

2 Allotment Gardens Contribute to Urban Ecosystem 3 1 Service: Case Study Salzburg, Austria

4 Jürgen H. Breuste¹; and Martina Artmann²

5 **Abstract:** Allotment gardens are an important feature in the urban landscape. They provide a range of ecosystem services (ES) and hence
6 combine utility, social meaning, and beauty. Allotment gardens have been deeply embedded for almost two hundred years in European urban
7 development. In many European countries, there is a great and rising interest in allotment gardening in traditional and new forms. Allotment
8 gardens are often not well recognized as an important part of urban green in planning. Investigations into the ES they provide will help
9 integrate them better in urban planning. This paper examines in which way urban allotment gardens contribute to ES in a case study in
10 Salzburg, Austria. In this study, 156 allotment gardeners in four allotment associations were surveyed on the role allotment gardens play
11 in recreation, food production, nature experience (learning and teaching about nature), ecological gardening, and environmental behavior.
12 The results show the importance of allotment gardens in recreation and nature experience and the declining importance of traditional food
13 production. There is an increasing interest in ecological gardening and a general environmental awareness among allotment gardeners. DOI:
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15 **Author keywords:** Community garden; Recreation; Food production; Nature experience; Ecological gardening; Environmental behavior.

16 Introduction

17 2 An *allotment garden* (U.K.), *community garden* (North America),
18 *allotment plot*, or only *allotment* is a plot or parcel of urban or
19 suburban land made available for individual, non-commercial gar-
20 dening. A few or up to several hundreds of individually cultivated
21 allotment plots used by individuals or families are part of an
22 *allotment site*. The facilities on the allotment sites differ from each
23 other but will often feature amenities, such as clubhouses, restroom
24 facilities, fence enclosure, picnic areas or open barbeques,
25 children's playgrounds, and other communal leisure facilities, all
26 maintained by the allotment association members.

27 The individual size of an allotment plot generally ranges in
28 Austria between 250 and 400 square meters, and the plots often
29 include a shed for tools and shelter. The individual gardeners
30 are usually organized in an *allotment association* for the allotment
31 site. Individual allotment associations are often members of the
32 National Allotment Association. The local allotment association
33 for the allotment site leases the land from an owner who may be
34 a public, private, or ecclesiastical entity, and who usually stipulates
35 that it be only used for gardening (i.e., growing vegetables,
36 fruits, and flowers), but not for residential purposes [this is usually
37 also required by the federal Allotment Garden Law (Bundes-
38 Kleingartengesetz)]. Gardeners have to pay a small membership
39 fee to the association, which pays the rent to the landowner.
40 The allotment holders have to abide by the corresponding rules
41 and by the allotment garden law. However, the membership entitles

42 them to certain democratic rights in decision-making on the allot-
43 ment site. Gardeners are in this way free to shape and use their
44 rented parcel and create an individualized natural space according
45 to their own wishes by their own intentions and for their own use.
46 These individually designed and used green spaces provide several
47 general but individually site-specific ecosystem services, the most
48 well-known being fruit and vegetable production and recreation.
49 Allotments are no longer seen as a way to alleviate the distress of
50 the urban poor. Allotment gardeners come from all parts of society;
51 allotments have become an important part of the urban cultural
52 landscape, and the urban green provides ecosystem services for
53 the gardeners and the neighborhood (Crouch and Ward 1994).

54 Allotments hold a small but an important share of recreational
55 areas. In Germany, about 11% of the recreational areas are allot-
56 ment gardens, in Austria 4%. Allotments are an important feature
57 in the urban landscape. In Halle (3.6%), Berlin (3.5%), and Leipzig
58 (3.2%), allotment gardens comprise a relatively high proportion of
59 the whole urban territory. In Dresden (2.3%) and Duisburg (1%),
60 the share of allotments is less (Table 1). However, they combine
61 utility, social meaning, beauty, and ecosystem services (ES). Allot-
62 ment gardens are deeply embedded within the cultural landscape
63 and have been a familiar feature for almost two hundred years in
64 Britain (Crouch 2003). Allotments are underpinned by the long-
65 term cultivation of nature. It is through everyday encounters with
66 the environment that allotment gardeners can make sense of the
67 intimate geographies in their lives (Crouch 1997).

68 The history of the allotment is one of conflict, contestation, and
69 vulnerability, and subsequently such parts of the urban green have
70 traditionally been marginalized (De Silvey 2003). Yet the desire to
71 have a plot continues to remain significant as an increasingly in-
72 tricate and dynamic element of contemporary urban life (Crouch
73 2003). In Britain, there are about 245,000 allotment gardens.
74 Due to a renaissance in interest, there is a constant increase in
75 demand for allotment gardens, and there are 100,000 people on
76 waiting lists (Allotment Plots 2013; Crouch 1997). The prediction
77 of the demise of the allotment movement was not realized (Crouch
78 1997). Traditionally, the vernacular participation in the urban green
79 by the allotment gardens and its general cultural, social, and

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Table 1. Allotment Gardens in Germany and Austria (Data from Breuste 2010)

	Number of allotment gardens	Number of allotment garden estates	Total area in km ²
T1:1			
T1:2	Germany	1,020,000	Not exactly known
T1:3	Saxony	220,000	4,000
T1:4	Austria	35,500	364
T1:5	Berlin	76,165	950
T1:6	Leipzig	33,650	213
T1:7	Vienna	24,965	235
T1:8	Dresden	23,668	366
T1:9	Halle	12,000	160
T1:10	Munich	8,592	82
T1:11	Duisburg	6,289	105

ecological significance has been marginalized in a multiplicity of ways, located on marginal and redundant land, and existing at the margins of governmental discourse (De Silvey 2003). In research, too, the subject of allotments has suffered neglect (Buchardt 2002).

There have been six larger empirical surveys in Central Europe over the last 20 years focused on investigating utilization and behavioristic aspects of allotment gardeners in Central European cities. These were conducted in Salzburg (Austria) and the German cities Darmstadt, Halle/Saale, Berlin, Regensburg, and Osnabrück (Atzensberger 2005; Bargmann et al. 1989; Breuste and Breuste 1994; Farny and Kleinlosen 1986; Koller 1988; Weber and Neumann 1993). Between 269 (Salzburg, Austria) and 1,097 (Halle/Saale, Germany) individuals were surveyed regarding their behavior, activities, and motivations. Not all studies had the same objectives, used the same methods or the same questionnaires but several elements of these surveys are comparable. All are based on interviews and had been preceded by standardized questions in oral interviews and by distributed questionnaires. Research targets were mostly on utilization of the allotment plots and activities of the allotment gardeners. The Central European studies show:

- the reduction of fruit and vegetable production;
- the rise of recreational aspects in utilization of the plots;
- the change of plot structure from vegetation production to lawns and marginal flower beds;
- and the high intensity of recreational use by frequency and duration of stay on the plots.

Ecological aspects of behavior or ecosystem services were not investigated by the aforementioned studies. Only the study by Breuste et al. (1996) included soil pollution by heavy metals. Silveira and de Oliveira (2014) investigated the amount of permeable area necessary in allotments to improve soil infiltration such that the risk of flooding in Brazilian cities is reduced.

Ecosystem services (ES) are the benefits people obtain from ecosystems (MEA 2005). Since the first theoretically founded reflections on ES in the 1990s (Costanza et al. 1997; Daily et al. 1997; De Groot et al. 2002) or at least with the publication of the Millennium Ecosystem Assessment (MEA 2005) and the TEEB study (2011), it became clear that people strongly depend upon nature and its services (Breuste et al. 2012).

The ecosystem service concept has already been integrated into ecosystem services of cities and towns where the services for many inhabitants are essential and needed (Ahern 2007; Tratalos et al. 2007). Urban green areas and urban water areas are the main providers of urban ecosystem services (Bolund and Hunhammar 1999; Chiesura 2004; Kottmeier et al. 2007; Niemelä et al. 2010; Toy and Yilmaz 2010). Their services need to be evaluated quantitatively and included in urban design and planning.

Besides several studies on ecosystem services at the city level, there are only a few studies at the site or local level in urban areas and on selected urban green space types. Most of the studies are on public green and public open spaces (Breuste et al. 2013a, b; Niemelä et al. 2010; Qureshi et al. 2010).

The British Royal Horticulture Society (2013) lists eight reasons for allotment gardening in the U.K.:

1. "Get the freshest produce: the flavor and freshness of food straight from the plot is streets ahead of most supermarket produce.
2. Save money: A bag of salad costs as much as a packet of rocket seed, and sometimes a lot more! One packet of seed will give you dozens of bags-worth of tasty salads.
3. Get some exercise in your own 'green gym': Getting outside in the garden is a proven winner for health and stress relief. 'Allotments are the ultimate stress-buster'.
4. Avoid additives: If you care about what goes into and onto your food, growing your own organically is the best way of taking control. You can avoid chemical additives that are sometimes found in shop-bought food.
5. Get to know neighbors: Having an allotment is one of the best ways of getting to know people in your local area. 'Allotment communities are genuine communities, with people from all sorts of backgrounds and ages.'
6. Save food miles: Think of the carbon saved by growing your own; a smaller distance from 'plot to plate' also means tastier, fresher food.
7. Grow the food you enjoy. The number of varieties of fruit and veg available to home gardeners is huge compared to the number available in shops.
8. A great escape: Sometimes it's just great to get away from the house, and normal day-to-day chores! For many, allotments are a perfect stress-buster!"

The survey investigates in which way urban allotment gardens contribute to ecosystem services. It is known that especially this part of the privately used green spaces in Central European cities is intensively used (Atzensberger 2005; Bargmann et al. 1989; Breuste and Breuste 1994; Farny and Kleinlosen 1986; Koller 1988; Weber and Neumann 1993). Recreation and food production and nature experience (learning and teaching) were selected as examples of ecosystem services for the study because these are crucial services provided by allotments for urban dwellers. The ecological behavior and gardening of the allotment holders was further included in the survey to study how they can contribute to ecosystem service supply in cities.

Methodology

Study Area

Salzburg has about 147,000 inhabitants. More than half of the residences are in single-family and detached houses in which 51% of the population lives (Stadt Salzburg 1996). Salzburg has only marginal industry and was instead developed having primarily administrative and cultural functions. As a result, the city of Salzburg has much fewer allotment gardens than Linz or Vienna with a denser built-up residential area and an industrial history.

The first allotment site was founded in 1940 and is included in this survey ("Dauerkleingartenverein Thumegg"). In 1958, the State Allotment Gardeners Association (Landesverband der Kleingärtner Salzburg) was founded. Eight allotment sites in Salzburg belong to the association and also have distinct local allotment gardeners' sub-associations (Tables 2 and 3).

Table 2. Allotment Sites of the Salzburg Allotment Gardeners Association (Data from Breuste 2007)

	Number	Allotment site	Founded	Land owner	Area (m ²)	Number of allotments
T2:1						
T2:2	1	Thumegg	1940	City of Salzburg	27,177	68
T2:3	2	Leopoldskron	1956	City of Salzburg	23,500	54
T2:4	3	Kasern	1964	City of Salzburg	42,000	96
T2:5	4	Taxham	1971	Church council Siezenheim and Federal Allotment Gardeners Association	10,964	35
T2:6	5	Liefering-Herrenau	1982	Private	54,000	125
T2:7	6	Kendlersiedlung	1988	Private	15,652	42
T2:8	7	Pulvermacherweg	1991	Private	15,583	37
T2:9	8	An der Glan	1998	Private	11,473	34
T2:10					200,349	491

Table 3. Total Number of the Salzburg Allotments (Data from Breuste 2007)

	Organization of the allotment sites	Allotments	Area (m ²)
T3:1			
T3:2	Salzburg Allotment Gardeners Association	491	200,349
T3:3	Railway (ÖBB)	93	22,124
T3:4	Separate allotment site "Robinighof"	64	18,254
T3:5	Others	Not known	41,999
T3:6	Salzburg total	648	282,726

In 2006, the 648 Salzburg allotment gardens covered an area of 28.3 ha. In comparison to the 6,567-ha total area of Salzburg, this is not very much. Since 1960, 48.2% (23.1 ha) of the allotment gardens have been lost mostly to residential development. This is an alarming reduction! In contrast, since 1988 the area of allotment gardens has only been reduced by 5.6 ha, and 243 allotments have been lost.

From the eight allotment sites of the Salzburg Allotment Gardeners Association four were selected for a survey (Table 4).

197 Questioning of Allotment Holders

To reach the target of the investigation, allotment gardeners were interviewed. This was the most suitable method to obtain findings about behavior and attitudes to qualify and quantify activities related to:

- recreation;
- food production;
- nature experience (learning and teaching about nature); and
- ecological gardening and environmental behavior.

A questionnaire was developed to address these specific research agendas. The questionnaire for the allotment gardens was divided into five sections: utilization of the allotments, ecologically relevant behavior, food production, nature experience and learning

Table 4. Surveyed Allotment Sites (Author's Illustration)

	Allotment site	Number of allotments	Number of answered questionnaires	Year of foundation	Location
T4:1					
T4:2	Liefering-Herrenau (LH)	125	65	1982	fringe
T4:3	Thumegg (TH)	68	32	1940	inner city
T4:4	Leopoldskron (LK)	54	33	1956	inner city
T4:5	Pulvermacherweg (PW)	37	26	1991	fringe
T4:6	Total number of allotment gardens/ answered questionnaires	284	156		

about nature, and environmental consciousness. All data remained anonymous.

With regard to the utilization of the allotments, the gardeners were asked questions about the size of their allotment and the motivations for choosing it (e.g., recreation and recovery, space for children to play, quiet, place for retreat, etc.). Other questions targeted information about duration of stay, activities undertaken, travel time to the allotment garden and mode of transportation. Still other questions sought comparisons to the use of other public green spaces in the city and the partitioning of the allotment (area used for cultivation of fruits/vegetables, lawn, terrace, etc.).

The allotment gardeners were also asked about their gardening skills and utilization strategies. They were asked about improvements and changes they had made in their gardens (construction of cabins, planting of trees and bushes), about the use of insecticides and pesticides, and about the use and consumption of their own fruits and vegetables.

The interview concluded with some socio-demographic data about the interviewee (age group, education, engagement, living situation).

All in all, 156 persons were interviewed in the four different allotment sites. The questionnaires were given to all the directors of the allotment associations, who distributed them to the gardeners. Sixty-five questionnaires were collected from the allotment site LH, 32 questionnaires from TH, 26 questionnaires from PW, and 33 questionnaires from LK (see Table 4). Interviews were conducted on the allotment sites from September to November 2012.

Results

The Allotment Gardeners

Most of the questioned persons (60%–75%) are over 60 and retired, but they mostly started gardening shortly before retirement over the age of 50. About one-third of the allotment gardeners have rented their plot for over 30 years and another third for over 10 years. About 23% have been allotment gardeners for over 20 years. Only a minority of gardeners is under 40 (1.6% in LH). Allotment gardeners (association members) seem to be primarily in retirement or shortly before retirement, but other younger family members (children and grandchildren) are involved as non-members. Normally, an older couple or a single older person is responsible for the site, doing most of the management and spending most of the leisure time on the plot. The younger family members are frequent users and profit in a certain way from the provided ecosystem services.

The majority (more than two-thirds) of the questioned persons were male.

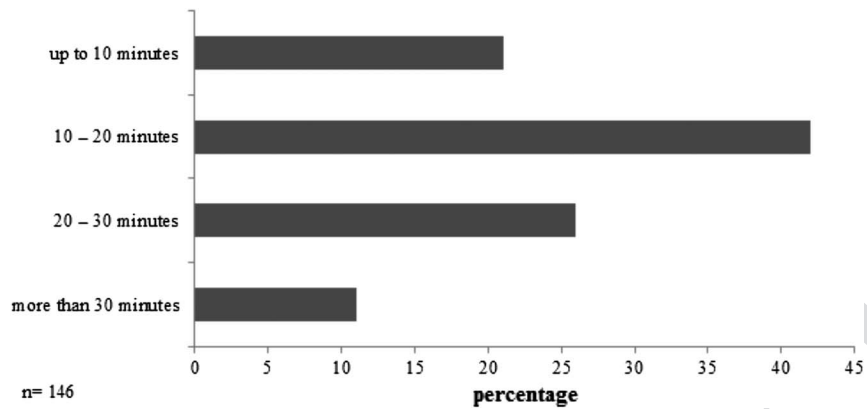


Fig. 1. Time to reach the allotment site

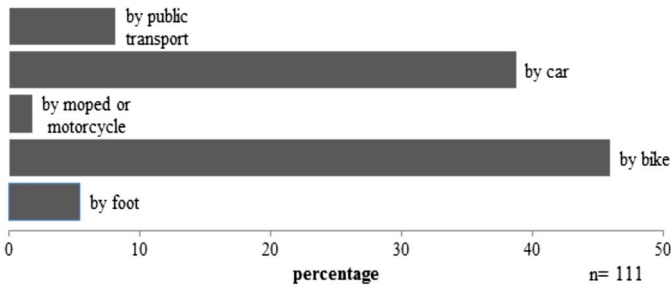


Fig. 2. How to reach the allotment site

Where the People Come From

One-third to one-half of the gardeners are from the nearby urban districts and can reach the garden by a short distance from their residence (Fig. 1). However, this number also shows that about 50% or more are not residents of the nearby neighborhoods. Originally embedded allotment sites in a residential neighborhood are declining in favor of recreational sites for people from the whole

city or even the surrounding areas. The growing distances can be compensated for by readily available and faster means of transport as compared to the past (private cars) (Fig. 2).

Reasons for Allotment Gardening

For the majority of the gardeners, allotment gardening is for relaxation and recreation, even when it is partly hard work. About 80% of the questioned persons express this as main reason for their allotment use. The allotment gardening is the main hobby for the majority (66%–93%). Connectivity to “nature” is for 65% a main reason for gardening. Other reasons—such as to have a quiet place for retreat (57%), to balance out stress from work (47%), and self-sufficiency with fruits and vegetables (46%)—are also important. Much less important are reasons like compensation for absent private green (32%) or community spirit (31%) (Fig. 3).

The interviewed allotment gardeners are very satisfied with their gardens, and the majority (68%) does not feel disturbed by anything. Even the strict regulations, binding them in some activities, disturb only 10% of the questioned persons.

The majority of the allotment gardeners use the plot in summer several times per week (59%) or even daily (36%) (Fig. 4). Even in

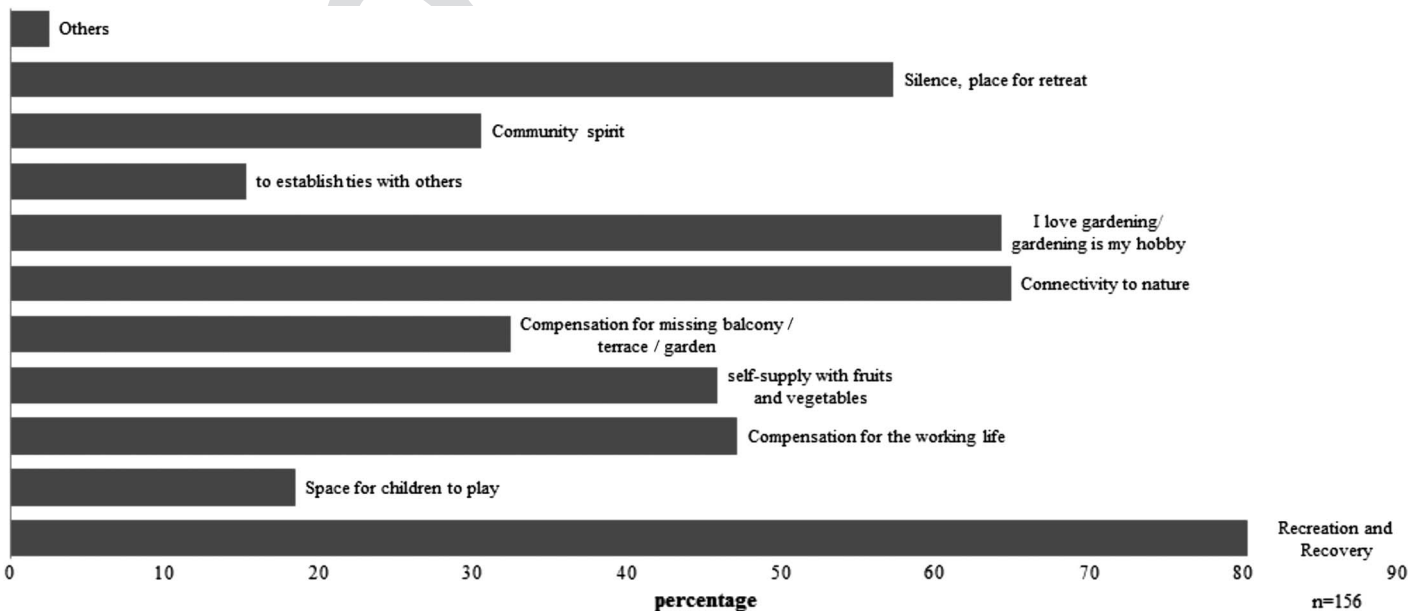


Fig. 3. Reasons to use an allotment garden

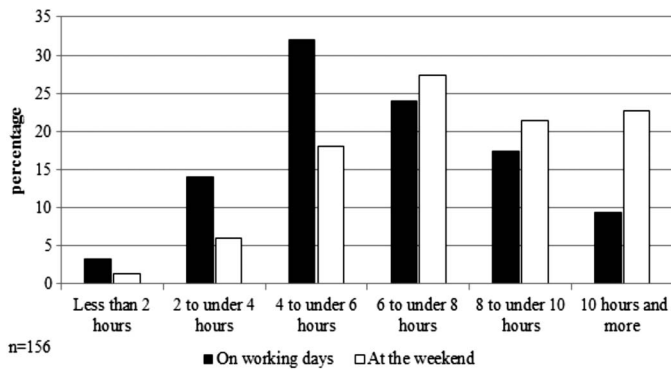


Fig. 4. Leisure time spent in the allotment

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winter, 22% use the garden several times a week, and only 29% seldom use it. On a working day in summer, the majority spends four to six hours on the plot for gardening as recreation (32%). In the PW allotment site, the majority (45%) spends even more than eight hours there. Only 17% of the questioned persons spend less than four hours.

The summer weekend day is, by the majority, mostly fully spent in the allotment garden (over six or even over eight hours). Fifty percent would like to reduce the maintenance activities in the allotment gardens to have more time to relax. For 64%, reduced maintenance is the leading idea regarding their gardening,

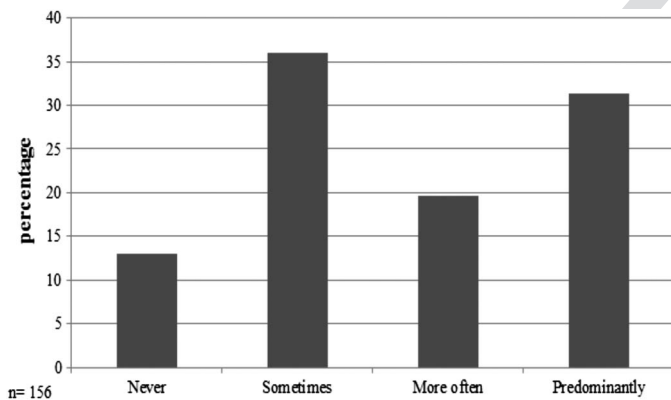


Fig. 5. Summer holidays spent in the allotment garden

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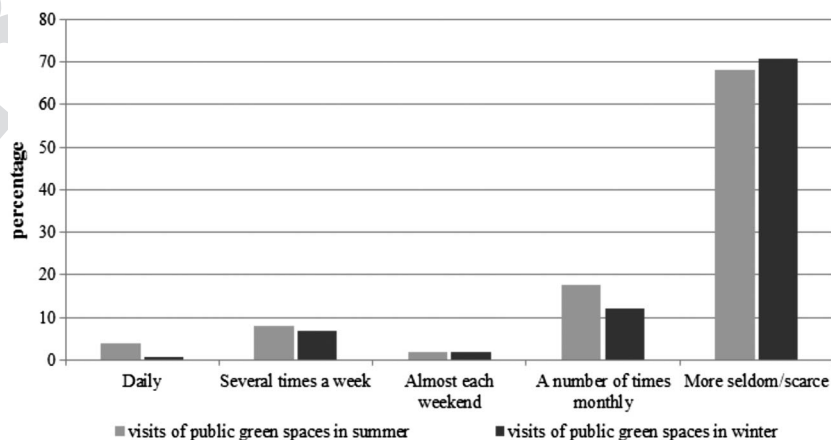


Fig. 6. Utilization of public urban green spaces

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accompanied by beautification (59%), and environmental sustainable design (50%).

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Reasons for Allotment Gardening

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Of the questioned allotment garden owners, 31% spend their summer holidays predominantly on the allotment plot. Another 36% answered that they sometimes spend their summer holidays at their allotment.

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Frequency, duration of stay and spending holidays in allotment gardens show the high importance of recreation in the allotment gardens. Most of the leisure time of allotment gardeners is spent on the allotment plot (Fig. 5).

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The interviewed allotment gardeners are infrequent users of public urban green spaces. More than two-thirds (68% in summer and 71% in winter) express that they use them fewer than "a number of times" per month or less. Only a minority of less than 10% of the questioned allotment gardeners use public urban green spaces several times a week or even daily (Fig. 6).

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Partitioning of the Allotment Gardens

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The structure of the allotment gardens mirrors the utilization structure. A majority of gardeners (45%) use only 10% to 20% of the space for cultivation of fruits and vegetables (Fig. 7). Another 29% of the gardeners use 20% to 30% of the space for this. In this study, 26% of the gardeners use 40% to 50% of the allotment for lawns, and another 25% of the gardeners use even 70% to 80% of the allotment for lawns. Many of the allotment gardeners have changed their garden structure from food production (fruit and vegetable beds) to relaxation (lawns). They have reduced their management intensity and spend more time relaxing than in the past.

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Of the questioned persons, 25% express that they have added more lawn during the last 10 years, 24% reported less space devoted to vegetable patches, and 24% reduced the general amount of maintenance. Other changes include 41% of interviewees enlarging the flowerbeds, and 28% enlarged the leisure areas (terrace, pergola, barbecue area, etc.). Only 17% report that they have not changed use of space in their gardens (Fig. 8).

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Food Production

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Most of the allotment gardeners have improved the allotment garden in general since they started allotment gardening on the plots. This includes improvement of soils by self-produced organic fertilizer (85%), planting of trees (54%) and shrubs (82%), and

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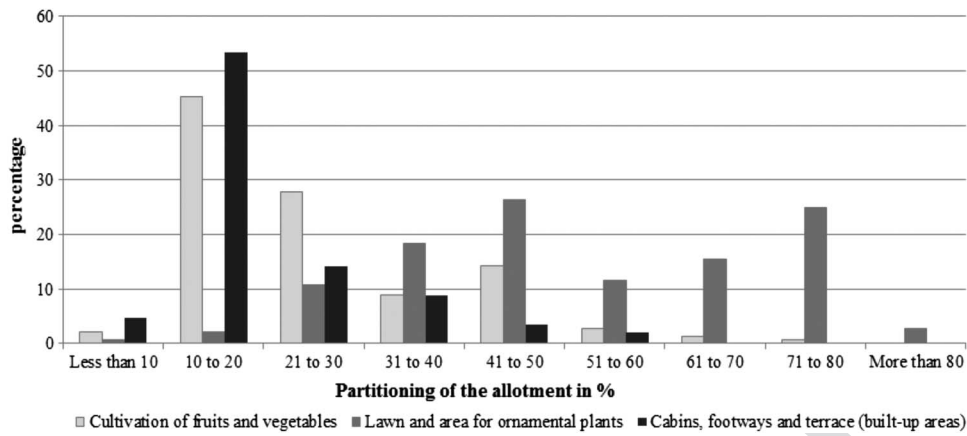


Fig. 7. Partitioning of the allotment gardens

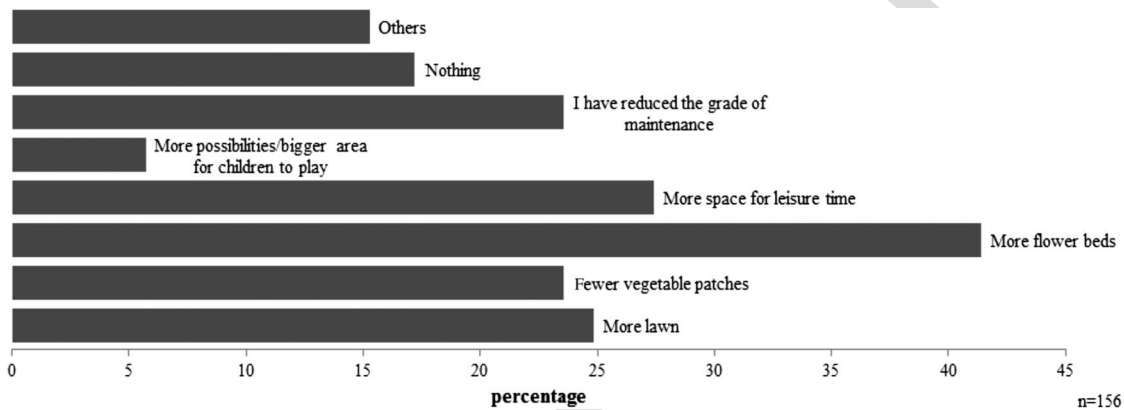


Fig. 8. Changes in dividing the allotment garden during the last ten years

cultivating fruits and vegetables (76%). About half of the questioned persons (44%) never use chemical fertilizers, while the others (54%) rarely use them. The practiced soil and plant management targets the improvement of the fertility of the allotment gardens.

The produced food is used fresh during the season mostly by allotment gardeners (71%) and their families (45%) (more than one answer was possible). Many (41%) conserve fruits or vegetables to use during winter (see Fig. 9).

The majority of gardeners (52%) produce only up to 10% of their overall fruit consumption on their allotment gardens. This is comparable with 44% for vegetable consumption.

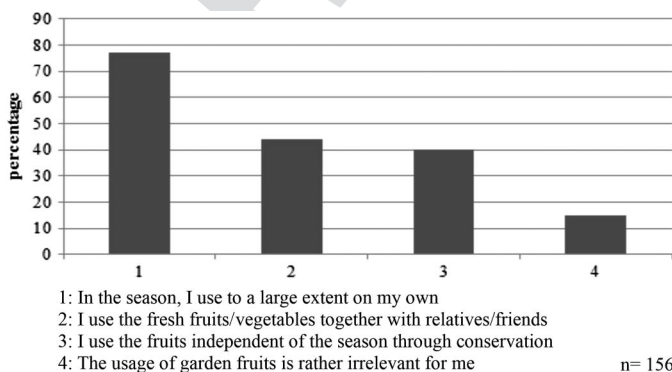


Fig. 9. Consumption of garden fruits and vegetables

The reasons for producing one's own food production are healthier production (47%) and better quality and taste (41%). A wide variety of different fruits and vegetables are produced; albeit, particularly for this latitude, common fruits and vegetables like apples and soft fruits as well as lettuce and carrots are most often grown. Cabbage, Swiss chard, or grapes were only produced by a minority of allotment holders (Fig. 10).

Nature Experience (Learning and Teaching about Nature)

More than 60% of the allotment gardeners learned gardening by doing, another 48% from other gardeners, 47% from elder family members and only 38% from media use (more than one answer was possible).

A majority of gardeners (66%) learned about nature through allotment gardening, 31% about their general relation to nature and ecological behavior, 28% about horticulture and garden management. In this study, 78% of the questioned persons valued the allotment garden as an important or even very important place for learning about nature by the younger generation.

The allotment garden is a place for nature observation. Bigger animals like birds, small mammals and also amphibians are frequently observed. In contrast, worms, spiders, and mollusks were observed less often (Fig. 11). The majority of the gardeners (74%) call the attention of the younger generation to observe animals. If the allotment gardeners compare where they mostly make their

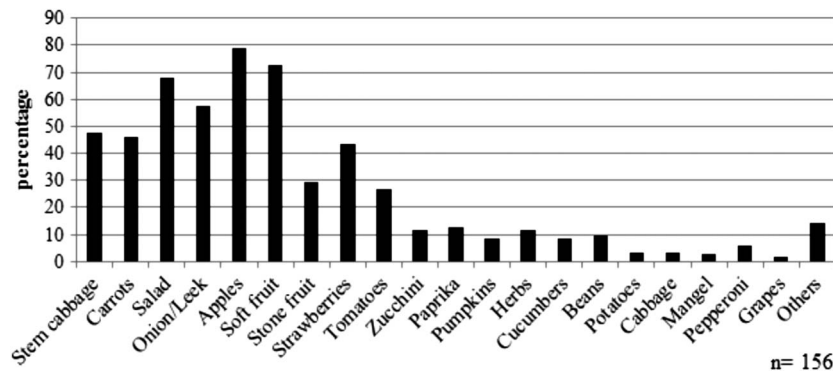


Fig. 10. Consumed fruits and vegetables

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370 animal observations, it is 80% on the allotment plot, followed by
 371 forests (34%) and only 9% in urban public green spaces.

372 **Ecological Gardening and Environmental Behavior**

373 Most of the allotment gardeners assess their general behavior as
 374 ecological or sustainable. Between 60% and 79% express that
 375 they behave sustainably, for the most part. More than two-thirds
 376 and up to 85% of the questioned persons connect this with the con-
 377 sumption of ecologically produced fruits and vegetables. This is, of
 378 course, based on their own ecologically produced food but includes
 379 also a generally more sensitive consumption of organic food be-
 380 cause most of the fruit and vegetable consumption does not come
 381 from their own garden. About one-third of gardeners (30%–57%)
 382 use public transportation more frequently than a private car. Up to
 383 one-third of the people also often arrive by bike. Other aspects of
 384 ecological behavior are seldom expressed.

385 The allotment gardeners express that their gardens are already
 386 sustainable (54%). Only 21% express that they are open for a
 387 change in management to a more sustainable garden. Only 18%
 388 have no association with the ecological garden idea.

389 **Discussion**

390 **Comparing Recreation in Allotments and Urban Parks**
 391 **by Frequency and Activities**

392 The survey shows a very intensive use of the allotment gardens by
 393 frequency and duration of stay. A comparison of the use intensity of

these privately used green areas with public urban green seems to
 be meaningful. Park usage and physical activity research and the
 theory of urban park geography are still in its infancy (Brown 2008;
 Hamilton 2011). Use intensity of green spaces generally depends
 on several factors:

- acceptability of attractive public green space offerings;
- demand by people, depends also on amount of available free time (groups with more pensioners, stay-at-home parents, etc.);
- availability of alternative attractive green spaces (like forests, wetlands, allotments, etc.);
- and other attractions to spend leisure time (Priego et al. 2009).

A few recent studies from different continents show the quantity, frequency of visits, and activity of urban park usage for recreation: Breuste et al. (1996), Breuste and Breuste (2000) for Halle/Saale, Germany; Breuste et al. (2013a) for Buenos Aires, Argentina; Qureshi et al. (2010) for Karachi, Pakistan; Breuste et al. (2013a) for Buenos Aires and Shanghai; Ioja et al. (2013) for Bucharest, Romania; Veal (2006) for Sydney, Australia; Hamilton (2011) for Kingston, Canada or Priego et al. (2009) for Cordoba, Spain, Concepcion, Chile and Halle/Saale, Germany.

Sasidharan et al. (2005) showed important cultural differences in urban recreation patterns and of park usage and activity participation. Comparisons on a worldwide scale are only partly working. Hamilton (2011) recorded 1,098 park users. The overall findings in park usage revealed that the most prevalent park users were female (52%). Adults (aged 18–65) were the most prevalent age group (47%). Physical activity findings showed that 45% of users were sedentary, 40% were walking (moderate physical activity), and 15% were engaged in vigorous activity. This shows that physical

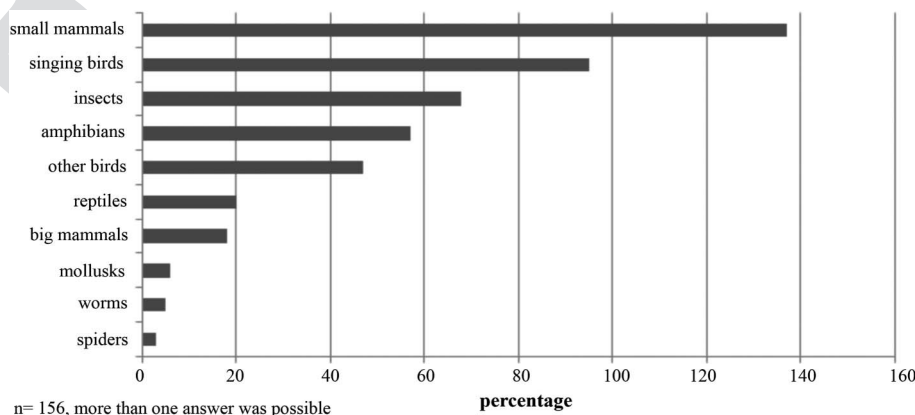


Fig. 11. Observed animal groups in allotments

F11:1

423 activities were mostly sitting and walking. Another study from the
424 Netherlands surveying 750 park users shows that relaxation is pre-
425 ferred to sports. However, to get in touch with nature and to escape
426 the city were rated as being more important reasons for the park
427 user (Chiesura 2004). These findings are similar to this study: be-
428 sides recreation and rest, the main reasons for the use of allotments
429 are the connectedness to nature and having a quiet place for retreat.
430 However, compared to the less physical activities found in urban
431 parks, this study suggests that recreation in allotment gardens is
432 more active since another main reason for visiting the allotment
433 is gardening.

434 The duration and frequency of stay differ in public parks and
435 range from the majority of weekly (more than 50%) to daily visitors
436 (more than 60%) (Veal 2006). Visits are mostly under two hours
437 (Breuste et al. 2013a, b).

438 A comparison of park use to the frequency and duration of stay
439 in allotments shows that allotments are much more intensively used
440 urban green spaces than parks. The high intensity of use found in
441 this study is also supported by several allotment garden studies in
442 Central Europe (Atzensberger 2005; Bargmann et al. 1989; Breuste
443 and Breuste 1994; Farny and Kleinlosen 1986; Koller 1988; Weber
444 and Neumann 1993).

445 With a long-term rental, often more than 20 years, the allotment
446 gardeners create a very individual and personal relationship to a
447 small part of semi-private urban green. The importance of allot-
448 ments for humans traces back to their provision of cultural ecosys-
449 tem services, such as learning from nature and recreation from
450 which urban residents benefit (Barthel et al. 2010; Glover et al.
451 2005; Hou et al. 2006) and which was also shown in this study.
452 This personal and emotional connection to private green is even
453 more pronounced in private gardens (Brook 2003), which can
454 be regarded as an extension of the house where owners are free
455 to create their own natural “paradise” (Alexander 2002). This is
456 also true for allotments and contributes to their successful establish-
457 ment for more than 150 years in Central Europe. Hence, users of
458 allotments also have a limited ability to design one’s own nature
459 spaces by individual gardening activities. Beside the residence,
460 the allotment garden is a second center of life for allotment garden-
461 ers. They spend most of their leisure time there, often even the
462 holidays, and reduce other open space activities in the city, even
463 visits to public urban parks.

464 Allotment gardens can mostly be reached within 30 minutes
465 from home, for longer distances often by car or bicycle
466 (e.g., Breuste and Breuste 1994). The high intense usage of the
467 allotment gardens indicates a high degree of satisfaction with this
468 part of the urban green—much more than with most of the public
469 urban green (Breuste 2007).

470 **Can Allotments be Good Places to Experience Nature?**

471 The U.K. was a forerunner in Europe for experiencing nature in
472 cities (e.g., Johnston 1990), including parks, forests, and succes-
473 sion land, but not including allotment gardens and other forms
474 of gardening. Experiencing nature was not listed as one of the eight
475 good reasons to get an allotment garden by the Royal Horticulture
476 Society (Royal Horticultural Society 2013). The definition of
477 “nature” must be broader and include all forms.

478 The allotment gardens are an excellent way to learn and under-
479 stand nature and its processes, to change behavior by this knowl-
480 edge and to teach younger generations. The city is one of the most
481 important places to learn about nature for the majority of people,
482 and allotments could be an important place for this. The results of
483 this Salzburg study show the existing importance of the role of
484 allotments in nature education. Two-thirds learned about nature

485 through gardening, and more than three-quarters value the allot-
486 ment as an important place for the new generations to learn about
487 nature.

488 There used to be many activities in Central European cities to
489 teach about nature on public property (Schemel 1998). Forests,
490 public parks, wetlands and other natural areas in cities have
491 been identified for their potential to offer nature experiences and
492 informally teach about nature, for example, through short walks.
493 The learning-by-doing and the passing knowledge on from one
494 generation to the next has been surprisingly underestimated or
495 even excluded from concepts of learning about nature in cities
496 (Register 2006).

497 Currently, there is no possible comparison of studies showing in
498 which areas—public urban green or allotment gardens—nature ob-
499 servation is more important. Determining which has more value is
500 also not very important. It is important, however, that allotment
501 areas should be regarded now also as places to learn about nature.
502 There is the potential to learn about nature not only on “community
503 wildlife sites” (Johnston 1990) but also on allotment gardens.

Changes of Allotment Structure and Management— Change of ES?

506 The allotment gardens have changed in structure tremendously over
507 the last 50 years. There is a shift from food production to beauty
508 and recreation. The plots are used more as leisure grounds than
509 productive sites. This has an important influence on the ecosystem
510 services provided by them. The food production is still of impor-
511 tance for those gardeners who express their interest in a controlled
512 and healthy food production and who do not trust the quality of
513 food provided by supermarkets anymore. It can be expected that
514 this group of gardeners can, in the future, increase further. Thus,
515 like domestic gardens, allotments address social and environmental
516 paradoxes of the late modern life where both function as a private
517 place for leisure and social isolation from a global world that is
518 confronted with increasing environmental, social, and consumer
519 concerns (Bhatti and Church 2004).

520 On the other hand, it is clearly visible that the gardeners do not
521 want to invest as much time as in the past for the garden manage-
522 ment, including vegetable beds, etc. The reduction of time for these
523 activities is linked to spending more time on physical recreation. It
524 should not be forgotten, however, that physical work in lesser pro-
525 portions is still an important part of gardening in the understanding
526 of most of the gardeners.

527 The equipment of gardens with leisure facilities has increased
528 significantly over the last several decades. Those amenities of the
529 allotment like the garden house, terraces, barbeques, and play-
530 grounds for children, even movable swimming pools have now
531 more share of the plot (Breuste 2010).

532 Allotment gardens have become leisure areas with interactive
533 learning and experiential opportunities about nature and natural
534 processes throughout the year. This is also supported by the results
535 of comparable studies on the subject (Atzensberger 2005;
536 Bargmann et al. 1989; Breuste et al. 1996; Breuste and Breuste
537 1994, 2000; Farny and Kleinlosen 1986; Koller 1988; Weber and
538 Neumann 1993) and includes a shift from productive to recreational
539 services and learning in a generally leisure-dominated society.

Healthy Food Production by Allotment Gardening

541 Food production is not the main service of allotments in Salzburg
542 and Germany (Atzensberger 2005; Bargmann et al. 1989; Breuste
543 and Breuste 1994; Farny and Kleinlosen 1986; Koller 1988; Weber
544 and Neumann 1993). This is perhaps different from other countries

545 (Kingsley et al. 2009; Leake et al. 2009; Turner 2011), especially
546 the United Kingdom (Degnen 2009). For instance, among the eight
547 reasons to get an allotment garden listed by the Royal Horticultural
548 Society (2013), three of them relate to food production (fruits and
549 vegetables).

550 For nearly half of the allotment gardeners, the actual production
551 of fruits and vegetables covers only up to 10% of their overall con-
552 sumption. The production of fruits and vegetables in Salzburg allot-
553 ment gardens has decreased over the last several years, but a growth
554 of this service can be expected when healthy food is more highly
555 valued than actual recreation. All allotment gardeners produce food
556 because of the health and taste argument. The fact that 44% never
557 use chemical fertilizers shows that healthy production of food is
558 important for them. As health (De Vries 2012; Dixon et al. 2009;
559 Ferres and Townshend 2012; Kingsley et al. 2009; Leake et al.
560 2009; Schoneboom 2010) and food security (Deppe 2010) in urban
561 societies become rising issues, it can be expected that the food
562 production service of allotments will change in the future. The
563 allotments and the allotment holders are prepared for this.
564 Activities like planting trees and shrubs and organic fertilization
565 of soils are already activities of most of the allotment gardeners.
566 McCormack et al. (2010) show in American community gardens
567 an already increased consumption of fresh fruit and vegetables.
568 To improve the sustainability of compact cities through local food
569 production (despite limited space), Tian et al. (2012) suggest
570 developing “sky gardens” on the roofs of buildings.

571 Conclusions

572 This study shows by a survey of allotment owners in Salzburg
573 (Austria) the importance of allotment gardens for providing ecosys-
574 tem services. In particular, the contact with and learning about
575 nature was identified as important ecosystem services including
576 also recreational purposes and gardening as basic human activities.
577 Moreover, this study shows that traditional food production is no
578 longer the main purpose of allotment gardens. The trend to reduce
579 the intensity of land use in allotment gardens means also a chance
580 to further develop other ecosystem services like habitat provision
581 and biodiversity from which urban residents gain by increased con-
582 tact with nature. The allotment gardens are part of the urban fabric
583 and a lesser known part of the urban green. This study shows that
584 allotments are as important and successful as domestic gardens and
585 urban parks by providing urban residents a range of ecosystem
586 services. Privately used urban green seems to be a crucial part
587 of the urban green infrastructure, providing important benefits as
588 this and other studies have shown. Therefore, further studies should
589 also include such private and semi-private urban green sites for
590 further investigation rather than focusing mostly on public urban
591 green. Further studies might also investigate why younger people
592 are less engaged in allotment gardens than elderly people.

593 It can be expected that allotments will gain even more impor-
594 tance in European cities due to a shift in lifestyle by modern society,
595 increasing awareness about environmental and social problems,
596 and ongoing urbanization. Therefore, urban planners and city man-
597 agement should be aware about the value of allotment gardens in
598 the urban fabric, which is confirmed by this study. It is surprising
599 that with this potential, allotment gardens are less privileged urban
600 green structures in comparison to others and very often lose to
601 development decisions.

602 There is an especially strong need to secure allotment garden
603 sites into the urban fabric primarily for recreation but also for
604 other ecosystem services and biodiversity. The demand to produce
605 healthy food by allotment gardeners will grow. Allotment gardens

606 can be a social and ecological stabilizing factor for urban
607 societies.

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