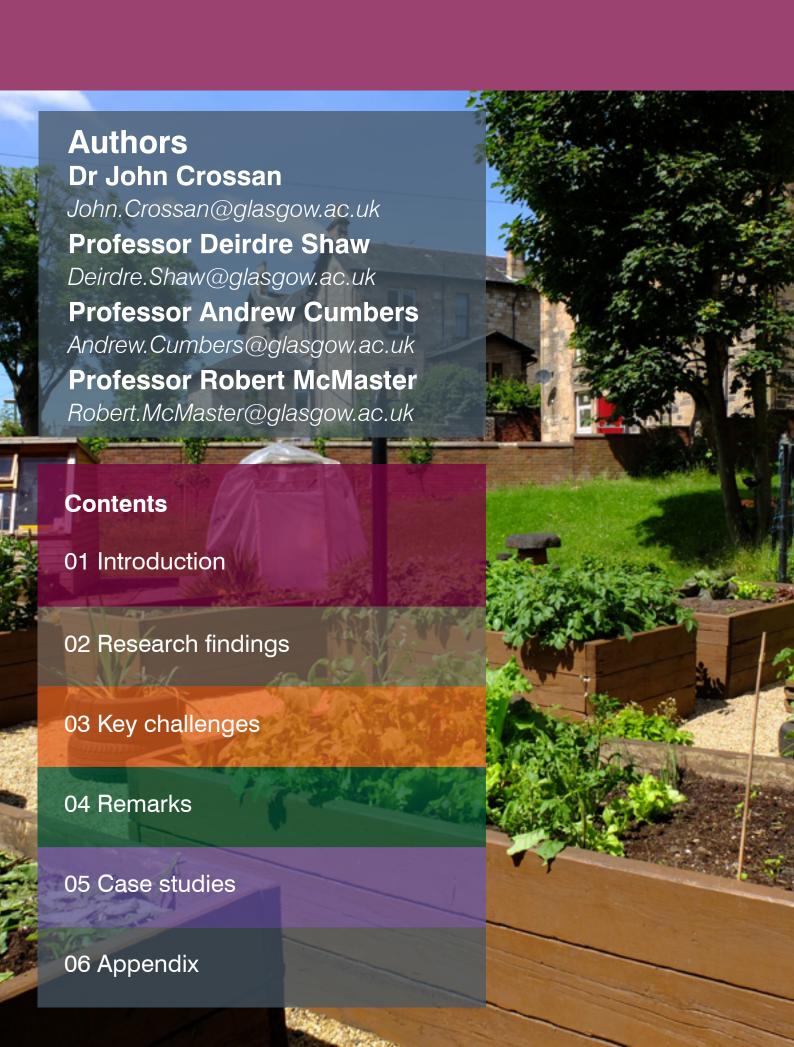


# Report

Glasgow's Community Gardens: Sustainable Communities of Care





### 1 Introduction

On the most general level, we suggest that caring be viewed as a species activity that includes everything that we do to maintain, continue, and repair our 'world' so that we can live in it as well as possible. That world includes our bodies, ourselves and our environment, all of which we seek to interweave in a complex life-sustaining web (Joan Tronto, 2013: 19, original emphasis).

# Introduction

#### 1.1 Research Overview

Drawing upon new approaches to thinking about care, as summarised in the above quote, this research set out to explore the inter-relationships between sustainability, health, well-being and the urban environment. Through actively engaging with existing grassroots projects involved in community gardening in Glasgow, the project goes beyond existing top-down public policy initiatives, to explore bottom-up and collaborative models of urban regeneration. The research project underpinning this report was designed in collaboration with grassroots community garden groups in the city. Bringing together the experiences and opinions of volunteers and staff working in these gardens and a number of experts and activists in the related areas of Urban Agriculture (UA) and urban green space use, the report identifies a number of ways in which gardens benefit communities. It also assesses a number of challenges faced by community groups as they try to construct a sustainable future for community gardening in Glasgow.

After a brief introduction to community gardening in Glasgow, this report outlines a range of benefits accrued to individuals that participate in community garden activities and the wider communities that live in relative proximity to the gardens. The report then considers the main challenges faced by community garden groups in the city.

#### 1.2 Definition of Community Gardens

In this study we employed a standard definition of community gardens – one that differentiates this form of organisation from allotments, which are frequently more formally organised and have greater ownership rights over their sites of activity.

"Community gardens are locally managed pieces of land that are developed in response to and reflect the needs of the communities in which they are based. They may be associated with other community resources such as community centres or schools, but often are 'stand- alone'. Not all community gardens are involved in growing - some are focused on amenity and recreation, others prioritise biodiversity or therapeutic gardening. Many include elements of fruit and vegetable growing within their activities and some focus strongly on these activities" (Greenspace Scotland 2011).

#### 1.3 Glasgow's Community Gardens

The potential for community gardening is high in old industrial cities where the loss of manufacturing industry has resulted in vast areas of unused spaces. Glasgow is a particularly pertinent case with 1300 hectares of vacant and derelict land, representing 4% of its total land area and comprising 925 individual sites. As a result over 60% of Glasgow City's population lives within 500 metres, and over 90% within 1000 metres, of a derelict site. This is important when considering issues of social and environmental justice, as most of the vacant and derelict land can be found in the most deprived areas of the city, thus, disproportionately affecting the poorest citizens (see Map 1). These communities "are already suffering from higher than expected rates of many diseases, do not enjoy long life expectancy, and have to bear the stress of poverty and other forms of deprivation" (Maantay 2012). As well as brownfield sites Glasgow's community gardens are located on underused public and private green spaces. These include grassed areas, city meadows and locations within existing public parks.

A number of funding initiatives in recent years have made community gardening projects more accessible to Glasgow's residents. Funding initiatives are geared towards a variety of outcomes. These include: initiatives aimed at 'grassroots' regeneration of derelict and underused city spaces; initiatives concerned with environmental sustainability, such as increasing biodiversity in the urban environment and increasing carbon catchment areas through tree planting and local food growing projects. Also pertinent to community gardens are a number of initiatives aimed at promoting healthy eating and "green-exercise". The main organisations funding community gardens in Glasgow are listed in Table 1.

The uptake in community gardening activities in Glasgow in recent years can also be attributed to the work of a range of third sector organisations working in the city to promote good health and wellbeing among the city's residents. These include, amongst others, Urban Roots Glasgow, Gorbals Healthy Living Network (GHLN), North Glasgow Community Food Initiative (NGCFI) and the Woodland Community Development Trust (WCDT). These organisations provide a range of support and expertise for communities interested in setting up a community garden in their neighbourhoods. Support and advice can range from providing assistance in targeting relevant funders and filling out attendant applications to providing trained gardeners to assist communities in their endeavours.

Map 1: Produced by Juliana Maantay (2012)

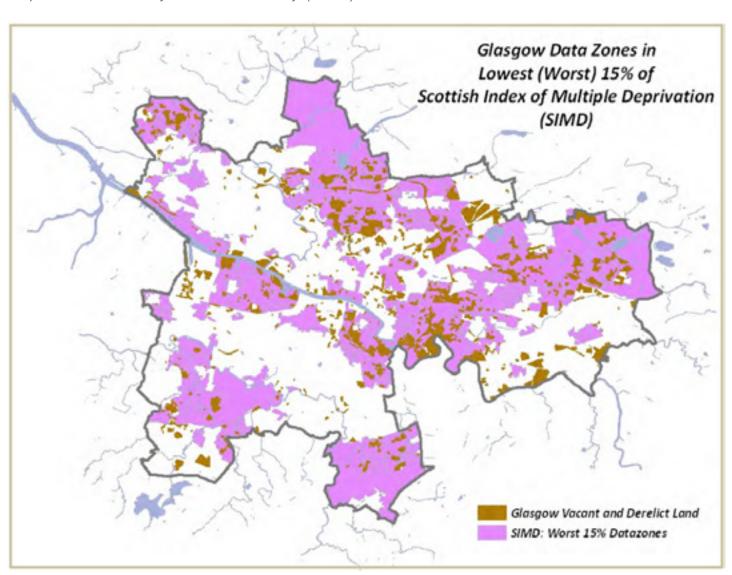


Table 1: The gardens that participated in this research

name	Postcode	Tenure Status	Land Owner(s)	Organizational Model	No. of Employees	No. of Volunteers	Main Funders
Lambhill Stables	G22 6RD	Free/nominal Rolling Lease	GCC	Charity (with trading arm)	5 FT, 2 PT 2 Sessional	Approx. 50	CCF, Big Lottery.
Concrete Gardens	G22 6LT	Free/nominal Rolling Lease	Forrest Media Group	Charity	3 FT 5 Sessional	Approx. 30	CCF, GCC Stalled Spaces, Tudor Trust
Tron St. Marys	G21 4PJ	No Lease Agreement	Church Of Scotland	Church Group	0	5	CCF
G3 Growers	G3 7HF	Temp. Free Lease Agreement (15yrs)	Glasgow West Housing Association	Non-Profit Community Group	0	Approx. 42	CCF, APG CSV
Willowbank Gardens	G3 6LF	Free/nominal Rolling Lease	GCC	SRC Affiliated Group	0	15	SRC
Dennistoun Diggers	G31 2JE	Informal Operating Agreement	Lorreto Housing Association	Non-Profit Community Group	0	8	Self-Funded
Parkhead Community Garden	G31 4XA	Free/nominal Rolling Lease	Parkhead Housing Association	Charity	1 PT, 1 sessional	15	CCF
Crownpoint Community Garden	G40 2RA	No Lease Agreement	GCC (City Property)	Charity	1PT, 1 sessional	10	CCF
GHLN (Citizens, Rose & Oatlands Gardens)	G5 9AT	No Lease Agreement and one Informal Operating Agreement	GCC Bett Homes	Charity	3 FT	10	CCF, CSV Big Lottery, Greenspace Scotland
Polmadie Plots	G42 OLA	Permission to Use (not time limited)	GCC	Charity (with trading arm)	1 FT, 2 PT	Approx. 20 +7 allotment holders	CSGN, Heritage Lottery, Scottish Gov. Big Lottery
Cassiltoun Trust Community Garden	G45 OAZ	Free Lease Agreement	Cassiltoun Housing Asssociation	Charity	1 PT	3	Scottish Gov. Cassiltoun Housing Association
3Hills Community Garden	G53 6NL	Informal Operating Agreement	GCC	Community Group	1 PT	Approx.40	Glasgow City Council, NHS
Woodlands Community Gardens	G4 9BY		Woodlands Development Trust	Development Trust	1FT, 6 PT	45-50	Big Lottery Fund, SNH, Scot.Gov. Robertson Trust
The Hidden Gardens	G41 2PE	Free Lease Agreement (25yrs)	Glasgow City Council	Charity	2 FT, Approx. 10 PT	Approx. 20	SNH

# Research Findings

### 2. Research Findings: The Benefits of Community Gardening

The following section highlights the key benefits of community gardening identified in the research. Benefits are enjoyed by individuals that participate in community garden activities and the wider communities that live in relative proximity to the gardens.



#### 2.1. Community Gardens and Health and Wellbeing

"I decided instead of sitting in the house all day, the garden would get me out and about. It gives me something to do... Me being epileptic as well, it [the garden] helps bring down my stress levels with having something on my mind [...] I was in a bad way, drugs and stuff – working the gardens has saved my life" (Volunteer, April 2014).

There exists a wealth of research on the positive impact community gardens have on the health and wellbeing of those who participate in community gardening activities. For example, Hale et al (2011: 1855) remind us that: "community gardens have been associated with increased physical activity and improved mental health". Community gardens, they contend, "represent a behaviour setting that has purpose and coherence, promotes social inclusion and gives rise to positive social and psychological processes that ultimately leads to good health" (ibid).

A range of charities and other organisations working with vulnerable groups in Glasgow recognise the value of community gardens as therapeutic environments. The Scottish Association for Mental Health (SAMH), The Bridge Project and the Lodging House Mission are examples of care organisations that utilise the city's community gardens.

Participation by these groups in the gardens is pertinent to policy proposals laid out in the 2013 Community Planning Partnership, Single Outcome Agreement (SOA). For example, in this document partners identify alcohol misuse as a "key priority contributing to inequality in the city" (SOA 2013: 10). Proposals to address alcohol related concerns, put forward by the partners, highlight the importance of "promoting a healthier approach to alcohol at a civic level" which would include "more options for alcohol-free social activity" and "promoting participation in alcohol-free activities for young people and adults" (ibid: 15). The community gardens visited as part of this project provide many of the service requirements outlined in the SOA document. In this sense, such activities are already ahead of government policy in making a very positive contribution to re-engaging vulnerable groups in community activities. While gardening and food related activities foreground the work of community gardens, other activities are on offer. These range from up-cycle craft workshops to film nights to green exercise classes.

#### 2.2 Community Gardening and Community Empowerment

The Scottish Government's Consultation on the Proposed Community Empowerment and Renewal Bill states: "The intention of the Bill is to strengthen opportunities for communities to take independent action to achieve their own goals and aspirations" (Consultations on the proposed Community Empowerment and Renewal Bill 2012). As stated above, the community gardens we visited in our research offer a range of learning activities that contribute to this agenda. Participation in these activities has practical implications for building self-confidence and encouraging team-working. People learn about gardening but they also acquire other knowledge and skills. This can have profound effects on participants, as evidenced in the following quotes:

"We formed a committee. That prospect was daunting for a lot of us that just wanted to dig holes in the ground to put carrots in. We need four members for this and secretary for that... What's all that about? But you end up learning new skills. Myself I took on the role of secretary for the group and I got sent on a minute taking course and other stuff like that so I've gained qualifications and new skills [...] I wouldn't have known how to take minutes or how to type up minutes or how to put them in order. It wouldn't have crossed my mind" (Volunteer, March 2014).

Another community gardener from the east of the city draws our attention to collective decision-making and organisation methods practiced in the gardens.

"We sort out ourselves. We have had three growing seasons and this will be our fourth. We've tried different models in terms of who is doing what. The one that worked last year we are going to go through with this year. We have seven raised beds so four of them are team beds. We have a perennial bed, a potato bed and a squash bed so they are communal beds. So you choose your team and agree with the team that you will also grow something communally in your team bed, usually something leafy because that is what people want a lot of... any decisions that affect everybody we meet as a group and discuss it and come to some sort of conclusion on it." (Volunteer, May 2014).

Community Empowerment is concomitant with good democratic practice. These quotes suggest that people do not become proficient collective decision-makers overnight. Individuals require time and space to develop these skills through group interaction and engagement. We found that gardens function as spaces of citizenship practice within which communities enhance their democratic capacity through the transformation of the urban environment. Here we see community gardens as pedagogical sites where heuristic and collective learning can serve to enrich democratic participation, leading to community empowerment.

#### 2.3 Social Inclusion and Community Cohesion

Crownpoint garden had a broad appeal. As one volunteer told me, "yi git awesorts a characters in this place": homeless people, people with physical and learning disabilities, professionals and children from the local nursery. According to one volunteer it [the garden] has good growing potential and provided a good yield last season. The St Mungo's High School pupils, who have a raised bed on the garden, supported this position, telling me last season's yield was regularly used by the school's catering service (Extract from research diary 14.03.2014).

This quote gives a sense of the diverse constituencies that make use of community gardens. What is particularly important is the way that a wider range of groups, who might otherwise have little substantive contact with one another, meet and exchange ideas and stories as they collectively produce new urban spaces though the practice of community gardening.

"I have eight people in my taskforce. Most don't have English as their first language. There is Roma, Czech Republic [...] I also have someone from Ghana, someone from Gambia, someone from Eritrea. [...] When we had young refugees and asylum seekers last week it was fascinating the things they were telling us about wild garlic, and making soup, and how they would use various herbs in their culture (Community Garden Sessional Worker, March 2014).

Today in Glasgow, asylum seekers and other members of minority ethnic communities are making use of the city's community gardens. Countering problematic issues surrounding the terms 'cultural assimilation' and 'integration', we found evidence of gardens promoting a positive recognition and celebration of different cultures. Eizenberg (2012) echoes this claim in her work on New York's community gardens when she writes, "...in their current phase community gardens celebrate past experiences and revive cultural practices rather than repressing them" (2012: 773). These ideas are in line with the teachings of the Food Justice movement (see section 2.4).

Here we see community gardens as outdoor learning, caring and growing complexes that constitute a holistic approach to issues of health, environment and community cohesion, bringing to life Joan Tronto's understanding of care as a "species activity that includes everything that we do to maintain, continue, and repair our 'world' so that we can live in it as well as possible".

#### 2.4 Community Gardens and Urban Agriculture

As our discussion thus far suggests, community gardens, while certainly connected to issues of food production, play a more extensive role in community life. That being said, community gardens in Glasgow should be seen as part of a wider emerging network of Urban Agricultural (UA) initiatives in the city, which include, amongst other projects, Community Supported Agriculture (CSA), Community Seed Sharing and Market Gardens. Community Gardens, in and of themselves, cannot produce yields significant enough to feed the city population. However, as Table 1 highlights, they do provide important employment and training opportunities in Glasgow and have considerable potential to be expanded, given the right policy support.

More broadly, as part of a wider UA network, community gardens are recognized by practitioners and theorists of UA (see http://www.kindling.org.uk; and https://www.farmgarden.org.uk) as important contact points for urban dwellers to issues of food production and consumption and wider concerns regarding food security and food justice. This position was evidenced in this research.

**Food Justice** is community exercising the right to grow, sell and eat healthy food. Healthy food is fresh, nutritious, affordable, culturally appropriate, and grown locally with care for the wellbeing of the land, workers, and animals (www.justfood.org accessed 20/11/2014).

**Food security** is built on three pillars. (1) Food availability: sufficient quantities of food available on a consistent basis. (2) Food access: having sufficient resources to obtain appropriate foods for a nutritious diet. (3) Food use: appropriate use based on knowledge of basic nutrition and care, as well as adequate water and sanitation (World Health Organization 2014).

Increased public awareness of these issues has led to a growing interest in Urban Agriculture in the UK. For example, the recently published 'Good Food Plan for Bristol', produced by the Bristol Food Policy Council, identifies increased urban food production and distribution as an integral component of an efficient and socially and environmentally just food system for the city: "Within five years from now a connection with food growing could be the norm for the majority of the population. An innovative network of urban food producers could make effective use of a wide range of sites in and around the city" (Good Food Plan for Bristol 2014: 17). UA practitioners recognise the potential of community gardens as important training sites for people interested in careers in this emerging and exciting industry.

#### 2.5 Learning Environments

We observed self-directed, non-formal and incidental learning practices at work in the gardens. In self-directed learning environments the learner(s) take the lead, directing the trajectory of their learning activities, while the educator acts as a knowledge resource. This is evidenced when multiple people work the gardens while a trained gardener offers advice or assistance when necessary. In non-formal learning environments an educator leads the relevant workshops and training programmes. As discussed above, community garden groups participate in a variety of workshops and educational talks led by an authority in the relevant field. Incidental learning occurs "when the learner did not have any previous intention of learning something out of that experience, but after the experience she or he becomes aware that some learning has taken place" (Schugurensky 2006: 4). These observations correspond to the work of Schugurensky (2006) and Walter (2013). As discussed above, community gardening offers a learning environment that goes beyond the skills associated with horticulture to include individual health, self and community wellbeing and democratic citizenship.



# **Key Challenges**

### 3. Key Challenges Faced by Community Garden Groups

#### 3.1 Ambiguities in leasing arrangements

This research found that the most commonly cited challenges faced by community garden groups relate to issues around ground lease arrangements. Many of the communities we visited were unaware of the opportunities that existed to provide legal support for community groups dealing with tenure issues (For example, the Federation of City Farms and Community Gardens (FCFGC) offers free advice in this area). However, the bigger issue was a general lack of security of tenure for community garden groups in Glasgow as a whole.

"We have very informal agreement so basically nothing has ever been signed" (Community Garden Staff March 2014, Garden A).



"The man who works for the council now, who is doing the job of the person who wrote the original letter clarifying our lease agreement, has basically said that it [the letter] was nonsense, that he [the original letter writer] wasn't in a position to be able to say that we could lease the land" (Community Garden Staff April 2014, Garden B).

Lease ambiguities result in temporal uncertainties. This creates anxieties in community garden groups in terms of how much money and time is worth investing in the space. As suggested in the following quote, temporal uncertainties caused by ambiguities in lease arrangements also result in a range of practical challenges concerning the longer term planning of the gardens in terms of what they should and should not plant.

"In terms of developing a garden over the long term or growing an orchard or something that takes a few years to establish then you need to know that land is still going to be available to cultivate five, ten years down the line or it is just a waste of time" (Community Garden Staff, April 2014 Garden C).

As shown in Table 1, three of the community gardens visited have no lease agreement with the landowners, and another three have an informal operating agreement with the landowner. More still have free or concessionary (i.e. peppercorn) rents based on a rolling contract. Rolling contracts make it more difficult for garden groups to access funding, as some funders require that the group have a more stable lease arrangement in place. Only two of the gardens we visited has a fixed term contract for their lease.

Recent changes in the management of public land and property portfolios in Glasgow have increased the anxieties of some community garden groups. Glasgow City Council (GCC) established City Property (Glasgow), an "arms-length", i.e. quasi-autonomous agency in 2010 to manage, develop and dispose of the Council's "Non Operational Surplus Land and Property Assets as well as providing management services for the Council's longer term commercial ground leases" (www.citypropertglasgow.co.uk accessed 25/11/2014). Four of the community garden groups contacted in this research have expressed concerns over the future of their project as a result of ongoing contractual renegotiations with City Property. These concerns relate to City Property's policy to move to full market rates for third sector organisations in commercial properties. Commercial properties are defined as commercial units such as shops, offices, industrial units or areas of ground, which attract a commercial income. It should be noted that city councillors voted to remove concessionary rents in commercial properties for third sector organisations in 2010 at a meeting of the Executive Committee.

#### 3.2 Navigating the Funding Landscape

A number of funding related challenges faced by community garden groups were identified. Some research participants expressed concerns about competition for funding between groups. These participants felt that competition for funding negatively impacts the potential for groups to form strategic alliances that would facilitate the pooling of resources between groups. Those groups that operate in relative proximity to one another were more likely to raise this concern.

Another funding related challenge stems from what is termed 'path dependency', whereby past events and developments both shape and constrain current activities. In this case, path dependency refers to a situation whereby community groups become structured by a landscape of funding geared towards addressing a particular problem – for example, reducing carbon emissions – and "only exists towards impacting it" (Aiken 2014). This can and does remove agency from community garden organisations as they become constrained by the conditions of a particular funding agreement rather than setting their own agendas and strategies.

Many research participants complained about what they perceive to be "a lack of joined up thinking" and "fragmentation" in the current funding landscape. Navigating this landscape involves multiple applications for different aspects of the gardens. This might include applying for funds related to carbon catchment initiatives, increasing biodiversity and promoting healthy eating. For some interviewees, this fragmented funding landscape is in conflict with an integrated understanding of the potential of the gardens to provide solutions to the problems separate funding initiatives set out to address. For example, using food as the central theme in a holistic approach to thinking about environmental concerns and urban life, one community gardener made the following comment:

"If we are serious about climate change we need to talk about food – And all the time! Food is fundamental to human life. It is essential and I don't think we have any choice if Glasgow is serious about being a sustainable city" (Volunteer July, 2014).

Another participant expressed similar views when he told us there was "a lack of recognition" at the policy level "of the need to harmonise human need with environmental need" (Community Garden Staff, June 2014). The expressed need for an integrated approach to problem solving, and consequently funding allocation, was not uncommon among community garden volunteers and staff.

#### 3.3 Skills Gap

As discussed in section 2.5, community gardens are active sites of environmental education, nurturing incidental, self-directed and non-formal learning practices. To varying degrees, each learning practice requires trained educators. Third sector organisations (see section 1.2) and GCC provide many of the city's community gardens with the staff required to fulfil these roles.

Representatives from the third sector organisations associated with community gardening and GCC that participated in this research expressed a concern over a 'green skills gap' in the city. For example, at present the Council employs one Greenspace Officer. To take environmental sustainability and food justice issues seriously (see section 2.5) would require a commitment by stakeholders to begin training future educators in horticulture and other land-based subjects.

#### 3.3 A Citywide Strategy?

The majority of community gardeners interviewed – full-time staff, sessional staff and volunteers – identified a need for some form of citywide strategy, but what form that should take and for what purpose remains unclear at this stage. For some this was about sharing resources between existing gardens. For others it was about increasing the number of community gardens in Glasgow. And for others, the rationale for a citywide strategy was linked to the potential relationship between Community Gardening and a wider more technologically and organisationally advanced form of Urban Agriculture in Glasgow (see section 2.4).

Related to the need for a citywide strategy is the feeling of disconnect expressed by some community garden participants: most notably, those from groups that do not regularly attend events organised by key umbrella organisations (e.g. NGCFI, Urban Roots, WCDT).



## Remarks

### 4. Concluding Remarks

Within the context of on-going austerity budgeting measures, community gardening in the cities of the developed world has come under some criticism (Pudup 2008, Rosol 2011, Ghose & Pettogrove 2014). Linked to the practices of neoliberal urban governance and attendant rolling-back of state welfare and diminishing public assets, these criticisms are centred upon a variety of concerns. These include the replacement of paid work with voluntary work, an over-emphasis on individual behavioural change as a means to 'fix' supposedly 'broken communities', gentrification, and a defensive form of localism.

While our research findings of community gardens and gardening in Glasgow are predominantly positive, it is important to note that Glasgow's community garden network is not immune to these criticisms. For example, there are at least two garden projects in the city located in public parks. In one case, the garden group, made up of voluntary and paid sessional workers, maintain the entire site. Measuring less than one quarter of an acre, the public park in question is a relatively small one. Nevertheless, the labour of voluntary and short-term contract workers has replaced the more stable position of city council employed parks and gardens staff in this instance. The process of gentrification is another example worth considering in relation to Glasgow. While community gardening in the city is relatively recent, studies of community gardening in other cities point towards gentrification as a real concern for poorer communities (Fitch 1993, Davila 2004). As their neighbourhoods begin to display the many beneficial offshoots that can develop from community garden activity, rent and property values increase, pushing poorer residents out of their homes: the threat of gentrification in always present in a mainstream political environment that places a private property model above all other property models.

Community gardens are not yet embedded in place or institutions – their immediate future is precarious in many cases. This is primarily due to the de facto privileging of property development in the city. However, the multiple benefits of community gardens are becoming more obvious – this report also plays a part in this dissemination process – and the policy agenda is evolving in a direction that would appear to be more supportive of community gardens. Therefore, at one level there are reasons to be optimistic. However, there are conflicts, and the fragmented nature of the network of gardens impedes the growth and entrenchment of gardens in general and particular. The major issue over ownership rights requires attention, and the network could communicate this more effectively to gardens.



# Case studies

#### Case studies

The following case studies provide a sense of the diverse organisational forms that our study of Glasgow's community gardens revealed. In the first case, Lambhill Stables Community Garden is part of a larger community based charity involving cultural heritage and environmental sustainability initiatives, a bike maintenance workshop and more. In the second case, G3 Growers are a smaller scale local resident based community garden.

#### Case Study 1: Lambhill Stables

Lambhill Stables is an impressive place. Situated on the margins of the north of the city, the grounds of Lambhill Stables, at their highest spot, command beautiful views over the Possil marshes and the Campsie Hills beyond. The complex itself is a two-acre plot found on the banks of the Forth and Clyde Canal. The plot has a resource centre with kitchen and café, a bike maintenance workshop, a pond and just over 1 acre of community garden. In addition to numerous raised beds the gardens have an elevated raised bed site and 15 fruit trees. The pond is soon to be neighboured with reed beds to create a Reed Bed Wastewater Treatment System that can irrigate the expanding community garden. The resource centre was once a canal boat maintenance building. A few meters away from the centre is another Victorian building that was the original water processing plant for Glasgow's Loch Katrine water supply. The peri-urban location of Lambhill Stables is steeped in both Glasgow's industrial and rural past.

The gardens are used by a variety of groups involving local residents, such as the youth group in the above photograph, and various social care orientated groups. One group leader I spoke to – GAMH (Glasgow Association for Mental Health) told me that over the years the group have used various outdoor recreational sites but have settled best in Lambhill. He said that Lambhill, "is just a good place to be". As well as the seven members of staff, Lambhill is has approximately 50 volunteers working the garden plots. The stables offer a range of activities and workshops. On the gardening side of things people attend 'grow your own' workshops, and are given on-site assistance by at least one trained gardener. Other activities and workshops offered are a cycling group, a walking group, storytelling and arts and crafts groups. Of particular note is a history and heritage group open to people to come together and share stories about the local area and wider Glasgow culture.

Case Study 1: Lambhill Stables





Case Study 2: G3 Growers





#### Case Study 2: G3 Growers

Formed in 2011 the G3 Grower community is in their fourth season of planting. There were, however, two years of planning before the group gained access to the site. Previously the site was a derelict space used as a dumping ground and walled on four sides by tenements. Before that it was a motor garage. Due to previous uses, the land – because it contained pollutants – was unsuitable for growing, resulting in the G3 garden being a raised bed and pot plot. There are five raised beds with one used for herbs. The other four work on a planting rotation system growing a variety of produce – spinach, chard, Kale, Broccoli, potato, spring onion, beetroot, garlic, turnip, leaks, beans, Jerusalem Artichokes, raspberries, and "cabbages [that] always follow the peas". Very much a nugget of vernacular knowledge this pea and cabbage system was explained thus: "don't ask me the science stuff; cabbages just grow best after peas" (Volunteer). I was told "the science stuff" at a later date by the same volunteer: "The roots of peas and other legumes fix nitrogen in the soil as they grow. This benefits the cabbages and other brassicas planted on this site the following year".

As well as the raised beds the group has six fruit trees and three large pots growing flora planted specifically to attract and sustain bees. Other notable artefacts on site are four composters: two homemade using pallets, chicken wire and bits of carpet and two readymade plastic compost bins. The garden has a poly tunnel, a tool shed and a homemade greenhouse. The wall panels of the latter were made in collaboration with children from a local nursery school. The greenhouse has a wooden structure, Perspex roof and walls made from columns of stacked two litre plastic bottles generously collected by the nursery school pupils. There is no water access on site. The garden relies on collected rainwater that runs from gutters along the roofs of the shed and greenhouse into collection points. As backup the garden has three large water containers, topped up when necessary by the local fire brigade.

The garden site was set up in 2011 by Annexe Communities, a health and welfare charity based in Partick, using a grant they had obtained from the Climate Challenge Fund. The garden was officially transferred to G3 Growers the following year. Since then the group have received grants from Glasgow City Council Area Partnership (Anderston and City) for the purchase of gardening equipment and from CSV Action (Community Service Volunteers) for the bee pots and for rock dust to improve the soil. In addition to these funding sources, the 42 members are asked to make an annual voluntary contribution (suggestion £5), if they can afford to do so, to cover the on-going cost of seed and potting compost.



# Appendix

### Research Methodology

This research took place over a six-month period beginning in January 2014. The researchers employed the following methods: observation via site visits to 11 community gardens; participant observation through volunteering days at a further 7 community gardens; 20 semi-structured interviews – with 9 garden employees, 8 volunteers, and 3 representatives from stakeholder organisations (Nourish Scotland, Friends of Possil Greenspace and Cassiltoun Housing Association). Interview schedules were designed in collaboration with members of the Glasgow Local Food Network (GLFN). The 18 community gardens visited by researchers (representing 45% of the community gardens identified by the researchers) are involved in food growing initiatives.

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