More than just a skate park?

A review and practical guide on how to make urban green space more accessible to adolescents to support health and wellbeing

Why does this report matter?

- **1 in 6 young people globally, aged between 16-24, have symptoms of a common mental health disorder such as depression or anxiety.[1]**

- **Half of all mental health problems manifest by the age of 14, with 75% by age 24.[2]**

- **Children from low-income families are four times more likely to experience mental health disorders than children from wealthy families.[3]**

- **Children are spending more free time engaged in indoor sedentary activities than in active outdoor play in the UK, with 21 minutes less per day spent in outdoor play in 2015 compared to 1975.[4]**

- **Since 2010, austerity policies in the UK have contributed to the challenging questions of how we equitably invest in green space.[5]**

- **The Covid-19 pandemic has emphasised the value of accessible, healthy green spaces for all.[6]**

What is this report about?

This report is a summary of recent research and related literature on urban green space and how to improve access for adolescents. Green spaces provide an opportunity to support and improve mental and physical health across all ages, including adolescents. Highlighting case studies from across the world, this report highlights new insights and provides practical advice on how to improve urban green space for adolescents, challenging the widely held view that all young people want are built resources such as skate parks.[7]

The report looks at both planning and design (the development of new elements and structures) and management (the maintenance and development of existing structures and spaces), as well as how best to engage adolescents in these processes to ensure their use and benefit from green spaces.

Who should read this?

Individuals and organisations involved in the planning, design, and management of green space as well as those who work with adolescents. These might include:

- Local Authorities
- park/green space managers
- urban planners
- conservation charities
- youth charities, and
- education institutes (schools, colleges, and universities).

Is a half-pipe the answer?

Green space is a vital resource for people of all ages.[8] It is a place to socialise, exercise and contributes to wellbeing. Recent reviews have found that provision of, and good access to, quality green space can generate positive impacts on adolescents' mental health and well-being.[9,10] Exposure to nature is associated with higher self-esteem and quality of life, and reduced symptoms of depression and attention deficit disorder.

> This report considers 'green space' to be any area of urban or rural vegetated land, including waterside areas.
>
> This includes both public and private spaces such as parks, gardens, playing fields, children's play areas, woods and other natural areas, grassed areas, cemeteries and allotments, green corridors, disused railway lines, rivers and canals, coastlines, derelict, vacant and contaminated land which has the potential to be transformed.[12]

> This report refers to adolescents as individuals aged between 10 and 19, as defined by the World Health Organisation.[1]
>
> The US Department of Health & Human Services describes this time as "A period of great potential as young people engage more deeply with the world around them. Adolescents typically grow physically, try new activities, begin to think more critically, and develop more varied and complex relationships".[11]

Adolescents are at a stage in life where they are beginning to develop independence, yet most are unable to purchase their own living space or travel far from home.[13] Green space offers an important opportunity to fulfil this need. It is a resource that is usually free to use, without time limits, and distributed widely (although it is acknowledged that there are multiple individual, social and cultural barriers to access). Yet, whilst adolescents are a significant user group of urban green space, these parks and public areas are more often designed with young children and adults in mind. When adolescents are considered, it is often with the misplaced view that all they want are skate parks.

"Parks are quite good because the thing with parks and stuff they can't really kick you out. So you can stay as long as we are not affecting people". **Girl, 14 years old.**[13]

"There is nothing to do for young people of my age, it's all for children, the swings and slides. They should put things for us, as well." **Girl, 14 years old.** [13]

These remarks are taken from a 2005-07, 18-month study in Glasgow, looking at how 56 teenage participants use parks and green space. The study found parks are very important in the narrative of the participant's daily lives but that they felt out of place in these spaces due to the lack of facilities provided for them.[13]

Whilst adolescents recognise green space as a potential place for socialising and recreation, they feel these spaces need to be designed with a greater awareness of adolescents' needs in mind.[13] Not only will this help indicate to other users that adolescents are welcome, allowing them to feel more comfortable, it will increase the likelihood of their use of the green spaces and deriving a health and wellbeing benefit from them.

A diversity of environments, facilities and programming is likely to enhance the inclusivity of public green space. Recent campaigns have started to push for more to be done on the inclusivity of public spaces, especially parks, for example 'Make Space for Girls', which works specifically to encourage and provide solutions to make these spaces more accessible and appealing to girls and young women.[14]

Creating adolescent-friendly green spaces

Drawing on case studies, this section explores existing and innovative approaches to creating green spaces that offer a more attractive, safe, and healthy place for adolescents. Due to the limited UK evidence available, global examples have been selected, although focused on countries with similar contexts to the UK.

We acknowledge that there are other issues and dimensions not explored in this brief summary, but the bibliography provides links to some valuable resources and more detailed discussion.

The following key approaches and design features are considered.

- **Co-designed approach**
- **Social space**
- **Nature**
- **Safety**
- **Wi-fi**
- **Art**
- **Events**
- **Youth council**

Co-designed approach

When planning or changing a public space, public support is essential. Co-designing the space with key members of the local community will ensure important local features and sensitivities are considered before the design phase, and increase the likelihood of its use.

Co-designing the space with key members of the local community will ensure important local features and sensitivities are considered during the design phase, and can increase the likelihood of its use. Drawing on research on co-production, there are five key elements for success.[15]

- Park managers and users of parks are active agents in the process.
- Relationships are equal and all contributions valued.
- The partnership is reciprocal and has mutual benefits.
- Participation informs design and delivery of services.
- The participation of users is encouraged and supported by local organisations (such as the local schools/colleges, community youth groups, community adult groups etc.).

Traditional forms of engagement such as stakeholder meetings held in council buildings are unlikely to attract high adolescent turnout, so communication styles should be adapted. Methods such as online surveys via social media, and interesting competitions or incentives, have proved successful in increasing teenage participation.[16] Working with youth services, schools and voluntary sector groups offering services for adolescents can help design appropriate forms of engagement.

Working with the whole community, not just adolescents, will foster a healthy understanding of the motivations behind each green space user group, and will help other users understand why, and how, adolescents want to use green space.

Case study: Growing up Boulder

Growing up Boulder (GUB) is a teenager friendly initiative in the city of Boulder, Colorado, that started in 2009. Their work aims to ensure teenagers help to inform projects such as the design of public spaces, transit systems, housing, and resilience planning. The GUB co-ordinator reported that "research shows incorporating the views of adolescents in the design of parks and public spaces leads to increased satisfaction by youth, and feelings of increased interconnectedness with the community".[17] In 2016, the City of Boulder Parks and Recreation department began planning the upgrade of four urban parks, and collaborated with GUB to ensure adolescents were engaged in discussions about how to create more opportunities for them in the city parks. In total, a group of adolescents, undergraduates, community leaders, and partners spent 15 hours consulting together.

"I liked how they actually asked the kids and not just assumed [what we wanted]."

"I think kids would go to more places because we designed it."
[Statements from adolescents who participated in the consultation] [18]

GUB has been running for 11 years and has influenced over 100 city and community projects by contributing a 'youth voice' to their design and development.[19] The initiative engages children of all backgrounds to ensure their input is included in local government decisions around the design of public spaces. Growing up Boulder is one of a few studies that monitors the effects and impact of co-production with adolescents, demonstrating its value.

Social space

Adolescents want outdoor spaces where they can socialise, be in nature, and feel safe.[20]

"I don't use skate parks because I don't have a skateboard and do not like skate boarding, also I'm a girl and there's not a lot of things/activities for us. Very unfair and that is why girls don't get outside as much." **Teenage girl responding to a survey about parks in her area.[21]**

It is clear from perception surveys and reports that adolescents want outdoor spaces where they can socialise. The stereotype for socialisation provision is an old shelter, with graffiti and broken glass, that can easily become a location for anti-social behaviour.[22] However, there are good examples of social spaces in parks created with adolescents in mind, where adolescents have their own space, whilst still being connected to other areas and park users.[21] Traditional options such as benches can be welcome, but other, more creative, designs should also be considered.
An Australian survey in 2016 asked 336 adolescents (48% female and 52% male) what they would most like to see in green spaces.[21]

The top 5 suggestions were:

- a place to hang out
- playful elements
- ball courts
- social seating, and
- fitness and climbing.

In a similar study in Sweden in 2016, adolescents discussed how areas providing swings and age-appropriate playground equipment e.g. flying foxes, structures for climbing, should also offer spaces for seating and socialising.[23] A recent review found that, as with other age groups, amenities such as drinking fountains, toilets and paths were also mentioned as important factors for encouraging socialising in green space.[24] The review suggested that providing a range of seating options and facilities creates opportunities for social meetings and enables green space to become multifunctional places.

There is clearly a challenge to creating integrated, inclusive, welcoming spaces, whilst also providing facilities suitable for the needs and wants of specific groups, such as adolescents. Whilst there are no simple solutions, this emphasises the need for a careful, co-designed approach to designing social spaces that feel safe and welcoming for all. Groups of adolescents can sometimes be perceived as problematic and may feel excluded from public facilities by other users who feel a greater entitlement to be there.

In Greater Shepparton, Australia, a report on creating space for teenagers discusses a way to combat perceived, or actual, conflict by ensuring the whole community is involved in designing communal spaces.[21] Co-design with the community is a strong theme across the literature as a way of addressing the tensions around public space and mitigating potential issues. This emphasises that design with, and for, adolescents should also consider the whole community, and other dimensions of access and inclusivity.[12, 25]

Case studies

Public Workshop works with adolescents and their communities to build interesting park and street 'furniture'.[26] In 2016, 200 students created designs for seating that was to sit between an elementary school (5 to 10 years old) and middle-high school (11 to 18 years old) in Phoenix. The winning design mimicked a beehive structure.

Image: publicworkshop.us

Islington Spafields Park Gimme Shelter project (2003). The design of the regeneration site was created through a particpatory process with local young adults (incuding nine schools in the area) with particular focus on groups that are less likely to be involved. The regeneration significantly reduced vandalism and anti-social behaviour in the preceeding years.[27]

Image: Youth Space, Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park

Nature

Studies show that one reason adolescents visit parks and green spaces is to be closer to nature.[28] They express preferences for aesthetically pleasing spaces, with diverse natural features including water, trees and flowers, as well as appreciating sensory experiences such as bird song. Nature also provides a backdrop to their activities: natural planting arrangements can be used to create multifunctional green space, providing less visible or private areas where adolescents can find space away from other people.[22, 24]

Traditional planting schemes do not necessarily meet these needs, and there has been a move towards more biodiverse landscaping in recent years, such as the creation of urban meadows.
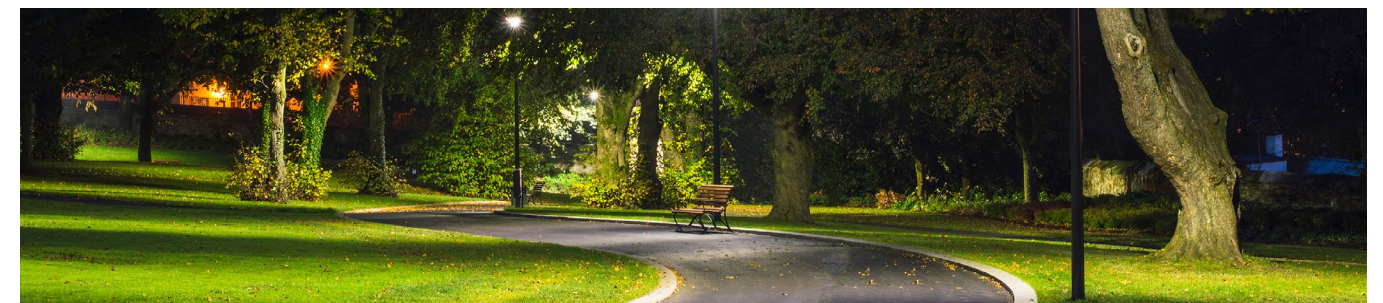

Safety

In 2016, the Heritage Lottery funded State of the UK Public Parks report found that only 53% of park managers reported their parks were in a good state (down 7% from 2014). 55% of managers expected their revenue to be cut by 10-20% over the next three years, with 38.6% expecting to see the condition of their parks to decline due to less maintenance work. They expected this to have an impact on various issues such as the aesthetics, facilities and safety of the parks.[31]

"Over time, we expect serious maintenance issues to become apparent in parks, such as keeping tarmac paths in good condition, replacing play equipment, and tree maintenance. Gradually, the decline in the condition of parks will make parks more difficult, less pleasant and less safe to use, impacting on the health and wellbeing of communities that rely on them. This decline will be very challenging and expensive to reverse."
Written evidence submitted to the House of commons Public Park report from the Ramblers [PSK151][32]

In a 2010 study of parks in Scotland young adults cited safety and cleanliness as an important factor for using the park. Broken glass, needles, dog fouling and vandalised equipment are all, perhaps unsurprisingly, deterrents to using a park.[33] Young adolescents interviewed in the study cited overgrown dark places and lack of functioning lighting as safety concerns.

In regard to lighting in particular, best practice can be drawn from outdoor skate parks.[34]

- Lighting on a timer (agreed with residents) to switch off at a given time at night.
- Lighting used to communicate when the park is about to close (dimming or flashing lights).
- Adequate lighting on paths leading from the park back to residential areas to boost security. Eradicate dark spots on routes back to people's residence and/or create 'safe routes' or zones that are covered by CCTV and lighting.

Outdoor WiFi

For many young people being connected online is a huge priority. However, access to the internet at home can be varied and limited, and there is a digital divide between those that can and cannot afford mobile internet service.

Free WiFi in parks can create a safe space to go where adolescents can do their homework and socialise whilst, crucially being outside and benefitting from green space. Many examples of organisations working within parks, state free WiFi as a priority cited by adolescents.[18, 21]

Art

Art works can enhance the general experience, interest, and appeal of public green spaces. While art is not specific to adolescents, certain types of art or augmentation may present opportunities to make spaces feel particularly welcoming to this age group and provide additional activities to those more typically on offer. For example, public art can include QR codes that link to online resources, or a bespoke hashtag and selfie spot set up to facilitate social media posts. Sculptures can be loaned from local artists, or can be created with local schools and colleges - sometimes, more temporary installations can be an advantage, as this keeps it interesting.[35] Teenagers want interactive spaces with art they can touch and feel, not that is cordoned off.[36]

Public art experiences for adolescents could incorporate the following elements:

- interactive art that changes regularly and can be touched
- art that links to social media
- art that can be borrowed temporarily, or ephemeral art
- art that is created by local groups/schools/students, or
- engaging activities such as a 'geocaching' type art trails using QR codes and social media.

Events

Hosting events in a park makes them feel like a destination to go to. Whilst events do not need to be specifically adolescent-focused, event planning should ensure they are inclusive to all. Events can be expensive to organise and run, but appropriate spaces within a park can be hired out, and events for adolescents encouraged. Parks in some places run their own youth programmes, including exercise classes, cooking classes, drop-in art sessions etc.

Key elements to consider when planning park events for adolescents are:[37]

- movie nights, food vendors and live music are among the most popular events
- events should capitalise on the unique assets the park has to offer (for example poetry or music in a covered band stand, mindfulness sessions in a wildflower area, sports/games if there is a large enough open area), and
- events cannot be all things to all young people and should not be expected to appeal to every teenager.

Youth Council

Around the world, and in many UK local authority areas, youth councils have been created. Participants contribute to local issues and there are opportunities to be involved in the UK youth parliament.[38] However, parks can also have their own youth councils. Although this is a resource intensive option, it could be hosted by local schools or youth organisations, or be associated with existing park community groups. Participants sign up to serve for a period of time (generally a year) and are responsible for:

- developing the vision for the park;
- suggesting and organising events (such as movie nights/park cleans/park festivals); and
- reviewing changes to the park.

Those on the youth council also gain valuable experience that can help them in the future, including:

- planning skills (in relation to events)
- balancing the needs of young people with those of other park users
- communicating ideas effectively with peers and organisers/councils etc.
- prioritising resources
- decision making skills
- working as a team towards a common goal, and
- communicating in a professional manner.

A recent project 'Kick The Dust: Future Proof Parks' has aimed to support and encourage young people to join their local 'friends of' park groups, another key mechanism by which young people can have a voice if supported to do so.[39]

Case study

The Legacy Youth Voice, Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park, London, was formed in 2008 (four years before the 2012 Olympics) and currently has 200 youth members. The aim of the Legacy Youth Voice is to:

- influence and shape the Park;
- review and input into design plans and strategy documents;
- be the voice out to young people about what is happening in the Park;
- help to develop opportunities for young people to get involved in the Park; and
- provide development and personal growth opportunities for young people involved in the group.[40]

The Legacy Youth Voice has been successful, recruiting new members every year. It is still running and involved in influencing decisions about the park.

Looking to the future

Mental health problems are increasing in children and young people in the UK

The statistics around adolescent mental health are worrying. Poor mental health affects low-income families disproportionately, and mental health problems in adolescence have the potential to persist through adult life, leading to long-term impacts on workplace productivity and sickness. These impacts have been exacerbated and intensified through the Covid-19 pandemic.[41] Access to green space is by no means a full solution to these challenges, but may be a useful part of how we approach them in the coming years.

Adolescents are a particularly vulnerable, yet underserved group

Adolescence is a time of change and experimentation. Young people typically like to try new things, develop their identity and may move between social groups as they explore their own interests and motivations. This time of transition and uncertainty, can make them vulnerable to exploitation and engaging with risky behaviours such as unprotected sex and experimentation with illegal substances. As a result, this 'adolescent' stage of life can often lead to increased incidence of physical, and mental health and wellbeing difficulties, that if left unchecked, can develop into life long issues. Spending time in quality green spaces can be part of the solution. It is important we look beyond the stereotypical perception that adolescents are only interested in parks to engage in antisocial behaviors such as drawing graffiti, smoking and drinking alcohol. We know that many adolescents value and benefit from the health and wellbeing opportunities offered by green spaces, and their facilities, and this needs to be encouraged and rolled-out more widely to this age group.

Working in collaboration with adolescents, to understand why and how they want to use their local green spaces, will help authorities and managers provide healthier, more inclusive public places.

How can we make the most of green space for adolescents' health and wellbeing?

A multi-faceted approach is required for supporting and delivering improvements in adolescents' health and wellbeing and, in light of the growing evidence, access to suitably designed and managed green space may be an important part of the solution.

Despite a relative lack of specific research around adolescent health, there is substantial and growing body of evidence that shows human mental health and wellbeing can be improved by spending time outside in green space. Physical activity in green space has been estimated to have a health value of £2.2 billion per year for those aged 16+ in England.[42] In London, green space is estimated to save £370 million per year by contributing to improved mental health.[43]

There is a clear incentive, therefore, to invest not just in creating new, accessible and well co-designed green space, but in managing the green space we already have, and preventing its further degradation.[31] Health and wellbeing benefits for young people at population scale could be realised through engaging adolescents in using these spaces, and facilitating greater, inclusive access to green space. These issues should also be considered in the wider context of making the most of green space for people's health and wellbeing more generally.[44]

Inclusivity, diversity and discrimination in our natural environments are recognised as vital issues governmental and non-governmental agencies must tackle, engaging society at large.[12, 45]

The challenges of engaging adolescents in the use of green space

The research and case studies summarised here make clear that many adolescents want to spend time in green space and take advantage of the many health benefits from doing so. There are various challenges, however, to engaging adolescents in the use and benefit from green spaces. It is important to consider these before undertaking a green space enhancement project.

- Green space is typically designed with young children, families, and adults, in mind, rather than adolescents (although there are a growing number of innovative examples from across the world). Adolescents want to feel included in the design of these spaces and made to feel welcome by other users.

- Adolescents can feel uncomfortable or unsafe in green spaces, due to factors such as poor lighting, poorly maintained grass and planting areas, run down facilities, and litter problems.

- As with other groups in society, adolescents relish the diversity of opportunities afforded by green spaces. Typical adolescent facilities such as skate parks and socialising areas are important, but so are lush green spaces, with trees, flowers and running water, social seating, attractions such as art displays and events, and spaces designed especially for adolescent use, yet remain an integral, and connected part of the overall green space.

- Engaging adolescents in planning, creating and maintaining green spaces for them is key.

- Adolescents are often an underserved and under-heard audience. They exhibit just as much diversity in needs and wants for green spaces as other age groups. In many places there is already an established infrastructure of organisations working and engaging with adolescents, including schools, youth groups, sport societies and charities, and youth workers who are established in the community. Working with these established organisations and relationships to engage adolescents in green spaces can help reduce barriers and challenges for all.

What next?

This resource offers insights into how green space might be better managed and used to deliver health and wellbeing benefits to adolescents, however, there is clearly a need to know more. Further collaborative research is needed to understand how best to improve and manage our green spaces to benefit adolescents' mental and physical health and wellbeing, developing evidence that can prompt further debate, secure further funding and deliver action.

This work raises many important questions for those working in this field. We leave you with a few of these and invite you to share your experiences via the Investing in Nature for Health webpages.

- How can funding and development in this area address these issues?

- Are there alternative sources of funding for activities focussed on adolescents – beyond those we've currently highlighted in our alternative funding mechanism resource?

- How can the inequalities of access to green space for adolescences be addressed?

- What are the key barriers to engagement, and are there examples of inspiring practice that successfully tackle these?

- How can green spaces be managed for both adolescent health and wellbeing benefit and environmental gains (such as increased biodiversity)?

- What characteristics of green spaces make them amenable to the diverse preferences and needs of adolescents without excluding others?

- Do you have successful examples of engaging and sustaining adolescents' involvement in green space activities?

References

1. WHO.int. 2021. Adolescent health. [online] [Accessed 2 July 2021].

2. Kessler, R., Berglund, P., Demler, O., Jin, R., Merikangas, K. and Walters, E., 2005. Lifetime Prevalence and Age-of-Onset Distributions of DSM-IV Disorders in the National Comorbidity Survey Replication. Archives of General Psychiatry, 62(6), p.593.

3. Morrison Gutman, L., Joshi, H., Parsonage, M. & Schoon, I. 2015 Children of the new century: mental health findings from the Millenium Cohort Study. London: Centre for Mental Health

4. Mullan, K., 2018. A child's day: trends in time use in the UK from 1975 to 2015. The British Journal of Sociology, 70(3), pp.997-1024.

5. Mell, I., 2020. The impact of austerity on funding green infrastructure: A DPSIR evaluation of the Liverpool Green & Open Space Review (LG&OSR), UK. Land Use Policy 91, 104284.

6. Day, B., 2020. The Value of Greenspace Under Pandemic Lockdown. Environmental and Resource Economics, 76(4), pp.1161-1185.

7. Bishop, K. and Corkery, L., 2017. Designing cities with children and young people. New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group.

8. Markevych, I., Schoierer, J., Hartig, T., Chudnovsky, A., Hystad, P., Dzhambov, A., de Vries, S., Triguero-Mas, M., Brauer, M., Nieuwenhuijsen, M., Lupp, G., Richardson, E., Astell-Burt, T., Dimitrova, D., Feng, X., Sadeh, M., Standl, M., Heinrich, J. and Fuertes, E., 2017. Exploring pathways linking greenspace to health: Theoretical and methodological guidance. Environmental Research, 158, pp.301-317.

9. Bray, I., Sinnett, D., Reece, R., Hayward, R. & Martin, F. 2020 New review finds that better access to green spaces has a beneficial impact on anxiety and depression in young people, aged 14 to 24 years. UWE Bristol Centre for Sustainable Planning and Environments blog. [Accessed 2 July 2021]

10. Zhang, Y., Mavoa, S., Zhao, J., Raphael, D. and Smith, M., 2020. The Association between Green Space and Adolescents' Mental Well-Being: A Systematic Review. International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health, 17(18), p.6640.

11. USDHHS. Adolescent Development Explained. [Accessed 2 July 2021].

12. PHE, 2020. Improving access to greenspace. A new review for 2020. London: Public Health England. [Accessed 2 July 2021]

13. Day, R. and Wager, F., 2010. Parks, streets and "just empty space": the local environmental experiences of children and young people in a Scottish study. Local Environment, 15(6), pp.509-523.

14. Make Space for Girls. [Accessed 2 July 2021]

15. Heaton, J., Day, J. and Britten, N., 2015. Collaborative research and the co-production of knowledge for practice: an illustrative case study. Implementation Science, 11(1).

16. unicef, 2018. Shaping urbanization for children A handbook on child-responsive urban planning. [Accessed 2 July 2021].

17. Derr, V. and Kovács, I., 2015. How participatory processes impact children and contribute to planning: a case study of neighborhood design from Boulder, Colorado, USA. Journal of Urbanism: International Research on Placemaking and Urban Sustainability, 10(1), pp.29-48.

18. Mintzer, M., 2017. Growing Up Boulder's Teen-Friendly Parks Report.[Accessed 2 July 2021].

19. Growing Up Boulder, 2021. [Accessed 2 July 2021].

20. Loukaitou-Sideris, A. and Sideris, A., 2009. What Brings Children to the Park? Analysis and Measurement of the Variables Affecting Children's Use of Parks. Journal of the American Planning Association, 76(1), pp.89-107.

21. 2016. Creating a great spot for our teens! Greater Shepparton.[Accessed 28 March 2021].

22. Owens, P., 2002. No Teens Allowed: The Exclusion of Adolescents from Public Spaces. Landscape Journal, 21(1), pp.156-163.

23. Jansson, M., Abdulah, M. and Eriksson, A., 2018. s Urban Forestry & Urban Greening, 30, pp.115-123.

24. Van Hecke, L., Ghekiere, A., Veitch, J., Van Dyck, D., Van Cauwenberg, J., Clarys, P. and Deforche, B., 2018. Public open space characteristics influencing adolescents' use and physical activity: A systematic literature review of qualitative and quantitative studies. Health & Place, 51, pp.158-173.

25. Sensing Nature: Visual impairment and the natural environment. [Accessed 2 July 2021]

26. Public Workshop. [Accessed 2 July 2021]

27. London Legacy Development Corporation. Youth Space. [Accessed 2 July 2021]

28. Owens, P., 1988. Natural landscapes, gathering places, and prospect refuges: characteristics of outdoor places valued by teens. Children's Environments Quarterly, vol. 5, no. 2, 1988, pp. 17–24.

29. Plantlife, 2021. No Mow May. [Accessed 2 July 2021].

30. Plantlife, 2021. Cut less, cut later. [Accessed 2 July 2021]

31. HLF, 2016. State of UK Public Parks. [Accessed 2 July 2021].

32. Communities and Local Government Committee, 2017. Public Parks. The House of Commons. https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201617/cmselect/cmcomloc/45/4502.htm [Accessed 2 July 2021]

33. Day, R. and Wager, F., 2010. Parks, streets and "just empty space": the local environmental experiences of children and young people in a Scottish study. Local Environment, 15(6), pp.509-523.

34. Phillips Lighting, 2021. Case study: Norwich Skate Park [Accessed 2 July 2021].

35. Public Art Online, 2021. Public Art Online Resources - Practical advice - Local authorities - Public Art and Local Authorities. [Accessed 2 July 2021].

36. Play Australia, 2021. Welcome to Play Australia [Accessed 2 July 2021].

37. Child in the City. Parks for teens, 10 features teens want to see [Accessed 2 July 2021]

38. British Youth Council.UK Youth Parliament. [Accessed 2 July 2021].

39. Groundwork, 2021. Kick the Dust: Future Proof Parks. [Accessed 2 July 2021]

40. Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park 2021. Legacy Youth Voice [Accessed 2 July 2021].

41. NHS England, 2020. NHS encourages children and young people to seek help as new data shows rise in mental health problems. [Accessed 2 July 2021].

42. White, M.P., Elliott, L.R., Taylor, T., Wheeler, B.W., Spencer, A., Bone, A., Depledge, M.H., Fleming, L.E., 2016. Recreational physical activity in natural environments and implications for health: A population based cross-sectional study in England. Prev Med 91, 383-388. doi:10.1016/j.ypmed.2016.08.023

43. Vivid Economics, 2017. Natural capital accounts for public green space in London. National Trust/HLF/Mayor of London, London. https://www.london.gov.uk/what-we-do/environment/parks-green-spaces-and-biodiversity/green-infrastructure/natural-capital-account-london [Accessed 2 July 2021]

44. Wheeler, W., Gordon Brown, H., Lovell, R., (2020) Making the Most of Green Space for People's Health. European Centre for Environment and Human Health, University of Exeter.[Accessed 2 July 2021]

45. Mitchell, G. (2019) The Messy Challenge of Environmental Justice in the UK: Evolution, status and prospects. Natural England Commissioned Reports, Number 273. [Accessed 2 July 2021]