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Precision agriculture technology adoption: A qualitative study of small-scale commercial "family farms" located in the North China Plain

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Abstract

Precision agriculture (PA) technologies offer a potential solution to food security and environmental challenges but, will only be successful if adopted by farmers. Adoption in China lags behind that in some developed agricultural economies despite scientifically proven benefits of PA technologies for Chinese agriculture. Adoption is dependent on farmer attitudes and perceptions towards PA technologies. An exploratory qualitative study using in-depth interviews was conducted with Chinese arable farmers (n=27) who manage commercial, family-owned farms in two Chinese provinces (Hebei and Shandong). The intent was to explore the perception of this important and growing sector of the farming community towards adoption of PA technologies. A thematic analysis revealed 5 central themes to have emerged from the data, these were: "socio-political landscape", "farming culture", "agricultural challenges", "adoption intentions (barriers/facilitators)" and "practical support mechanisms". All were likely to influence the level and rate of adoption of PA technologies amongst family farmers in China. The research revealed an openness to the potential of PA technologies amongst family farmers, although there was heterogeneity in the perceptions of PA technology and willingness to adopt. Improved rates of adoption will be achieved by reducing the barriers to adoption, including the need for low-cost PA applications that can be applied at small scale, improved information provision, financial support mechanisms including more accessible subsidies and credit, and reliable, regulated and affordable service provision.

Keywords: farmer perceptions, adoption motivations, China, risk, benefits, policy implications

Declarations

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1 1. Introduction

2 **1.1. Overview**

3 Precision agriculture (PA) is being implemented globally as an agricultural management strategy 4 across many agronomic contexts and is an approach "that gathers, processes and analyzes temporal, 5 spatial and individual data and combines it with other information to support management decisions 6 according to estimated variability for improved resource use efficiency, productivity, quality, 7 profitability and sustainability of agricultural production" (International Society of Precision 8 Agriculture, no date). The use of PA technologies in particular is aimed at ensuring sustainable 9 intensification across all aspects of agricultural production, whilst reducing its environmental impacts (Gebbers & Adamchuk, 2010; Li et al., 2020). Their utility in relation to improved food security and 10 11 environmental protection has been well documented (Cheema & Khan, 2019; Gebbers & Adamchuk, 12 2010; Mikula et al., 2020; Phillips, 2014). PA can be viewed as a 'toolkit' from which farmers choose 13 what they (perceive to) need (Lowenberg-DeBoer & Erickson, 2019). Although a clear definition of 14 what technologies are included in PA is still required (Lowenberg-DeBoer & Erickson, 2019; Say et 15 al., 2018), broadly technologies can be classified into data collection technologies, including, global 16 navigation satellite systems (GNSS) (Stombaugh, 2018), remote sensing technologies (Wachowiak et 17 al., 2017) and soil sampling and mapping, data processing and decision-making technologies e.g., 18 geographical information systems (GIS) and sensor networks (Jawad et al., 2017) and application technologies, including, variable rate technologies (VRT) (Wandkar et al., 2018). 19

20 PA technologies are designed to deliver three fundamental benefits to farmers and society: 1)

21 economic benefits through reductions in farm expenditure *via* the controlled application of

agricultural inputs (Tey et al., 2017); 2) increased production levels due to targeted management of in-

field (or intra-animal) variability (Schimmelpfennig, 2016) and; 3) environmental benefits through the

24 precise application of agrichemical applications (such as fertilisers, pesticides or antimicrobials),

which will also increase compliance with national/global environmental legislation (Ma et al., 2014).

26 Uptake in low resource economies falls behind more advanced agricultural economies despite the

27 considerable potential to increase efficiencies in production, to improve rural livelihoods and

inclusion and participation in global markets (Deichmann et al., 2016; Pathak et al., 2019). There is

scope for the adoption of small, low-cost PA technologies and there are examples of PA uptake in

30 Argentina, Brazil, India and South Africa (Finger et al., 2019; Say et al., 2018). Rates of PA adoption

31 vary considerably globally, with uptake in China recognised to fall significantly behind Europe and

32 Australia (Chen et al., 2014; Say et al., 2018). The culmination of social, environmental, political and

33 production pressures identify China as a country with significant potential to benefit from the

34 adoption of PA technologies and make the country an interesting and timely example for their

35 adoption (Li et al., 2020; Li et al., 2019).

36 37

1.2 The potential of precision agricultural technologies in China

38 Intensification of production has historically dominated Chinese agriculture policy (Hauptman, 2018).

39 Chinese agricultural production is subject to interacting pressures including, *inter alia*; dwindling

40 natural resources, environmental degradation, climate change and over-reliance on agrichemicals (Cui

41 et al., 2014; Hauptman, 2018). Social pressures including population growth, rapid urbanisation and

42 increasing socio-economic rural/urban divides, and changing consumer preferences (Cui et al., 2018;

43 Qian et al., 2016).

44 A variety of policy initiatives have been introduced over the last 50 years to address China's food

45 security pressures, and modernise its approach to agriculture (Zhong & Zhu, 2017). These include

46 reducing the ecological impacts of farming by introducing a cap on fertiliser usage, (Lin, 2020).

- 47 Widespread agricultural technology adoption is recognised as having a fundamental role to play in the
- 48 modernisation process, and will contribute to securing China's future economic growth (Liu et al.,
- 49 2013). It represents a key component of China's 13th, Five-Year Plan¹ and features in the national 863

50 Programme (State High-Tech Development Plan). PA is currently concentrated on large-scale

51 commercial agricultural operations, which only account for 0.0007% of all farms in China (Clark et

al., 2018). This may be in part due to lack of IT infrastructure to support PA technologies, coupled

53 with a lack of capacity both within the industry and intended population, to exploit their potential at

54 scale (Li et al., 2019).

55 1.3 Agricultural landscape in China

The Chinese agricultural landscape is characterised by the fragmentation of farmland and a 56 57 preponderance of small subsistence farms (Table 1). This is a legacy of the former Household 58 Responsibility System (HRS) that represented a move away from collective farming and gave 59 individual households autonomy over allocated plots for substance farming, commonly known as 60 responsibility land (Table 2 summarises key Chinese agricultural policy reforms and their impacts). 61 Agricultural policy reforms introduced in the 1990's and early 2000's aimed to radically transform the agricultural landscape by creating formalised markets for land transfer to facilitate larger scale, 62 commercial framing to meet food demand (Sausmikat, 2015). In creating land markets, the value of 63 64 agricultural land and the agri-business sector increased, whilst also increasing the suitability of the 65 land for the adoption of advance agricultural technologies. This provided an opportunity for some farmers to leave agricultural production and pursue alternative employment, whilst for others, renting 66 67 additional land from others provided a means of producing commercially. "Family farms" in this 68 sense are farms that are operated at commercial scale but are predominantly operated by a single 69 family. Therefore, these farms are comprised of a family's responsibility land plus land they have

¹ China's Five Year Plans represent the countries social and economic development initiatives. During this work China was in the 13th five year planning period that covered 2016–2020.

- tenanted from others. In 2016, 30.7 million ha (460 million mu) of land had been transferred in this
- 71 way, accounting for more than a third of all total agricultural land area. This indicates that small non-
- 72 commercial farming is diminishing and there is an observable growth in the number of larger,
- 73 commercially viable "family farms" (Xinhuanet, 2020), although these still only accounting for a
- small proportion of total agricultural holdings (approximately 0.33%) (Xinhuanet, 2020).

Scale	Description	Number (households)	Percentage of farms in China	Average farm size (ha)
Small farms	Very small operations for personal food production	266.07 million	99.2%	0.41
Farm cooperatives	Collaborations between groups of family famers to increase scale to improve commercial output and economic functioning	1.39 million	0.52%	
Family farms	Farms at commercial scale (typically) managed and predominantly operated by a single family	0.88 million	0.33%	13.38
Large government/State managed farms	Typically state run farms where it is easy to adopt PA in line with emerging Chinese policy	1789	0.0007%	

75 Table 1: Characterization of Chinese farms at different scales

76 Table reproduced with permission from Clark et al. (2018)

78 Whilst land transfer policies have been a fundamental component of China's agricultural 79 modernisation planning (Table 2), for famers that have acquired land, it creates additional challenges 80 and presents further barriers to PA adoption. For example, farmers are managing land to which they 81 have no historic connection or may be farming fragmented and discontinuous plots rather than larger, 82 contiguous management areas. This hinders the adoption of more sophisticated PA technologies that are currently designed for large continuous land areas, making application on small plots challenging 83 84 (Clark et al., 2018; Kendall et al., 2017; Li et al., 2019). Moreover, the creation of land markets has 85 aided socio-economic trends, including increased levels of rural to urban migration, allowing farmers 86 to transfer responsibility land to others to pursue higher earning employment opportunities in cities 87 (He & Ye, 2014; Liang & Wu, 2014; Liu, 2014). The result of which has increased ageing demographics in rural communities, reduced agricultural labour pools and increased associated labour 88 89 costs. 90 91 92 93 94 Table 2: Historic agricultural policies and their impact Policy Description Impact

⁷⁷

Household	HRS represented a move away from	Abolishing the HRS system, increasing
Reasonability	collective farming (team-based system) and	tenancy duration and creating land markets
system (HRS)	gave individual households responsibility	has facilitated land-transfer, increased the
-	for their land, creating millions of	value of agricultural land and the agri-
	smallholders. Under the HRS farmers had	business sector, whilst also increasing the
	limited ownership rights over the land that	suitability of the land for the adoption of PA
	they famed and no formal means of	technologies. Although this has resulted in
	transferring ownership to others.	farmers managing land to which they have
Land tenure	Short tenures (2-3 year base) resulted in lack	no historic connection or may be farming
	of stability in farming, rural poverty, high	fragmented and discontinuous plots rather
	rates of rural-urban migration, and limited	than larger management zone. (He & Ye,
	finical investment by farmers in their land	2014; Liang & Wu, 2014; Liu, 2014; Qian et
	and production methods (Gao et al., 2017).	al., 2016).
	These were extended in the 1990's to	
	increase farmer's stability improve scope for	
	investment and prosperity through farming.	
Land transfer	In 2002, a land transfer market in China was	
	formalised, allowing farmers to transfer land	
	during their land lease periods, promoting	
	the amalgamation of small farms into larger	
_	management zones.	
(Adapted from	Clark et al. (2018))	

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95

97 1.4 Adoption motivations and the importance of stakeholder engagement

98 The adoption of PA technologies requires farmers to change their existing and often historic, 99 agricultural practices. There is a broad literature that has explored the factors influencing farmer 100 adoption of PA technologies, although much of the research conducted to date has explored drivers of 101 uptake in developed agricultural economies, predominantly North America, Europe and Australia (for 102 reviews see Hasler et al., 2017; Pathak et al., 2019; Tey & Brindal, 2012). Limited research has been 103 conducted to understand the adoption trajectories of PA technologies in developing agricultural 104 economies and to the best of the authors' knowledge, this includes research conducted with Chinese 105 farmers to explore their attitudes towards and the factors influencing more widespread adoption in 106 Chinese agriculture. An overview of research that has sought to identify the factors influencing farmer 107 and landowner uptake of PA technologies is provided in Table 3 and highlights three primary groupings of factorial influences (internal, external and technology) and the geographical region 108 109 where each research factor has been identified to influence adoption.

110 It is unlikely that farmer adoption motivations are influenced by one single factor, rather, they are 111 driven by a combination of each of these three aforementioned influences, which are also likely to be context specific and subject to change over time. Adoption is also potentially dependent on the level 112 of behavioural change required by the adopter, i.e., the extent to which a new technology is 113 "disruptive" (i.e. requiring a fundamental change to their existing behaviour) or "continuous"(i.e. 114 115 requiring incremental behaviour change or offering benefits that complement existing farming practice) (Hasler et al., 2017). Continuous technologies are more easily integrated into existing 116 117 practices as they do not require significant behaviour change (Clark et al., 2018; Kendall et al., 2017).

118 Table 3: Factors influencing PA adoption

Factor influencing adoption	Description	Europe	North America	Australia	Low resource economies	Global perspective
Gender	Males are less risk adverse than females. In developing countries often female farmers are left to manage farmland whilst male farmers seek alternative employment which can exacerbate low levels of uptake.				(Mondal & Basu, 2009; Say et al., 2018)	
Age	Older farmers are likely to be more risks adverse than younger farmers, less willing to innovate and have shorter planning horizons. They are more reluctant to engage with new technologies owing to the reduced likelihood of paying off investments reduced time periods over which they can witness benefits accrue.	(Paustian & Theuvsen, 2017)		(Daberkow & McBride, 2003)	(Adesina & Baidu- Forson, 1995; He & Ye, 2014; Liang & Wu, 2014; Say et al., 2018; Zhang et al., 2016)	(Hasler et al., 2017; Te & Brindal, 2012)
Education	Educated farmers more likely to meet the human capital requirements for adoption. Farmers educated to degree level are more likely to adopt such technologies as training becomes part of higher education curriculums. Younger farmers are more likely highly educated and therefore more willing to innovate.	(Paustian & Theuvsen, 2017; Reichardt & Jürgens, 2009)	(Robert, 2002)		(Say et al., 2018)	(Tey & Brindal, 2012)
Skills and experience	Adoption of unfamiliar PA technologies requires farmers to invest in learning new skills (i.e., using information systems and interpreting data outputs). PA technologies may be perceived to be complex and difficult to use. Agricultural workers may give low prioritisation to the analysis of data over practical tasks (i.e. harvesting). Longitudinal data collection is often	(Paustian & Theuvsen, 2017; Reichardt & Jürgens, 2009)	(Adrian et al., 2005; Daberkow & McBride, 2003; Kutter et al., 2011; Robert, 2002)	(Lamb et al., 2008)	(He & Ye, 2014; Jin & Jiang, 2002; Say et al., 2018)	(Chen et al., 2014; Tey & Brindal, 2012)

	required, requiring staff retention or at least acquisition of new staff with appropriate skills. Trained and skilled agricultural workers may be limited in rural areas.				
F arm size	Larger farms are more likely to adopt PA technologies owing to increased levels of awareness and ability to absorb costs and associated risks. Some PA technologies (i.e. variable rate technologies and remote sensing) are likely to be unsuitable for small farms	(Kutter et al., 2011; Reichardt & Jürgens, 2009) (Paustian & Theuvsen, 2017; Schimmelpfen nig & Ebel, 2016; Winstead et al., 2010)	(Adrian et al., 2005; Daberkow & McBride, 2003)	(He & Ye, 2014; Mondal & Basu, 2009; Wainaina et al., 2016)	(Hasler et al., 2017; Tey & Brindal, 2012)
Farmer values and needs	Innovation characteristics and the extent to which they reflect farmer values and meet their individual needs is an important predictor of engagement and adoption.	(Kernecker et al., 2020)			
Land ownership	Land ownership increases farmer security and promotes willingness to invest in new technologies and management practices. Farmers that own their land are more likely to manage land in a more favourable way tenanted land and this has been identified to incentivise PA adoption.		(Robert, 2002)	(Dean & Damm-Luhr, 2010; Gao et al., 2017)	(Hasler et al., 2017)
Risk and benefit perceptions	The primary benefits of PA may be difficult for the farmer to quantify. Perceived risk within rural communities for negative impacts to rural communities and erosion of traditional agricultural practices, cultures, and socio-demographic composition.	(Reichardt & Jürgens, 2009)	(Plant, 2001)	(Hansen & Gale, 2014)	

		New technological innovations are likely to be perceived as being riskier than traditional practices.					
	Resources and access to credit	Access to credit can stimulate the adoption of high cost innovations and speed up the adoption process.			(Hudson & Hite, 2003)	(Wainaina et al., 2016; Wossen et al., 2015)	(Hasler et al., 2017)
	Involvement in external groups (i.e. cooperatives)	Farmer involvement with external groups such as cooperatives, advisory councils and associations provide a source of information and knowledge exchange and can stimulate interest in new technologies and farming methods and encourage trail and adoption.			(Robertson et al., 2012)	(Ju et al., 2016; Tey et al., 2014)	(Hasler et al., 2017)
_	Regulations	By making adoption mandatory. regulations prompt adoption and can accelerate the process.					(Hasler et al., 2017)
	Observability and trialability	Benefits need to be observed and experienced by farmers, which supported through trail in order to improve acceptance. Evidence also suggests that observability of use to peers is also an important motivator of adoption.		(Heiniger et al., 2002; Kernecker et al., 2020)	(Hayman et al., 2007; Kuehne et al., 2017)	(Zhang et al., 2016)	(Hasler et al., 2017)
	Support	The quality of support given throughout the purchase acquisition through to implementation process has a significant influence on adoption and sustained use of a technology. Support is required at the point of purchase (identification of suitable technologies) but is also required to continue to beyond purchase and training, education and after care service to adopted technologies.		(Lamba et al., 2009; Weber & McCann, 2015)	(Kuehne et al., 2017; Robertson et al., 2012)		(Hasler et al., 2017)
	Information and knowledge exchange	Quality and quantity of information and support offered to farmers is important driver of adoption, PA technologies are complex and typically require	(Busse et al., 2014; Reichardt & Jürgens, 2009;	(Daberkow & McBride, 2003; Plant, 2001; Watcharaananta	(Jochinke et al., 2007)	(Chang & Tsai, 2015; Sausmikat, 2015; Say et al., 2018)	

	consultation. Those with past experience of engagement with agricultural consultants are more likely to adopt, Farmers that obtain information from farm dealers, crop consultants, university extension, other farmers, trade shows, the internet, and/or news media were more likely to adopt complex innovations.	Winstead et al., 2010)	pong 2014)	et al.,			
	Different sources of information are important at different stages of the adoption process i.e. mass media is important in the awareness phase whereas technical know-how provided by service providers important in the decision-making process. Farm advisory specialists and agronomy advisors can be limited in availability and/or lack knowledge and training in specialist approaches and are therefore unable to provide adequate support to farmers.						
Compatibility with existing systems and production methods	Compatibility within existing technology is important particularly for more advanced PA technologies. Incompatibility of software and hardware from different PA manufacturers is shown to be a barrier for adoption.	(Reichardt & Jürgens, 2009)		et al., Iudson & 003)		(He & Ye, 2014)	(Hasler et al., 2017)
Technology task- fit	PA technologies are predominantly computer-based applications and therefore require proficiency or a minimum comprehension of these technologies. There is a role for adapted PA approaches that apply the principles of PA but in a low technology context for small holder farmers.	(Busse et al., 2014; Reichardt & Jürgens, 2009)	2005; A al., 201 & 2003; D & 1 2003; H al.,	et al., Aubert et 12; Batte Arnholt, Daberkow McBride, Kutter et 2011; raananta	(Jochinke et al., 2007; Robertson et al., 2012)	(Galindo et al., 2012; Li et al., 2020; Tey & Brindal, 2012)	(Hasler et al., 2017)

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		pong et al., 2014)
Cost (i.e. financial investments)	Capital costs associated with PA technologies can be high and can carry greater risks than more traditional management approaches. High costs of PA technologies may disproportionately favour larger farms. Additional costs associated with extension services required to interpret data and formulate management plans can be prohibitive. Moreover, whilst the costs are clear, the financial benefits of PA technology can be difficult for farmers/landowners to quantify and there is mixed evidence on the profitability of PA technologies.	(Kutter et al., (Heiniger et al., (Hansen & Gale, 2014) (Chen et al., 2014; Tey & 2011; Reichardt 2002; Hudson & Brindal, 2012) & Jürgens, Hite, 2003; Plant, 2009; Robert, 2001) 2002)

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- 120 Research has been conducted to develop PA applications and evidence their benefits for Chinese
- agriculture (see for example (Gao et al., 2017; Han et al., 2019; Huang et al., 2018; Jihua et al., 2014;
- 122Peng et al., 2014; Zhao et al., 2017)). However, there is limited social research conducted in China
- 123 that specifically explores the factors influencing the adoption of PA technologies, the extent to which
- existing factors apply in the Chinese agronomic, policy and cultural context. This research therefore
- adopted an interpretivist approach, using in-depth qualitative interviews to explore the views of
- 126 Chinese family farmers, generate nuanced understandings of their perceptions of, and attitudes
- towards, PA and identify the factors that promote or inhibit adoption. The qualitative approach
- 128 permitted a comparative exploration of factors and concepts that have been shown to influence uptake
- 129 globally (Table 3) and explore the extent to which these have relevance to family farms in the Chinese
- context. Adoption of technologies, particularly where current levels of adoption are low, requires theinclusion of stakeholders in the research and development process (Galindo et al., 2012; Raley et al.,
- 132 2016). This ensures that technologies align with the needs, priorities and preferences of end-users,
- avoid any unintended consequences, and increase adoption (Clark et al., 2018). Therefore,
- understanding the factors influencing adoption from the end-user perspective is important for
- 135 scientists, researchers, educators and agricultural extension services provider who are designing,
- trailing and suppling PA to Chinese family farmers. It also has wider relevance to those with an
- 137 interest in developing agricultural economies and small-scale farming. This will support the
- 138 development of PA approaches and the design of initiatives that promote widespread uptake (Wossen
- tal., 2015).

140 Three primary research aims were identified for exploration in the qualitative study:

- To identify current agricultural challenges and the corresponding solutions from the
 perspective of Chinese farmers;
- 143 2. To understand Chinese farmers' perceptions of, and attitudes towards, different PA
 144 technologies and;
- 145 3. To explore the barriers to, and facilitators of, Chinese farmers' adoption of agricultural
 146 technologies and services.
- 147 Methodological Approach
- 148
- 149 2.1 Research development

150 Qualitative in-depth interviews were chosen for their ability to explore participant experiences. This

151 method is suited to exploratory studies and the method is recognised to have cross cultural validity

- 152 (see Kendall et al. (2017) (Lofland & Lofland, 1971)). Whilst the approach does not allow for the
- 153 generalisation of findings to wider populations, it does provide the opportunity to deeply engage with
- 154 potential end-users and to unpick the factors that motivate, support, or inhibit adoption (Bryman,

155 2016). An initial discussion guide informed by the literature and theories of technology adoption was developed. The study protocol was also informed by exploratory qualitative research conducted by the 156 157 lead authors with Chinese farmers and Chinese agricultural policy makers, with both used to develop 158 an understanding of contextual issues for more detailed exploration (Kendall et al., 2017). Interviews 159 were semi-structured and conducted in English and simultaneously translated into Mandarin or the 160 local dialect. A semi-structured approach provides both focus on core topics and flexibility based on 161 participant responses, and is particularly useful when multiple researchers are conducting interviews to ensure consistency (Bryman, 2016). Ethical approval for the project was granted by Newcastle 162 163 Ethics Committee (March 2018). A discussion guide was piloted to check accuracy, the suitability of the question areas and 164

165 comprehension of meaning and timings, with 10 Chinese farmers located in the Beijing region in
166 November 2017². The pilot revealed that participants found it particularly difficult to discuss in any

- detail, commonly available PA technologies owing to their limited awareness and experience of thesetechnologies. Pilot interviews were dominated by discussion of demographics, farming practices and
- 169 agronomic challenges. In order to ensure construct validity, these findings were used in conjunction
- 170 with the study aims (Yin, 2014) to prepare a revised (final) discussion guide for data collection (April
- 171 2018). The discussion guide focused on several key concepts identified within the literature to
- 172 potentially impact adoption of agricultural technologies, including: the challenges faced by family
- 173 farmers in China, their level of existing technology adoption, perceived level of technology adoption
- readiness and potential mechanisms to support PA technology adoption amongst family farmers.
- 175 Contextual demographic farm information was collected by questionnaire prior to commencing the
- 176 interview. The final discussion guide contained five broad question areas (Table 4).

177

² Separate ethical approval was obtained for the pilot work (July 2016).

Section	Section title	Questions (broad focus)
1	Your farm and agricultural policy in	Changes to land and crops.
	China	• Duration of time on land lease.
		• Support or benefits received from cooperative.
2	Farming practices and challenges	 Changes (over the last 10 years) and challenges to farming practice. Strategies to address challenges and additional needs.
3	Technology adoption	 Perceived technology readiness (Rogers, 1962). Current level of technology adoption. Adoption motivation(s). Benefits/risk factors preventing adoption. Required improvements to support adoption.
4 ^b	Mechanisms to support technology uptake	 Agricultural policies, Financial incentives, Agronomic services, Knowledge exchange, Agricultural extension Others
5	Summary/ wind down	Opportunity to review and add to the discussion.

178 Table 4: Discussion guide content; family farm managers

179

^a Available from corresponding author on request.

^bDenotes additional section of questions added post pilot.

181

182 Question probes were included to prompt further inquiry, and interviewers were encouraged to

investigate interesting lines of enquiry verbally. Prompt cards were used as discussion aids,

specifically in sections 3 and 4 of the discussion guides (technology adoption and mechanisms to

support uptake). The cards were particularly useful in helping to familiarise participants with a range

186 of technologies from simple to more advanced PA technologies e.g., Remote sensing, GNSS and

187 VRT). All materials were translated from English to Mandarin and back translated. Each interview

188 lasted approximately one hour. All interviews were recorded *verbatim* and were translated from

189 Mandarin to English for analysis.

190 **2.2 Recruitment and sample**

Data were collected in two primary locations, Hebei (Shijiazhuang) and Shandong (Zibo). These
represented regions in the North China Plain predominated by family farms and where local project

193 partners had demonstration sites. Recruitment and translational support were also provided by the

194 project partner NERCITA. Purposeful sampling was adopted to identify "family farmers" that would

be able to talk with experience in relation to the study aims (Palinkas et al., 2015). Selection criteria

196 ensured that participants were, 1) part of the farming community in Hebei (Shijiazhuang) and

197 Shandong (Zibo); 2) were the principle farmer of their land (i.e., farm manger); 3) had at least one

198 year's farming experience within these locations, and; 4) their farm was classified as a 'family farm'

(i.e., operating at a commercial scale but managed and primarily operated by a single family).

- 200 Consistent with the exploratory nature of the study the final sample consisted of N=27 arable farmers
- across the two study locations. All participants were remunerated for their time and contribution to the
- 202 research, this was in line with local practice. Consistent with methodological recommendations,
- 203 interviews were conducted until data saturation was reached (Bryman, 2016).

204 2.3 Data analysis

Field notes were taken by the lead researchers (HK, BC) during and after the interviews were 205 206 conducted. These included thoughts on the interview content and reflections on the interview and the 207 research process itself. Thematic data analysis was supported by qualitative analysis software Nvivo (NVivo, 2016), and followed a three-stage process. First, interview transcripts were open-coded 208 209 (Glaser & Strauss, 1971) and an initial coding framework was developed by the lead author (HK). 210 Second, the coding framework was refined. Three members of the research team (HK, BC and SJ) 211 independently coded a selection of the transcripts and compared codes against the framework. This 212 inter-coder reliability process followed three iterations until there was agreement that the categories within the framework reflected the data. The third stage of analysis involved three members of the 213 research team coding the full data set into the coding framework (HK, BC and SJ). Overarching 214 215 themes emerging from the data were discussed and finalised.

216 **Results**

217 Overview

218 Twenty-seven interviews were conducted from 12th-19th April 2018 (n= 16 farmers with one of these also acting as research hub manager/farmer in Zibo, Shandong Province; n= 11 farm managers in 219 220 Shijiazhuang, Hebei Province) (Table 5). The sample comprised of 18 males and 9 female participants (age range from 41 to 67 years). Participants had a median of 30 years farming experience (range 221 between 3 and 50³). The median farm size was ~13 ha (200 mu) and ranged from ~ 0.7 to 93 ha. One 222 223 farmer (participant 10) had moved to the Shandong region to establish an ecological farming business, 224 although this was not typical of the sample. The remainder farmed responsibility land alongside land 225 that had been transferred from other farmers. For most farmers, increases in farm size through land 226 transfer had occurred within the last decade. Two farmers specialised in horticulture in greenhouses in 227 addition to arable farming. Farmers planted staple crops, predominantly wheat and maize with a small proportion also planting soybean, a lower yielding but higher market value crop. A small number of 228 229 farmers had diversified into the production of fruits and vegetables for which higher market values 230 could be obtained.

³ Data on years farming experience was not provided by 2 participants.

231 Table 5: Participant Characteristics

Participant number	Location	Gender	Age	Experience (years)	Education level	Total Farm size ha (mu)	Number of years at increased farm size	Crops
1	Shandong	Female	52	30	Upper secondary education	20 (303)	2 years	Wheat, maize and Chinese yam
2	Shandong	Male	56	35	Primary education	13 (200)	5 years	Wheat and maize
3	Shandong	Male	67	45	Primary education	16 (240)	5 years	Wheat and maize
4	Shandong	Female	49	17	Lower secondary education	2 (30)	5 years	Wheat and maize
5	Shandong	Female	52	30	Lower secondary education	3.3 (50)	8 years	Wheat and maize
6	Shandong	Male	52	20	Lower secondary education	23.3 (350)	3 years	Wheat, maize and Chinese yam
7	Shandong	Female	-	-		16 (240)	21 years	Wheat and maize
8	Shandong	Male	41	18	Upper secondary education	3 (50)	3 years	Wheat and maize
9	Shandong	Male	63	45	Upper secondary education	5 (75)	7 years	Wheat and maize
10	Shandong	Male	51	3	Higher education (college)	42 (628)	3 years	Wheat, maize, watermelon, Chinese yam and green onion
11	Shandong	Female	45	8	Upper secondary	3.3. (50)	8 years	Wheat and maize

					education			
12	Shandong	Male	53	21	Higher education (bachelor's degree)	0.6 (10)	20 years	Greenhouse: cucumber, tomato, green onion, aubergine, Chinese yam and watermelon
13	Shandong	Male	61	40	Primary education	7 (105)	4 years	Wheat and maize
14	Shandong	Female	49	40	Lower secondary education	5.7 (85)	3 years	Wheat and maize
15	Shandong	Female	45	10	Upper secondary education	17.3 (260)	12 years	Wheat and maize
16	Shandong	Female	48	30	Lower secondary education	23.3 (350)	7 years	Wheat and maize
17	Hebei	Male	50	20	Upper secondary education	13.3 (200)	2 years	Wheat, maize and soybean
18	Hebei	Male	55	20	Upper secondary education	10 (150)	-	Wheat and soybean
19	Hebei	Male	55	10	Higher education (master's degree)	28 (420)	9 years	Wheat and maize
20	Hebei	Male	53	35	Upper secondary education	2.6 (40)	Over 10 years	Wheat, maize, soybean and grape
21	Hebei	Male	43	20	Upper secondary education	34.2 (513)	26 years	Wheat, maize, soybean and peanut

22	Hebei	Male	64	50	Upper	13.3 (200)	8 years	Wheat,
					secondary			maize and
					education			soybean
23	Hebei	Male	58	30	Upper	13.3 (200)	3 years	Wheat,
					secondary			maize and
					education			soybean
24	Hebei	Male	59	-	Higher	1.3 (20)	-	Grape, peach
					education			and
								vegetables
25	Hebei	Male	61	40	Upper	8.3 (125)	-	Wheat
					secondary			
					education			
26	Hebei	Female	58	30	Upper	26.7 (406)	Over 10 years	Wheat and
					secondary			maize
					education			
27	Hebei	Male						

Note: Some missing data where participants did not fully complete the demographic questionnaire.

233

234 Emergent themes

Five central themes emerged from the data "socio-political landscape", "farming culture", "agricultural challenges", "adoption intentions (barriers/facilitators)" and "practical support mechanisms". These themes were representative of a mix of internal/external and technological factors that were all likely to influence the level and rate of adoption of PA technologies amongst family farmers. The findings are discussed under these theme headings and linkages between the respective themes explored and supported by illustrative quotes from participants that have been adjusted to correct English whilst maintaining meaning.

242 Figure 1: Emergent themes, sub-themes and linkages

243 INSERT FIGURE 1 HERE

244

245 Socio-political landscape

246 Societal and political influences were shown to shape Chinese agriculture and influence the 247 awareness and adoption of PA technologies amongst participants. Despite policy directives aimed at modernising the nations approach to agricultural production, including those aimed at increasing 248 production efficiencies and reducing the environmental impacts of production, limited consideration 249 was given to the wider environmental impacts of agricultural production by participants. There was 250 limited reflection given to the personal responsibilities of farmers to reduce the environmental 251 impact of farming. Farmers were production orientated, welcoming opportunities to increase farm 252 253 scale and intensify production to counter low market values for yields. All participants had benefitted 254 from the opportunity to transfer land, noting this to have increased the scale of their production 255 significantly over the last decade.

Participants recognised that 'in practical terms it [acquiring land through transfer] is not that 256 257 easy' (participant 19). Competing Chinese government policy agendas were identified to affect farming communities with implications recognised for the rate of land transfer, farm size growth 258 259 and impact upon prosperity that could be derived from agricultural production. In parallel with 260 the need to increase agricultural productivity and sustainability, the Chinese government is committed to reducing the environmental impacts of agricultural production by significantly 261 reducing the countries usage of agri-chemicals alongside mitigating the degradation of the 262 263 nation's forests (a consequence of a result of rapid population growth). Many respondents noted 264 government policies aimed at forest conservation and the restoration of forest ecosystems that have been initiated (e.g., Sloping Land Conversion Program (SLCP) and the National Forest 265 266 Protection Program (NFPP)) (Bennett, 2008; Rodríguez et al., 2016; Wenhua, 2004). Through the 267 SLCP scheme, public payments are available to rural households to convert agricultural land to

268 'ecological forests' (for timber production), 'economic forests' (orchards or forests with269 medicinal value) or to grassland:

- 270 "Our country wants farmers to cultivate forests, so they won't have as many fields to
 271 cultivate [crops]" (participant 22)
- 272 "You are not able to expand it [farm land]. You know... look at my geographic location, now it is all covered with trees, [I] cannot transfer anymore [land]." (participant 25)

274 Participants located in Shijiazhuang noted the impact of these schemes on their ability to increase

- 275 farm size, with many farmers choosing to convert land to forest conservation, as the subsidies
- 276 received were greater than profits that could be made from agriculture. This reduced land availability
- 277 increased the costs of land available for transfer and, was noted to contribute to the fragmentation of
- 278 farm plots. This policy initiative was identified to be a primary factor preventing farmers from
- 279 increasing farm size and scale of production. Farm scale was noted to be a significant barrier to the
- suitability, applicability and likely adoption of PA technology on farm.
- 281 "You can earn more than 1000 yuan for planting trees on 1 mu [of land] but only 100s
 282 of yuan for crops." (participant 26)
- 283

284 Farming culture

285 Despite increased farm size, farmers maintained a traditional low level of mechanisation and operated. short-term management plans for their farms, with none exceeding five years, possibly attributable to 286 287 the short length and informality of land transfer contracts. Most farmers demonstrated productionist 288 orientations and were driven primarily by the need to increase the profitability of their farms, in direct 289 response to market challenges. Economic drivers and incentives to increase farming profits were important motivators behind decisions made on farm, including decisions regarding the adoption of 290 291 PA technologies. Decisions to increase land ownership and the scale of farm operations via land transfer were driven by the need to increase profitability given the broad recognition that "you earn 292 very little in agriculture" (participant 23). A small proportion of farmers had diversified production, 293 294 producing speciality produce that commanded higher market values. The diversity of crops grown across the regions was identified to present challenges to technology design and logistical challenges 295 296 in relation to delivering agri-extension support services.

297 "Farmers just grow crops that have a higher market value. So this may, bring a big
298 challenge to agricultural extension services. Because the crops planted in this region
299 might vary...so for agricultural extension and service providers, it means that there isn't
300 a uniform technology that can be provided. It's quite fragmented" (participant 27)

Farmers only made links to the production efficiencies and economic benefits of PA technologieswith limited consideration of the potential environmental co-benefits. There was limited evidence of

- active environmentally regenerative farm and land management practices and equally limited
- recognition of the potential role that PA could play in helping farmers to improve the environmental
- 305 impact of agricultural production and meet incoming national legislation and agri-chemical usage
- 306 targets. Participants showed limited awareness of future policy initiatives and legislation, including
- 307 the cap on agrichemical use and conversely reported significant increases in their usage, necessitated
- 308 by the need to guarantee yields to improve economic prosperity from farming.

309 Agricultural challenges

- 310 Various interlinked challenges acted as barriers to PA adoption but also represented opportunities for
- the development of PA applications to address farmer needs. Challenges were linked to economic,
- socio-demographic, political, landscape-related, infrastructural and environmental factors. Low
- 313 economic returns combined with steadily increasing input and labour costs were further confounded
- by difficulties in accessing markets. The socio-demographic composition of rural communities had
- 315 changed in recent decades, as a direct consequence of significant economic growth in urban
- conurbations, which had resulted in considerable rural-urban migration of younger members of the
- 317 community for educational and employment opportunities. Others had used land transfer legislation as
- an opportunity to rent responsibility land and had sought higher paid employment in cities.
- "it's not worth it to farm just 1 or 2 mu of land. The younger generation would just
 leave the village and find jobs outside, especially the men...So, of course young people
 don't want to farm... Farming is hard and you can't make much money out of it"
 (participant 23).
- "It takes time and investment to achieve high levels of mechanization. Now we face
 many challenges in terms of land transfer...Given another 10 to 15 years, it would be
 easier to gather farmland because few people of the next generation will engage in
 farming." (participant 19)
- The average age of farmers, as well as the scarcity of agricultural workers, increased the cost oflabour, particularly at peak periods of the agricultural calendar (i.e. harvest).
- "The changes have been huge. I have engaged in agriculture for over 30 years. A
 prominent change in the past ten years has been the increase in labour costs. Seed costs as
 well" (participant 19)
- 333 Environmental challenges were primarily associated with climatic uncertainties. Many reported
- drought impacts due to limited underground water supplies, inadequate well facilities and the reliance
- on inefficient and outdated irrigation methods, which are exaggerated by inefficient irrigation
- solutions. Lodging of crops in conditions of rain, hail and wind was also reported as resulting in
- 337 significant crop loss, exacerbated by a lack of space for, and the cost of, storing crops.

- "One of the biggest problems is irrigation. Suppose there was a heavy rain in the fields, I
 don't need to irrigate for a period of time. But when you discover it needs irrigating, the
 crops are already in drought.' (participant 19)
- 341 "One of worst natural disasters here is of course the wind, and also the hail,
 342 hailstones...usually the wheat, wheat suffers the most from hail." (participant 24)
- 343 "The biggest problem is not having space for crop storage. When the weather is bad, the
 344 crops get wet and turn bad. It's rather problematic." (participant 21)
- Land reforms have resulted in many farming larger farms and land that they had no historic
- 346 connection, often a collection of variable small holder plots fragmented across villages. This reduced
- 347 the suitability of many precision farming technologies (typically designed for larger continuous
- 348 areas):
- 349 "On my farm, I have 50-mu chunks or 40-mu chunks. But for theirs [other farmers],
 350 many fields are fragmented, 1 mu over here and 1 mu over there. That's impossible to
 351 work on.' (participant 23).
- 352 Land fragmentation occurred because of responsibility land farmers being unwilling to rent their land
- to others (commonly referred to as 'nail houses') or farmers adhering to policy pressures and
- cultivating their land for alternative purposes e.g. converted to forestry or grassland. Rapid farmland
- 355 expansion created additional problems linked to the ability to invest in adequate infrastructure, such as
- 356 storage for harvested crops, and more efficient methods of irrigation as noted. There was an
- 357 underlying perception that investments made on farm were not recouped in profits and short-term
- tenancies resulted in a reluctance to invest in farm infrastructure and supported a culture of
- 359 intensification. Further challenges, such as the placement of transport infrastructure, were beyond
- 360 farmers control and impacted their ability to increase farm size and the potential suitability of PA
- technologies were reported.
- "We are confined by the landscape. 600 mu is the upper bound. We have high speed
 roads running along the south and the north border of the farm. There is not much space
 to expand." (participant 19)
- 365

366 Adoption intention (barriers/facilitators)

- Farmers showed a willingness to consider technological solutions to the agricultural challenges faced.
 Intention to trial and subsequently adopt PA technologies was shaped by five factors (sub-themes)
 discussed below.
- 370 Awareness
- 371 Awareness and adoption of PA technology varied according to individual farmer attributes and PA
- applications. Farmers with formal agricultural education showed greater awareness and engagement
- 373 with PA technologies and were incentivised to keep up to date in technology developments. Formally

- educated farmers had a broader knowledge of PA applications and understanding of the suite of PA
 technologies available. Interestingly some farmers perceived themselves to be more innovative than
 their behaviours revealed.
- 377 One farmer reported that proximity to a demonstration farm had given them first-hand experience of 378 PA applications. However, adoption of PA was not sustained beyond the duration of the demonstration project. The majority of farmers in the sample were aware of Global Navigation 379 Satellite Systems (GNSS) although none owned machinery on which this was enabled. Regional 380 381 promotion had resulted in the widespread awareness and adoption of some PA applications, for 382 example UAV's were used for spot spraying of pesticides, with awareness generated through regional 383 promotion initiatives as a resource efficient means of agri-chemical application. Participants 384 considered this technology to be inexpensive and financially accessible for most small-scale farmers. 385 Awareness of more advanced PA technologies, such as remote sensing and hyperspectral imaging, was extremely limited amongst participants. Where farmers demonstrated an awareness of these 386 387 technologies, information was gained through informal peer-based networks, facilitated by widespread adoption of smart phones (e.g. farmers' group chat via WeChat⁴, cooperative membership 388 389 and peer networks) and television, rather than through more formal mechanisms such as research 390 institutes, companies or agronomy services providers.
- 391 "I have seen drones [UAV's] used for pesticide applications but I haven't used them in
 392 my field... [I use] tractor... for ploughing and planting seeds" (participant 22)
- 393 "Actually, I knew of it [UAV's] a long time ago."
- 394 (Interviewer: where do you get the information? what format was this information in?)
- 395 "Some information was via my smartphone, sometimes this was posted by my friends' in
- their moments on WeChat, and I also watch television programmes that have provided
- 397 *me with information* "⁷ (*participant 10*).

398 Engagement

- 399 Awareness had not translated into engagement via trial or adoption for most PA technologies. Farmers
- 400 relied predominantly on traditional farming machinery that were rented through machine
- 401 cooperatives. The cost of technology and low profitability of farming were the primary reported
- 402 barriers to trial and adoption. Farmers were unsure about where to access technologies and the
- 403 availability of formal mechanisms for information provision (i.e., agronomists) beyond the
- 404 information and technologies that were promoted by government sponsored annual training

⁴ WeChat is a Chinese message, social media and payment app that is widely adopted across China (approximately 1 billion users).

programmes and demonstration projects. There was a perceived absence of local agriculturalextension agents.

407 The use of UAV's for agrochemical applications was an exception with adoption common,

408 particularly amongst farmers in Hebei. This region had been a government sponsored demonstration

409 area where UAV's had been promoted for time and labour efficiencies. Promotion had been effective

410 in initiating farmer engagement. Participants considered UAVs to be affordable (comparable to other

411 technologies) and easy to implement requiring limited operator skills or training. For other

412 technologies, uptake had not extended beyond trials within demonstration projects, with cost cited as

the primary barrier to long-term adoption alongside the lack of commercial service providers.

- 414 "Drone spraying here is used when the crops sprout. It's used in winter, autumn and in
 415 spring. Maize as well, it's sprayed after sprouting." (participant 23)
- 416 *"That drone, I have two".*

417 (Interviewer: Do you provide drones to other farmers?)

418 *"Yes". (participant 25)*

In the absence of commercial service providers, there was evidence of collaboration and informal rental markets emerging via peers for those that could not afford to invest directly in technologies. For example, one farmer (participant 19) had adopted laser land levelling technology on his own farm and, in the absence of a company/agronomy service provider, had established a company providing this service to farmers in his region. However, this level of innovation was not typical:

424 "I have been doing laser levelling for four years, I am the first in Hebei… When I went to
425 the United States for an agricultural inspection in 1992, I had the impression that on the
426 irrigated land there, the water flowed neatly. When I encountered this problem, I spoke to
427 someone and later found out about laser levelling. Then I searched it online and found
428 that there was a company named Tianbao selling laser levellers in China at that time.
429 [....] The company is in Beijing. I bought two levellers from this company and have used

430 them in my experimental field." (participant 19)

431 Perceived benefits

432 The perceived benefits centred around PA's potential for economic advantages through the reduction

- 433 of inputs (e.g., time, labour and seeds and agrochemicals) whilst simultaneously increasing yield.
- 434 Improvements to crop quality were considered to increase profits via the market appeal and value of
- 435 products. PA technologies were recognised as time saving, reducing labour expenditure and allowing
- 436 farmers to engage in alternative farm management activities at appropriate times. For example, drip
- 437 irrigation was recognised to improve efficiency, allowing farmers to quickly respond to variations in
- 438 weather and soil moisture. Broader factors that might influence adoption were mentioned, although
- 439 economic benefits dominated discussions.

We can see the advantages of the machines...I want all machine operations including
seeding, pesticide spraying and harvesting in line with the field size. They can improve
farming efficiency. I've been looking for GPS so that I can make the field banks straight."
(participant 20)

- 444 Wider land management and environmental benefits of PA were not considered, including the
- 445 potential of PA to reduce pesticide, fertiliser and herbicide application. The primary focus on farm
- 446 profitability, and the lack of consideration of the wider environmental and land management benefits
- 447 aligns with the issues explored within the theme 'farming culture', particularly the productivity
- 448 focused identities and the short-term orientation of family farmers in China.

449 Perceived risks

- 450 The perceived risks associated with the adoption of PA technologies represented a barrier to adoption.
- 451 Although there was some appreciation of the potential benefits that PA could deliver, the capital
- 452 investment that such technologies require, and the perceived lack of cost/benefit information to
- 453 support decision-making of adoption represented important risks,
- 454 *"Just the investment is big... Too much investment." (participant 6)*
- 455 "Nothing could be done without money...I couldn't use the new technology if I don't get
 456 loans." (participant 22)
- 457 "I want [to adopt]. But I have no money. We don't have things like this here. Drones
 458 [UAV's] are quite advanced here." (participant 26)

459 Participants were aware of government subsidies to support adoption. However, access was limited

460 by: farm size, whether subsidies covered the full cost of adoption, the prescribed nature of subsidies

- 461 issued to landowners and not managers (i.e., to the owners of responsibility land and not for land
- 462 rented), and only permitted farmers to purchase technologies that were approved by the government.
- 463 Concerns were raised about the performance and reliability of technology and whether it could deliver
- the claims made. For example, many farmers with UAV's highlighted issues with battery life and
- size, chemical holding capacity and concerns around chemical evaporation.
- 466 "So the bottleneck now is, for drones [UAV's], we need a breakthrough regarding the
 467 battery issues... The battery life sucks; so far the bottleneck hasn't been resolved. Apart
 468 from that...the battery takes up the space, right...adds to the weight, so the loading
 469 capacity suffers" (participant 10).
- 470 Farmers had limited awareness about the sourcing and appropriateness of more advanced PA
- technologies. Many had not observed or trialled these technologies so benefits were difficult to
- 472 quantify. Farmers were concerned about their ability to learn new systems, operate machinery and
- 473 interpret data, and did not consider there to be adequate practical support available to aid the
- 474 integration of technologies into existing practice. Farmers questioned their ability to financially

- 475 benefit from technology adoption, based on demographic factors including age and the reduced
- 476 likelihood of intergenerational succession as a consequence of migration trends.
- 477 "It [UAV's] is surely is great if I knew how to use it.' (participant 21)
- 478 (Interviewer: Have you ever thought of buying one yourself?)

479 "Maybe. But it's not suitable. I'm old'" (participant 26)

480 Concerns were also expressed about the potential for mechanical failure, lacking the knowledge and481 skills to fix machinery or having this available locally, and the unforeseen costs that this might incur.

482 "of course, there are risks...for example, like mechanical malfunction... things like that."
483 (participant 10)

484 Openness towards technology and level of adoption readiness varied. Some farmers demonstrated characteristics from which they could be considered 'innovators' (Rodgers 1962), specialising in 485 production methods including ecological farming and greenhouse horticulture (in addition to arable 486 faming) (participants 10 and participant 12) and developing close relationships with those developing 487 technologies (laser land levelling) to address farming problems (Participant 19). Others perceived 488 489 readiness to adopt did not align with their actual level of engagement with technology. Many perceived themselves to be 'innovators' characterised by taking an active role in understanding new 490 technologies and willing to try innovations despite unproven benefits and with some risk that adoption 491 492 might be unprofitable (Clark et al., 2018; Rogers, 1962). However, this was contradicted by their 493 (low) level of engagement with technology and limited awareness and knowledge of both established 494 and emerging PA technologies. Farmers did not want to be early adopters, yet were aware of the risks 495 of being left behind and were persuaded to adopt technologies after the benefits of technologies have 496 been proven (Rodgers, 1962). These farmers were less likely to adopt technologies that required 497 significant change to their existing practice and were more likely to consider adopting technologies 498 that could be incorporated easily into their existing farm management practices.

- 499 "would use the new technology when I see others use it [first]. If you wait to see the
 500 benefits, everybody would like to use it for sure. I am willing to try new technologies."
 501 (participant 21)
- 502 "The one I bought [UAV] was a decision made from seeing others use it; that's why I
 503 bought one for myself as well" (participant 1)
- 504 Adoption mechanisms

505 Farmers were enthusiastic about being involved in the research and development of technologies.

- 506 Whilst "co-production" has been advocated in scientific communities (Clark et al., 2018; Cui et al.,
- 507 2014), farmers expressed difficulties engaging with researchers beyond expected attendance at annual
- 508 government training initiatives and supported visits to demonstration farms. Despite willingness to
- engage, farmers had limited knowledge of how best to engage and consequently reported waiting for

- 510 information and technologies to reach them. Information was shared informally, *via* peer-based
- 511 networks including hearing and seeing neighbours adopting new approaches. Participants recognised
- the need for more professional and effective platforms for information exchange; including a role for
- 513 local extension agents, to provide more comprehensive and targeted information and build trust.
- 514 "Policy support. The government has invested a lot of money to build high-quality
 515 farmland, and I think there should be policy in place to guide the process. I think it would
 516 be great if the policy can promote the use of land levelling and soil quality improvement
 517 in this region." (participant 19)
- Participants expressed a need for policy to address the economic barriers that prohibit on-farm
 investment. Flexibility of government subsidies to include a wider range of technologies, reducing the
 limitations on farm size, as well as private low-interest borrowing options to support investment in
 technologies were commonly cited.
- 322 "We have subsidies for growing quality seeds and the crops-farming. But the subsidies
 323 only go to owners of the land, not to the people who actually farm the land." (participant
 324 21)
- From a policy perspective, farmers appreciated the fundamental role played by land reforms although
 suggested improvements to accelerate this, including: more formalised mechanisms for recording land
 transfer; improvements to contractual arrangements to increase farmer tenancy stability, and;
 facilitating long-term farm management planning and policy interventions to reduce land
- 529 fragmentation.

530 Discussion and policy implications

- 531 This study found Chinese family farmers to be open to the potential of PA technologies, although
- beterogeneity in farmer perceptions of PA technology, willingness, and readiness to adopt were
- apparent. Awareness and use of the PA technologies was shown to be influenced by a combination of
- 534 internal (i.e., farm and farmer characteristics) and external characteristics (i.e., observability,
- trialability and support), as well as those of the technologies themselves. Many of the internal and
- external factors, consistently shown within the literature (summarised in Table 3) to influence PA
- adoption globally, influenced adoption in this context. Although, several dimensions of these factors
- 538 were specific to the Chinese agricultural context (see also Clark et al. (2018)).
- 539 Farm size, land fragmentation and farming discontinuous plots was considered a fundamental
- 540 obstruction to the modernisation of farming practice, including adoption of PA technologies. The
- 541 socio-political landscape, specifically the land reforms in China, as well as policy tensions
- 542 surrounding land use (i.e., conflicts between environmental, food management policies and
- sta agricultural modernisation) had impacted farmer's ability to increase farm size. The Chinese
- 544 government may need to consider the trade-offs made by farmers because of policies in different

- 545 domains (i.e., agricultural and environmental). Coherence across policies and improvements to the
- 546 land transfer market to reduce fragmentation and uncertainties associated with tenancies, would allow
- 547 for more long-term farm management planning and reduce the risks associated with making financial
- 548 investment on farm. This would have multiple benefits, broadly helping to achieve agricultural
- 549 modernisation goals, improve the suitability of existing PA technologies to small-scale farming as
- well as obtaining environmental co-benefits (Qian et al., 2016).
- 551 The suitability of technology for small scale farming is a fundamental barrier to adoption identified in 552 other developing agricultural economies, e.g. India (Mondal & Basu, 2009), and indicates the need for 553 low-cost PA technologies better suited to small-scale farms that will benefit both farmers and the 554 environment (Cheema & Khan, 2019). Galindo et al. (2012) argue that site-specific agriculture is 555 usually associated with high levels of technology, although demonstrate that providing new 556 approaches follow the "observe-interpret- evaluate-implement" principles then more low-tech approaches are suitable and beneficial to smallholder farmers. This supports the arguments for 557 558 improved understanding of the challenges faced by family farmers to support the design of and 559 increase the relevance of PA applications. Future research should look to: 1) create technologies 560 suited to small-scale, fragmented farmland; 2) look to adapt the provision of existing technologies to 561 suit the identified challenges, and 3) have greater involvement from end-users alongside experts
- throughout the development process (Galindo et al., 2012).

Despite recognised and proven potential, and notable attempts made by the Chinese government over 563 564 the last two decades to promote PA technology (e.g. via the establishment of demonstration centres in both regions surveyed), awareness, engagement, trial and adoption opportunities to engage with 565 research and demonstration activities were perceived to be limited. The exception to this was the use 566 567 of UAV for spot agri-chemical application. Here the economic benefits were quantifiable, and 568 awareness and adoption had been facilitated through peer observation and more informal knowledge 569 networks. UAVs have more typically been utilised for data (image) gathering exercised in more 570 developed agricultural economies. This difference is also more widely facilitated through the 571 regulatory environment, which allows for the use of UAVs for agrichemical application in China. 572 Widespread adoption here reiterates the importance of information, observation and trial and 573 knowledge exchange opportunities for increasing awareness and facilitating adoption (external 574 factors). Research findings suggest that farmers who engage with and adopt PA technologies are more 575 likely to consider adopting additional technologies (Winstead et al., 2010). Therefore, there is a need 576 for more targeted informational and educational opportunities alongside more frequent demonstration 577 and field-days that specifically address the challenges faced by family farmers and stimulate initial 578 trial (Heiniger et al., 2002). Future research should look to quantify the effect of different forms of 579 knowledge provision and exchange on PA technology adoption, to identify those most suited to 580 encouraging and importantly sustaining update, ensuring that heterogeneity in farm and farmer

characteristics are acknowledged. The following paragraphs provide some suggestions for avenues toexplore.

Findings identified two categories of farmers: 1) those who are pioneers and enthusiastically engage 583 584 with and invest in PA technologies, although these were less typical of the sample, and; 2) those who 585 were interested, although needed reassurances from observing others adopt, but who were not able to invest in technology directly and were interested in service provision options. This suggested that 586 market segmentation to differentiate adoption profiles would be useful to identify those most likely to 587 588 lead adoption within communities and enable improved product positioning and targeting of local 589 extension agents in disseminating information (Li et al., 2020). Care needs to be taken to ensure a 590 more objective measure of this, given that participants often reported higher levels of perceived 591 technology readiness than their behaviours characterised.

In the absence of formal and regular educational opportunities, farmer awareness was typically gained 592 593 via informal mechanisms associated with peer networks, such as mobile phone platforms (WeChat), 594 and observation of the benefits obtained by other farmers illustrated by the widespread adoption of 595 UAV's as well as motivated by concerns about "being left behind". This highlighted the importance 596 of peer-to-peer support mechanisms and illustrated the value of supporting farmers to engage with these networks (Heiniger et al., 2002; Kernecker et al., 2020). Widespread adoption of mobile phone 597 598 technology has been shown to reduce information asymmetry amongst farmers in developing 599 agricultural economies (Aker, 2010; Ma et al., 2018). In the Chinese context, widespread adoption 600 and reported reliance on internet and smartphone technology as a primary information sharing 601 mechanism, has consequences for how technologies are disseminated though family farm 602 communities. Providing there is the appropriate network coverage infrastructure in rural communities, 603 smartphone and internet-based technology represents an opportunity to improve communication 604 between researchers, agricultural policy makers, local extension agents and farmers (Aker, 2010; Ma 605 et al., 2018). Even so, differences in digital competencies amongst end-users must be recognised to 606 avoid divisions within rural communities (Galindo et al., 2012).

607 Informal mechanisms for education and support should be coupled with more formal educational 608 opportunities, with the level of engagement with PA also influenced by education level and greater 609 efforts to engage demonstrated by those with more formal agricultural education. Research indicates 610 that encouraging skilled agricultural graduates back to rural communities can support the 611 dissemination of PA technologies within rural communities. Therefore, there is an important role for relevant stakeholders to acknowledge the value of both formal and informal education mechanisms to 612 improve dialogue with end-users and in so doing improve current innovation trajectories (Clark et al., 613 614 2018; Heiniger et al., 2002; Qian et al., 2016).

615 Despite a low awareness and knowledge of PA technologies, farmers were principally motivated by 616 the potential economic benefits that the adoption of PA technologies could bring, including improved 617 profits and livelihoods from farming. This is unlike developed countries, such as the US, where 618 evidence suggests farmers consider a broader range of benefits in addition to financial incentives, 619 including, environmental benefits and increased convenience to the farmer when deciding to adopt 620 (Thompson et al., 2019). However, whilst recognising the protential economic benefits farmers were 621 inherently risk adverse and cautious about investing in technologies where the benefits were difficult 622 to quantify, return on investment is uncertain and adoption requires end-users to make fundamental, and expensive changes to their farming practice (see also Hasler et al. (2017)). This aversion to risk 623 was compounded by the short-term approach to farm management planning by farmers, influenced by 624 625 tenancy rather than land ownership, the informality of land contracts between and the low profitability 626 of farming as well as demographic characteristics including age and succession status (Adesina & Baidu-Forson, 1995). All of these have been shown to influence confidence and security in making on 627 628 farm investment (Dean & Damm-Luhr, 2010; Gao et al., 2017).

629 It is important to provide farmers with cost/benefit analysis data particularly in the decision-making 630 stage to mitigate farmer concerns and reduce the perceived barriers related to economic risks. Future 631 research is required to evidence the economic benefits PA adoption including economic studies that 632 demonstrate that PA technologies can increase farm profitability (e.g. through resource efficacies) 633 (Daberkow & McBride, 2003; Schimmelpfennig & Ebel, 2016). A further policy recommendation would be to consider reforms to the land transfer policies, providing market-based mechanisms for 634 635 land purchase and ownership, which is recognised to incentivise farmer investment in land 636 improvements and technologies that may have multiple farm efficacies (Wainaina et al., 2016).

Finally, limited and poor access to information regarding financial support mechanisms, such as 637 638 subsidies and low interest credit, further contributed to the perceived risk of adoption. Improved 639 information and access across a spectrum of financial support mechanisms including credit, rental and 640 affordable full-service provision and contractor options would reduce the economic barriers to 641 adoption (Wossen et al., 2015). Agri-tech service providers have a vital role to play in reducing the 642 influence of cost as a barrier to adoption by alleviating the need for long-term capital investments and 643 the need for knowledge and skills acquisition by farmers by acting as professional consultants. In lieu 644 of such services, and as a means of improving farm profitability, farmers were shown to have established informal service provision networks. This finding illustrated the arguments presented by 645 646 regarding the importance of social capital as a determinant of technology adoption in low resource 647 economies and the importance of community networks to facilitate uptake in the absence of formal 648 financial support and credit access. It also further demonstrates a demand and role for formal PA service provision. It also raises concerns around the unregulated adoption of PA technologies, for 649 650 example, the unregulated use of UAV's could carry risks to operators and bystanders. Farmers were

- open to, and recognised, a role for a top-down approach form the Chinese government to support
- adoption. Farmers acknowledged that for many producers, unless regulated, the adoption of modern
- 653 farm management mechanisms including precision technologies will be very slow to occur.

654 **Recommendation and Limitations**

Research, policy and education supporting the adoption of PA technologies in developing agricultural economies should explicitly include farmers and end-users as key stakeholders in the process. This

- must be from initial idea conception through the research and development process to product
- 658 commercialisation, as is advocated by institutions such as UK Research and Innovation the European
- 659 Commission. This requires the role of farmers and end-users, as the target market for PA
- technologies, to be reframed and for them to be included as co-developers of technology. This
- approach is consistent with the principles of 'Responsible Research and Innovation' (RRI) advocated
- by the European Commission and within the domain of PA (Clark et al., 2018).
- Adoption success is influenced by a broad range of stakeholders in addition to farmers and end-users,
- 664 including but not limited to, local policy makers, rural community members, agronomists and service
- providers. Future research should incorporate the views of these stakeholders in addition to farmers
- and end-users. The findings presented here relate specifically to the experiences of family farmers in
- the North China plain, but highlighted several themes likely to be similar across China, e.g. impact of
- agricultural policies, financial and information constraints. Future research should consider the
- perspectives of farmers in other regions of China, who may be exposed to different contextual factors.
- 670 Economic cost-benefit analysis and information regarding specific technologies is necessary to help
- 671 mitigate the principle barrier to adoption (cost), including evidencing the long-term economic
- advantages to adoption, and improved translations and communication to support farmer decision
- 673 making and improve uptake. Resources should be allocated for knowledge building, including
- demonstration, extension and information provision tailored to smallholder farmers, and is required to
- acknowledge the importance of utilising formal and informal educational channels, alongside
- technological development. Finally, differences in perceived readiness to adopt were identified, future
- 677 research could quantitatively explore differences in farmer adoption characteristics to understand
- 678 communication preferences and support more targeted interactions with local farming communities.

679 Conclusions

- 680 Incentivising adoption to meet the 'ubiquitous' adoption ambitions of the Chinese government,
- 681 requires consideration of the unique factors influencing adoption in the Chinese context. Whilst land
- 682 reforms have provided the facilitating conditions for more widespread adoption, they have also
- 683 created additional challenges (i.e., land fragmentation) that have acted as a barrier to uptake.
- 684 Increasing rates of adoption requires clear understanding of these challenges and the unmet needs of

- 685 farmers to reduce adoption barriers. A clear role for PA and untapped market opportunities for the
- 686 researchers, developers and agronomic service providers of PA technologies in China was
- 687 highlighted. Limited awareness of suitable and affordable technologies was identified as an important
- barrier to adoption, highlighting the need for small scale, low cost PA applications, improved
- 689 information provision, financial support mechanisms, including more accessible subsidies, and service
- 690 provision, as well as, reliable implementation and aftercare support.
- 691

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