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Do Agrivoltaics Improve Public Support for Solar Photovoltaic Development?

Survey Says: Yes!

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Abstract

Agrivoltaic systems allow for the simultaneous production of solar-generated electricity and agriculture. As the climate change related impacts of conventional energy and food production intensify, finding strategies to increase the deployment of solar photovoltaic systems, preserve agricultural land, and minimize competing land uses is urgent. Given the proven technical, economic, and environmental advantages provided by agrivoltaic systems, increased proliferation is anticipated, which necessitates accounting for the nuances of community resistance to solar development on farmland. Minimizing siting conflict and addressing agricultural communities' concerns will be key in promoting public support for agrivoltaics, as localized acceptance of solar is a critical determinant of project success. This survey study assessed if public support for solar development increases when energy and agricultural production are combined in an agrivoltaic system. Results show that 81.8% of respondents would be more likely to support solar development in their community if it combined the production of both energy and agriculture. This increase in support for solar given the agrivoltaic approach highlights a development strategy that can improve local social acceptance and the deployment rate of solar photovoltaics. Survey respondents prefer agrivoltaic projects that a) are designed to provide economic opportunities for farmers and the local community b) are located on private property or existing agricultural land c) do not threaten local interests and d) ensure fair distribution of economic benefits. Proactively identifying what the public perceives as opportunities and concerns related to agrivoltaic development can help improve the design, business model, and siting of systems in the U.S. 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26

Keywords: agrivoltaics; solar development; social acceptance; public opinion; land use; energy siting

1. Introduction

Conventional fossil-fuel based energy production and agricultural land use are the leading sources of anthropogenic greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions (Cias et al., 2013). Solar photovoltaic (PV) energy is renewable, generates low emissions relative to fossil-fuel sources (Kreith et al., 1990), and is the cheapest source of electricity in the world (IEA, 2020); the increased deployment of PV systems will be instrumental in mitigating GHG emissions and the associated climate change impacts. Yet spatial constraints in large-scale solar PV development are eminent, as taking advantage of high solar resource availability implies continued open space development and competition for land that receives abundant solar insolation, specifically agricultural land (Dias et al., 2019; Adeh et al., 2019). The potential to deploy solar PV could be cut in half in areas where land is favored for agriculture rather than energy production (Dias et al., 2019), indicating that strategies for ameliorating conflicting land use trade-offs are requisite 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41

to enable continued large-scale PV development (Sacchelli et al., 2016). Additionally, instances of land use conflict related to solar energy development can give rise to community resistance (Carlisle et al., 2016); among the nuanced reasons for this localized opposition, land type and land use have been identified as critical for shaping public acceptability of solar development (Carlisle et al., 2015; Schelly et al., 2020). These coupled challenges signify that both land constraints for renewable energy (Calvert et al., 2013) and associated public perceptions will have implications on large-scale PV deployment, which emphasizes the need for enhanced development strategies that optimize land use and invoke community acceptance. 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49

Siting solar PV systems to be compatible with multiple uses is becoming an increasingly effective approach to address land constraints, and recent survey research has confirmed that mixed use solar projects, specifically on agricultural land, are among the most highly supported development types (Schelly et al., 2020). These mixed-use solar projects that combine PV electric generation and agricultural production are commonly known as agrivoltaic systems (Dupraz et al., 2011; Dinesh & Pearce, 2016). Agrivoltaic systems proactively integrate crop (e.g., Elamri et al., 2018) or livestock production (e.g., Andrew, 2020) with solar PV energy generation by leveraging a single plot of land for dual purposes. Agrivoltaic systems can simultaneously increase land use efficiency (Dupraz et al., 2011) and the economic value of farms (Mavani et al., 2019; Dinesh & Pearce, 2016), while providing rural employment opportunities (Proctor et al., 2021). Agrivoltaic applications are wide ranging and vary across geographic context, having been originally deployed with plant-based agriculture such as wheat (Dupraz et al., 2011), corn and maize (Amaducci et al., 2018; Sekiyama & Nagashima, 2019), aloe vera (Ravi et al., 2016), grapes (Malu et al., 2017), and lettuce (Marrou et al., 2013). Researchers studying the effects of co-locating crops with solar PV have discovered valuable auxiliary benefits to plants such as reduced temperature fluctuations (Bousselot et al., 2017), greater soil moisture retention (Hassanpour et al., 2018; Willockx et al., 2020), and increased resilience to drought stress (Barron-Gafford et al., 2019). Additionally, integrating animal husbandry on a solar PV array as a sustainable (environmentally and economically) form of vegetative maintenance has gained popularity (Ouzts, 2017; Mow, 2018; Lytle et al., 2020), and has been empirically determined to reduce greenhouse gas emissions and demand less fossil energy than conventional separate production (Pascaris et al., 2021a). A study by Proctor et al. (2021) found that only 0.94% of U.S. farmland would be needed to satisfy 20% of 2019 electricity generation using agrivoltaic systems. Additionally, research shows that converting only 1% of cropland to agrivoltaics could satisfy global energy demand with PV production (Adeh et al., 2019). Agrivoltaic systems may minimize land use trade-offs and consequently soften community resistance to solar infrastructure encroaching on arable land (Pascaris et al., 2021b). Although agrivoltaics have been amply demonstrated as a viable alternative to conventional ground-mounted solar development practice (Weselek et al., 2019), diffusion of the innovation may be suppressed by community opposition towards local energy development proposals, as previous research on renewable energy technology suggests (Bell et al., 2005, 2013; van der Horst, 2007; Evans et al., 2011; Boyd & Paveglio, 2015; Larson & Krannich, 2016). Given the proven economic, technical, and environmental advantages provided by agrivoltaic systems, increased proliferation is anticipated, which necessitates connecting this technology with the interests of agricultural communities and designing locally appropriate systems that minimize land use conflict (Pascaris et al., 2020; 2021b). Identifying the factors of agrivoltaic development that can minimize siting conflict and address agricultural communities' concerns will therefore be critical in promoting the acceptance of this technology. 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87

This study explores public perceptions about integrating solar PV with agricultural production in an agrivoltaic system and uses rabbit-based agrivoltaics as an example to help respondents conceptualize a livestock-based project when considering agrivoltaic development in their community. The objective is to understand if public support for agrivoltaics is higher than public support for conventional solar and if the development factors related to siting and land type that influence support for or opposition to solar are the same for both project types. By use of survey methodology, this research aims to measure if public support for solar development increases when energy and agricultural production are combined in an agrivoltaic system. The findings are discussed in the context of ongoing social science research concerned with resistance to energy development with the aim of providing insight applicable for solar developers, policy makers, and land use planners, as identified public preferences and concerns can inform enhanced development practices and facilitate increased deployment of agrivoltaic systems. 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

2. Previous Research 101

Given that agrivoltaics are a relatively nascent form of solar development, there is a dearth of social science research dedicated to investigating the social acceptability and perceptions of the technology. Existing research concerned with the social dimensions of agrivoltaic development suggests that community acceptance, farmer adoption, and local regulatory environments will play a crucial role in the broader realization of these systems (Ketzer et al., 2019; Pascaris, 2021; Pascaris et al., 2020, 2021b; Li et al., 2021). Based on previous theoretical and empirical studies related to social acceptance of renewable energy (RE) (e.g., Walker, 1995; van der Horst, 2007; Ansolabehere & Konisky, 2009; Sovacool, 2009; Batel et al., 2013; Fast, 2013), it is anticipated that successful deployment of agrivoltaics will necessitate sensitivity to and accommodation of public perceptions, especially rural perceptions, related to solar infrastructure on farmland. While majority of research related to social acceptance of RE is focused on wind (e.g., Wüstenhagen et al., 2007; Gross, 2007; Firestone et al., 2007, 2009, 2015; Mulvaney et al., 2013; Bessette & Mills, 2021) and less so on solar (Carlisle et al., 2014, 2015, 2016; Sovacool & Ratan, 2013; Schelly et al., 2020), the general concepts and factors identified as influential of support can be applied to develop a framework for understanding factors that may play a role in shaping public perceptions about agrivoltaic systems. 102 103 104 105 106 107 108 109 110 111 112 113 114 115 116 117 118

Previous research that investigates social perceptions about RE development confirm widespread public support (Bell et al., 2005, 2013; Wolsink, 2007), with solar energy being the most positively regarded type (Greenberg, 2009). Despite this high, general support for RE, many development efforts are challenged by localized opposition when it comes to the proposal of a specific facility in a community (e.g., Swofford & Slattery, 2010; Van Veelen & Haggett, 2017; Devine-Wright & Wiersma, 2020). Some scholarship dismisses explanations of this localized opposition as "NIMBY" syndrome, as this theory is empirically inconsistent and oversimplified (Wolsink, 2000; Devine-Wright, 2005, 2009). More recent literature characterizes localized opposition to RE development as a nuanced and complex social response, demonstrating that variation in support and opposition towards a specific project is influenced by a broad range of demographic (e.g., Firestone & Kempton, 2007; Greenberg, 2009), contextual (e.g., Wolsink, 2000; Warren & McFadyen, 2010), and socio-psychological factors (e.g., Firestone et al., 2015; Boyd & Paveglio, 2015; Mills et al., 2019), rather than mere proximity as the NIMBY theory suggests. 119 120 121 122 123 124 125 126 127 128 129 130 131 132

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Research focused on identifying factors that shape public support or opposition towards RE development in general provide broad insight into the factors that have a statistically significant influence on social acceptance. Contextual factors related to proximity and visual impact have been demonstrated to be important predictors of support or opposition to a development; proximity has been demonstrated to have a strong but variable influence on public attitudes (Warren et al., 2005; van der Horst, 2007) and public survey research has found greater acceptance for developments that are out of sight (Jones & Eiser, 2010). Larson & Krannich (2007) detail alternative predictors of attitudes towards RE development, identifying individual beliefs about opportunities and threats related to context-specific proposals as having implications on support for a local project (Gramling & Freudenburg, 1992). Other researchers demonstrate social acceptance of RE is a function of community perceptions related to procedural justice, public participation, and fairness in the planning process (Gross, 2007; Jacquet, 2015; Mills et al., 2019; Adesanya, 2021). Socio-economic opportunities and threats are also important factors that shape public perceptions about RE development (Ansolabehere & Konisky, 2009). Individual belief in potential economic opportunities, specifically in the context of rural economies, contribute to increased support for RE (Lindén et al., 2015). Public support for RE is also influenced by perceptions related to the distribution of economic benefits related to a project (Wolsink, 2007) (e.g., ownership of a solar site by a utility that manipulates rate structures to discourage distributed customer-owned PV (Prehoda et al., 2019) may be blocked by local opposition (UP MI, 2019)). Further, socio-psychological factors such as place identity and place attachment are central concepts related to public support and opposition to RE (e.g., Devine-Wright, 2011). Opposition to development is associated with one's positive identification with the land (Devine-Wright & Howes, 2010); those who have a particular sense of identity connected to rural landscapes have proven to be more likely to oppose RE development (van der Horst, 2007). Based on these studies, it is anticipated that public perceptions about visual impact, socio-economic opportunities and threats, and rural place attachment will prove consequential for local social acceptance of agrivoltaic development. 133 134 135 136 137 138 139 140 141 142 143 144 145 146 147 148 149 150 151 152 153 154 155 156 157 158 159

There is a scarcity of empirical research directly aimed at identifying factors that influence support or opposition to solar PV development in the U.S. (exceptions include Carlisle et al., 2014, 2015, 2016; Schelly et al., 2020). These studies have found rural residency (Carlisle et al., 2014, 2016), land type (Carlisle et al., 2016; Schelly et al., 2020) and distribution of economic benefits (Schelly et al., 2020) to have strong influence on public perceptions related to solar projects. A survey by Carlisle et al. (2016) found that rural residents are more likely to oppose local solar development than urban residents, suggesting that rural communities perceive land use differently. Schelly et al. (2020) found that solar developments that are co-located with other land uses and those that provide income opportunities to farmers receive highest levels of public support, representing key factors that may be important in shaping attitudes towards agrivoltaic development. The factors that influence support or opposition to solar PV development in the U.S. identified by these studies provide a foundation for exploring public perceptions about agrivoltaics. To build upon this body of scholarship and contribute novel insights related to perceptions about agrivoltaic systems, this study investigates if preserving rural interests in solar development by retaining the agricultural function of the land increases public support for a project. 160 161 162 163 164 165 166 167 168 169 170 171 172 173 174 175

3. Methodology 176

This study used survey methodology to analyze differences in public support between conventional solar and agrivoltaic development. In alignment with the purpose of this research, survey is the preferred method to test hypotheses about differences in support for solar development alternatives. Based on previous survey studies on public perceptions about solar development in general (Carlisle et al., 2014; 2015; 2016; Schelly et al., 2020), there was reason to anticipate that support for agrivoltaics will be influenced by residential characteristics (i.e., rural versus urban), type of land being developed, proximity of a project, and financial model. Because a survey by Carlisle et al. (2016) found that rural residents are less supportive of solar in their community than those living in urban areas, it was reasonable to presume that agrivoltaic projects will be perceived differently by individuals of differing residential characteristic, specifically because these projects necessitate placement on agricultural land and therefore are more likely to impact rural communities, both in terms of employment opportunity (Proctor et al., 2020), and land development (Adeh et al., 2019). Because Schelly et al. (2020) found that mixed-use solar projects located on agricultural land are among the most highly supported development types, it was expected that support for agrivoltaic projects will be higher than support for conventional solar. The survey method allowed us to test our expectations about differences in support for solar development alternatives and then logically generalize our findings beyond our two case study regions to help inform agrivoltaic development practice in the U.S. 177 178 179 180 181 182 183 184 185 186 187 188 189 190 191 192 193 194 195

3.1 Case Study Selection

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This study was conducted in the United States in two separate counties of the central U.S.: Lubbock County, Texas and Houghton County, Michigan. The U.S. Census Bureau (2019) estimated Lubbock's population to be 310,569 and Houghton's to be 35,684 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2019a, 2019b). Both counties are relatively rural with pockets of population centers; Lubbock County has a population density per square mile of 311.3 persons, whereas Houghton County has a population density per square mile of 36.3 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2019a, 2019b). Because there is an 8-fold difference in population density between counties, it was hypothesized that public perceptions about land development may vary across these case studies. Additionally, these counties represent areas of potential for economic development from agriculture and renewable energy given their existing community interests and are therefore geographically salient for exploring perceptions about alternative solar development types. By sampling counties in both the northern and southern regions of the U.S., this study was able to compare support for solar development alternatives across populations with varying characteristics and derive insight into variation in public perspectives based on geographic location. 198 199 200 201 202 203 204 205 206 207 208 209 210 211 212

These counties share similar sociodemographic characteristics in terms of age, education, and median household income (see Table 1), which permits consideration of factors beyond demographics as influential in shaping public perception towards local solar and agrivoltaic development. Despite these demographic similarities, these locations vary in terms of geography and climate. Located in the American Southwest, Lubbock has an annual high temperature of 74°F and an annual average snowfall of 9 inches (U.S. Climate Data, 2021a), compared to Houghton located in the northern-Midwest that experiences an annual high temperature of 49°F and an annual average snowfall of 208 inches (U.S. Climate Data, 2021b). Additionally, Lubbock County receives 4.3 kWh/m²/day of solar irradiance whereas Houghton County 213 214 215 216 217 218 219 220 221

receives only 4.0 kWh/m²/day (NREL, 2021) and has some of the worst snow-related solar losses in the country (Heidari et al.,2015). Therefore, Lubbock County is a good alternative case to Houghton County because contrast in climate may play an impactful role in resident's perceptions about the efficacy of solar in their region and in the feasibility of agrivoltaic development in their communities. 222 223 224 225 226

3.2 Procedure 227

A mail survey with the option for online completion of an identical questionnaire was administered to both Lubbock County and Houghton County residents. The survey was launched in October 2020 and was closed in January 2021. A financial incentive of \$2 was included with the mailed survey to stimulate a higher response rate. The survey participants were contacted in two waves; the first wave included a postcard with information to access the online survey, while the second wave included the full printed survey, the \$2 incentive, and return postage. Online survey data were collected using Qualtrics software (Qualtrics, 2005) and exported to IBM SPSS Statistics (version 26) (IBM Corp., 2019), whereas mail survey data were manually input into a spreadsheet and exported to SPSS for statistical analysis. Digital landowner parcel maps from both counties were used as the sample frames from which a simple random sample of households was drawn and recruited as study participants with a sample size of approximately 1,000 respondents per county. The motive behind this sampling strategy was to collect responses from individuals who reside in these counties as their primary residence in order to examine county resident perceptions towards solar and agrivoltaic development in their local community. The sample frame for Houghton County was acquired from the Houghton County Tax Equalization Department and this frame is composed of all property or parcel owners in the county as of the year 2010 (Houghton County, 2021). The Houghton County frame was first manually cleaned using property ownership names to remove all non-household units (businesses, churches, trusts, etc.) prior to sampling. The sample frame for Lubbock County was obtained from the Texas Natural Resources Information System online database (TNRIS, 2019). The information on this frame is from 2019 and was recorded at the county level using a standardized schema that classifies land parcel types based on State of Texas legal land use codes. This coding scheme was used to distinguish residential land parcels from commercial or industrial parcels to filter out non-household cases prior to sampling. Utilizing these land use codes and manual identification of ownership attributes, entities that did not belong in the target population of county residents such as vacant lots, open-space agricultural land, commercial, industrial, and utility parcels were removed from the dataset in order to refine a sample frame representing real residential parcels in Houghton County and Lubbock County. A final query of both datasets was conducted to remove any duplicate addresses to ensure equal probabilities of selection among households. 228 229 230 231 232 233 234 235 236 237 238 239 240 241 242 243 244 245 246 247 248 249 250 251 252 253 254 255 256

3.3 Sample 257

Table 1 compares the county population characteristics of Lubbock and Houghton counties to the survey respondent characteristics of our sample on selected sociodemographic variables relevant to representing our target populations. Table 1 shows that small differences between our sample and the target population exist with respect to age, education, and income. Our survey respondents were slightly older and more educated (as well as slightly wealthier in Lubbock County) than the counties as a whole. However, these differences are to be expected when considering that our goal was to represent landowners in both counties who tend to be older, wealthier, and more educated than non-landowners as is typically found in most 258 259 260 261 262 263 264 265

landowner surveys (e.g., Soskin & Squires, 2013). In that sense, the sample and respondents for this study adequately represent the target population of private landowners in both Lubbock and Houghton counties. 266 267 268

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Table 1: Comparing county population characteristics to survey respondent characteristics on selected sociodemographic variables.

A total of 176 survey responses were collected from a sample of 2,012 households, which resulted in a cumulative response rate of 8.7%. Of the survey respondents, 60 (34%) were from Lubbock County, 91 (51%) from Houghton County, and 25 (14%) were unidentifiable by location. Response rate varied between the two counties: 60 of 1,004 households completed the survey in Lubbock (5.9% response rate), and 91 of 1,008 households completed the survey in Houghton (9% response rate). The effective sample size (176) resulted in a sampling error of 7% at the 95% confidence level. Sampling error in Lubbock county is 12% and 10% in Houghton county. While the findings of this study will only be statistically relevant to the target population, they can be logically generalized to other counties in the U.S. that share similar sociodemographic characteristics. The key features of the counties included in this study that should be compared to other U.S. counties to safely generalize the survey findings include population density, climate, average age, education, and median household income. The responses collected from this sample can inform logical inferences about what communities that share similar characteristics think about combined solar energy and agriculture systems. 271 272 273 274 275 276 277 278 279 280 281 282 283 284

3.4 Survey Design 285

Survey items were designed to identify factors of importance in local solar or agrivoltaic development and planning, and to observe if incorporating an agricultural function to a solar system increases public support for a project. The development and planning factors included in this study (independent variables) were based on analytic concepts in the literature and existing variables that have been found to influence public perceptions towards energy development, such as land type (Schelly et al., 2020), residential characteristics (Carlisle et al., 2016), socio-286 287 288 289 290 291

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¹,4 Most common total annual household income range $\overline{2}$

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economic opportunities and threats (Ansolabehere & Konisky, 2009), distribution of project benefits (Wolsink, 2007), and place-attachment (Devine-Wright, 2011). These factors were loosely organized into five categories: siting, distribution of benefits, economics, environment, and place-protective considerations. These categories of factors were used throughout the survey to identify benefits and concerns respondents perceive to be associated with solar and agrivoltaic development in their community; measure the relative importance of factors with respect to support; and compare development and planning factors that were perceived as important for solar versus agrivoltaic projects. Answer categories for questions about factors related to support for local solar and agrivoltaic projects were based on a five-category Likert scale from 1 (strongly oppose) to 5 (strongly support). Answer categories for questions about factors related to project planning were based on a four-category Likert scale from 0 (not at all important) to 3 (extremely important). These response items were intended to provide insight into the variations in preference among the different considerations involved in solar development, and more specifically, agrivoltaic projects. Beyond the independent variables measured as development and planning factors, other independent variables included were general sociodemographic characteristics such as age, gender, education, political affiliation, and median income household because previous survey research demonstrates correlation between these variables and public support for renewable energy. Devine-Wright (2008) provides reference to several studies which have found that younger individuals, those with more education, democratic political ideology, and higher household income are more likely to support renewable energy. A complete survey protocol is provided in the Appendix. 292 293 294 295 296 297 298 299 300 301 302 303 304 305 306 307 308 309 310 311 312

The main dependent variable in this study is a measure of marginal increase in support for solar based on the agrivoltaic approach. Support for agrivoltaics relative to support for conventional solar was captured by questions related to various development and planning factors and a single question intended to measure direct increase in support for mixed-use projects. Nuances in support based on development and planning factors were captured through the five-category Likert-scale type questions described above (strongly oppose-strongly support) and direct increase in support was gauged by asking the following question, "Would you be more likely to support a solar project near you if it combined the production of both energy and food?" The answer categories range from less likely to support, do not support, to more likely to support, with an option to denote "it depends" and provide explanation. This measure allows us to observe marginal changes in support for local solar development based on an introduced agricultural function, rather than observe direct levels of absolute public support for agrivoltaics. 313 314 315 316 317 318 319 320 321 322 323 324

To investigate if support for conventional mid-to-large scale solar development versus agrivoltaic development differ, a project scenario was presented with an identical series of factors and a corresponding 5-category Likert scale from 1 (strongly oppose) to 5 (strongly support). The scenario provided information to respondents about conventional solar development in terms of land use, spatial requirements, and electricity output, and then described the distinction between a traditional solar project and an agrivoltaic project (i.e., retention of agricultural production). Participants were asked to indicate which of the development factors (independent variables described above) listed would shape their support or opposition for the two solar system scenarios in their local community. This measure was intended to provide insight into differences in attitudes towards each system based on the introduced agricultural function and measure marginal increase in support for solar given the agrivoltaic approach. 325 326 327 328 329 330 331 332 333 334 335

3.5 Analysis 336

Among survey respondents, some withheld indication of their county of residence. This missing value error resulted in three separate groups of data. ANOVA tests were used to compare differences across county groupings (Lubbock, Houghton, unidentified) related to support for local solar and agrivoltaic projects, development and planning factors of importance, and reasons to support or be concerned about agrivoltaic systems. Differences across county groupings with respect to support and factors of importance were negligible and failed to demonstrate statistical significance. Responses across county groupings were nearly identical to each other on all tested variables. Additionally, participants were prompted to categorize the area in which they live as urban, suburban, rural, or other. This variable was recoded as a binary (0= urban and suburban residents, 1= rural residents) prior to analysis to explore differences in attitudes towards local solar and agrivoltaic development between respondents of varying residential characteristics. Contrary to expected differences in rural versus urban perceptions about solar (Carlisle et al., 2016), this study found no statistically significant distinctions between the groups. Based on the lack of statistically significant differences between counties in terms of support, factors of importance, and resident types, all data was aggregated for analysis. 337 338 339 340 341 342 343 344 345 346 347 348 349 350 351

4. Results 352

Results indicate that an overwhelming majority of respondents (71.8%) generally support solar development in their community (7% margin of error). Further, 81.8% of respondents declared they would be *more likely* to support solar development in their community if it combined the production of both energy and agriculture, which indicates a marginal increase in support for solar given the agrivoltaic approach. The key development and planning factors identified as most important to respondents in terms of support for agrivoltaic systems include income opportunities for farmers (89%) and local economies (88%). The key factors identified as most important to respondents in terms of opposition to agrivoltaics include siting considerations related to visibility (32%) and land type (preference for siting on agricultural land (68%) or private property (60%) versus public property (54%)), and distribution of project benefits (25%), which are equivalent to the most important factors related to solar development in general. Multivariate logistic regression results indicate that preference for project siting on existing agricultural land ($p < .05$), project construction by a local company ($p < .1$), opposition to siting on public property ($p < .05$) or opposition to local development in general ($p < .01$) have a statistically significant influence on support levels for agrivoltaics relative to conventional solar. Survey respondents prefer agrivoltaic projects that a) are designed to provide economic opportunities for farmers and the local community b) are located on private property or existing agricultural land c) do not threaten local interests and d) ensure fair distribution of economic benefits. 353 354 355 356 357 358 359 360 361 362 363 364 365 366 367 368 369 370 371

4.1 Comparing Key Factors That Influence Support 372

The survey first prompted participants to indicate which of the listed factors would shape their support or opposition for mid-to large-scale solar and agrivoltaic development in their community. Comparison of the frequency distributions presented in Figures 1 and 2 illustrate that there are no notable differences in the factors that influence support for solar versus support for agrivoltaics. Across the two scenarios, the same factors remain important to respondents when conceptualizing their support for alternative solar development types in their community. For example, the percent of respondents (89%) indicating support or strong support for projects that provide additional income to farmers remains constant across the two development types. 373 374 375 376 377 378 379 380

Factors related to local economic and environmental benefits, and project siting on public property remain equally important between development types, only varying by up to 3%. The key factors found to be most important for shaping support for both solar and agrivoltaics are related to economics. Benefits to local farmers by providing additional income (89%) and benefits to the local economy (91% solar; 88% agrivoltaic) were identified by respondents as the most important development factors, as indicated by the highest reported levels of support and strong support for these factors. 381 382 383 384 385 386 387

When comparing factors that influence opposition to conventional solar (Figure 1) and agrivoltaics (Figure 2), the same factors were found to be important across both scenarios. The key factors that influence opposition are related to siting. Frequency distribution results show that projects that are developed on land that is valued by the community, visible from one's property, or located on public property increases respondent opposition to solar. The only notable difference between the two scenarios is that respondents who reported opposition or strong opposition for a project that is visible from their property increases by 6% when it incorporates an agricultural function. Given that these values represent respondent opposition as a range plus or minor a margin of error of 7%, this increase in opposition to visibility of an agrivoltaic project is not significant. 388 389 390 391 392 393 394 395 396 397

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Figure 1: Responses Indicating Which Factors Shape Support or Opposition to Local Conventional Solar Development. 399 400

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Figure 2: Responses Indicating Which Factors Shape Support or Opposition to Local Agrivoltaic Development.

When respondents were asked directly if they support solar development generally in their community, 71.8% concur, 6.8% do not, and those who selected "it depends" (14.7%) and provided explanations reveal that perceptions mostly center on opposition to government subsidies that use taxpayer funds to finance solar. These results suggest that some respondents' support for solar is not related to nuances in place-based considerations or siting factors, but is more generally related to government regulation and financing of energy technologies. Of the 25 (14.7%) respondents who declare their support for solar as context-dependent (i.e., "it depends"), seven (28%) discuss opposition to government support and preference for private financing. Because the percentage of participants concerned with government subsidies for solar energy is small relative to the total sample, it is maintained that these concerns are less salient than those associated with localized, place-based considerations and siting factors and are therefore less relevant to assessing change in support for different solar development types. 404 405 406 407 408 409 410 411 412 413 414 415

4.2 Planning for Agrivoltaics: Priorities and Concerns 416

To inform the agrivoltaic planning and development process, the survey presented respondents with the following prompt: "When it comes to planning for combined solar and agriculture (agrivoltaic) projects in your community, please rate the following factors in terms of their importance to you." Respondents ranked the importance of factors related to siting, distribution of benefits, economics, environment, and place-protective considerations on a fourcategory Likert scale from 0 (not at all important) to 3 (extremely important). Frequency distribution results are presented in Figure 3. When it comes to planning for agrivoltaics, 66.5% of respondents indicate that designing projects to provide jobs and other forms of local economic development is extremely important. Additionally, 55.7% of respondents noted the extreme 417 418 419 420 421 422 423 424 425

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importance of designing projects that do not threaten or alter local interests. Projects that are designed to provide supplemental income for farmers and to provide lower electric rates for ratepayers were also raised as equally critical, with 52.8% of respondents indicating both of these planning factors are extremely important. Each of these reported percentages has a corresponding 7% margin of error.

Figure 3: Factors of Importance When Planning for Agrivoltaic Projects

Figure 4 illustrates the frequency distribution of respondent's reasons to support agrivoltaic development. Participants were presented with the following prompt: "When it comes to developing a combined solar and agriculture (agrivoltaic) project in your community, which of the following would you identify as benefits or reasons you would not support? (Please select all that apply)." Results indicate that respondents perceive providing income to local farmers (75%) and the production of local food (75%) as the most important reasons to support an agrivoltaic project. A project that benefits local economies by providing jobs and investment was also found to be of high importance among respondents (73%), indicating that the main reasons for public support for agrivoltaics are related to place-based economic benefits for agricultural communities. It is interesting to observe that "efficient use of land" was the lowest reported reason to support agrivoltaic systems despite their intention to maximize land use. This suggests that drivers of support are more related to local economic benefits and agricultural interests rather than land use efficiency, as indicated by higher frequency of responses for these measures. Each of these reported percentages has a corresponding 7% margin of error. 433 434 435 436 437 438 439 440 441 442 443 444 445 446

Figure 4: Frequencies of Identified Benefits or Reasons to Support Agrivoltaic Development 448

Figure 5 presents the frequency distribution of concerns related to agrivoltaic development in one's community. Participants were presented with the following prompt: "When it comes to developing a combined solar and agriculture (agrivoltaic) project in your community, which of the following would you identify as concerns or reasons you would not support? (Please select all that apply)." The majority of respondents (47%) expressed that they were not concerned with any of the potential agrivoltaic development issues that were presented. The most frequently identified concern among respondents (35%) is related to unfair distribution of the project's economic benefits, which may reflect distrust in an equitable business model between developers and farmers. Visual impact of an agrivoltaic project ranks second in concern (19%), while all other factors listed were selected by less than 15% of respondents. Each of these reported percentages has a corresponding 7% margin of error. 449 450 451 452 453 454 455 456 457 458 459

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Figure 5: Frequencies of Identified Concerns or Reasons to Oppose Agrivoltaic Development

To assess the social viability of the novel rabbit-based agrivoltaic concept advanced by this case study project and to inform potential mixed-use applications, survey respondents were prompted to rate if they believed rabbits are an appropriate source of meat on a 5-category Likert scale, and they were asked the following question: "Would you be more inclined to purchase rabbit meat for consumption if it were pasture raised in a combined solar and agriculture system?" A total of 44.4% of respondents agree and strongly agree that rabbits are an appropriate meat source, and 30.7% of respondents declared they would be more inclined to purchase meat that was raised in an agrivoltaic system. This result indicates public inclination towards agricultural products that are grown in conjunction with a solar system. 463 464 465 466 467 468 469 470 471

4.3 Identifying Factors That Significantly Influence Support 472

Multivariate logistic regression was used to investigate which sociodemographic variables, development factors, and perceived benefits and concerns have a statistically significant influence on marginal increase in support for agrivoltaics relative to conventional solar. This form of regression was necessary because the dependent variable (marginal change in support) was considered dichotomously (do not support and less likely to support=0, more likely to support=1). Marginal increase in support for solar given the agrivoltaic approach was measured by prompting participants to answer the following question: "Would you be more likely to support a solar project near you if it combined the production of both energy and food?" Multivariate logistic regression allows us to examine the strength of each variable separately while all other variables within the model are held constant, giving us insight into which sociodemographic variables, development factors, and perceived benefits and concerns matter most with respect to increased public support for agrivoltaics over conventional solar. 473 474 475 476 477 478 479 480 481 482 483 484

A regression model investigating the relationship between all measured sociodemographic variables and marginal change in support for local solar development given the agrivoltaic approach was constructed. Contrary to the anticipated influence of sociodemographic variables on public support for renewable energy suggested by previous survey research (discussed in subsection 3.4), the results of this analysis found that no sociodemographic variables have a statistically significant influence on increased support for solar given the agrivoltaic approach. The inability to detect any significant relationships between sociodemographic variables and increased support for agrivoltaics over conventional solar development may be a result of low survey response rate or small sample size. 485 486 487 488 489 490 491 492 493

Results of the regression model examining relationships between development factors with marginal change in support for local solar development given the agrivoltaic approach (Table 2) reveal that location on existing agricultural land ($p < .05$) or public property ($p < .05$) and project construction by a local company $(p < .1)$ are statistically significant factors that impact support levels. A \mathbb{R}^2 value of 0.41 indicates that this model as a whole explains 41.1% of variance in increased respondent support for agrivoltaics. Individuals who denote project siting on existing agricultural land is an important factor shaping their support are 5 times more likely to experience increased support for local agrivoltaic development versus conventional solar $(β=4.94)$. This siting factor is significant at the 95% confidence level. Individuals who are opposed to development on public property are 4 times less likely to experience marginal increase in support for solar given the agrivoltaic approach (β =0.25). This siting factor is significant slightly below the 95% confidence level (94.8%). Project construction by a local company was also found as a statistically significant development factor influencing change in support; every 1-unit increase in support for projects built by a local company causes respondents to be 5.5 times less likely to experience marginal increase in support for solar given the agrivoltaic approach (β=0.18). This factor is significant just below the 95% confidence level (93.6%). Given that this model is moderately strong $(R^2=0.41)$ in terms of ability to explain variance in changes in support for alternative approaches to solar development, variables that exhibit statistically significant influence on support up to the 90% confidence level should be considered meaningful for interpreting marginal increases in support. 494 495 496 497 498 499 500 501 502 503 504 505 506 507 508 509 510 511 512 513

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Table 2: Logistic regression model summary: examining relationships between development factors with marginal change in support for local solar development given the agrivoltaic approach.

Two separate regression modes investigated the relationship between 1) perceived benefits and 2) concerns with changes in support for alternative development types. The result of the first model found no statistically significant relationships between perceived system benefits and increase in support for solar given the agrivoltaic approach. The results of the second model found that those who do not want any land in their community to be developed are 37 times less likely to experience changes in support levels for alternative development types (β =.027; p < .01). Respondents that were not concerned with any of the development factors presented are 11.7 times more likely to support agrivoltaics over conventional solar (β =11.71; p < .01). This model resulted in an R^2 value of 0.419, indicating the 41.9% of the variation in increased support for agrivoltaics relative to solar can be explained by concerns related to local agrivoltaic development. While these findings are intuitive, they indicate that opposition to local development far outweighs all other concerns when it comes to explaining changes in support for alternative development types. 519 520 521 522 523 524 525 526 527 528 529 530 531

5. Discussion 532

This survey study provides an initial foundation for understanding public perceptions about agrivoltaic systems in the U.S. and identifies an increase in support for local solar development given the agrivoltaic approach. Being the first to determine what the public perceives as prospective opportunities or concerns related to agrivoltaic development, the results offer a novel contribution to discussions about social acceptance and diffusion of the technology. By assessing if combining energy and agricultural production in a single land use system increases public support for solar projects, this study reveals insight about approaches to development that can improve local social acceptance and the deployment rate of solar photovoltaics. A better understanding of how the public perceives agrivoltaic technology can help solar developers and land use planners work together to design projects that account for community preferences and concerns. Proactively identifying what the public perceives as opportunities and concerns related 533 534 535 536 537 538 539 540 541 542 543

to agrivoltaic development can help improve the design, business model, and siting of systems in the U.S. Having engaged residents of counties in both the north and south of the U.S., the results can be logically generalized beyond the survey target populations to communities with similar characteristics. 544 545 546 547

The findings of this study provide further evidence that land use and land type are critical factors that shape the social acceptability of solar development, which is in alignment with relevant survey research (Carlisle et al., 2016; Schelly et al., 2020). Schelly et al. (2020) found that public perceptions about solar development are shaped by the type of land being replaced by a ground-mounted array, a finding that is confirmed by this study as results indicate strong public preference for projects that are located on private property or agricultural land versus public property, whether or not it is a mixed-use system. Results also indicate that leveraging a single plot of land to provide two valuable functions (renewable energy and agriculture) generates an increase in support for local solar development; 81.8% of survey respondents indicated they would be more likely to support a solar project in their community that combines both energy and food production. This suggests that people perceive agrivoltaic systems more positively than conventional solar developments and highlights potential to increase support for solar among rural residents, who are most likely to host agrivoltaic projects. The results of this survey also reveals that individuals value that agrivoltaic projects can provide economic benefit to farmers, create local jobs and investment, and empower the production of local food, which implies the importance of prioritizing these development factors in the planning process to increase public support and promote community acceptance (Pascaris et al., 2021b). Based on the factors identified as important when planning for agrivoltaic projects (Figure 3), being deliberate in providing economic opportunities to farmers and the local community in the form of jobs will be influential in gaining public support for a development. Because results reveal that the main concern with agrivoltaic projects is related to the distribution of economic benefits, which was also found by Schelly et al. (2020) regarding solar in general, developers seeking receptivity from a community will need to ensure transparency in the planned business model in order to minimize public concerns with distributive justice. 548 549 550 551 552 553 554 555 556 557 558 559 560 561 562 563 564 565 566 567 568 569 570 571

When comparing factors of importance between solar and agrivoltaic projects, nearly identical trends in perceptions are observed. The key factors found to shape support for both solar and agrivoltaics are related to economics, suggesting that communities are most interested in the financial aspects of local energy development. Because the same factors remain important to respondents when conceptualizing their support for solar or agrivoltaic development in their community, the findings of previous survey studies on perceptions about solar (Carlisle et al., 2014; 2015; 2016; Schelly et al. 2020) provide logical representation of perceptions about agrivoltaics. The similar trends in perceptions about solar and agrivoltaic projects is valuable for continued efforts to understand and accommodate societal concerns in the deployment of agrivoltaic projects. 572 573 574 575 576 577 578 579 580 581

The results of this study align with previous research that acknowledges support for renewable energy is far more nuanced than the simplistic NIMBY theory suggests (e.g., Devine-Wright, 2005). Because responses reveal perceptions vary according to land type, siting, and financial models, it will be critical to account for these nuances in perception in the agrivoltaic planning and development process to minimize public opposition. Soliciting feedback from the public and incorporating their values and concerns in project development can increase social acceptance (Jacquet, 2015) and help solar developers design successful projects. 582 583 584 585 586 587 588

This survey used a general conceptual model to gauge public support for agrivoltaics rather than denoting a specific location in respondent's communities, which limited the ability to capture the effect of place-attachment or proximity on public perception. Future work could address this limitation by providing context-specific detail about a proposed development to capture responses that that are more anchored in place and reflect sentiment towards places of community value, which may help guide agrivoltaic siting practice. In addition, this study focused specifically on land-based PV, however, the same study could be repeated for the burgeoning field of floating PV (or floatovoltaics) (Dhas, 2014; Kumar, et al. 2018; Hayibo, et al., 2020) with aquavoltaics, which is another approach to maximize surface area utility by combining PV with aquaculture (Pringle et al., 2017; Hsiao, et al. 2021). While this survey used rabbit-based agrivoltaics as an example to help respondents conceptualize a livestock-based project in their community, it is beyond the scope of this paper to give full treatment to the data collected pertaining to perceptions about rabbits. Future research on public perceptions about agrivoltaics could consider that livestock-based applications add another dimension to social acceptance of these systems, as they entail not only land use and solar development, but meat production and consumption as well. Comparing levels of support for alternative agrivoltaic project types (i.e., crop versus livestock) could identify which sorts of applications are more favorable and less likely to invoke opposition, which may help solar developers better appeal to a community as they pursue mixed-use systems. 589 590 591 592 593 594 595 596 597 598 599 600 601 602 603 604 605 606 607

5.1 Policy Implications 608

The findings of this survey study can be used to provide guidance for developers and local governments seeking increased deployment of agrivoltaics as they inform the siting, planning, and design of land use policy that prioritizes public preferences and concerns in development. Effective land use policies that intentionally allow solar on designated farmland can be formulated by considering what development factors are important to the public (economic opportunities to farmers and local economy, land type) and what issues are perceived as the biggest concerns (threat to local interests, distribution of economic benefits). As the costs of solar PV have plummeted (Feldman et al., 2021), it is now often economically favorable to replace cash crops like tobacco with PV farms (Krishnan & Pearce, 2018). Although it is a net benefit for society to eliminate tobacco production (WHO, 2011), this is not the case when renewable energy displaces food, which can raise prices and increase hunger of the impoverished (Mitchell, 2008). Agrivoltaic systems represent a sustainable solution to this land use constraint (Miskin et al., 2019). Fortunately, the results of this study indicate that respondents prefer solar projects that are designed to provide multiple benefits. The results also show that respondents prefer solar projects located on private property or existing agricultural land, which can directly advise land use planners in developing agrivoltaic siting criteria. Further, proactively avoiding threat to local interests and priorities was identified as extremely important among respondents when planning for agrivoltaic projects; this highlights the importance of including the public in the planning process to meaningfully incorporate existing agricultural practices in system design and to ensure that the project represents the interests and identity of the host community. Addressing concerns about unfair distribution of project benefits could include the establishment of contracts between solar developers and farmers that are accessible to the public and outline costs and compensation for both parties (Pascaris et al., 2020). 609 610 611 612 613 614 615 616 617 618 619 620 621 622 623 624 625 626 627 628 629 630 631

Given that local governments have ultimate jurisdiction over energy siting, zoning strategies and land use polices can be leveraged as the most formidable catalyst to facilitate 632 633

agrivoltaic development in the U.S. (Pascaris, 2021). Communities can frame solar development as a means to serve existing goals such as economic growth or farmland preservation by amending or designing zoning regulations that are explicitly permissive of solar (Light et al., 2020). Becker (2019) offers examples of such zoning ordinances. To ensure that economic opportunities for farmers are prioritized in solar development, local governments may consider being permissive of solar on farmland if the system meets conditional requirements related to retaining the agricultural function of the land beneath the panels. By designing solar system standards, local governments can influence agrivoltaic development practice in a way that ensures these systems are located on existing farmland or private property and do not compromise agricultural productivity, therefore providing direct economic benefit to farmers. Minimizing development impacts on long term land productivity and providing compensation to farmers will be critical in supporting the deployment of agrivoltaic systems (Pascaris et al., 2020), which indicates the need to incorporate these considerations in the design of agrivoltaic projects and policies. Local regulations that are permissive of solar set the initial foundation for communities to further consider the specifics of what type, what scale, and where projects can be developed. It is common for local governments to formulate different zoning requirements that are contingent on the type of development; zoning to allow for agrivoltaics would require land use planners to consider confining projects to certain districts, set standards for decommissioning, and provide flexible site requirements based on the proposed system duration and type (Pascaris, 2021). The use of overlay districts may be the most straight-forward policy tool available to land use planners who wish to allow agrivoltaics yet be strategic in controlling the siting of projects. The New York Solar Energy Research and Development Authority (NSYERDA) offers instructions for municipalities to advance solar development while protecting farmland by using special use permits (2021). 634 635 636 637 638 639 640 641 642 643 644 645 646 647 648 649 650 651 652 653 654 655 656 657

Local level land use policies that accommodate solar energy siting on agricultural land will be critical to the deployment of agrivoltaic systems. Planners and developers may consider the findings of this survey when they pursue agrivoltaic development; analysis of the survey results indicate that being deliberate in siting these systems in places that are less likely to elicit opposition (private property and farmland), incorporating existing local interests, and prioritizing benefits to farmers and the local economy will be consequential in gaining host community acceptance. Because this study found an increase in support for solar given the agrivoltaic approach, policy makers wanting to encourage low-carbon energy development and solar developers that are challenged with PV siting could simultaneously increase public support and the deployment rate of solar by pursuing agrivoltaic projects. 658 659 660 661 662 663 664 665 666 667

6. Conclusions 668

This survey study assessed if public support for solar development increases when energy and agricultural production are combined in an agrivoltaic system. Results show that 81.8% of respondents would be more likely to support solar development in their community if it combined the production of both energy and agriculture. This increase in support for solar given the agrivoltaic approach highlights a development strategy that can improve local social acceptance and the deployment rate of solar photovoltaics. The key factors identified as most important to respondents in terms of agrivoltaic development in their community include income opportunities for farmers and local economies, siting considerations related to land type (i.e., private versus public) and visibility, and distribution of project benefits, which are comparable to the most important factors related to supporting solar in general. Survey respondents prefer 669 670 671 672 673 674 675 676 677 678

agrivoltaic projects that a) are designed to provide economic opportunities for farmers and the local community b) are located on private property or existing agricultural land c) do not threaten local interests and d) ensure fair distribution of economic benefits. These results offer an opportunity to advance agrivoltaic system deployment in a manner that reflects societal concerns and to refine local land use policy to support increased solar development - an opportunity that should not be neglected, given eminent environmental and societal challenges related to growing energy and food demands, land use constraints, and climate change. 679 680 681 682 683 684 685

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Declaration of Interest Statement 691

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Disclaimer 695

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3. **Now we're going to ask you about the factors that would shape your support or opposition for agrivoltaic (combined solar and agriculture systems) solar development in your community.** 975 976 977

Conventional solar development projects use turf grass or include the costs of maintaining short grass underneath the solar panels. Agrivoltaics, in contrast, combines solar energy projects with agricultural production underneath the panels, including either vegetable crop or animal livestock production. 979 980 981 982

There are varying sizes and applications of agrivoltaics, combined solar and agriculture systems. A one-megawatt system requires approximately 8 acres (about the size of 6 football fields), which would produce 1MW of electricity, provide the energy needed to power 250 U.S. households, and sustain 128 pasture-fed rabbits each year. The rabbits can provide additional income for farmers and/or investors as meat or pets while also reducing the cost of maintaining the solar system by keeping the grass shorter underneath the panels. 984 985 986 987 988 989 990

Please indicate which of the factors listed below would shape your *support or opposition for agrivoltaic development specifically* in your community: 991 992 993

Strongly oppose Oppose | Neutral | Support | Strongly support The solar development is visible from my property The solar development is located on local land and that I use/value The solar development on private property The solar development is on public property The solar development is on existing agricultural land The solar development benefits the local environment The solar development benefits the local economy The solar development benefits local farmers by providing additional income The solar development is built by a local company

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4. When it comes to planning for **combined solar and agriculture (agrivoltaic) projects** in your community, please rate the following factors in terms of their importance to you:

5. **Now we're going to ask you about your opinions and preferences regarding food produced and consumed.** When it comes to food production, please rate the following factors in terms of their importance to you:

013

6. Would you be more likely to support a solar project near you if it combined the production of

both energy and food? (Please select ONE response)

014 015 016

017

7. When it comes to developing a combined solar and agriculture (agrivoltaic) project in your community, which of the following would you identify as benefits or reasons you would support? (Please select ALL that apply)

8. When it comes to developing a combined solar and agriculture (agrivoltaic) project in your community, which of the following would you identify as concerns or reasons you would *not*

support? (Please select ALL that apply)

1018 019 1020

021

1022

1029 1030 031 9. When it comes to making choices about meat production, please rate the following factors in terms of their importance to you:

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10. When it comes to meat for human consumption, would you consider each of the following animals an appropriate source of meat?

1036 1037

1038 1039 Yes No

1040

041

042

If yes, how often do you eat rabbit meat? (Please select ONE response)

11. Have you ever eaten rabbit meat? (Please select ONE response)

043 044

12. Small herbivores like rabbits have several benefits for meat production when compared to larger livestock. They demand less water than other livestock and they produce less methane (the amount they produce per pound of useable meat is negligible compared to cattle). Raising rabbits instead of cattle reduces the greenhouse gas emissions per pound of meat by more than an order of magnitude. 045 046 047 1048 049

> Would you be more inclined to purchase rabbit meat for consumption if it were pasture raised in a combined solar and agriculture system? (Please select ONE response)

 Yes No settlement of the It depends

If your answer to the previous question was "it depends", please describe below:

<u> 1989 - Johann Barn, amerikansk politiker (d. 1989)</u>

<u> 2008 - Jan Barnett, fransk politik (d. 1888)</u>

<u> 1989 - Johann Harry Harry</u>

<u> 1999 - Johann John Stoff, deutscher Stoffen und der Stoffen und der Stoffen und der Stoffen und der Stoffen un</u>

13. Is there anything else you'd like us to know regarding your perspectives about combining solar energy and food production into a single system? If so, please describe below:

<u> 1989 - Johann Barbara, martxa alemaniar a</u>

Demographic Information. Please complete the following questions to provide some demographic data about yourself. Please remember that this information is completely voluntary and confidential. For each question, please select ONE response.

14. What is your age?

1. 18-29

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 \overline{a}

 \overline{a}

 \overline{a}

- 2. 30-39
- 3. 40-49
- 4. 50-59
- 5. 60-69
- 6. 70 or older
- 7. Prefer not to answer

15. What is your gender?

- 1. Female
- 2. Male
- 3. Other
- 4. Prefer not to answer
- 16. What is your level of education?
	- 1. No high school diploma or GED
	- 2. High school diploma or GED

