

Parks, pedestrians, and pediatric adiposity: A spatiotemporal analysis in an urban longitudinal cohort

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Funding/Support: The GUSTO study is supported by the National Research Foundation (NRF) under the Open Fund–Large Collaborative Grant (OF-LCG; MOH-000504) administered by the Singapore Ministry of Health's National Medical Research Council (NMRC) and the Agency for Science, Technology and Research (A*STAR). In RIE2025, the study is supported by funding from the NRF's Human Health and Potential (HHP) Domain, under the Human Potential Programme. KMG is supported by the UK Medical Research Council (MC_UU_12011/4) and the National Institute for Health and Care Research (NIHR Senior Investigator (NF-SI-0515-10042) and NIHR Southampton Biomedical Research Centre (NIHR203319)). For the purpose of Open Access, the author has applied a Creative Commons Attribution (CC BY) licence to any Author Accepted Manuscript version arising from this submission.

Ethics: Ethical approval for the GUSTO cohort (0–9 years) was granted by the Domain Specific Review Board (DSRB) [D/2009/00021] and the Centralised Institutional Review Board (CIRB) [2018/2767/D]. Ethical approval for the GUSTO follow-up (10 years onwards) was provided by the CIRB and DSRB [2019/2655/E]. Informed parental consent was obtained for all participants.

Conflict of Interest: The authors declare no competing interests.

Data & Code Availability: All code for analyses will be made publicly available. Requests for access to GUSTO data can be submitted to the GUSTO Data Access Committee and will be reviewed in accordance with institutional and ethical guidelines.

Abbreviations: BMI, body mass index; GUSTO, Growing Up in Singapore Towards healthy Outcomes; GPS, global positioning system; SD, standard deviation; CI, confidence interval; WHO, World Health Organization

Keywords: Child adiposity; BMI; Pediatric health; Park access; Urban pedestrian density; Longitudinal cohort; Spatiotemporal exposure

Date: November 23, 2025

Word count (main text): 3691 (auto-computed via texcount)

Abstract word count: 275 (auto-computed via texcount)

Abstract

Background Cities shape child health. Effects are unlikely to be driven by a single feature, but are likely influenced jointly by built and social environments.

Methods We investigated the interaction between increasing park accessibility and pedestrian density on child and adolescent adiposity in 1032 children across 15 years from the Growing Up in Singapore Towards healthy Outcomes (GUSTO, 11,027 child-year observations, 2010–2024). Annual changes in park accessibility within a 15-minute commute were computed using up-to-date governmental inventories. Pedestrian density was derived from anonymized mobile phone GPS data, spatially smoothed to 0.1 km^2 hexagons. We modeled annual changes in BMI (kg/m^2) from birth to early adolescence as a function of changes in park access interacted with density using linear fixed-effect models, adjusting for child, calendar year, and origin/destination neighborhood effects and two-way clustered standard errors (child, geographical region).

Results Mean annual BMI gain was $0.3 \text{ kg}/\text{m}^2$ (SD 1.3), consistent with expected child growth. Overall, increasing park accessibility was associated with a -0.006 (95% CI: $[-0.016, -0.004]$) annual BMI gain. However, the parks–density interaction was negative (-0.021 , 95% CI: $[-0.033, -0.009]$), implying different effects of parks access at different pedestrian densities: One-SD increase in park access (~ 3 parks) was associated with -0.005 , -0.02 , and $-0.03 \text{ kg}/\text{m}^2$ at low (25th percentile), median, and high (75th percentile) density. Age-specific analyses indicate stronger park-density interactions at ages 5–7 and 10–11 years. Results were robust across sensitivity models and consistent across weight-related anthropometric measures (BMI and weight z-scores).

Conclusion Environmental effects are highly context-dependent. In this urban cohort, increases in park access were associated with lower BMI only in higher-density, higher-footfall areas. Increasing parks in low-density areas may not realize the same benefit.

1 Background

1 Childhood obesity has quadrupled globally since 1990,¹ with childhood overweight and obesity
2 prevalence likely to reach 30% by 2030.² Recent data suggests these trends accelerated during the
3 2020 pandemic.^{2–4} Excess adiposity increases long-term risks, including metabolic disorders,
4 cardiovascular diseases, and psychosocial difficulties that persist into adulthood.^{4–10} On current
5 trends, the projected global economic cost will exceed US\$4.3 trillion, or 3% of the world
6 economy (equivalent to the 2020 pandemic shock).³

7 Given that 55% of children (~1.5 billion) now live in cities,¹¹ an important public health
8 conversation has turned to how cities can create anti-obesogenic environments^{10,12–14} that
9 buffer adverse adiposity effects from urbanization.^{2,11} A large body of work has established
10 that neighborhood parks in urban spaces can promote outdoor play in children.^{14–19} Since play
11 and physical activity directly buffer excess adiposity,^{20–22} neighborhood parks and green spaces
12 have emerged as a natural lever for intervention.

13 While some studies have found protective associations of urban green spaces and parks for
14 adiposity and related cardiometabolic markers,^{23–29} many others report null or adverse associa-
15 tions.^{10,12–14,17,30,31} These inconsistencies suggest that park effects are context-dependent. One
16 such salient context is urban density: the level of pedestrian activity and foot traffic in daily lived
17 experiences.^{32,33} Higher-density areas typically imply more amenity stops, greater walkability,
18 and therefore a greater propensity for unstructured outdoor activities that spur spontaneous
19 visits to parks.¹⁶

20 Singapore, where childhood obesity mirrors global numbers in quadrupling (Fig. 1), is a
21 well-suited testbed to examine how parks and urban pedestrian activity shape child adiposity. As
22 a compact city-state with residential densities comparable to Tokyo and New York, Singapore
23 maintains relatively egalitarian amenity distribution through public housing and ethnic integra-
24 tion.³⁴ Low crime rates minimize concerns about neighborhood safety that might complicate
25 interpretations.³⁵ Active urban planning translates into temporal variation in parks as neigh-
26 borhoods are (re)developed over time. Finally, the Growing Up in Singapore Towards healthy
27 Outcomes (GUSTO) cohort offers an opportunity to follow children from birth to age 14 (at the
28 time of study), with repeated and objective anthropometric measurements and geographically

29 diverse residential histories that we can link to land use and density for within-child comparison 29
30 over time. 30

31 This study examined the protective association of neighborhood parks and whether urban 31
32 density changes that association. Specifically, we tested whether living in high-footfall areas 32
33 strengthens the inverse association between park access and adiposity measures, combining 33
34 repeated park and anthropometric measures with network-based travel-time data and anonymized 34
35 mobile phone trace data in a longitudinal model. 35

36 **2 Methods** 36

37 **2.1 Study population** 37

38 The study population is drawn from the Growing Up in Singapore Towards healthy Outcomes 38
39 (GUSTO) cohort, a prospective mother-offspring birth cohort established in 2009. Pregnant 39
40 women in their first trimester were recruited over the course of 2009–2010 from two major public 40
41 maternity hospitals (KK Women’s and Children’s Hospital and National University Hospital). 41
42 The study recruited 1247 pregnant women aged 20–50 years, mostly of Chinese, Indian, and 42
43 Malay ethnicity (approximately 97% of ethnic composition).¹³⁶ Eligibility criteria included 43
44 being aged 18 or older, a Singapore citizen or permanent resident, and intending to reside 44
45 locally for at least five years. Women were excluded if they had significant medical conditions 45
46 (e.g., type 1 diabetes mellitus, psychosis). There were 1,177 deliveries, with an average annual 46
47 attrition of approximately 3%, resulting in a population closer to 800 by 2020. Although not 47
48 geographically representative by design, participant residences closely matched those of women 48
49 aged 20–50 in the 2010 Census, with a correlation of 0.93 across neighborhoods.^{19,37} For this 49
50 analysis, we used 15 years of follow-up data (2010–2024) from 1,032 children, contributing 50
51 11,027 child-year observations (Tab. 1). 51

¹<https://web.archive.org/web/20121021001924/https://www.singstat.gov.sg/pubn/popn/population2012b.pdf>.

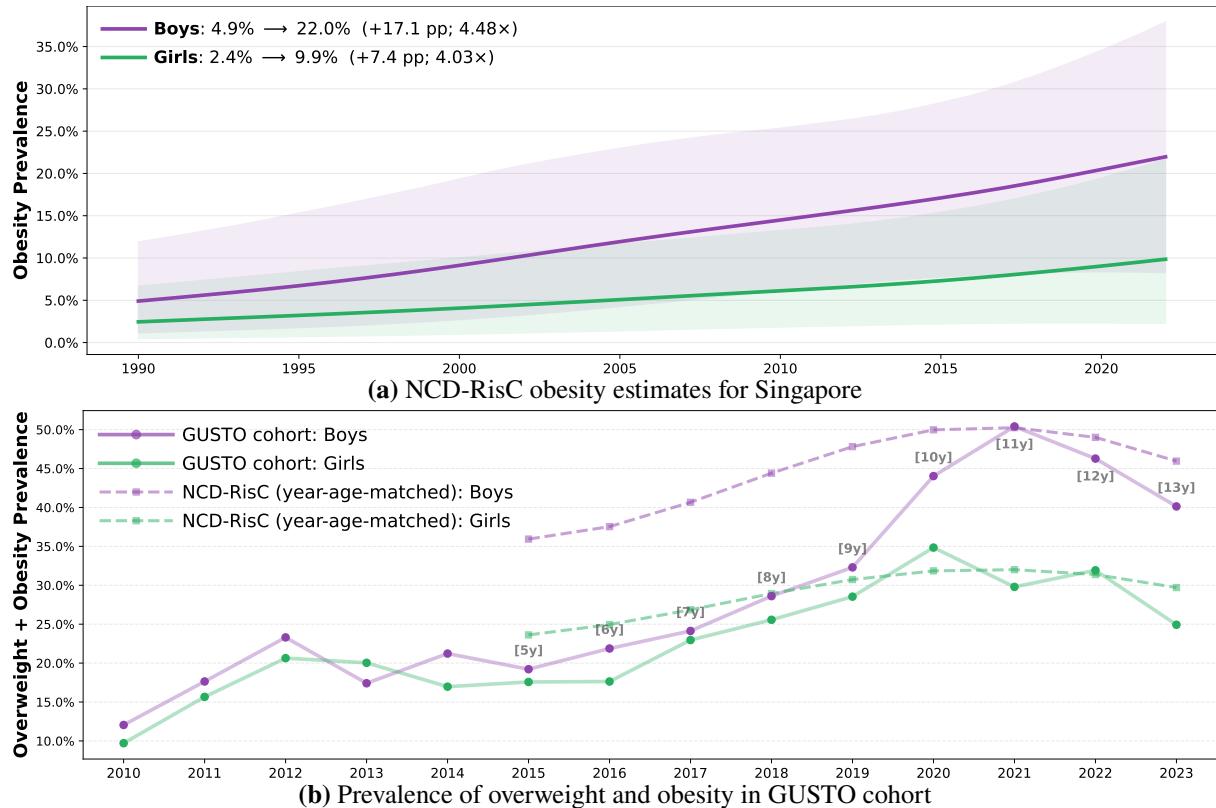


Figure 1 | Prevalence of overweight and obesity in Singapore based on NCD-RisC estimates and the GUSTO cohort. **Panel (a)** NCD-RisC's (NCD Risk Factor Collaboration) posterior mean prevalence for Singapore, 1990–2022, for ages 5–19.¹ The legend shows the percentage increase in prevalence from 1990 to 2022. **Panel (b)** GUSTO cohort prevalence from birth. Dashed lines show age- and calendar-year matched series from the NCD-RisC estimates for Singapore (same sex, same age, same year), where available. 2023 value in the NCD-RisC line is from 2022 data. No NCD-RisC estimates below 5.

52 2.2 Anthropometry 52

53 Weight was measured using calibrated electronic scales and length/height using stadiometers 53
 54 (recumbent length < 24 months, standing height thereafter). Each record was linked to the 54
 55 child's exact age in days, which is used to map to residence. To construct a regular child- 55
 56 year panel, all anthropometric measures were combined into a long dataset indexed by date. 56
 57 For years without a measure, values were linearly interpolated (no extrapolation) between the 57
 58 nearest observations. Age- and sex-standardized z-scores were derived using World Health 58
 59 Organization standards (Fig. 1).¹⁹ 59

60 2.3 Residential history 60

61 Residential histories were constructed from the time-stamped postcode records collected during 61
 62 follow-up. Residential moving was defined by observed changes in postal code across follow- 62

Table 1|Overview of data

A. Sample		
No. children (n)	1,032	—
No. years (n, range)	15	(2010–2024)
No. child-year observations (n)	11,027	—
Year obs. per child (mean, SD)	10.7	(3.5)
Avg. days between measures (mean, SD)	353.9	(36.6)
Non-movers (n, %)	400	(38.8)
Movers (n, %)	632	(61.2)
B. Main measures		Mean
ΔNumber of parks within 15-minute trip	0.36	(3.51)
Urban density (0.1km ²), 2020 GPS traces	1147.5	(1538.4)
ΔBMI (kg/m ²) per year	0.30	(1.30)
ΔWeight (kg) per year	3.33	(2.70)
ΔHeight (cm) per year	7.61	(4.32)
BMI at age 5 (2015)	15.6	(2.1)
BMI at age 10 (2020)	18.6	(4.1)
BMI ≥ age 12 (2023/24)	20.0	(4.2)
C. Geography		
No. Subzones (neighborhoods)	177	—
No. Planning areas (geographical cluster var.)	32	—
Avg. child per planning area per year (mean, SD)	26.4	23.4

63 up. We classified children as non-movers (400, 39%) and movers (632, 61%). Among movers, 63
 64 we identified serial movers (207, 20%) as those who moved twice or more within the 15 years. 64
 65 Multiple relocations within a relatively short timeframe may reflect a salient preference for 65
 66 location choice, raising stronger concerns about selection.³⁸ Cognizant of this, fully adjusted 66
 67 models excluded serial movers to account for location choice.³⁸ We assigned residence based 67
 68 on the closest residential record before the child's birthday. Each residence was then geocoded 68
 69 to the spatial units, including planning areas, subzones (neighborhoods), and hexagonal cells 69
 70 used for exposure construction. 70

71 **2.4 Access to parks**

72 Annual measures of park access were derived by combining a government annual land use 72
 73 inventory of park parcels with high-resolution, network-based travel times. We first represented 73
 74 the city as a grid of 0.1km² hexagonal cells (200 m edge length), restricting to approximately 74
 75 2.4k cells covering populated, on-land areas (excluding sea, water catchments, nature reserves, 75

76 and sparsely inhabited locations). We then enumerated 2.87 million centroid-to-centroid pairs 76
77 and queried HERE Technologies' routing engine for door-to-door travel durations, incorporating 77
78 networks, walking infrastructure, and public-transport schedules. For each child-year residence 78
79 (mapped to its postal-code hex cell), we identified all cells reachable within 15 minutes, con- 79
80 sistent with '15-minute city' frameworks emphasizing proximity to daily needs,³⁹ and overlaid 80
81 them with park parcels (public parks, gardens, and pedestrian green linkages). Park access was 81
82 defined as the number of parks within this 15-minute catchment, recomputed annually to reflect 82
83 contemporaneous land zoning and residence.³⁷ 83

84 **2.5 Urban pedestrian density** 84

85 We measure neighbourhood urban density using anonymised global positioning system (GPS) 85
86 ping traces from CITYDATA.ai, aggregated over January–March 2020 (excluding Chinese New 86
87 Year), with device IDs hashed and daily presence observed at the neighbourhood level.^{34,40} 87
88 To derive a spatially refined density measure, we areally interpolated GPS traces from the 88
89 neighborhood polygons to a regular grid of $\sim 0.1 \text{ km}^2$ hexagons ($0.1 \text{ km}^2 \approx 25 \text{ acres}$; width 89
90 $350 \text{ m} \approx 1,150 \text{ ft}$; \sim city block size).⁴¹ Before interpolation, hexagons were clipped to official 90
91 neighborhood boundaries to avoid overlap with water bodies and other uninhabitable areas, and 91
92 further masked using satellite-derived Copernicus Land Monitoring data to exclude non-urban 92
93 land.⁴² For each hexagon, we then computed weekly median traces per hexagon and winsorized 93
94 the top 1%. This urban density is time-invariant, under the assumption that neighborhood 94
95 activity ranks remain stable over the sample period, but spatially varying at high resolution, 95
96 capturing relative baselines of human presence and pedestrian activity across the city. 96

97 **2.6 Individual-level child and maternal covariates** 97

98 All models adjust for baseline maternal and child characteristics collected at recruitment. Ma- 98
99 ternal covariates included age (at delivery), ethnicity (Chinese, Indian, Malay, Other), education 99
100 (college vs. non-college), monthly household income (< 2000 vs. ≥ 2000 SGD), country of 100
101 birth, housing type (public vs. private), and occupation. All models adjust for the child's sex 101
102 and age in days (from clinic visit dates). 102

103 **2.7 Statistical Analyses** 103

104 We modeled the short-run, contemporaneous annual change in BMI as a function of the annual 104
105 change in park access and urban density: 105

$$\Delta\text{BMI}_{ijt} = \beta_1 \Delta\text{Parks}_{ijt} + \beta_2 \text{Density}_{ij} + \beta_3 (\Delta\text{Parks} \times \text{Density})_{ijt} + \gamma \mathbf{X}_i + \text{neighborhood}_{ij} + \text{child}_i + \text{year}_t + \varepsilon_{ijt}, \quad (1)$$

106 where i indexes children, j residential neighborhoods, and t years. \mathbf{X}_{it} includes the child and 106
107 maternal baselines (Section 2.6). β_1 captures the association between a one-unit increase in park 107
108 access and ΔBMI (evaluated at the reference mean density). β_3 captures how the association 108
109 between changes in park access and ΔBMI varies with urban density. 109

110 To adjust for selection into neighborhoods for movers, we include fixed effects for their 110
111 origin and destination neighborhoods, allowing families that come from or relocate to the same 111
112 neighborhoods to have shared effects. We likewise adjust for the residing neighborhood for non- 112
113 movers. child_i control for time-invariant child and family-level factors. τ_t captures the broad 113
114 developmental trends, with exact age adjusted separately (\mathbf{X}_{it}). This structure compares within- 114
115 child changes, holding constant neighborhood-specific unobservables and trends. Fully-adjusted 115
116 models two-way cluster standard errors by child and planning area, recognizing that residuals 116
117 are likely serially correlated within child (e.g., growth spurts, family history, routines) and 117
118 correlated across children within the same areas (e.g., local amenities, school catchment). The 118
119 key assumption is that any within-child changes in BMI resulting from unobserved factors related 119
120 to changes in parks have been absorbed by shared developmental trends across time and age, 120
121 neighborhood characteristics (including location choices), and child-specific predispositions. 121

122 **2.7.1 Predicting changes in BMI by parks and density** 122

123 To visualize how BMI responds to park access at different levels of urban density, we used the 123
124 fully adjusted model to generate average adjusted predictions. For each chosen density level 124
125 (e.g., quartiles), we fixed density, varied park access, and predicted BMI for every observation 125
126 while holding other factors constant. We then averaged these predictions across individuals. 126

127 **2.7.2 Age-specific associations**

127

128 To assess how the park-density interaction varies across childhood, we used sliding age windows. 128
129 For a window centered at age a days, we define $w_{i,a(t)} = 1$ if a child's exact age in days lies within 129
130 ± 500 days of a ; and 0 otherwise. For each a , advanced in 30-day increments, we estimated the 130
131 fully adjusted model on the full sample with an additional (triple) interaction that allows the 131
132 parks-density term to differ inside the window w : 132

$$\begin{aligned} \Delta\text{BMI}_{ijt} = & \beta_1 \Delta\text{Parks}_{ijt} + \beta_2 \text{Density}_{ij} + \beta_3 (\Delta\text{Parks} \times \text{Density})_{ijt} + \gamma \mathbf{X}_i \\ & + \gamma_a (\Delta\text{Parks}_{it} \times \text{Density}_{ij} \times w_{i,a(t)}) + \text{neighborhood}_{ic} + \text{child}_i + \text{year}_t + \varepsilon_{ijt}. \end{aligned} \quad (2)$$

133 To show age-specific associations, we then plot the age-specific interaction effect $(\hat{\beta}_3 + \hat{\gamma}_a)$ 133
134 across the values of a . 134

135 **2.7.3 Sensitivity analyses**

135

136 We assessed sensitivity in four ways. First, we examined related anthropometric outcomes—z- 136
137 BMI, weight (kg), and z-weight—to evaluate consistency across adiposity measures. Second, 137
138 height is largely driven by genetics and long-run nutrition and should not respond to short- 138
139 run annual changes in parks. We therefore re-estimated the model with height and height- 139
140 for-age z-score as negative control outcomes, where non-null estimates would imply residual 140
141 confounding. Third, recognizing that large annual changes in parks are uncommon, we collapsed 141
142 the continuous measure to a binary indicator for any increase (from $t - 1$ to t) as an alternative 142
143 specification. Fourth, we replicated the age-specific analyses with different window widths of 143
144 ± 365 and ± 730 days to assess sensitivity to the window size. We adjusted for tests of multiple 144
145 overlapping age windows with the Benjamini–Hochberg procedure. 145

146 **3 Results**

146

147 The sample includes 11,027 child-year observations from 1032 children across 15 years from 147
148 birth (Tab. 1). The oldest child-year observation in the sample period was 13.6 years old. 148

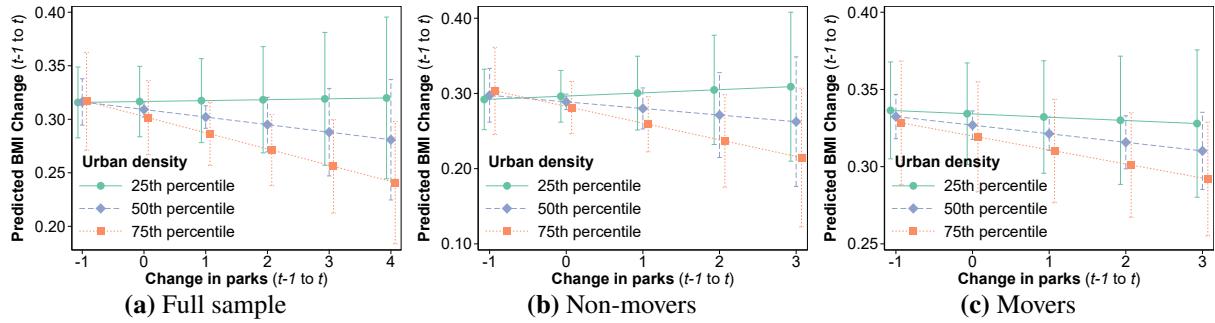


Figure 2|Predicted changes in child BMI associated with changes in parks at different levels of urban density (top panels) and age-specific estimates of the parks \times density interaction (bottom panel). **Panels (a)–(c)** show predicted BMI changes from a regression model that allows the interaction effect to differ by non-movers versus movers, across quartiles of local urban density. Capped vertical lines are 95% confidence intervals based on clustered standard errors.

149 Average yearly change in BMI was 0.3 kg/m^2 (SD 1.3). Similar to the global rise in prevalence,¹ 149
 150 the GUSTO prevalence of overweight and obesity has more than tripled over our observation 150
 151 period (Fig. 1). Average yearly change in park access was 0.4 (SD 3.5) parks within a 15-minute 151
 152 trip from the child's residence. More than half the sample moved at least once across the 15 152
 153 years, with 400 non-movers (38.7%), 425 (41.3%) who moved once, and 207 (20%) serial 153
 154 movers. We did not observe a huge difference in the number of per-year change in park between 154
 155 movers and non-movers (0.06 parks, 95% CI: $[-0.06, 0.17]$, $p = .32$), but movers were 5.2 155
 156 percentage points (95% CI: $[3.8, 6.6]$, $p < .001$) more likely to experience an increase in parks. 156

157 In the fully adjusted model that accounts for location choice, fixed child effects, age, and 157
 158 broad developmental trends, the parks-density estimated interaction was negative ($\hat{\beta}_3 = -0.021$, 158
 159 95% CI: $[-0.033, -0.009]$, $p = .001$; Tab. S1), indicating that increases in park access were 159
 160 associated with lower BMI trajectories in higher-density areas, with minimal (or slightly positive 160
 161 associations) in lower-density areas. At the mean urban density, one additional park was 161
 162 associated with a -0.006 kg/m^2 lower BMI (95% CI: $[-0.016, 0.004]$, $p = .24$). The interaction 162
 163 shows that park–BMI effect strengthens with density: a one-SD increase in park access (~ 3 163
 164 parks) was associated with -0.005 lower BMI at the 25th percentile (offsetting 1.6% of annual 164
 165 BMI increase), -0.02 at the median (offsetting 6.6%), and -0.03 at the 75th percentile (offsetting 165
 166 11.3%). The predicted margins illustrate diverging slopes across density quartiles (Fig. 2a). 166

167 As noted earlier, movers were more likely to experience park increases. In models with base- 167
 168 line covariates only and without the density interaction ($\beta_2 = \beta_3 = 0$), increases in park access 168
 169 were associated with lower BMI ($\hat{\beta}_1 = -0.007$, 95% CI: $[-0.013, -0.000]$, $p = .04$; Tab. S1) 169

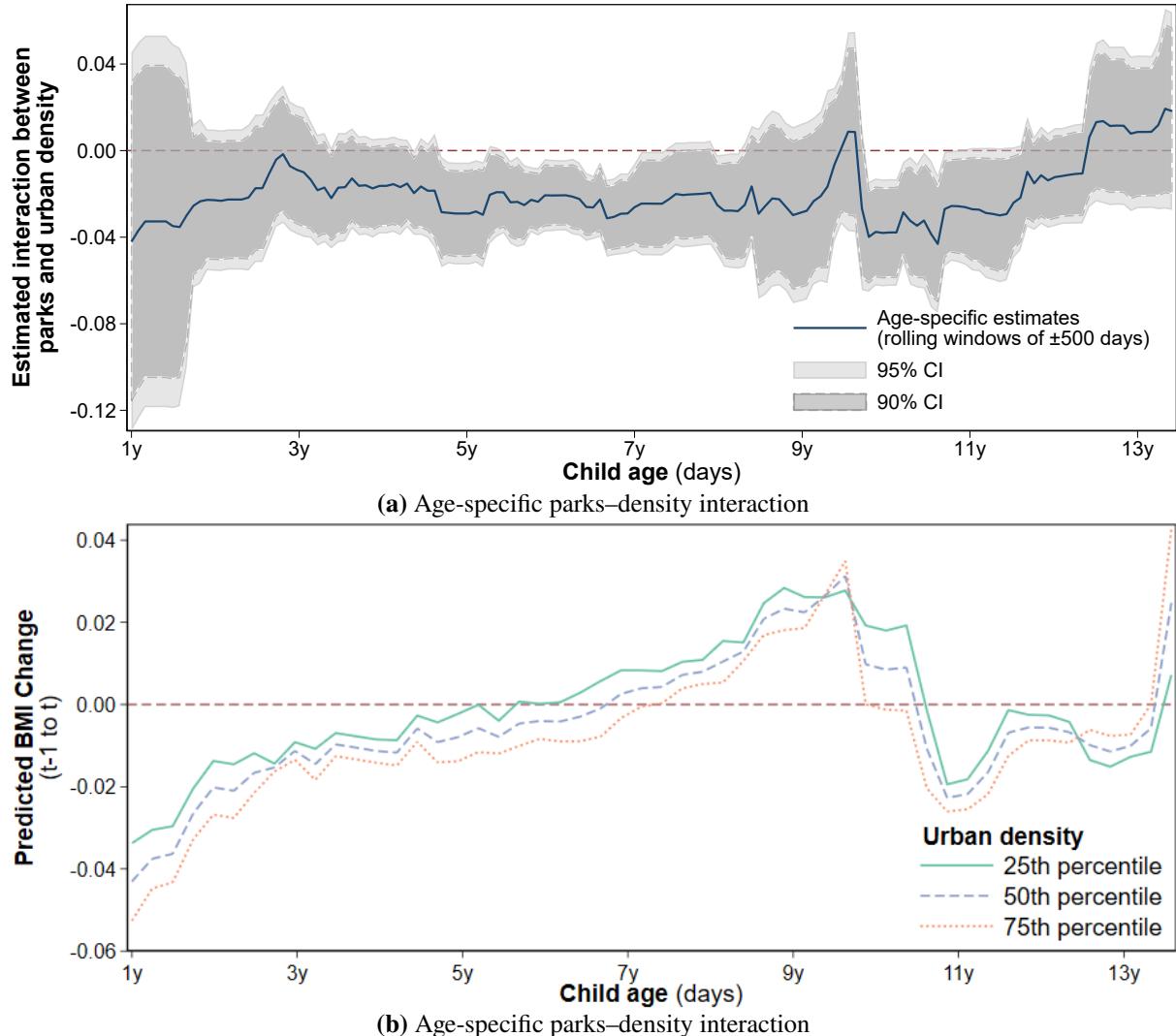


Figure 3|Age-specific associations between park access, urban density, and BMI. Both panels report the same series of rolling-window regressions (± 500 days), in which the park–density interaction is re-estimated/repeatedly for successive child-age intervals. Each point on the x-axis corresponds to a separate full-sample regression that allows observations falling within an overlapping window around that age to have a different moderation effect. **Panel (a)** Age-specific estimates of the park access \times urban density interaction (Eq. (2)). Shaded regions show 90% and 95% confidence intervals clustered by child and planning area. **Panel (b)** Age-specific predicted change in BMI from changes in parks at different levels of urban density.

170 After adjusting for location choice, this main effect became null. This attenuation suggests that, 170
 171 without accounting for location choice, unadjusted averages may reflect neighborhood selection 171
 172 rather than the underlying association between park access and BMI. 172

173 Nonetheless, the predicted margins stratified by non-movers versus movers showed similar 173
 174 patterns in lower predicted BMI change with increases in parks at higher density, but clearer 174
 175 gradients among non-movers (Figs. 2b to 2c). 175

176 We also examined age-specific heterogeneity in the park-density interaction, by estimating a 176
 177 series of 154 fully-adjusted regressions using rolling age windows of ± 500 days (each window 177

178 covering on average 1,759 (SD 354) child-year observations). The interaction was strongest 178
179 around ages 5–7 and 10–11 years, with 95% CIs excluding 0 in those bands and wider intervals 179
180 elsewhere (Fig. 3a). We did not observe abnormal jumps in residential relocation in those years 180
181 (Fig. S2). Predicted margins likewise showed greater BMI decrease in denser neighborhoods, 181
182 except around age 9 and after age 12 when the interaction effect attenuated or reversed (Fig. 3b). 182

183 The pattern implied by the park-density interaction was evident geographically. Aggregating 183
184 child-year predictions to neighborhoods after stratifying child-year observations by whether park 184
185 access increased or decreased, we observed steeper BMI reductions at higher levels of urban 185
186 density when parks increased, with the reverse pattern when parks decreased (Fig. 4). To 186
187 provide ground context for these associations, we mapped the terciles of urban density and 187
188 annual change in park access across all public residences, illustrating the combinations at a 188
189 higher spatial resolution (Fig. 5). Finally, we computed, for each residential postal point, the 189
190 predicted change in BMI from a one SD increase in park access, holding that point's urban 190
191 density fixed. The postcode-level predictions were then averaged to the 0.1 km² hexbins, 191
192 indicating that larger predicted BMI reductions clustered around pockets in the north-east, west, 192
193 and central regions where footfall is higher (Fig. 5, Fig. 6). 193

194 We explored other potential moderating effects of the park-density interaction with child 194
195 sex and geographical characteristics (five official planning regions, mature versus middle-aged 195
196 versus young areas), post-relocation year, and socioeconomic status. We found no heterogeneity 196
197 across those strata, except that post-relocation years attenuated the park-density measure towards 197
198 zero (Fig. S3). 198

199 Finally, we tested for sensitivity. First, we found similar patterns across related anthropo- 199
200 metric outcomes for z-BMI, weight, and z-weight, where higher urban density strengthened 200
201 the association between increases in parks and decreases in BMI (Tab. S2). Second, and as 201
202 placebo outcomes, height and z-height showed no such pattern (Tab. S2). Third, we found 202
203 similar patterns when we used a binary indicator for an increase in parks (Tab. S3). Fourth, 203
204 the age-specific patterns at years 5–7 and 10–11 persisted after correcting for multiple testing 204
205 (Fig. S1), and when we used different age windows (Fig. S4). 205

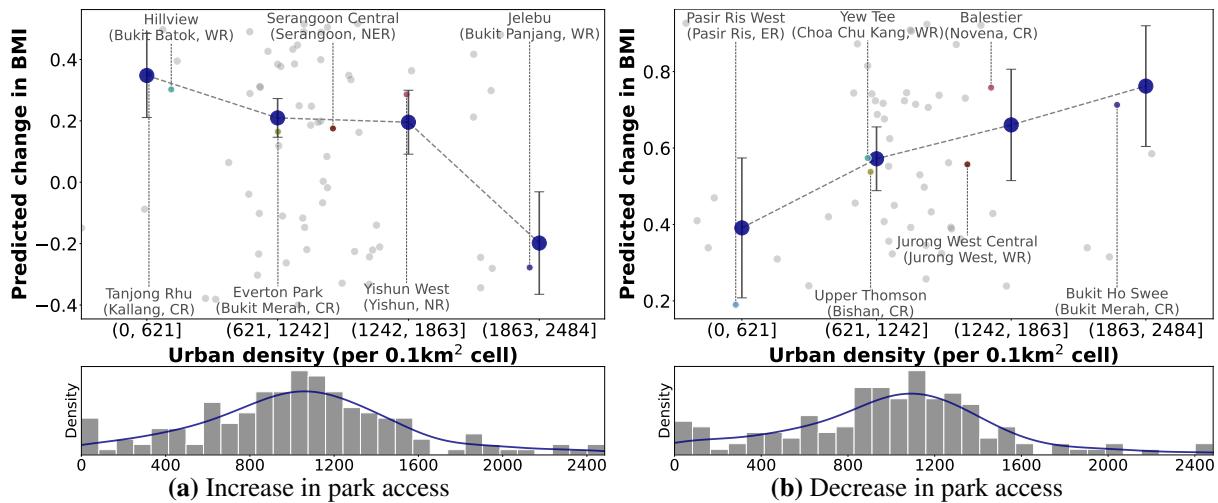


Figure 4|Model-predicted change in BMI against urban density, stratified by increases in park access (Panel (a)) versus decreases in park access (Panel (b)). Each gray point represents a neighborhood's average predicted BMI change across child-year observations. Large blue points show the average across neighborhoods within each density range; capped vertical lines indicate the standard errors of means. Bottom panels show the underlying distribution of urban density. Selected neighborhoods are labeled with their planning area and region (CR = Central Region, ER = East Region, NR = North Region, NER = North-East Region, WR = West Region).

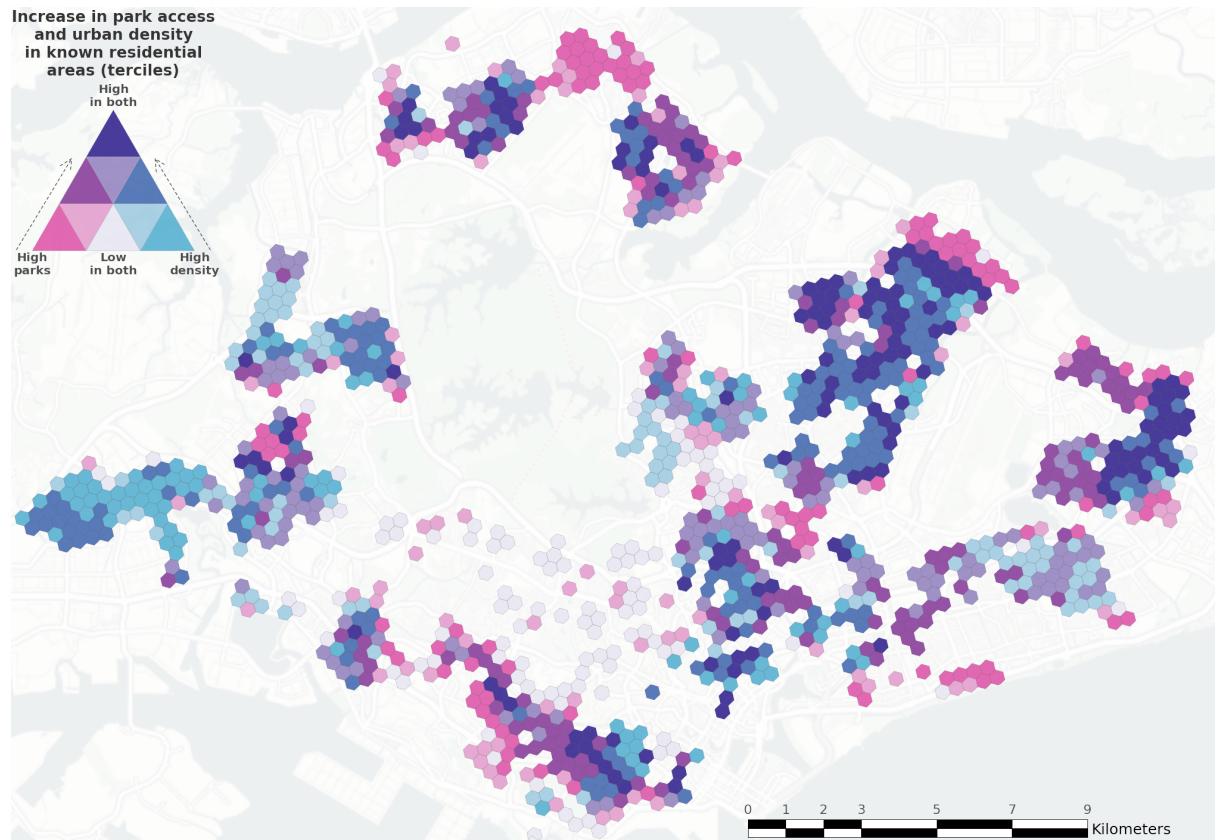


Figure 5|Spatial Distribution of Changes in Park Access and Footfall Density. Colors indicate the 3x3 tercile combination of the two variables (low/medium/high for each), based on ~13,000 residential points.

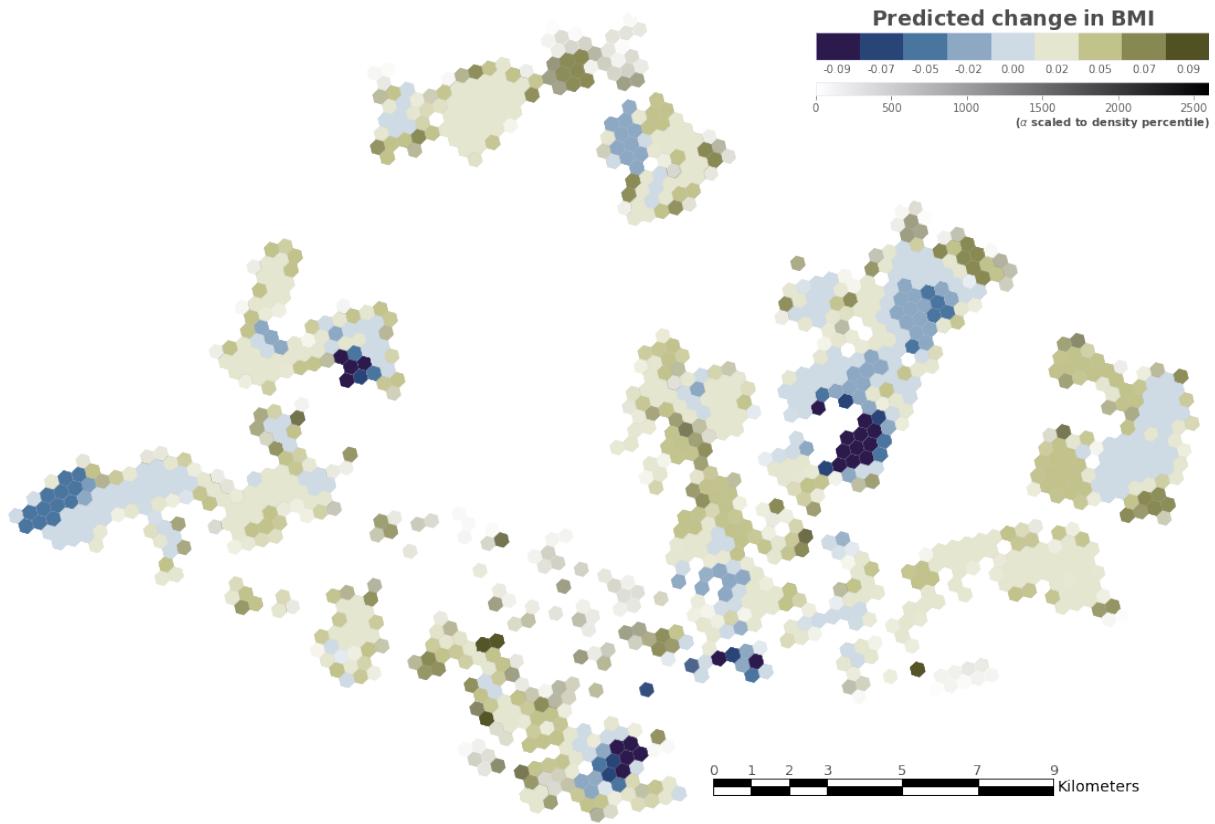


Figure 6|Spatial Distribution of Predicted BMI Changes from Park Access Improvements. Each hexbin is ~ 0.1 km 2 , color-coded by the predicted BMI change from a one standard deviation increase in park access, holding urban density and all other factors constant. Graph transparency (α value) reflects urban density, with less populated areas shown as more transparent (and vice versa).

206 4 Discussion

207 4.1 Principal findings

208 We constructed and analyzed a 15-year panel of annual child anthropometric measures from a 208
 209 Singapore birth cohort, following 1,032 children from birth to adolescence for 11,027 child- 209
 210 year observations. We linked the cohort residential histories to time-varying measures of park 210
 211 access, computed from annual park zoning inventories and network-based travel time, and to 211
 212 urban density, derived from GPS density traces. Using within-child comparisons, controls for 212
 213 residential origins and destinations, and cluster-robust standard errors, we found that increases 213
 214 in park access were associated with lower adiposity increases, but only in dense urban areas. 214
 215 In models without the density interaction, park increases showed a negative association with 215
 216 BMI, but attenuated to null after accounting for location choice. Age-specific analyses revealed 216
 217 that the park-density interaction is stronger around ages 5–7 and 10–11 years. These patterns 217

218 persisted across multiple anthropometric measures, but not for height as a placebo outcome. 218

219 **4.2 Prior work**

220 The literature on urban green spaces and child adiposity has found inconsistent evidence, 220
221 including null or even adverse associations.^{10,12–14} These differences are founded in how green 221
222 space is measured (e.g., vegetation, proximity, park counts, trees),^{10–13} the prevalence of cross- 222
223 sectional settings,^{10,12,13,17,23,25,27–29} contextual modifiers,^{10,12–14,19,23} and bias from location 223
224 choice.^{12,26,38,43} Our findings speak to this heterogeneity by using network-based measures of 224
225 access to park parcels from annual land-use inventories, examining urban density as a contextual 225
226 modifier, and comparing within children in longitudinal models that follow them from birth into 226
227 early adolescence. 227

228 Prior cross-sectional^{23,25,27–29} and longitudinal studies^{24,26} found a protective association 228
229 with adiposity or cardiometabolic markers. Other cross-sectional^{17,31} and longitudinal³⁰ stud- 229
230 ies found null associations. Without the density moderation and adjusting for an extensive set 230
231 of child and maternal baseline characteristics, we found the hypothesized protective associa- 231
232 tion. However, the first-order endogeneity concern is that families select into neighborhoods 232
233 that support their preferred healthy lifestyle.^{12,19,26,38,43} When we adjusted for such location 233
234 choices,³⁸ the protective association attenuated to null.¹⁹ 234

235 **4.3 Pedestrian density as effect modifier**

236 We found statistical evidence of the protective association in higher-density city blocks (ap- 236
237 proximately 315 m x 315 m if in square grids), which persisted after adjustment for location 237
238 choice. Density has been examined as a focal exposure or as an adjustment of the environmen- 238
239 tal context,^{16,24,26,31} but rarely as contextual moderators.²³ A prior study found that vegetation 239
240 cover is associated with lower overweight risk only in towns categorized as high residential 240
241 density.²³ Our study advances this evidence in five ways using: (1) a smooth measure of urban 241
242 density capturing pedestrian activity at a spatial resolution consistent with city blocks (rather 242
243 than binary strata across coarse administrative boundaries);^{32,33} (2) a longitudinal panel with 243
244 repeated measures of both park access and anthropometric outcomes; (3) walking- and transit- 244

245 based access to park parcels; (4) an explicit modeling of location choice;³⁸ and (5) formally 245
246 testing the park–density interaction to directly quantify effect moderation. 246

247 A 14-city study found that urban density predicts higher accelerometer-measured physical 247
248 activity.¹⁶ Hence, high-footfall city blocks may capture urban activity and pedestrian-friendly 248
249 spaces, corresponding to higher walking and outdoor propensities that convert the dormant park 249
250 access into unstructured, ad-hoc visits to parks,³⁷ in ways beneficial to metabolic health.^{20–22} 250

251 We note that the exceptionally low crime rates in Singapore minimize concerns about a lack 251
252 of safety and natural surveillance in density cold spots, so lower effects there do not necessarily 252
253 capture higher neighborhood violence or crime.³⁵ However, our findings do not preclude the 253
254 possibility that the park–density interaction captures a supply-side built environmental feature: 254
255 that parks around low-activity city blocks are more dilapidated.^{23,44} Another possible interpre- 255
256 tation is that parks around denser areas relate to livelier social spaces, where co-occupancy 256
257 creates informal activity hubs that encourage child outdoor play. 257

258 4.4 Age-specific effects 258

259 Prior reviews flagged age as a contextual factor,^{10–12} but studies examining age-related as- 259
260 sociations are rare. We leveraged the temporal resolution of the GUSTO cohort to examine 260
261 age-specific effects, finding that the park–density interaction was strongest around 5–7 and 10– 261
262 11 years. These periods coincide with developmental transitions in Singapore, when children 262
263 gain increasing independence in daily activities and mobility as they enter (age 7) and exit (age 263
264 12) primary school. The latter period also coincides with a sharp rise in overweight prevalence 264
265 among boys (Fig. 1). The attenuation during adolescence could reflect pubertal changes inde- 265
266 pendent of the environment, changes in structured activities (e.g., tuition, enrichment courses in 266
267 sports, arts, or music), or lack of late adolescent observations. Age 9–10 for GUSTO children 267
268 also coincided with the COVID-19 pandemic, a period where nearby parks might have par- 268
269 ticular strong protective effects when other structured activities ceased.¹⁹ The literature lacks 269
270 a clear prior for ages where associations are strongest,^{10–12} so we interpret these patterns as 270
271 speculative. Nonetheless, they suggest that environmental associations are not static but vary 271
272 across developmental stages, a pattern that warrants further study. 272

273 **4.5 Implications**

274 Holding urban density constant, the largest benefits from increasing park access accrued in 274
275 pockets within the central, northeastern, and western neighborhoods (Fig. 6) with moderate- 275
276 to-high urban density (Fig. 5). This pattern suggests that park investments are most effective 276
277 in denser areas with greater pedestrian activity, and that benefits are not uniform even within 277
278 the neighborhood boundaries typically used as units of policy planning. However, if the park- 278
279 density interaction captures poorer park quality in low-density areas, and vice versa,^{23,44} then 279
280 directing funds toward high footfall city blocks could entrench inequalities. 280

281 Moreover, Singapore is dense, with a residential density of 8,300/km², and the urban density 281
282 measure implies a mean of 11,500/km², comparable to cities such as New York (11,300/km²), 282
283 Tokyo (15,700/km²), and Barcelona (16,600/km²), but far above many North American cities, 283
284 such as Los Angeles (3,200/km²), Seattle (3,600/km²), and Toronto (4,400/km²). Hence, our 284
285 findings likely do not generalize to lower-density urban sprawls that are more car-dependent. 285

286 However, the principle of context-dependent environmental benefits should generalize 286
287 broadly. Prior inconsistent evidence might reflect such unexamined heterogeneities.^{10,12–14,23} 287
288 Urban planners should therefore consider how parks interact with other environmental features 288
289 rather than as isolated interventions. 289

290 **4.6 Limitations and Strengths**

291 The park exposure measures align with time-budgeted access rather than straight-line Euclidean 291
292 proximity-based measures that ignore urban morphology and travel frictions. However, the land- 292
293 use inventories lack indicators of park programming and quality.^{12,13} The anonymized GPS 293
294 traces approximate lived experiences at a finer spatial scale, capturing pedestrian co-presence 294
295 and bustle near home,^{32,33} but they may underrepresent the very young and very old.³⁴ 295

296 Anthropometric outcomes were measured longitudinally, but physical activity and actual 296
297 park use were not observed at comparable scales, so we lack direct behavioral evidence.^{10–12,14,19} 297
298 The temporal resolution of the cohort measurements enabled us to examine age-specific effects. 298
299 But this is ultimately constrained by the data that ends when the children were about 13–14 299
300 years old (at the time of study), and therefore lacks comparisons through later adolescent years. 300

301 Finally, repeated cohort measures of outcomes and parks enabled a longitudinal within- 301
302 child design with adjustment for observed neighborhood selection. These help account for 302
303 time-invariant family factors, health-seeking behavior, genetic predispositions, and location 303
304 choice.³⁸ Nonetheless, our study remains observational,³⁸ not experimental.⁴³ 304

305 4.7 Conclusion 305

306 Following an urban cohort from birth into early adolescence, we found that parks protect 306
307 against rising BMI in urban pockets with higher pedestrian activity. This context dependency 307
308 within neighborhoods implies that urban interventions cannot follow a one-size-fits-all approach. 308
309 Parks woven into active urban settings can be levers for health, but those in quieter areas may 309
310 remain untapped green spaces. Urban planning should therefore orchestrate built and social 310
311 environments together, rather than treating them as isolated levers. 311

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1 Appendix

2	Tab. S1 Association between changes in park access and urban density on changes in BMI.	20	2
3	Tab. S2 Robustness of the association between park access and urban density across anthropometric measures.	21	3
4	Fig. S1 Age-specific parks-density interaction (with multiple hypotheses correction for Fig. 3).	21	4
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6	Fig. S2 Distribution of residential relocation by child age.	22	6
7	Tab. S4 Crosswalk between Planning Areas and Towns/Estates' age classifications.	23	7
8	Fig. S3 Moderations of the park-density interaction.	24	8
9	Fig. S4 Age-specific associations between park access, urban density, and BMI. Similar to Fig. 3 except with rolling-window regressions of ± 365 days.	24	9
10	Fig. S5 Age-specific associations between park access, urban density, and BMI. Similar to Fig. 3 except with rolling-window regressions of ± 1000 days.	25	10
11			11
12			12

Table S1|Association between changes in park access and urban density on changes in BMI.

	Dependent variable is yearly change in BMI			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Change in parks	−0.007** (0.003) [−0.013, −0.000] $< p = .040 >$	−0.007 (0.007) [−0.022,0.007] $< p = .313 >$	−0.006 (0.005) [−0.017,0.004] $< p = .244 >$	−0.006 (0.005) [−0.016,0.004] $< p = .237 >$
Urban density				−0.030 (0.072) [−0.176,0.117] $< p = .682 >$
(Change in parks) \times (Urban density)				−0.021*** (0.006) [−0.033, −0.009] $< p = .001 >$
Mean BMI change	0.309	0.309	0.306	0.306
Std. dev. of change in parks	3.524	2.849	2.843	2.843
Std. dev. of density	—	—	—	0.444
Maternal/child baselines	✓	✓	✓	✓
Origin/destination nbh FE		✓	✓	✓
Child FE			✓	✓
Year FE			✓	✓
Years	14	14	14	14
Neighborhoods	177	163	164	164
Planning areas (Cluster var. 1)	32	30	30	30
No. child observations (Cluster var. 2)	1032	815	835	835
No. child-year observations	11,027	8,475	8,658	8,658

Note: Change in parks is the yearly change in parks within 15 minutes of residence. Urban density is the rasterized GPS traces (in thousands) per 0.1 km^2 hexagonal bin, mean-centered. Child baselines include age in days and sex. Maternal baselines include age (at delivery), ethnicity, college education, low income, and place of birth. Columns (2)–(4) cluster standard errors at the planning area level. Parentheses report standard errors clustered by child and planning area. Square brackets report 95% CI. Angular brackets report p-values. Significance levels: * 0.1 ** 0.05 *** 0.01.

Table S2|Robustness of the association between park access and urban density across anthropometric measures.

	BMI	zBMI	Dependent variable is yearly change in:			
			Weight	zWeight	Height	zHeight
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Change in parks	-0.006 (0.005) [-0.016,0.004]	-0.000 (0.003) [-0.007,0.006]	-0.008 (0.008) [-0.024,0.007]	-0.002 (0.003) [-0.007,0.004]	0.007 (0.009) [-0.011,0.026]	-0.001 (0.002) [-0.004,0.002]
Urban density	-0.030 (0.072) [-0.176,0.117]	-0.048 (0.037) [-0.124,0.028]	0.076 (0.088) [-0.104,0.256]	0.005 (0.044) [-0.084,0.095]	0.039 (0.222) [-0.416,0.493]	0.032 (0.054) [-0.079,0.143]
(Change in parks) \times (Urban density)	-0.021*** (0.006) [-0.033, -0.009]	-0.008** (0.004) [-0.016, -0.001]	-0.037*** (0.013) [-0.062, -0.011]	-0.010** (0.005) [-0.020, -0.001]	-0.025 (0.023) [-0.072,0.021]	-0.004 (0.003) [-0.010,0.002]
Height (cm)		< p = .001 > [< p = .001 >]	< p = .025 > [< p = .007 >]	< p = .031 > [< p = .031 >]	< p = .271 > [< p = .271 >]	< p = .183 > [< p = .183 >]
zHeight				0.143*** (0.013) [0.117,0.169]	0.107*** (0.017) [0.072,0.142]	< p = .000 >
Mean BMI change	0.306	0.0441	3.343	0.0573	7.654	0.0316
Std. dev. of change in parks	2.843	2.843	2.843	3.028	2.843	2.843
Std. dev. of density	0.444	0.444	0.444	0.446	0.444	0.444
Maternal/child baselines	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Origin/destination nbh FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Child FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Years	14	14	14	11	14	14
Neighborhoods	164	164	164	161	164	164
Planning areas (Cluster var. 1)	30	30	30	29	30	30
No. child observations (Cluster var. 2)	835	835	835	835	835	835
No. child-year observations	8,658	8,658	8,658	6,561	8,658	8,658

Note: Change in parks is the yearly change in parks within 15 minutes of residence. For comparison, Column (1) reproduces the same estimate for BMI from Column (4) from [Tab. S1](#). The model for Weight (zWeight) additionally adjust for Height (zHeight). All specifications are otherwise the same as Column (4) from [Tab. S1](#). Columns (2)–(4) cluster standard errors at the planning area level. Parentheses report standard errors clustered by child and planning area. Square brackets report 95% CI. Angular brackets report p-values. Significance levels: * 0.1 ** 0.05 *** 0.01.

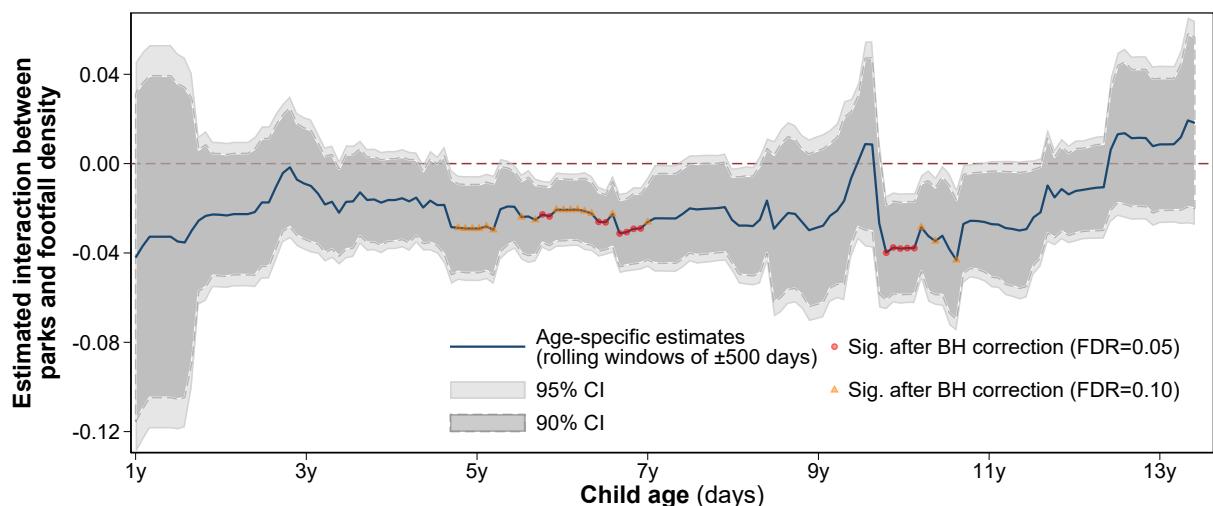


Figure S1|Age-specific parks-density interaction (with multiple hypotheses correction for [Fig. 3](#)). Markers indicate estimates that remain statistically significant after applying Benjamini-Hochberg correction (BH correction) for multiple testing: red circles denote significance at a 5% false discovery rate (FDR), while orange triangles indicate significance at a 10% FDR.

Table S3|Association of a binary indicator for increases in park access and urban density on changes in BMI.

	Dependent variable is yearly change in BMI			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Increase in parks = 1	-0.066** (0.031) [-0.127, -0.004] < p = .037 >	-0.038 (0.038) [-0.115,0.039] < p = .321 >	-0.073* (0.037) [-0.150,0.003] < p = .059 >	-0.065* (0.033) [-0.133,0.004] < p = .062 >
Urban density				0.031 (0.070) [-0.112,0.174] < p = .664 >
(Increase in parks = 1) × (Urban density)				-0.274*** (0.075) [-0.427, -0.122] < p = .001 >
Mean BMI change	0.309	0.309	0.306	0.306
Share with park increase (= 1)	0.183	0.178	0.178	0.178
Maternal/child baselines	✓	✓	✓	✓
Origin/destination nbh FE		✓	✓	✓
Child FE			✓	✓
Year FE			✓	✓
Years	14	14	14	14
Neighborhoods	177	163	164	164
Planning areas (Cluster var. 1)	32	30	30	30
No. child observations (Cluster var. 2)	1032	815	835	835
No. child-year observations	11,027	8,475	8,658	8,658

Note: Increase in parks is a binary indicator for an having an increase in the number of parks within 15 minutes compared to the previous year. All specification is otherwise the same as in [Tab. S1](#). Parentheses report standard errors clustered by child and planning area. Square brackets report 95% CI. Angular brackets report p-values. Significance levels: * 0.1 ** 0.05 *** 0.01.

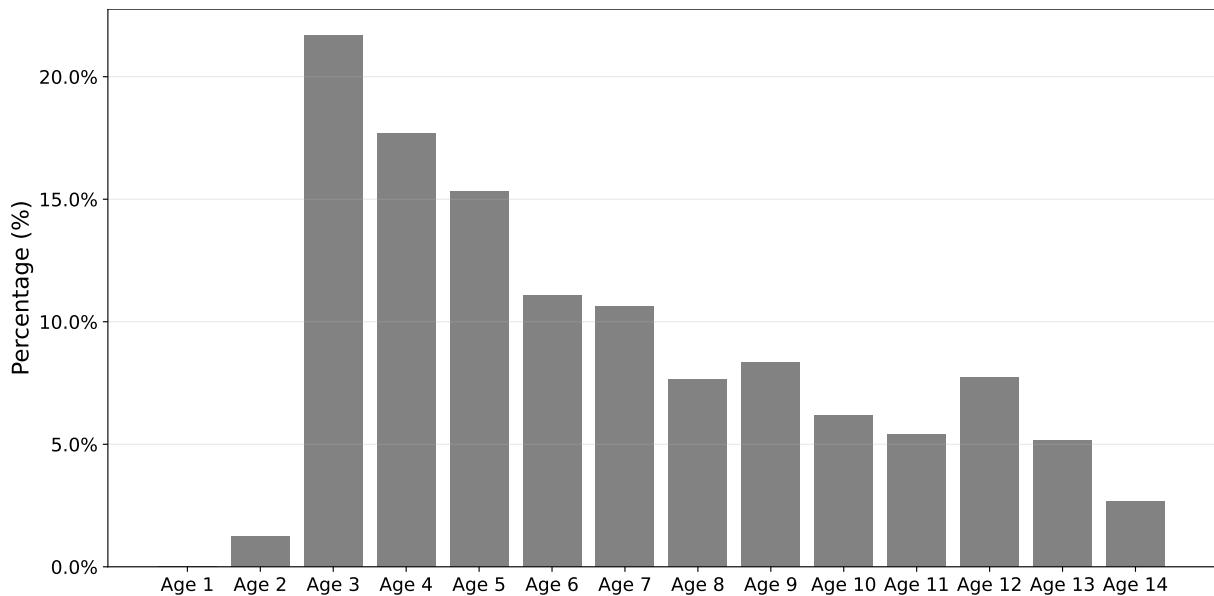


Figure S2|Distribution of residential relocation by child age. Bars show the percentage of children with observed changes in 6-digit postal code between consecutive years.

Table S4|Crosswalk between Planning Areas and Towns/Estates' age classifications.

Planning Area	HDB Town/Estate	Age Category	Type
Punggol	Punggol	Young	Town
Sembawang	Sembawang	Young	Town
Sengkang	Sengkang	Young	Town
Bishan	Bishan	Middle-aged	Town
Bukit Batok	Bukit Batok	Middle-aged	Town
Bukit Panjang	Bukit Panjang	Middle-aged	Town
Bukit Timah	Bukit Timah	Middle-aged	Estate
Choa Chu Kang	Choa Chu Kang	Middle-aged	Town
Hougang	Hougang	Middle-aged	Town
Jurong East	Jurong East	Middle-aged	Town
Jurong West	Jurong West	Middle-aged	Town
Pasir Ris	Pasir Ris	Middle-aged	Town
Serangoon	Serangoon	Middle-aged	Town
Tampines	Tampines	Middle-aged	Town
Woodlands	Woodlands	Middle-aged	Town
Yishun	Yishun	Middle-aged	Town
Ang Mo Kio	Ang Mo Kio	Mature	Town
Bedok	Bedok	Mature	Town
Bukit Merah	Bukit Merah	Mature	Town
Clementi	Clementi	Mature	Town
Downtown Core	Central Area	Mature	Estate
Geylang	Geylang	Mature	Town
Kallang	Kallang/Whampoa	Mature	Town
Marine Parade	Marine Parade	Mature	Estate
Novena	Kallang/Whampoa	Mature	Town
Outram	Central Area	Mature	Estate
Queenstown	Queenstown	Mature	Town
River Valley	Central Area	Mature	Estate
Rochor	Central Area	Mature	Estate
Singapore River	Central Area	Mature	Estate
Tanglin	Central Area	Mature	Estate
Toa Payoh	Toa Payoh	Mature	Town

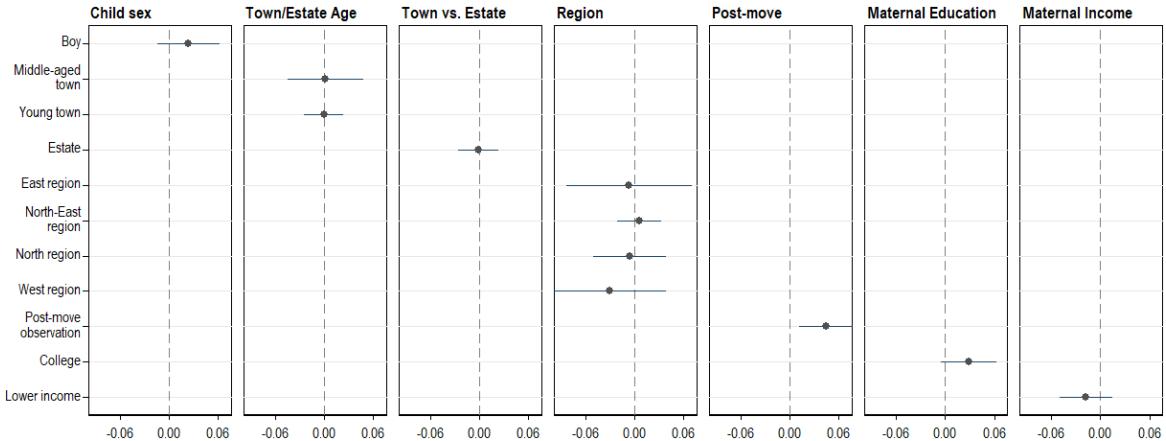


Figure S3|Moderations of the park–density interaction. Each panel plots the triple interaction coefficient(s) from Eq. (1). Coefficients are the differential effect of park access \times urban density across levels of each moderator. Reference categories: girl, mature town (Tab. S4), town, West region, non-mover/pre-move observation, no college degree, higher income ($>$ SGD2000/month). Points show coefficient estimates with 95% confidence intervals. Standard errors clustered by individual and planning area.

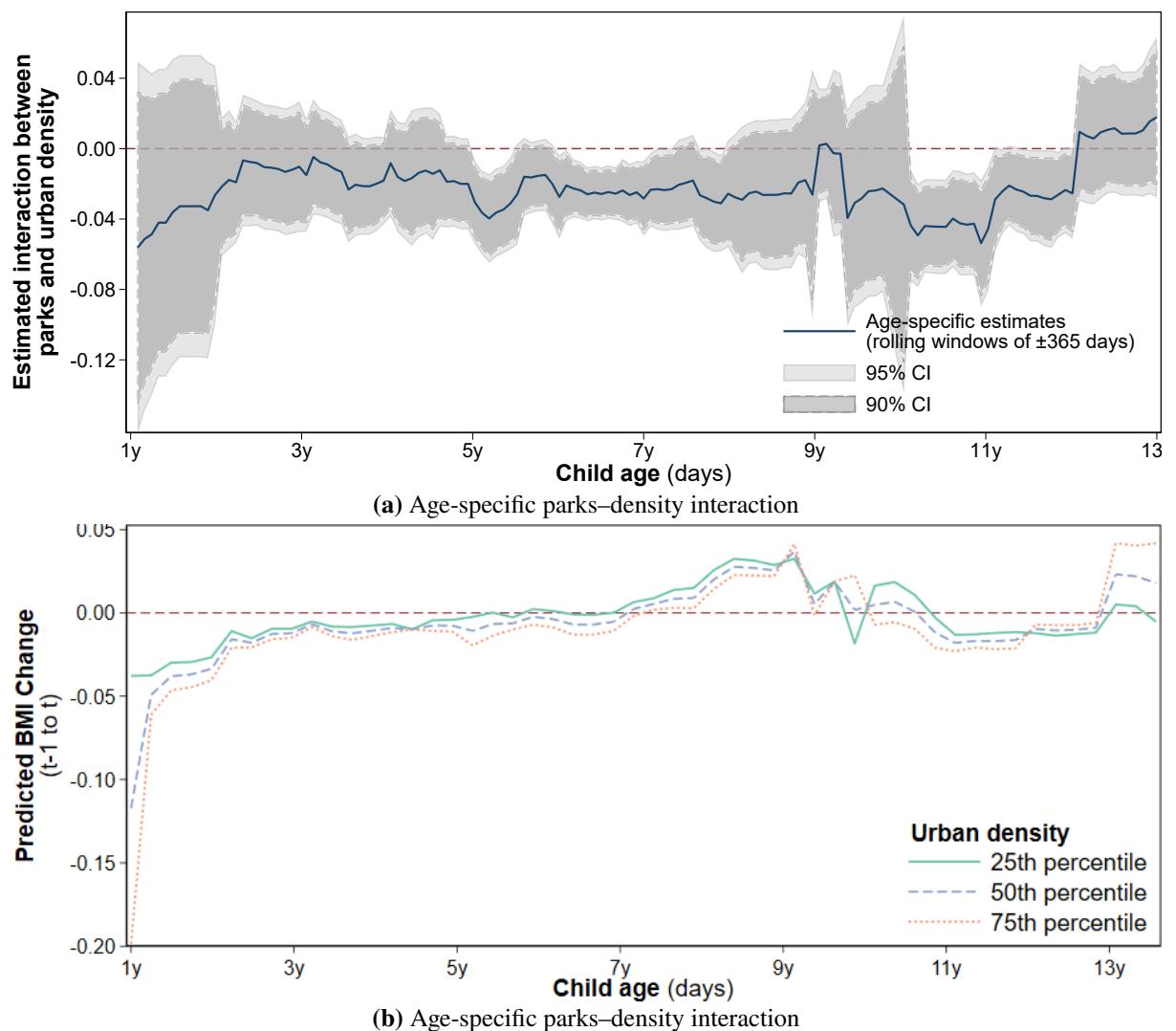


Figure S4|Age-specific associations between park access, urban density, and BMI. Similar to Fig. 3 except with rolling-window regressions of ± 365 days.

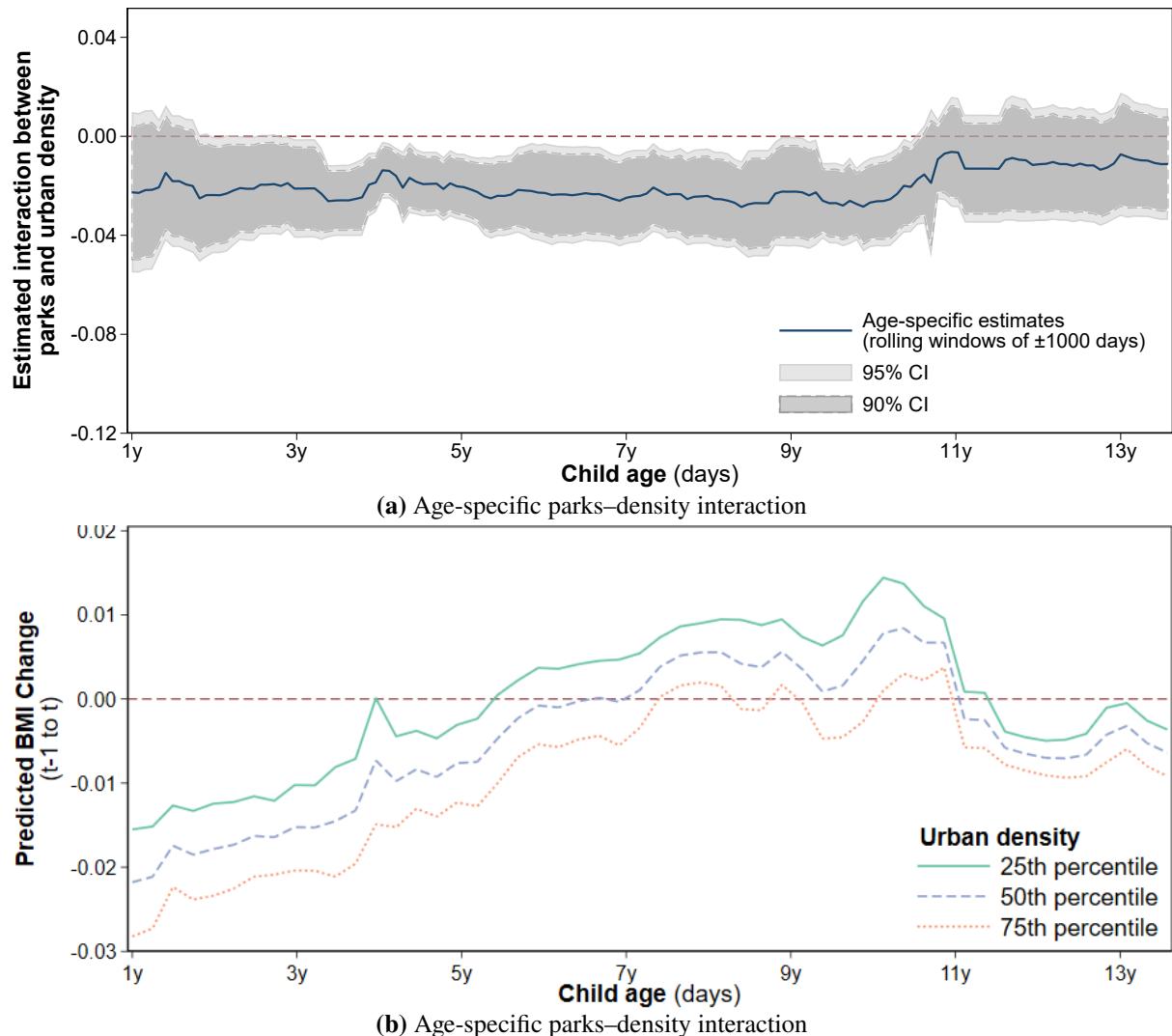


Figure S5|Age-specific associations between park access, urban density, and BMI. Similar to Fig. 3 except with rolling-window regressions of ± 1000 days.