

REPORT

BENEFITS AND GENDERED CHALLENGES ASSOCIATED WITH WOMEN EXPERIENCES IN ALLOTMENT GARDENING; A CASE STUDY OF BRIGHTON AND HOVE

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This report summarises the findings of my MA dissertation on benefits and gendered challenges of allotment gardening for female allotment holders in Brighton and Hove. The research was conducted by Teresiah Warui in partnership with the Brighton and Hove Allotments Federation (BHAF) and under supervision from Dr Inka Barnett.

1.0 BACKGROUND

Existing literature shows that allotment gardening has become increasingly popular over time. People have held allotments and engaged in allotment gardening for different reasons over time. Allotments are predicted to have existed before the nineteenth century in England. They became more famous in the nineteenth century amid enclosure and industrialisation movements (Irvine *et al.* 2007). During these movements, agriculture was commercialised, lands were grabbed and the poor were forced to migrate from rural to urban areas (*ibid*; Burchardt 2000). The urban poor immigrants were offered allotment plots because of two reasons: first, to produce non-commercial food for their own consumption. Second, to encourage the urban poor to spend their free time in allotment gardening instead of drinking alcohol (Burchardt 2002). Majority of the allotment holders in nineteenth century were widows and men who worked as casual workers in blue-collar jobs (Burchardt 2002).

In early 20th century during the World War 1 and 2, allotments were acquired as a primary source of food production. After World War 1 and 2 ended, there was notable decline of allotment demand. This was because allotment gardening was associated with poverty. It is not until 1970s when allotment gardens were renovated as leisure gardens, that their demand started to increase. Since then, allotment gardening has been praised to have multiple benefits for urban dwellers, which have changed over time. Researchers have attempted to expound on the social, health and political benefits of allotment gardening as outlined below.

1.1. Benefits Of Allotment Gardening

Social benefits

Social benefits are a leading reason why people engage in allotment gardening (Calvet-Mir *et al.* 2016). The gardeners accrue social capital and social cohesion benefits out of the rapport that is established from collective activities. The social benefits have changed between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries from connecting with people with similar identities to uniting people who are from diverse backgrounds (Dershammar 2013 cited by Delshammar, Partalidou, and Evans 2016).

Physical and mental health benefits.

Allotment gardening improves psychological measures like cortisol. Cortisol is associated with acute stress, self-esteem and mood improvement (Van Den Berg and Custers 2011; Buck 2016). The physical activities in allotment gardening are likely to impact positively to physical fitness and health of individuals (Van Den Berg *et al.* 2010).

Politics in allotment gardening.

Allotments as a form of urban gardening can be a source of empowerment to the groups which involve themselves in city campaigns (Eizenberg 2012). In some places, allotment gardeners have

protested against the replacement of allotment sites with developed buildings in urban areas. The intention of resistance from allotment holders in cities has been to protect biodiversity (Noori *et al.* 2016). Through allotment gardening, immigrants have established solidarity by practicing their cultural farming methods that are from their countries of origin (Delshammar *et al.* 2016; Agustina and Beilin 2012).

1.3 Allotment Gardening and Gender

The history of allotments reveals that there has long been considerable gender inequality in the ownership and activities of allotment gardening. Although the situation has changed dramatically during the last few decades (Buckingham 2005). In the 1960s, 97% of allotments were held by men in the UK and only 3% by women. In 2002 the percentage of women who held allotments had increased to 20%. Allotment gardens were long assumed to be mainly spaces for men. If involved in allotment gardening at all, women were assigned supportive roles such as serving tea to men (*ibid*; Page 2017). This attitude to women in allotment gardens has changed. Nowadays, women use allotment spaces for self-care by taking time off from work and home responsibilities (Bonny 2010). Moore *et al.* (2014) indicate that queer women use allotments to establish their solidarity and champion for their health rights.

2.0 METHODOLOGY

This study used a mixed methods approach, drawing on both quantitative (i.e., surveys) and qualitative (i.e., less structured interviews and open discussions) methods. A survey was developed and was launched through the BHAFF Facebook group. 65 allotment holders (49 women/15 men/ others) responded to the survey within the 2 weeks it was live. The table below shows the characteristics of the survey respondents.

Table 1: Characteristics of respondents from the quantitative survey (N=65)

	TOTAL N=65		FEMALE N= 49		MALE N=15	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
AGE						
18-25	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%
26-35	3	4.62%	2	2.44%	1	6.67%
36-45	12	18.46%	9	18.36%	3	20.00%
46-55	21	32.31%	17	37.35%	3	20.00%
56 -65	19	29.23%	13	26.53%	6	40.00%
66-74	9	13.85%	1	2.04%	1	6.67%
75 +	1	1.54%	0	0	1	6.67%
SOCIAL-ECONOMIC STATUS						
Extremely well	1	1.54%	1	2.04%	0	0.00%
Very well	13	20.00%	8	16.32%	4	20.00%
Moderately well	31	47.69%	24	48.97%	7	46.67%
Slightly well	12	18.46%	10	20.41%	2	13.33%
Not well at all	8	12.31%	6	12.24%	2	13.33%

The survey data was complemented by 9 qualitative interviews of female allotment holders with different characteristics (e.g., age, socio-economic background). The tables below represent both the characteristics of the interview participants.

Table 2: Characteristics of nine women who were interviewed (N=9)

	GENDER	AGE	NUMBER OF CHILDREN AND AGE	ALLOTMENT OWNERSHIP	PHYSICAL ABILITY	OCCUPATION STATUS
Participant A	Female	77	2 (47, 49 years)	With partner	None	Retired
Participant B	Female	68	0	With partner	None	Retired
Participant C	Female	44	1 (9 years)	2 plots, personal	Dyslexia	Employed
Participant D	Female	60	3 (Thirties)	Individual	Autistic	Employed
Participant E	Female	42	2 (17 and 10 years)	Individual	None	Employed
Participant F	Female	37	1 (10)	Individual	auditory processing disorder	Part time and freelance
Participant G	Female	55	2 children and 2 grandchildren	Co-worker	None	Student
Participant H	Female	48	No children	Individual	None	Employed
Participant I	Female	Not disclosed	1 adult	Individual	None	Employed

3.0 RESEARCH FINDINGS

The research found that allotment gardening has multiple benefits for the gardeners ranging from physical and mental well-being to social and empowerment benefits. **Table 3** shows a summary of the key benefits.

Table 3: A summary of benefits, empowerment and challenges findings

BENEFITS OF ALLOTMENT GARDENING	
Mental wellbeing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Over 80% of both female and male respondents indicated that they get physical and mental health benefits. Through allotment gardening, women find a mental space to take care of themselves. Women consider allotments as an ‘outlet and an escape’ to relieve pressure from work and families. Allotments help in relieving anxiety and depression.
Physical wellbeing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Gardening enhances women’s physical fitness. Allotments are cost-effective compared to the gyms. The fresh fruits and vegetables acquired enhance physical wellbeing.
Social benefits	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A higher percentage of the women respondents (46.9%) compared to men (26.7%) indicated that they get social benefits from allotment gardening. Amid the COVID crisis, the social benefits of allotment gardening have been invaluable to women, in particular to single and/or retired women. Allotments are ideal for social distancing while interacting.
Leisure benefits	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Nearly 40% of women surveyed indicated that they utilise allotments for leisure activities. Women regarded allotments as ‘home away from home’. Women feel that many leisure spaces are created for men, but that there are less dedicated spaces for them. Allotments can be a safe leisure space for woman.
EMPOWERMENT	
Access and Control of allotments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Women view allotments as spaces where they do what they want, yet they feel responsible and connected. Very few women feel in control of their work and home environments, but they feel in control of their allotment.
Agency	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Women are challenging gardening methods and expectations defined by men through allotment gardening. Women associate men's style of gardening with their likelihood of wanting to control nature as they are used to control things. <p><i>Subversion of gender roles and challenging the stereotypes</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Women’s ideas are not appreciated by ‘old white men’. Men see them as ‘dailies and roses at the allotments’. Men doubt the efforts and ideas of women in gardening. Women are regarded as ‘hippies’ because of practicing different ways of gardening.

- Women in allotment gardening use tools that were designed with men in mind. They also do woodwork which was offered to boys only in school.

Reproduction

- Women use their allotment gardens to champion for the environment, food security, healthy nutrition and their happiness.
- In terms of happiness, women grow the things that they like. For instance, squash and flowers.
- Nearly 80% of women respondents indicated that they educate themselves about growing and cultivating tips by interacting with other allotment gardeners

3.1 Mental and physical Health benefits

Most survey respondents praised the mental (95% of all respondents) and physical (85%) benefits of allotment gardening (**appendix A**). In the qualitative interviews, women explained that allotment gardening helps to relieve anxiety and depression. Women view allotment gardening as ‘an outlet or an escape’ to relieve pressure from work and families. ‘Women need that kind of mental space as well just [...] switch off and do something for themselves’. A woman noted that the idea of allotments was intended for ‘[...] old, working-class men who use the allotments as an escape from their families and work whilst producing food. Working-class women are currently taking up these spaces for the same purpose’. Below is an excerpt that expounds more on mental health benefit:

‘Women have demanding jobs. To be able to come to the allotments and just breathe, hear the bird songs, not having a manager who is breathing on your neck, you got work deadline to meet, work crisis to resolve, just to be [...] at the allotments to grow stuff [...] it’s something about the release and freedom certainly for middle-aged women’ (participant A).

The interviewees said that they acquire physical wellbeing through allotment activities which involve body movement, growing of organic food and medicinal plants which they consume. Women also mentioned that allotment gardening is a more convenient and cost-effective alternative for physical fitness compared to the gyms. As one participant articulated:

'You cannot always force yourself to go to the gym. I walk to the allotment and take a walk to see what is happening around me. You are doing different things, digging, planting, binding your rubbish, you are always on the move. If I did not have an allotment, I can guarantee myself that I would be at home stacking myself with biscuits and just watching TV' (participant I)

3.2 Social benefits

A considerable number allotment holders said that they gained new social contacts through allotment gardening. A higher percentage of female (46.94%) compared to male (26.67%) respondents indicated this (**appendix B**). The interviewees stated that allotments have provided social benefits amid COVID crisis, especially for retired and single women. A woman stated, *'You can socially distance while you're talking [...] that's a benefit. I think it's a community, isn't it?'*

One woman recalled that she once hurt her back and she received lots of support from the Facebook group of the allotment holders. As a woman who is differently abled, she also articulated the contribution of allotments to her social wellbeing:

'One of the things we being autistic is, that you have a very small social circle. Communication differences, anxiety and stuff mean that I don't tend to have a lot of friends. So, any opportunity to make new friends is always good and I've met quite a few on the allotment' (participant D)

Women also mentioned that they have used the social networks acquired from interactions with other gardeners for their work or business benefits. For example,

'There is a lady actually who works on the allotments who's been doing a lot of wildlife [...] she's been a fantastic source of information for me and the work that I do privately' (participant E)

3.3 Leisure Benefits

Nearly 40% of women surveyed indicated that they utilise allotments for their leisure activities (**appendix B**). Allotments are regarded as ‘home away from home’. The interviews clearly indicated that leisure spaces are gendered.

‘[...] Men will happily go to the pub to watch football, whereas women don’t necessarily want to do that but, we want to do something’ participant E.

‘Men have many spaces which they can use and are made for them, their interests and activities. I mean, even doing something like going to the beach and swimming which I do a lot. When I am alone, some men are always coming to ask me uncomfortable questions’ participant C

Women mentioned that they prefer allotments for their leisure because allotments are located away from noisy cities. This helps them to unwind from work and home activities. Furthermore, women said that allotments are a cost-effective leisure option, where they can spend as much time without being restricted.

‘After a long day of work, I just go there[...] quite a lot of trees around. The bustle and the noise of the town is kind of absorbed in the woods [...] It’s not only myself, sometimes my colleagues come to visit’ (participant I)

3.2 EMPOWERMENT BENEFITS

i) Control of allotments

Majority of the survey and interview respondents confirmed that they are in control of their allotments, which are also registered under their names. A woman articulated, ‘women like to have somewhere that’s theirs’. Women view allotments as spaces where they do what they want. A woman mentioned, ‘I am in charge of my allotment and my husband cannot visit without my permission’.

Unlike work and home spaces, women said that they can express control of their activities and most of the outcomes in their allotments. ‘Women are patronised at work and as a result, they do not feel in

control' (**participant H**). By controlling their allotments, women feel in control of their plans, diet and more confident. The two interviewed partners said that they have managed to control their allotment and have completely adapted to seasonal growing for their diet.

Whereas insisting on the essence of having the control of their allotments, two women stated: *'When I go there, [...] I reflect on the day's activities, my family, things that I could do better or change'*. *'Having that little piece of land that you can do whatever you want with, is really special and it's not just a garden, it's a different garden'*. Another woman stated:

'It is something that you are in control of. It is something important for working women. If you are working in NHS, you certainly have no control. If you are a teacher, you have no control. Very few people have control but in allotments, it is your piece of land, you are in control of it, you design it, you work it and make it happen. That is empowering, inspiring and energising. Why wouldn't you want to do that? No one will mark you out of ten at the end of the day. It's a win-win'
(**participant A**)

The informants further related the control of what happens in their allotments and teaching other gardeners with a sense of achievement, thereby boosting their confidence. A woman said:

'I can do weeding for 10 minutes and there's a significant difference. It's better than it was before [...] it's just a very satisfying thing. It's satisfying to pick things that you have grown yourself. I guess it's a confidence booster' (**participant C**)

ii) Agency

The interviews indicated that through allotment gardening, women set their goals, follow them through and achieve them. The interviewed partners brought along a book with plans for the whole year of their allotment gardening (**see appendix G**). Women have attached meaning to growth of plants with that of themselves. A woman stated, *'When the plants grow, you grow in the sense of feeling nurtured. Therefore, you feel stronger'*.

The interviews showed that allotments are spaces which women are using to exercise agency through resistance in three-fold: challenging the 'status quo' of gardening, subversion of gender roles and reproduction of gardening practices.

a) Challenging the Status quo of gardening

The qualitative interviews clearly showed that women are challenging gardening methods and expectations defined by men in allotments. Women expressed their observation that men in the allotments have a way of gardening which, they have used for years. However, women asserted that these normalized ways are not right. The normalised digging methods and use of chemicals is a threat to the environment and nutrition. Two women associated men's style of gardening with their likelihood of wanting to control nature as they are used to control other things. Despite the observation about men not appreciating their presence, women continue to garden and bring their children to their allotments. A woman commented:

'I'm a massive advocate of no-dig. I'm not breaking up the soil, which a lot of the older men on the allotments do. They don't understand the damage that is done by turning the soil and how important it is to leave the structure that's been made by the worms [...] I allow things like corn marigolds to grow amongst my vegetables. [...] older men are immaculate everything's in straight lines. It's wanting to control nature. I think we have to change that whole aspect of gardening because when you get rid of wild flowers, insects cannot come to pollinate all your fruits and vegetables' (participant E)

b) Subversion of gender roles and challenging the stereotypes

The qualitative data indicated that women's ideas are not celebrated in their gardening by 'old white men'. Men perceive women in gardening as 'dailies and roses' while some are perceived as 'having many ideas and as hippies'. Male gardeners are surprised when women use sustainable gardening methods and those which only 'old men exceptionally use'. Women expressed their realisation that they use gardening tools which were designed with male users in mind (heavy and big in size). Women mentioned that they use carpentry skills which were offered to only boys when they were in school.

The interviewees reported that 'old boys' doubt women's ideas and their ability to manage a huge piece of allotment. In fact, mansplaining is a common experience that was shared by the interviewees. Where men at allotment sites, explain things with the assumption that women don't have gardening knowledge. A woman commented:

'The man who showed me the plot, a volunteer, said to me, "oh we've been talking about this and we've decided you can't have this one. We don't think it's the right plot for you". It was three older men who had this little discussion about this plot that I've been given. They said "oh no we're going to give you a different site because this one is too difficult for you. I was furious' (participant D)

c) Reproduction of gardening practices

Women mentioned they use allotment gardens to uphold environment conservation, food security, healthy nutrition and their happiness. 70% of women survey respondents indicated environment conservation as the reason why they acquired their allotments (see appendix A). In terms of happiness, one woman said, 'I grow colourful things that make me laugh like the biggest squash that looks like COVID symbol'. Women mentioned that there are foodbank initiatives by women, where the food produced in allotments can be donated. Women are educating their children about the environment through their allotments. Another striking finding is how women use their allotments to reproduce indigenous farming methods and crops used by women from the past. Two women stated:

'I'm growing things that might be lost or were completely what almost bred out of existence. I'm really interested in the history of gardening and female gardeners because they've been completely forgotten about, we know about all the male gardeners but we don't know about the women gardeners [...]' (participant F)

'We have destroyed so much and nobody cares [...] I find that heart-breaking. So, I'm just trying to do my bit, look after the birds and that's sort of what I get. So, it's my soul food' (participant G)

So far in the findings section, I have unpacked how the benefits acquired from allotment gardening impacts women’s wellbeing. In the next section, I will unpack gendered challenges that may prevent women from gaining full benefits of allotment gardening.

3.3 GENDERED CHALLENGES

The table below is a summary of the findings that indicate the gendered challenges that women experience in allotment gardening.

GENDERED CHALLENGES OF ALLOTMENT GARDENING	
Time Autonomy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Retired and women with grownup children said that they spend enough time (11 hours per week) in their allotments. Working women and those with young children reported that they spend at most six hours per week, with majority hoping to spend more time in their gardens when they retire and are financially stable. Divergent opinions emerged among the informants about being short of time spent in allotments. Some cited care responsibilities, work and school as a hinderance, while others said that time management is key. Women said that they are always pressed for time and feel guilty to relax when at the allotments, while men rest more easily.
Safety	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 93% of men feel very safe in the allotment, whereas only 65% of women indicated this this. Some women said that they leave early from the allotment sites due to safety concerns while others carry a tool with them for personal protection. Theft and breakage didn’t strongly emerge as a challenge in the survey (with 21.8% respondents pointing it out as a challenge. vandalism was indicated by the interviews as a major challenge. Even though all the allotment sites are locked, most women asserted that they do not feel safe when the gate is left open.

i) Time Autonomy

The qualitative data indicated that time allocated to allotment gardening by women is dependent on time spent on paid work, weather conditions, economic status and domestic responsibilities. Retired women and mothers of grownup children said they spend enough time (11 hours per week) in their allotments. Working women and those with young children reported that they spend at most six hours per week, with majority hoping to spend more time in their gardens when they retire and have more money. They mentioned that time is their biggest challenge. A woman mentioned, *‘I don’t spend as much time as I want now. I have to do dinner and bedtime routines’*.

Divergent opinions emerged among the informants about being short of time that they spend in allotments. Some cited care responsibilities, work and school as an excuse, while one interviewee said that time management is key and it depends on how one organises themselves.

Women always feel pressed for time and feel guilty to relax while at the allotments. While expressing observation that men are mostly resting in their gardens: A woman mentioned:

'I don't very often see women sitting around being social they're always working. I was thinking of this the other day. Should I take it as a nice day or should I take a book and just read, while I'm there as well as work? But I know I couldn't do that because I'd always be thinking there's a job that needs to be done' (participant D).

ii) Safety

The quantitative findings illustrated that 93.3% of men feel very safe in the allotment, whereas only 65% of women indicated this (see appendix C). One woman even said that she feels 'a bit unsafe'. All women who were interviewed said they generally feel safe while at the allotments, although safety is always a concern to them. Some women said that they leave early from allotment sites while others carry a tool with them to feel safe. A woman said: *'You're almost unaware that you're always assessing safety issues and keeping yourself safe' (participant D).*

Women reported there are exceptional circumstances that they have not felt safe. Majority of interviewees and nearly a quarter (21.8%) of the survey respondents, indicated theft and breakage are a challenge. A woman said, *'99.9% of the time I feel safe. We have had a couple of incidences of boys breaking into the allotments site and that was quite threatening. We have challenged them by taking pictures [...]' (participant A)*

Even though all the allotment sites are locked and all users have keys to ensure entry of the legitimate users, most women asserted that they do not feel safe when the gate is left open. A woman further explained:

'I think, safety is always a concern if you're a woman. Men do things that are quite annoying like leaving the gates open. I would say that is one of the gendered issues at the allotments that I have noticed. If the gates are open people just walk in because they think it's a place to walk and that makes me feel insecure and I think that makes a lot of women feel insecure. Its attention is expressed

in a very British way where no one ever really articulates it but it's you know this little passive aggressive tension' (participant C).

Women mentioned the council has failed to support them when they report about vandalism incidences. Surprisingly, despite these safety challenges, women still consider allotment sites to be a safe space for them and their children compared to other open spaces.

4.0 CONCLUSION

This study shows that allotment gardening impacts on women's wellbeing not only through its physical, mental health, leisure and social benefits but also through empowerment. This is in terms of control of the allotment, challenging the 'status quo' of gardening, subversion of gender roles and reproducing the practices of gardening. However, gendered challenges like time autonomy and safety, limit how women are able to engage with allotments for their wellbeing.

5.0 RECCOMENDATIONS

1. **Existing allotment policy need to be gender-sensitive and should consider the specific concerns and needs of female allotment holders.** For example, to ensure safety gates need to be closed and locked at all times. While there is a rule that children should be supervised at the allotment gardens, it should be noted that women consider allotments to be safe spaces for them and their children.
2. BHAF and Brighton and Hove council should consider **investing on research whose focus is specifically on the challenges that women encounter in allotment gardening.** For instance, time anatomy and safety. This is considering that the percentage of women who hold allotments is higher than that of other genders in Brighton and Hove.
3. **Regular data collection of allotment holders should be considered.** The current data in existence does not give an approximate number of allotment holders in Brighton and Hove. The interviewees were keen to know this.

6.0 APPEDENCIES: TABLES/ PICTURES SHOWING QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

Appendix A: Quantitative results of the reasons why the respondents acquired their allotments

REASONS	MALE N=15	%	FEMALE N=49	%	PNTS N=1	TOTAL N=65	%
To ensure that I have a regular supply of fresh fruit and vegetables.	10	66.67%	31	63.27%	1	42	64.62%
For exercise	10	66.66%	25	51.02%	1	36	55.38%
To save money	4	26.66%	7	14.29%	1	12	18.46%
To help the environment (as you produce your own food without packaging, transport etc.)	9	60%	34	69.39%	1	44	67.69%
To meet new friends	1	6.67%	7	14.30%	1	9	13.85%
To have a regular routine (e.g., after retirement)	3	20%	3	6.12%	0	6	9.23%
To have a space for your children to play	0	0.00%	3	6.12%	0	3	4.61%
To relieve stress and other mental benefits	12	80%	33	67.35%	1	46	70.77%
To eat more fruit and vegetables	7	46.67%	18	36.73%	0	25	38.46%
Other: please specify	2	13.33%	20	40.81%	0	22	33.85%

Appendix B: Quantitative results of the benefits that the respondents acquire from allotment gardening

BENEFITS	MALE N=15	%	FEMALE N=49	%	PNTS N=1	TOTAL N=65	%
Physical fitness	14	93.33%	40	81.62%	1	55	84.62%
Improved mental wellbeing	15	100%	46	93.88%	1	62	95.38%
More and new social contacts	4	26.67%	23	46.94%	1	28	43.08%
Improved diet	7	46.67%	22	45%	0	29	44.62%

Vegetables and Fruits to share with friends and family.	13	86.67%	38	77.55%	1	52	80%
Use for leisure activities	4	26.67%	18	36.73%	1	23	35.39%
Learning from others	4	26.67%	25	51.02%	0	29	40%
Supporting the local communities	1	6.67%	9	18.37%	0	10	15.39%
Improved diet	7	46.67%	15	30.61%	1	23	35.39%
Save money	6	40%	10	20.41%	0	16	24.62%
Others (please specify)	0	0.00%	8	16.33%	0	8	12.31%

Appendix C: Quantitative results of how safe the survey respondents feel while at the allotments

SAFETY	MALE N= 15	%	FEMALE N=49	%	PNTS N=1	TOTAL N=65	%
Very safe	14	93.3%	32	65.31%	1	47	72.31%
Quite safe	1	1.08%	14	28.57%	0	15	23.07%
A bit unsafe	0	0.00%	1	2.04%	0	1	1.53%
Very unsafe	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0	0.00%

Appendix D: Quantitative results of challenges faced by the allotment gardeners

QUESTION	MALE N=15	%	FEMALE N=49	%	PNTS N=1	TOTAL N= 65	%
Disputes with other allotment holders	1	6.67%	0	0.00%	0	1	1.54%
Harassment due to gender or racial characteristics	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0	0.00%

No challenges	4	26.67 %	19	38.78 %	1	24	36.92%
Theft or breakage of property	4	26.67 %	10	20.41 %	0	14	21.54%
Others (please specify)	6	40.00 %	19	38.78 %	0	25	38.46%

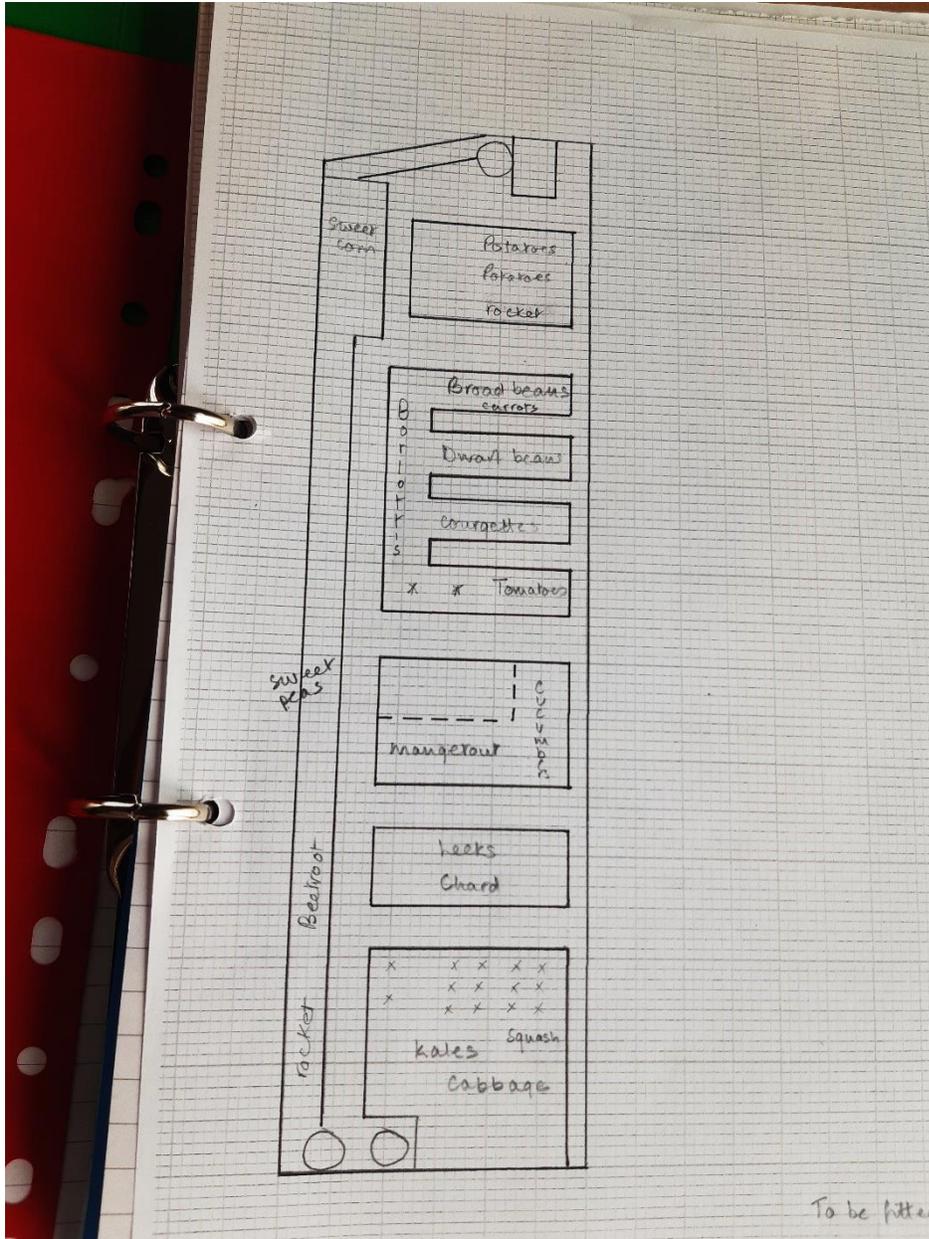
Appendix E: Quantitative results of how diverse the respondents think the allotment sites are

DIVERSITY	MALE	%	FEMALE	%	PNTS	TOTAL	%
	N=15		N=49		N=1	N=65	
Not diverse	11	73.33%	42	85.71%	1	54	84.07%
Slightly diverse	4	26.67%	3	6.12%	0	7	10.76%
Diverse	0	0.00%	3	0.00%	0	3	4.69%
Very diverse	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0	0.00%

Appendix F: Quantitative results of what the allotment holders teach and learn from others.

		Male	%	Female	%	PNTS	Total	%
		N=15		N=39		N=1		
1	Growing and cultivation tips	9	60%	38	77.55	0	47	72.31%
2	Allotment site and plot maintenance	4	26.67 %	7	14.29%	0	11	16.92%
3	Environmental issues	3	20%	6	14.28%	0	9	13.85%
4	Social issues	1	6.67%	1	2.04%	1	3	4.62%
5	Political issues	1	6.67%	1	2.04%	0	2	3.08%
6	Others (specify)	1	6.67%	4	8.16%	0	5	7.69%

Appendix G: Quantitative results of what the allotment holders teach and learn from others.



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