
The impacts of park access on health outcomes: a spatial comprehensive approach

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Abstract

This research identifies the correlation between size and access to urban parks and physical activity and obesity outcomes at the neighborhood level. Proximity to parks is associated with increased physical activity and reduced obesity, but little research has been conducted on the relationship between accessibility to parks and health outcomes. Using data for three urban areas, we created a new measure for access to parks called ‘park choice accessibility.’ Park choice accessibility uses a gravity model to interact distance to parks and the quality of those parks as defined by their size. A small park very close to a neighborhood can have a major impact, but a larger park at a similar distance may have an even larger impact. Similarly, a large park can be further away and still have an impact on health outcomes. Using spatial econometric analysis, we assess whether park choice accessibility is associated with increased physical activity or decreased prevalence of obesity at the neighborhood level. The analysis controls for socioeconomic covariates such as age, marital status, income, and educational attainment.

Introduction

The United States is currently facing an epidemic of obesity and chronic diseases, which are non-communicable diseases of long duration and typically slow development, including cardiovascular diseases, chronic respiratory diseases, diabetes, stroke, joint and bone diseases, and cancer. The World

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Health Organization (2014) estimates approximately 300,000 premature deaths in the United States each year can be attributed to chronic diseases. Finkelstein et al. (2009) find an obese American spends nearly \$1,500 more per year in health care costs than an American of normal weight. As obesity and chronic disease have become rampant, it is no surprise that healthcare costs have risen to nearly one-fifth of the United States' gross domestic product (Harnik and Welle 2011).

While a moderate amount of regular physical activity has been established as an effective strategy for reducing and managing obesity and many of the aforementioned chronic diseases (Gordon et al. 2013). Wolf notes that "more than 50 percent of U.S. adults do not get enough physical activity to provide health benefits; 24 percent are not active at all in their leisure time. Activity decreases with age and sufficient activity is less common among women than men, and among those with lower incomes and less education" (Wolf 2008, 22). Similarly, the United States Department of Health and Human Services notes that less than fifty-percent of Americans meet established recommendations for moderate to vigorous physical activity, or MVPA (U.S. DHHS 2010). As the epidemiological transition from infectious to chronic diseases is now complete in the developed world, increasing physical activity has become a vital public health task in the 21st century.

Research has shown that the design of the built environment influences a range of behaviors, including those related to physical activity. The presence of trees and other vegetation in outdoor environments have been shown to be positively associated with physical activity (Pretty et al. 2005); one finding suggests that after sidewalks and trails have been constructed, the introduction of natural elements positively impacts motivation to engage in physical activity (Suminski et al. 2005). Additional evidence indicates that commonly vegetated areas, such as parks and open space, support outdoor physical activity Giles-Corti et al. (2005); Wells et al. (2007). Perhaps most telling is the finding that "people in large cities perceive themselves to be generally healthier if a greater percentage of the living environment is greenspace, are inclined to be more active, and claim the ability to relax faster" (Wolf 2008, 24). Thus, by providing space for active recreation, public parks and greenspaces may increase the likelihood of engaging in more physical activity. As such, public investment in parks can be thought of as a public health intervention for chronic diseases and conditions, as well as general population health.

To date, the literature exploring the relationship between parks and health outcomes, specifically those related to physical activity and obesity, has yielded mixed results. Importantly, there is considerable variation in the design of past studies, including the spatial scale of analysis, the population of interest, and the measure of proximity and/or accessibility. While studies of neighborhood level health impacts do exist, they typically focus on discrete populations of interest within individual parks instead of examining the impacts of larger park networks (Bancroft et al. 2015; Coutts 2008). Other studies have used the city and metropolitan statistical area as the spatial scale of analysis, which in some cases has resulted in the discovery of positive associations between increased park space and positive health impacts but may conceal more nuanced relationships that exist at smaller spatial scales (Larson et al. 2016). Evaluating the health impacts of parks and greenspaces using a smaller unit of analysis is an important research gap to fill, especially considering that park use and physical activity within parks varies considerably according to residential proximity to parks and park facilities as well as a number of sociodemographic factors (Kaczynski et al. 2014). There are important urban design considerations here; is it better to build a single large park with many different amenities, or to build a series of smaller parks nearer people's homes. Similarly, do parks placed near low-income households affect the behavior of those households?

This study attempts to fill that gap using New York City as a case study example. Using a new measure of park access called ‘Park Choice Accessibility,’ we find

Existing Literature

Urbanization and Public Health Outcomes

Across the world, the population of cities is growing at an unprecedented rate. With a current estimated global urban population of over 3.5 billion people, the United Nations Population Fund estimates that by 2030, 5 billion people will inhabit cities worldwide. By 2050, an additional 3 billion people will live in cities – a sixty percent increase over twenty years – with much of this growth expected to take place in the developing world (United Nations Population Fund, 2016). Despite the greater expected concentration of urban growth in other parts of the globe, the trend of urbanization is highly visible in the United States as well. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, “The nation’s urban population increased by 12.1 percent from 2000 to 2010, outpacing the nation’s overall growth rate of 9.7 percent for the same period.” Nowak and Walton (2005) estimate that urban land area as a percentage of total land area in the U.S. will increase from 3.1% in 2000 to approximately 8.1% by the year 2050, with urbanized places collectively comprising a land area larger than the state of Montana. More than eighty percent of the U.S. population now lives in urban areas, compared to sixty-four percent in 1950 (United States Census Bureau 2007).

The global trend of urbanization has profound implications for population health, both positive and negative. Because urbanization corresponds with an increase in population density compared to rural and suburban settlement patterns, residents of dense urban areas throughout the world have better access on average to many health services and health-promoting amenities simply because of their closer proximity to such resources (Larson et al. 2016). However, despite this benefit of increased density and the ability of cities to provide many opportunities for innovation, economic growth and social progress, historical and current evidence suggests that rapid urban growth often leads to congestion and numerous negative environmental and human health outcomes. Interactions between growing urban populations and their environment, marked by intensive resource consumption and ecologically harmful patterns of development, lead to numerous undesired consequences including pollution and sanitation issues as well as racial and socioeconomic disparities (Larson et al. 2016).

Because of the considerable growth of urbanization throughout the world, many city planning and public health professionals have begun to pay more attention to the role of the built environment in promoting or discouraging health behaviors. Until recently, most large-scale health promotion efforts focused on individual-level interventions intended to educate people about health lifestyles and behaviors, touching on topics including diet and exercise. According to Coutts (2008) however, this trend is shifting as professionals “have begun adopting an ecological paradigm, accepting that both individual and environmental determinants play a role in health behavior. This new, arguably revisited, public-health paradigm accounts not only for the compositional (who you are) but also for the contextual (where you are) influences on physical activity.” As professionals begin to operate from the assumption that the design and configuration of the built environment can facilitate or inhibit physical activity, they are increasingly looking to public spaces like parks and greenways as key elements of the built environment that can support exercise Coutts (2008); Bedimo-Rung et al. (2005).

Review of the Health Benefits of Parks

A large body of literature exists documenting the many benefits of urban parks and greenspaces to human health and wellbeing. Importantly, these benefits stem from the provision of ecosystem services, which occur when the natural environment supplies something that people demand, improving quality of life and well-being (Larson et al. 2016). These services can include the provisioning of goods such as fresh water and agricultural products; regulatory functions including protection of drinking water quality, heat mitigation, air purification, and stormwater management; and cultural functions, such as improving aesthetics, providing opportunities for recreation, tourism, and physical and mental health, and promoting biodiversity (?). According to Wolch et al. (2014), parks and greenspaces provide "... a wide range of ecosystem services that could help combat many urban ills and improve life for city dwellers—especially their health. . . Ecosystem services provided by urban greenspace not only support the ecological integrity of cities, but can also protect the public health of urban populations." Table 1 summarizes commonly cited benefits of parks and greenspaces.

Table 1. Commonly cited benefits of parks and greenspaces

Category	Summary of Benefits
Physical Health	Provide clean drinking water (Benedict and McMahon 2006) Foster increased physical activity Promote faster healing in hospitals (Akbari et al. 2001) Reduce of heat-related mortality Reduce incidence of cardiovascular-related mortality Improved air quality and related reductions in respiratory-related mortality (Lovasi et al. 2008) Reduce incidence of childhood asthma (Wolf 2008) Improve birth outcomes
Mental Health	Reduce stress and mental fatigue Reduce aggression Enhance emotional and cognitive development Improve behavioral outcomes in youth
Social Health	Enhanced community aesthetics Reduce crime Increase social interaction
Economic Health	Provide of ecosystem services Increase residential property values and municipal property tax revenues Attract more shoppers and increase economic activity to commercial districts

Given the general benefits of parks and greenspaces in Table 1, several studies have attempted to quantify the impacts of these spaces on different facets of health and wellbeing at the city level, yielding mixed results. Larson et al. (2016) used self-reported scores on the Gallup-Healthways Wellbeing Index to evaluate the relationship between different areas of wellbeing, including physical health, and park quantity, quality, and accessibility in 44 U.S. cities. The authors found that "Park quantity (measured as the percentage of city area covered by public parks) was among the strongest predictors of overall wellbeing, and the strength of this relationship appeared to be driven by parks' contributions

to physical and community wellbeing” (Larson, Jennings & Cloutier 2016). While the authors found positive associations between wellbeing and park quality and accessibility, these relationships were not statistically significant. A study by West et al. (2012) used park data from the Trust for Public Land’s 2010 City Park Facts and public health data from the Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System (BRFSS) to examine relationships between the density of parkland, parkland per capita, and levels of physical activity and obesity for 67 metropolitan statistical areas in the U.S. The study found a significant, positive association between park density and physical activity and a significant, negative association between park density and obesity. In a study of New York City, Stark et al. (2014) found that the “proportion of neighborhoods that was large or small park space and park cleanliness were associated with lower BMI among NYC adults after adjusting for other neighborhood features such as homicides and walkability, characteristics that could influence park usage.”

Interestingly, in a study by Richardson et al. (2012) that examined the relationship between urban greenspace and selected mortality rates, the authors did not find a statistically significant relationship between the quantity of urban greenspace and mortality caused by lung cancer, diabetes, heart disease or car accidents, but found that all-cause mortality was significantly higher in greener cities. In a meta-analysis of 20 peer reviewed journal articles exploring the relationship between parks and objectively measured physical activity, Bancroft et al. (2015) found that five studies reported a significant positive association between the two, six studies produced mixed results, and nine studies found no association at all.

While several of the aforementioned studies yielded results consistent with the hypothesis that park access and use confer health benefits stemming from increased physical activity and attendant decreases in obesity, all of the studies – except some that were included in the meta-analysis by Bancroft et al. (2015) — were conducted at the level of the city or metropolitan statistical area, potentially concealing variation in health outcomes at more fine-grained levels of analysis (Larson et al. 2016).

Accessibility to Parks

To evaluate the impacts of parks and greenspaces on health outcomes at any scale, one of the fundamental tasks involved is the selection of a measure of accessibility. In a comprehensive meta-analysis of published studies that measure active accessibility (accessibility using non-motorized travel modes including walking and cycling), Vale et al. (2016) identified four broad categories of studies based on the active accessibility metric employed: “distance-based, gravity-based or potential, topological or infrastructure-based, and walkability and walk score-type measures.” Distance-based measures account only for the Euclidean distance between origins and destinations, while infrastructure-based measures explicitly incorporate relevant transportation networks like roads and sidewalks to more accurately measure travel time and distance. Gravity-based measures incorporate cost measures to model accessibility as a function of a destination’s attractiveness (i.e., size, commercial activity, etc.) and the cost of traveling to that destination from a given origin (i.e., travel time or distance).

Importantly, Vale et al. acknowledge that there is not yet a consensus on the most appropriate accessibility metric to use in a given setting, noting that “ways to measure active accessibility are as varied as the number of scholars the measure them.” However, their meta-analysis highlights some of the limitations associated with each of the types of metrics described. For example, in describing distance-based accessibility measures, the authors note that such measures are “extremely sensitive to the way in which travel impedance (i.e., distance) is measured. Accordingly, four types of distance can

be identified: Euclidean distance, Manhattan distance, shortest network distance, and shortest network time”. The appropriateness of one distance-based measure over another can vary significantly depending on the topography of the environment and the travel mode that is being employed. In describing gravity-based accessibility measures, which “assume that travel is a derived demand and there is a tradeoff between the benefit of the opportunity and the cost to reach it from a given origin,” the authors note that such measures do not always explicitly account for land use characteristics near origins and destinations, which may impact that true accessibility of those places.

In evaluating methodologies of measuring access to urban services, including parks and greenspaces, Logan et al. (2017) note that existing and commonly used approaches “often simplify their measure of proximity by using large areal units and by imposing arbitrary distance thresholds,” which often results in access-poor populations being overlooked. The authors concede that many existing approaches have long been necessary because the computational power required to use higher-resolution analytical techniques was unavailable. However, due to recent advances in computation power and the advent of municipal open-data policies, Logan et al. recommend that future analyses of accessibility disaggregate population data to the building or parcel level and use network distance instead of Euclidean distance to measure proximity.

Choice-based Accessibility

Consider that an individual is choosing a park for a recreation activity. According to basic choice theory (McFadden 1974), the probability of choosing park p from the set of all regional parks J is:

$$P(p|V_p) = \frac{\exp(V_p)}{\sum_{j \in J} \exp(V_j)}$$

where parks are differentiated from each other by their relative measurable utilities V . In principle, V may include any measurable attributes of either the choice maker or the park. In this study we use a linear formulation of

$$V_{ij} = size_j \beta_s + distance_{ij} \beta_d$$

incorporating the size of the park in acres and the distance of the park from the census tract i in miles. The coefficients β are typically estimated from surveys, though in the absence of a survey we apply a maximum likelihood technique described below.

A key theoretical understanding of random utility choice models is that the consumer surplus of the choice set can be obtained as the log-sum of the denominator of the choice probability equation. In plainer terms, the *total value* of an individual’s park accessibility is defined to be:

$$CS_i = \ln \left(\sum_{j \in J} \exp(V_{ij}) \right)$$

There are several advantages to a log-sum defined metric relative to buffer-based accessibility metrics more commonly found in the literature. First, all individuals are defined as having some access to all parks, rather than an arbitrary limit of 1/2 mile or so. This allows for the fact that some people are more

or less sensitive to distances, and that distance is a continuous, and not a binary, phenomenon. Second, the random utility formulation allows the researcher to include any attribute of the park; in this case, we consider the size of the park as an element of accessibility. This suggests that not all parks are equal, and that a large park such as New York City's Central Park may provide health and activity benefits over a much larger area than a smaller community square.

Methodology

```
tracts <- geojson_read("data/nyc_tracts.geojson", what = "sp")
tracts_sf <- st_read("data/nyc_tracts.geojson", quiet = TRUE) %>%
  st_transform(4326)

# identify complete cases
complete_tracts_index <- tracts_sf %>%
  st_set_geometry(NULL) %>%
  tbl_df() %>%
  complete.cases()
tracts <- tracts[complete_tracts_index, ]
```

We obtained data on aggregate health outcomes from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) for census tracts in the New York City area. After removing tracts with missing population information, we have `Sexprnrow(tracts)` complete cases.

```
parks <- sf::st_read("data/nyc_parks.geojson", quiet = TRUE) %>%
  mutate(
    log_size = log(Park_Acres),
    log_tweets = yeo.johnson(TWEET_COUNT, 0)
  )
```

We also collected data on park geometry.

Park Choice Logsum

In the absence of a park choice survey, we estimated likely values of the β coefficients by iteratively searching for the values which produced the highest model likelihood in **which model did we use to estimate likelihood?**. The search was constrained by two assertions. First, we required that the coefficient on size be positive and that on distance negative; all else equal, people will prefer to use larger parks that are nearer to their residence. Second, we visually inspected the resulting accessibility scores to ensure that the scores produced a reasonably varied pattern of access throughout the metropolitan region.

$$A_i = \log \sum_{j \in J} \exp(\text{distance}_{ij}\beta_d + \text{size}_j\beta_j + \text{tweets}_j\beta_t)$$

We wrote a function to calculate this value for an arbitrary distance matrix, size and tweets vector, and coefficients.

Spatial dependence and correlation

Using tracts as the unit of observation in the model allows us to consider the availability of parks at a metropolitan level, but it also introduces the problem spatial correlation of unobserved errors and spatial dependence in the data generating process (Cliff and Ord 1970; Anselin 1980). Spatial correlation occurs when spatially-distributed unobservable or missing variables (school quality, neighborhood prestige, etc.) influence the modeled outcomes. Spatial dependence occurs when the outcome *depends* on the outcome in neighboring areas; for example, seeing neighbors exercising may encourage exercise. The relaxed spatial Durbin model (SDM) proposed by Burridge (1981) controls for both processes:

$$\mathbf{y} = \rho W \mathbf{y} + X \boldsymbol{\beta} + W X \boldsymbol{\gamma} + \boldsymbol{\epsilon} \quad (1)$$

where ρ is the estimated spatial correlation between the outcome variables $y_i, y_j, \dots \in \mathbf{y}$, W is a matrix specifying the spatial relationship between observations i and j in the dataset, $\boldsymbol{\beta}$ is a vector of estimable coefficients relating the attributes X of an observation to its outcome, and $\boldsymbol{\gamma}$ is a vector of estimated coefficients relating the attributes of an observation's *neighbors* to its outcome.

The researcher must assert W *a priori*, though there are several common specifications (Dubin 1998). In this study we specify that tracts with centroids located within 1.8 miles of each other are considered neighbors, and the strength of the relationship is the inverse of the distance between them:

$$W_{ij} = \begin{cases} \frac{1/d_{ij}}{\sum_{k=1}^n (1/d_{ik})} & \text{for } d_{ij} \leq 1.8 \text{ miles} \\ 0 & \text{for } d_{ij} > 1.8 \text{ miles} \end{cases} \quad (2)$$

```
tracts.dnn <- dnearneigh(gCentroid(tracts, byid = TRUE), 0, 1.8 * 5280)
dists <- nbdist(tracts.dnn, gCentroid(tracts, byid = TRUE))
dists.inv <- lapply(dists, function(x) 1 / x)
W <- nb2listw(neighbours = tracts.dnn, glist = dists.inv,
              zero.policy = TRUE, style = "W")

## Warning in nb2listw(neighbours = tracts.dnn, glist = dists.inv,
## zero.policy = TRUE, : zero sum general weights

trMC <- trW(as(W, "CsparseMatrix"), type="MC") # trace used in montecarlo impac
```

It may in some cases be more efficient to estimate a restricted spatial autoregressive model, that controls for only correlation or dependence. Macfarlane et al. (2015) illustrate a decision algorithm — proposed by Florax et al. (2003) — which uses a likelihood ratio test of the SDM against a restricted spatial error model (SEM): if the likelihood ratio test rejects that the models are equivalent, then the SDM should be used.

A final point to note about spatial autoregressive models is that the partial derivative of the model with respect to a single regressor $x_k \in X$ does not equal the estimated coefficient β_k . Consequently, the

estimated coefficients do not represent the *effect* of a variable on the outcome. The direct effects of an observation's attribute on its outcome, the indirect effects of neighbors' attributes on an outcome, and the total effect of own and neighbors' attributes can be attained via Monte Carlo simulation. In this study we use the `spdep` package for R (Bivand et al. 2013) for model estimation and impact simulation.

Results

Conclusion

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