems currently on the market. Five were not against hydroponically grown food;
21
22 348 though three of these participants felt that the method of production was irrelevant and instead
23
24 349 prioritised affordability, food miles and flavour, regardless of the agricultural technique used for
25
26 350 cultivation. Two interviewees would not buy hydroponic produce because of the chemical nutrients
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28 351 utilised in the process or because of a determination to buy food produced locally.
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31 352 *Willingness to engage with hydroponics* - Five out of eleven did not wish to have a hydroponic cabinet
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33 353 installed at home. Four of them had issues with technology per se (“I think that the solution is less
34
35 354 technology and more attention to the environment”) or with the artificiality of the growing process (“I
36
37 355 like to get my hands stuck in the soil – It does not seem real - I would be bothered by chemicals”) or
38
39 356 with the need for environmental control (“ventilation and temperature would be hard to control at
40
41 357 home”). Six wished to have a hydroponic unit at home, three with the caveat of space, one with costs
42
43 358 and one with the caveat of energy (“it would depend on how much energy... it requires”). Only one
44
45 359 respondent stated, without caveats, that they would consider a hydroponic system at home.
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47 360

49 361 **3.2.2. Comparisons between study sites –**

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51 362 46% of the FBL groups thought that growing food in cities was important, while 91% in the SG group
52
53 363 thought this. However, there was a high non-response rate in the FBL sample (50%, compared to
54
55 364 only 9% in the SG group). Of those that answered the question, 92% of FBL stated that growing food
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57 365 in cities is important and 100% of SG stated this (Fig 2.).
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59 **Relevance of UA**

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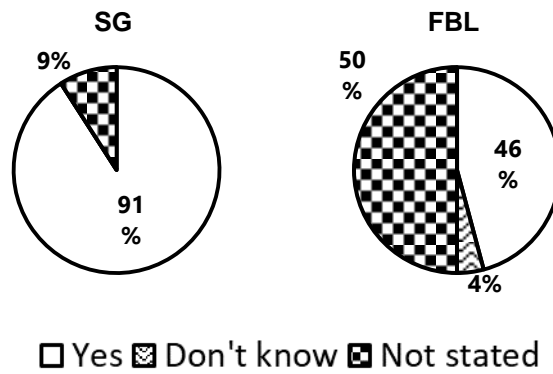
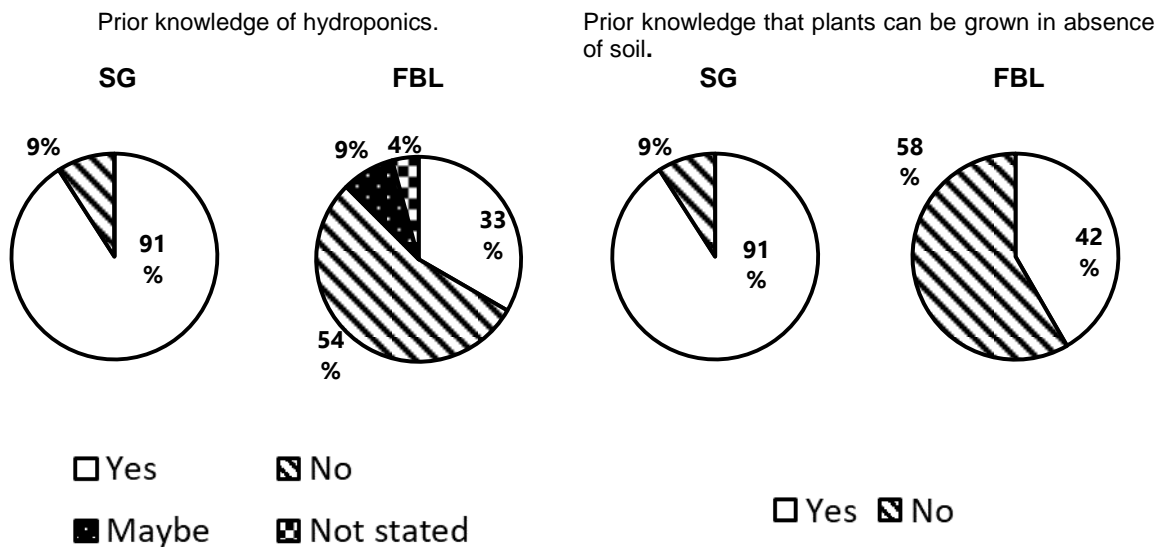


Fig.2. Responses to questions relating to the relevance of UA in cities for Southsea Greenhouse (SG) and Fratton Big Local (FBL).

366
 367 Prior knowledge of hydroponics was greater within the SG group, with 91% of SG participants stating
 368 that they knew about soilless growing and 91% having heard of hydroponics before. This is more than
 369 twice the number of participants with this level of knowledge than at FBL where 33% knew what a
 370 hydroponic system is. In addition, 45% of the SG participants were aware that supermarket bought
 371 fruits and vegetables could be hydroponic, compared with only 25% at FBL (Fig. 3).



Prior knowledge that hydroponic produce is sold in supermarkets.

SG FBL

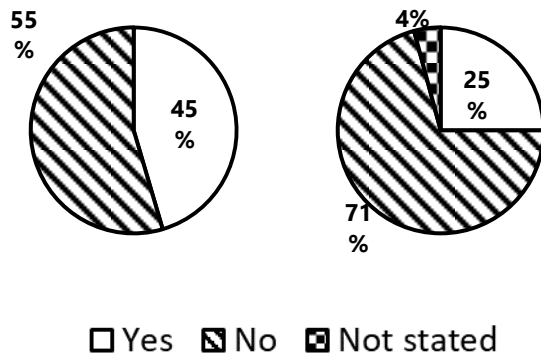


Fig.3. Responses to questions relating to prior awareness of hydroponics for Southsea Greenhouse (SG) and Fratton Big Local (FBL).

More SG participants suggested that knowing food was hydroponic would put them off eating it (8% in FBL and 55% in SG; Fig. 4). However, when taking into account only those that answered the question, results were comparable (13% in FBL and 18% in SG).

Perception of hydroponic produce.

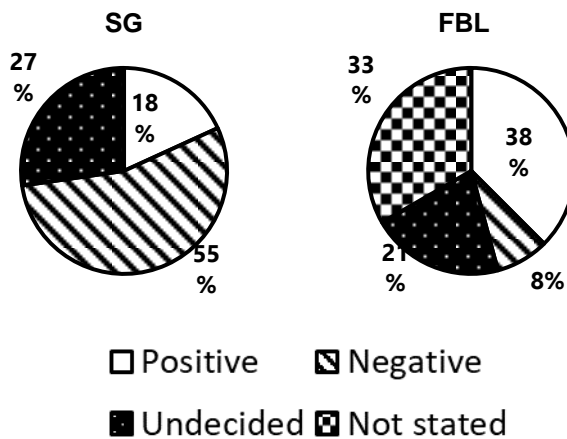


Fig.4. Responses to questions relating to acceptance of hydroponically grown produce for Southsea Greenhouse (SG) and Fratton Big Local (FBL).

In terms of willingness to engage with hydroponics, both groups answered similarly to the question, with 58% of the FBL group and 55% of the SG group saying yes (Fig. 5). The FBL group contained more participants that were unsure, with only 16% stating a flat no, compared 45% of the SG group.

Willingness to engage with hydroponics.

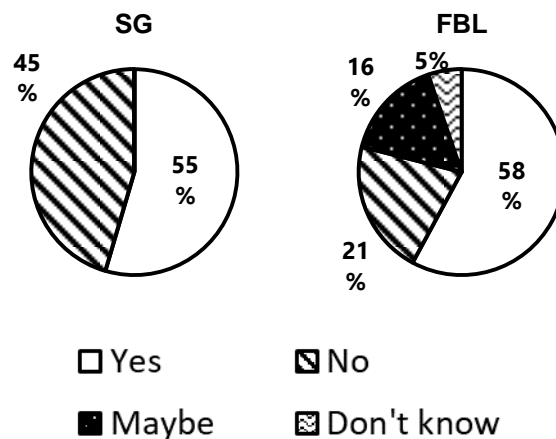


Fig.5. Responses to questions relating to willingness to have hydroponic systems at home for Southsea Greenhouse (SG) and Fratton Big Local (FBL).

Some common themes arose between the two study groups. Chemicals were mentioned frequently, though there was a qualitative difference between the two groups. The FBL group associated hydroponics with the use of chemicals, without attributing chemical use to soil-based methods. The SG group had a higher knowledge base, with most mentions of chemicals revolving around hydroponics only being acceptable if they also enabled a reduction in chemical use. Very few participants in either group specified what type of chemicals were meant (e.g. pesticides, fertiliser, etc.).

Barriers to owning a hydroponic system were common across both groups, though there were some contradictions. The FBL group in particular cited the same benefits of hydroponics (e.g. space, money-saving) as barriers to owning one. The SG group cited time, space and money as barriers to owning a hydro system, but did not state that these could also be beneficial compared to on-soil gardening. Almost all of the SG group had also stated that they did not have room to garden at home and that this was a significant factor in gardening at SG.

At FBL, very few participants stated that hydroponic gardening would not be as fulfilling, or take something away from, their traditional gardening practises. At SG opinion was stronger and more contrasting on this issue. Seven of the ten SG participants discussed similar themes to the keen gardeners at FBL, stating that this could be another way to increase interest in gardening. Three of the SG participants stated that they would not find hydroponic gardening as satisfying as on-soil gardening.

At FBL, several participants discussed that hydroponic gardening was not "natural" and that this was negative. This was not a common theme at SG. There was also less discussion of the use of

402 technology at SG, with a few participants stating that technology was good, but very little interest
1
2 403 beyond that. One participant mentioned that the technology used in hydro systems could be a way to
3
4 404 engage young people, but another participant contradicted this stating that the young people she
5
6 405 works with are only interested in technology when related to gaming.

7
8 406 A theme that came up at SG, but not at FBL, was the suitability of hydroponic systems for other food
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10 407 growers. SG participants were much more inclined to state where they thought hydroponic systems
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12 408 would be more useful than in their own home or the community garden. Examples included for those
13
14 409 that don't have gardens, in the developing world and those that are aiming to mass produce food.

15
16 410 Both community groups were keen to install the hydroponic systems not for the benefits in terms of
17
18 411 growing, but to increase interest in the community gardens by adding novelty. In addition, the SG
19
20 412 group saw having a hydroponic system as a social good, as being part of a study could enable others
21
22 413 to be helped, especially those not as fortunate to have enough space to grow. The SG group also saw
23
24 414 it as an opportunity to allow them to continue growing salad crops over the winter.

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27 28 416 **4. Discussion.**

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30 417 In the discussion section, the result from the pilot studies in SG and FBL are compared. This enables
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32 418 an identification of the perception of soil-less systems within two community groups, with one showing
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34 419 interest (FBL) and the other one having direct experience (SG) in gardening. The group from FBL
35
36 420 includes individuals who may have no prior experience in gardening but who have inquired about
37
38 421 gardening and hydroponics during a school festival, whereas the sample from SG includes volunteers
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40 422 and leasers of plots within that community garden. It can be assumed that the latter has a higher
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42 423 knowledge of horticultural techniques, including those which are not conventional such as soil-less
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44 424 techniques. This knowledge can influence the way in which hydroponically grown produce is
45
46 425 perceived. Prior knowledge of hydroponics was high in SG, higher than the broader sample in FBL
47
48 426 and there was a greater understanding of the use of hydroponics in commercial growing. Despite
49
50 427 almost all participants knowing what hydroponics were, the majority of the group had no knowledge
51
52 428 that a share of produce within conventional supply chains comes from hydroponic cultures. A report
53
54 429 on the hydroponic food market states that, in 2014, European output value in this sector totalled USD
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56 430 9.8 billion and it is set to grow (Market Research Future, 2016). This is a small share when compared
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58 431 to the European agricultural output value which, on that year, was about EURO 200 billion (Eurostat,

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432 2014). Yet, it is sufficiently large to assume that hydroponic produce is sold by many food retailers.

1
2 433 Our study group had a lack of knowledge about industrial agricultural systems, despite the fact that
3
4 434 they all grew a proportion of their own food. This supports research by Duffy et al., (2005) who found
5
6 435 that most people do not actively engage in issues related to food production unless they are prompted
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8 436 to by, for example, the media.

9
10 437 A lower baseline knowledge of hydroponics did not influence participants' reluctance to eat
11
12 438 hydroponically produced food. This contradicts evidence in the USA, where Gilmour (2018) found,
13
14 439 whilst consumers that have an understanding of hydroponic processes do not need a financial
15
16 440 incentive to buy hydroponic produce, those with a lower baseline understanding require a significant
17
18 441 discount in order to do so. This was not due to a perceived "risk" with hydroponic foods, as has been
19
20 442 identified in similar studies studying consumer attitudes to GM foods (e.g. Klerck and Sweeney,
21
22 443 2007), but rather due to a perceived "unnaturalness" of hydroponics, as was also evident in the
23
24 444 current study. Rozin et al., (2004) find that consumer preference for "nature" is particularly strong
25
26 445 where food is concerned and that an idealised perception of nature in relation to food production
27
28 446 centres around perceived environmental and health risks from "non-natural" food production and a
29
30 447 belief that "natural" food tastes better. Siriex et al., (2008) studied this explicitly in relation to
31
32 448 greenhouse cultivation vs. open field cultivation and found strong and consistent preferences for open
33
34 449 field cultivation, which was perceived as being more "natural".

35
36 450 We found similar reluctance to eat hydroponic produce in both groups, with respondents in SG stating
37
38 451 that they did not know if they were less likely to eat hydroponically grown food. Klerck and Sweeney
39
40 452 (2007), studying consumer behaviour in relation to knowledge base and the consumption of GM
41
42 453 foods, found that higher levels of objective knowledge (i.e. the accurate information on a topic) held
43
44 454 by participants could mediate their perceptions of physical risk from consuming a product, but not
45
46 455 their psychological risk (i.e. social constructs of risk. See: Frewer et al., 1995), which has a larger
47
48 456 impact on consumer behaviours. As the SG participants were a more cohesive group than the FBL
49
50 457 participants, we suggest that knowledge base is not the driving factor for this uncertainty, but rather
51
52 458 uncertainty around how hydroponics fits in to the social structure and identity of the group. Sparks et
53
54 459 al., (1997) list a range of factors influencing food consumption choices that could all produce
55
56 460 uncertainty within a group setting, such as peer pressure to avoid certain products or participants
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58 461 feeling a moral obligation to support or avoid certain foods. Future studies should consider testing this
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462 explicitly on hydroponics, as most studies to date have been conducted on organic produce or GM
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2 463 foods.

3
4 464 The diffidence in consuming hydroponically grown food was also linked to the use of chemicals.
5
6 465 Gardeners in SG demonstrated a higher understanding of the role of synthetic fertilisers in
7
8 466 conventional agriculture, not only in relationship to the quality of the food consumed but also in
9
10 467 relationship to soil fertility and environmental pollution. Hydroponics have the potential to limit the
11
12 468 dispersal of synthetic fertilisers into the environment, so could be considered as a more
13
14 469 environmentally friendly to produce food than conventional produce bought in food retailers. Yet, in
15
16 470 SG, diffidence persisted in terms of acceptance of hydroponics, perhaps due to the participants not
17
18 471 being aware of this potential advantage. It is difficult to surmise how such a diffidence can be
19
20 472 overcome although, perhaps, it is necessary that the advantages linked to the consumption of food
21
22 473 produced with particular techniques are seen within a more absolute context. In other words, the
23
24 474 absolute, rather than local, advantages of producing with hydroponics needs to be perceived as
25
26 475 relevant and significant. Gilmour et al., (2018) found that an emphasis on organic production, rather
27
28 476 than on hydroponics (where both were used in conjunction) could overcome some of these
29
30 477 challenges.

31
32 478 In terms of adopting hydroponics into gardening practise, we found that most people within the
33
34 479 gardening group (SG) were amenable. Whilst the same reservations for individually owning a hydro
35
36 480 system were expressed as in the broader FBL sample (i.e. lack of space), inclusion in a community
37
38 481 gardening project overcame this. Enabling the space to grow food was cited by many participants as
39
40 482 a reason to be a part of a community garden. In SG, a motivation for including the hydroponic system
41
42 483 within the community garden was on a wider societal level. Participants felt that being a test bed for
43
44 484 this technique would create social value beyond the garden itself, helping other community gardens.
45
46 485 This was an abstract idea, with little discussion of specific groups that would benefit. Regardless of
47
48 486 the reliability of these assumptions, the acceptance to include a new system to grow food in an
49
50 487 established community garden is in line with the openness that community groups have demonstrated
51
52 488 in experimenting new approaches, which has been discussed in previous sections. That said, in SG,
53
54 489 the system was returned after one year on the basis that more space was needed within the poly-
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56 490 tunnel in which it was placed, especially as it was not being actively used by any of the gardeners, but
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58 491 rather was being used as a casual group-gardening activity. Consequently, in this pilot, keenness in
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492 experimenting with new methods did not lead to a long-term change and the inclusion of soil-less
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2 493 methods amongst those practiced. Some of the SG gardeners acknowledged that food production
3
4 494 may be more efficient using hydroponics, but they also stated that this was not the primary aim of
5
6 495 their gardening practise.

7
8 496 All interviewees agreed on the importance of growing food in cities but their enthusiasm was not
9
10 497 matched with an awareness of the health risks that this practice can generate. The impact of UA on
11
12 498 the local environment is generally positive in terms of mitigation of local microclimate and the urban
13
14 499 heat island effect (Qiu et al., 2013), the ecological health of the urban ecosystems at large (Wortman
15
16 500 and Lovell, 2013) and even soil quality (Hursthouse and Leitão, 2016). In developed countries, the
17
18 501 real impact of this practice is on land use, with urban development competing for land (Zasada, 2011).
19
20 502 Air pollution and soil toxicity (Hursthouse and Leitão, 2016) can negatively affect the quality of the
21
22 503 vegetables grown and represent a health risk for those who consume the produce. This is all the more
23
24 504 valid in cities of the global south (Bell et al. 2011) in which, in addition, the use of contaminated
25
26 505 wastewater (Scott et al., 2004) represents a major health hazard. These risks are much reduced in
27
28 506 developed countries in which land use is regulated and water is generally available from water
29
30 507 networks.

31
32 508 A “non-production” attitude towards growing was shared by the majority of the group we studied, with
33
34 509 cultural or environmental motivations placing higher. Only one participant spoke of their gardening
35
36 510 practises as a subsistence activity, but again this was mixed with other motivations, expressing their
37
38 511 gardening activities in terms of demonstrating the benefits of alternative farming methods (i.e. protest
39
40 512 against convention) in reducing energy and plastic use, both barriers to this person accepting
41
42 513 hydroponics as a sustainable gardening practise. Tornaghi and Van Dyck (2014) suggest that a
43
44 514 growing number of gardening initiatives fit with this observation; undertaken as an attempt to show
45
46 515 alternative farming practises or engage in “political gardening”. Yet our evidence suggests that while
47
48 516 hydroponics has the potential to increase yields in community gardening projects and demonstrate
49
50 517 alternative farming practises to the community, this was unlikely to be a strong motivator for
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52 518 embracing this technique, with some participants feeling that this could be achieved via other
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54 519 methods. However, most participants acknowledged that this could be a good technique for other
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56 520 growers, who valued yield more. This highlighted that the community gardeners believed that other
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58 521 community gardens may have different motivations to theirs.
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522 A key motivation for community gardening that did not fit with the hydroponic system was social
1 interaction. A number of participants had expressed social interaction as a strong motivator for
2 523 participating in community gardening and Draper and Freedman (2010) support this, with two-thirds of
3 524 studies expressing this as a motivation. Personal observations by the authors suggest that in SG,
4 525 social interaction was gained, in the main, via two mechanisms; casual interaction while gardeners
5 526 tended to their personal plots and more sustained interaction at garden tidy-ups. Garden tidy-ups
6 527 were usually focussed around an upcoming showcase event, once again supporting a strong theme in
7 528 motivations for gardening in this group; a need to be seen to be helping gardeners outside of the
8 529 community garden. This finding suggests that hydroponics could be more successfully integrated into
9 530 community gardens like this one, with a strong moral, external focus, if external publicity of it is easier.
10 531 However, evidently there are a number of additional barriers to enabling this. The use of the
11 532 hydroponic system at SG was implemented in a socially-focused way, i.e. with the whole group
12 533 responsible for its maintenance and upkeep, but this resulted in low use of the technology and,
13 534 ultimately, a low level of engagement. We hypothesise that this was due to a lack of confidence in
14 535 using the technology. This could be a major barrier because of the many factors that need to be
15 536 considered in order to lower the environmental impact of hydroponic systems, one of which is the
16 537 material used as a growing media. Much research has been developed in this direction over the last
17 538 decades (Barrett et al. 2016). For example, coconut fibre can be used as a substrate rather than
18 539 rockwool (Di Lorenzo, 2005), the production of which requires high levels of energy (Rainbow, 2010).
19 540 This is relevant because locally sourced and sustainable materials are likely to be preferred by
20 541 environmentally motivated urban farmers. A study suggests that the use of communal tools by
21 542 community gardening groups can produce challenges that can only be resolved through tracking tool
22 543 usage and ensuring gardeners are aware of what is happening to those tools when they are absent
23 544 (Wang et al., 2015). In line with this finding, potential barriers could be overcome with at least one
24 545 gardener who is better trained in the use of the technology and more involved in promoting the use of
25 546 the hydroponic system to gardeners involved in the community project. Essentially acting as a
26 547 technical advisor and ambassador.
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549

550 **5. Conclusions.**

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551 In the face of an interest in the utilisation of soil-less methods of food production from urban
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2 552 gardeners, this article investigates through a pilot study what drives or prevents urban farmers to
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4 553 utilise such methods. There are two main conclusions. The first one is that, in the pilot, higher
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6 554 knowledge of soil-less systems does not necessarily lead to higher acceptance. This can be
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8 555 explained with the predominant focus on social and environmental benefits, rather than productivity,
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10 556 which prevails amongst farmers in the global north. Particular attachment to gardening practice as
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12 557 one that enables a closer contact with nature can also hinder an understanding of the absolute
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14 558 benefits of soil-less food production. Potentially, this production does not impact on the ecosystem of
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16 559 green spaces as much as horticulture, which requires selectivity (of plants and pests), soil
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18 560 enhancement and ecological modifications. We conclude that in order to embrace soil-less methods,
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20 561 the perception of UA as a practice necessary to contribute to a more sustainable food chain generally
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22 562 (rather to the wellbeing of the gardeners and the local environmental amelioration only) must be
23
24 563 stronger. The second one is that interest in hydroponic systems can be linked to the propensity of
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26 564 community gardens to test new solutions/arrangements. This propensity is volatile and needs to be
27
28 565 connected to higher motivations in order to become rooted within the gardeners' practices. Again, this
29
30 566 necessitates a stronger understanding of the wider impact of such practices and the priorities that the
31
32 567 search for a more sustainable food production requires. We conclude that a topic that will need in
33
34 568 depth research and further evidence is the absolute contribution of hydroponics to the mitigation of
35
36 569 the impact of food production on the environment, which, if confirmed positive, can drive its uptake in
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38 570 community garden projects.

40 571

42 572 **6. Acknowledgements**

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45
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52
53 577 measure and improve urban agriculture, shifting it towards circular urban metabolism'
54
55 578 (ES/S002170/1).

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“I like to get my hands stuck in the soil”: a pilot study in the acceptance of soil-less methods of cultivation in community gardens.

RESPONSE TO REVIEWERS AND EDITOR – January 2020

We are grateful for the comment received from Reviewer#4, who is happy with the amendments of the draft that was submitted. No other comments from reviewers requiring revisions to the last draft submitted were included in the communication received by the Editor.

Comments from the Editor were helpful and they have been addressed in the new draft submitted. A summary of our responses to such comments can be found below.

Comments from the Editor	Responses of the authors
<i>Highlight should underscore the major outcomes of the study. Each point should be written concisely and specific to reflect the novelty of the study; each point should be less than 85 characters including the spaces. Avoid abbreviation terms.</i>	Highlights have been reduced to four, summarising the main findings of the study. Each highlight is no longer than 85 characters.
<i>Please revise the Conclusions to be more concise and show only the high impact outcomes and avoid discussions.</i>	The Conclusion section is now shorter. We have slightly modified the language which may have suggested that issues were discussed rather than summarised. We believe that now this ambiguity is resolved.
<i>Please consult the journal's reference style for the exact appearance of these elements, unnecessary italic font, and use of punctuation and capitalisation. Bibliography style is not always consistent, please check the reference section carefully and correct the inconsistency.</i>	The bibliography section has been revised and we hope that all inconsistencies addressed.
<i>Avoid using footnote style for referencing.</i>	The only foot note is on page 1 of the article. It is not used for referencing but to provide the list of abbreviations. The Guide for Authors (p. 9) reads: 'Define abbreviations that are not standard in this field in a footnote to be placed on the first page of the article'. Please advise whether abbreviations must be provided elsewhere in the paper and in which format.

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DECLARATION OF INTEREST

The authors of this article declare that there are no financial or personal relationships with other people or organizations that could inappropriately influence the work presented here.