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In plain sight: Green views from the residence and urbanites' neighborhood satisfaction

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Research highlights

- Satisfactory green views positively associated with neighborhood satisfaction
- Green views found to matter more than general presence of greenery in neighborhood
- Beautiful buildings most strongly associated with neighborhood satisfaction
- Building envelope greenery has synergistic potential for neighborhood satisfaction

Abstract

Recent decades have seen theoretical and empirical support being generated for a positive relationship between exposure to nature and human well-being. However, exposure to nature is diverse. It can stem from spending time in green spaces, or simply from being able to observe greenery, such as from inside one's residence. The literature has devoted limited attention to the extent to which green views as a specific type of nature exposure contribute to satisfaction and well-being in urban areas. Therefore, this paper examines whether having satisfactory green views from within an urban residence is positively associated with the residents' neighborhood satisfaction. We use survey data from a large probability sample (n=32,552) of respondents from 13 cities in the Flanders region of Belgium to run four binary logistic regression models that estimate the probability of reporting specific levels of neighborhood satisfaction. Each model is weighted to be representative of the urban population in these cities (N=1,344,327) and statistically controls for the perceived presence of sufficient greenery in the neighborhood, 47 other self-reported neighborhood attributes, personal characteristics, and socio-demographic information. We find that urbanites who are more satisfied with the green views from their residence are more likely to report high neighborhood satisfaction. Our findings support the hypothesis that simply viewing greenery from within one's residence improves neighborhood satisfaction.

1. Introduction

1.1 Urban livability

3	As urbanization continues to intensify, it is increasingly important to know how to design
4	high-quality, livable neighborhoods for the growing number of urban residents (Mouratidis &
5	Yiannakou, 2022). Both urban planners and policy makers aim to shape livable cities
6	(Mouratidis & Yiannakou, 2022; van Kamp, Leidelmeijer, Marsman, & de Hollander, 2003; Wu,
7	Chen, Yun, Wang, & Gong, 2022). Urban livability has also received considerable academic
8	interest (Mouratidis & Yiannakou, 2022; van Kamp et al., 2003), as studying and understanding
9	how the urban environment influences health and well-being is essential in order to develop
10	successful housing policies and improve urbanites' quality of life (Lu, 1999; Mouratidis &
11	Yiannakou, 2022; van Kamp et al., 2003).
12	Urban livability has been defined as "the ability of urban spaces to [fulfill] the
13	expectations of its inhabitants for quality of life and well-being" (Saitluanga, 2014, in Wu et al.,
14	2022). Given that satisfaction can be defined as "the extent to which needs are met" (Lovejoy,
15	Handy, & Mokhtarian, 2010), residential satisfaction is closely related to the concept of
16	livability. It represents the connection between the social and spatial urban environment on one
17	hand, and the needs and preferences of its inhabitants on the other (Moor, Hamers, &
18	Mohammadi, 2022).
19	As a component of residential satisfaction, neighborhood satisfaction is a cognitive
20	measure of urban livability at the neighborhood scale, which is among the most widely accepted
21	scales for urban planning (Mouratidis & Yiannakou, 2022). Furthermore, neighborhood
22	satisfaction represents a domain of general life satisfaction, and is associated with respondents'
23	subjective well-being (Mouratidis, 2020; OECD, 2013).

24

1.2 Green views in urban landscapes

Among various livable city initiatives, greening of the urban landscape is a key 25 26 dimension that has been consistently embraced and promoted (Wu et al., 2022). Evidence generally suggests that residential green space has beneficial health effects through three 27 pathways: reducing the harm of environmental stressors, increasing opportunities for physical 28 29 activity and social interaction (the so-called 'instoration'-pathway), and fostering psychological restoration (Daniels et al., 2022; Hartig, Mitchell, de Vries, & Frumkin, 2014; Markevych et al., 30 31 2017). However, urban nature is diverse and not all types of urban nature can be expected to 32 contribute to human health through each of those three pathways. Whereas green spaces such as parks and gardens are suited for physical activity and social interaction, smaller-scale greenery, 33 such as street trees and green facades, does not offer these opportunities for instoration. 34 Nonetheless, theories such as the psychoevolutionary theory (also called stress reduction theory; 35 see Ulrich, 1983), the attention restoration theory (Kaplan & Kaplan, 1989), and the biophilia 36 37 hypothesis (Kellert & Wilson, 1993) suggest that simply being able to view greenery could be sufficient to benefit human well-being through psychological restoration. Given that individuals 38 may spend 80-90 percent of their time indoors or in closed transit (US EPA, 1989), the role that 39 40 having green window views may play for urban livability warrants specific attention. Several studies have investigated the relationship between greenery and neighborhood 41 42 satisfaction. Some of these studies have shown that objectively measured presence of greenery 43 can be linked to neighborhood satisfaction (Ellis, Lee, & Kweon, 2006; Hur, Nasar, & Chun, 44 2010; Lee, Ellis, Kweon, & Hong, 2008; Wu, Yao, Song, He, & Wang, 2021), while others have 45 examined which aspects or qualities of greenery were associated with neighborhood satisfaction 46 (Bjork et al., 2008; de Jong, Albin, Skarback, Grahn, & Bjork, 2012; Jorgensen, Hitchmough, &

Dunnett, 2007; Ta, Li, Zhu, & Wu, 2021). Still others have assessed how the accessibility and 47 use of green spaces relates to neighborhood satisfaction (Hadavi, Kaplan, & Hunter, 2018; Wu, 48 Dong, Sun, & Yun, 2020; Zhang, Van den Berg, Van Dijk, & Weitkamp, 2017).

49

However, only a few studies have looked specifically at the relationship between natural 50 views and neighborhood satisfaction. In the 1980s, Kaplan (1985) studied how natural and 51 52 unnatural views (among other factors) were associated with four subdomains of neighborhood satisfaction. A notable result was that having views of open space (large mowed areas) was not 53 54 related to any of the neighborhood satisfaction subdomains, whereas the other types of natural 55 views (views of trees, woods, landscaped areas, and gardens) were found to be significantly associated with at least one neighborhood satisfaction subdomain. In a later study, Kaplan (2001) 56 investigated whether window views, including views of natural elements, were associated with 57 two neighborhood satisfaction subdomains (nature satisfaction and satisfaction with other 58 59 neighborhood characteristics, which has unfortunately been labeled 'satisfaction with 60 neighborhood'). Views of both landscaped and untended nature were found to be positively associated with the nature satisfaction subdomain, and views of landscaped nature were found to 61 be positively associated with the remaining (not nature-related) neighborhood satisfaction 62 63 subdomain.

Kearney (2006) found that natural views from one's home were associated with 64 65 satisfaction with nearby nature, satisfaction with shared outdoor space, and concern about local 66 density. Specifically, views of landscaping or a garden and views of a forest were found to be most consistently associated with higher satisfaction and lower concern. Finally, Van Herzele 67 and de Vries (2012) surveyed a sample of respondents in two neighborhoods in Ghent, Belgium, 68 69 that differed in terms of availability and accessibility of greenery. They found that having a green view from the living room was significantly positively associated with neighborhood
satisfaction. In a separate regression model, the perceived presence of sufficient greenery was
found to be positively associated with neighborhood satisfaction, alongside neighborhood safety,
social cohesion, and well-maintained public spaces. However, the two greenery-related variables
(having a green view from the living room and perceived presence of sufficient greenery) were
not simultaneously included in one regression model, nor were any personal or sociodemographic variables.

77 To summarize, the existing literature suggests that having green views from one's residence may be positively related to that person's overall neighborhood satisfaction. However, 78 certain modeling choices in the literature (namely, splitting up neighborhood satisfaction into 79 several subdomains, running regression models with specific subsets of predictors to determine 80 which ones to include in a final model) prohibit drawing clear conclusions about how strongly 81 having green views from the residence is associated with overall neighborhood satisfaction – 82 83 both in absolute terms and relative to other neighborhood characteristics associated with overall neighborhood satisfaction. Moreover, each of these studies was based on relatively small 84 samples that are unrepresentative of the general (urban) population (the largest one being the 85 86 sample of Kaplan's 1985 study (n=268), within which the majority of respondents were in their twenties and only 10 percent were over the age of 40). 87

88 **1.3 Study objective**

In this paper, we quantify the association between having satisfactory green views from an urban residence and the residents' overall neighborhood satisfaction, while controlling for the perceived presence of sufficient greenery in the neighborhood. Thus, we assess whether urban residents who feel the same about the general level of greenery in their neighborhood but 93 differently about the green views from their residence are expected to differ in terms of their94 overall neighborhood satisfaction.

95 The present study contributes to the existing literature in three ways. First, we analyze data from a large probability sample (n=32,552) of respondents selected from 13 cities in the 96 Flanders region of Belgium. Instead of being limited to a convenience sample collected in one 97 98 specific geographical location, our weighted results are representative of the entire urban population of these Flemish cities in terms of the age and sex of the inhabitants. Second, by 99 100 estimating models of overall neighborhood satisfaction instead of separate neighborhood 101 satisfaction subdomains, we quantify how having green views from the residence relates to neighborhood satisfaction in its totality. Third, by simultaneously including satisfaction with 102 green views from the residence, the perceived presence of sufficient greenery in the 103 neighborhood, 47 other self-reported neighborhood attributes, personal characteristics, and socio-104 105 demographic variables into the regression models, we minimize omitted variable bias and enable 106 a comparison of the practical relevance of specific neighborhood attributes in terms of their strength of association with overall neighborhood satisfaction. 107

108

2. Method

109 2.1 Data

The data of this study were collected by the Domestic Affairs Agency of Flanders,
Belgium, in the context of a municipality and city monitoring program ("Gemeente- en
Stadsmonitor") to support local governments' policy development. In May–June 2017, a
questionnaire was distributed among residents of 13 Flemish cities aged 16 or above, according
to a stratified sampling design (included as Supplementary Material). The questionnaire was
designed to gauge how respondents feel about the city they live in and asked them to evaluate a

range of neighborhood and city characteristics, as well as to report on aspects of their personal 116 life, such as their housing situation, social life, health status, and personal and household 117 118 characteristics. Of the 90,175 residents who were contacted, approximately 38% replied, resulting in a sample of 32,585 respondents after data cleaning. As this is a probability sample, 119 the sample design can be accounted for during the data analysis and the weighted results are 120 121 representative for the urban population of these 13 cities (N=1,344,327) in terms of age and sex of the inhabitants. A Dutch-language report with further details on the sampling design is 122 available online (Agentschap Binnenlands Bestuur, 2018). Details about the cities' surface area, 123 124 number of inhabitants, and availability and accessibility of urban greenery can be found in Appendix A. 125

Neighborhood satisfaction was measured on a five-point Likert scale, with answers 126 ranging from "very dissatisfied" to "very satisfied". The core variable of interest – satisfaction 127 with green views from the residence – was measured on the same scale. The other greenery-128 129 related neighborhood attribute – perceived presence of sufficient greenery in the neighborhood – was measured on a six-point Likert scale, with five options ranging from "completely disagree" 130 to "completely agree", and "don't know/not applicable" being the sixth option. The survey did 131 132 not give the respondents specific definitions of the neighborhood, green views, or greenery. Respondents also evaluated 48 other neighborhood attributes (five-point Likert scales 133 ranging from "never" to "all the time", "completely dissatisfied" to "completely satisfied", or 134 135 "completely agree" to "completely disagree" – the latter sometimes expanded with a sixth option "not applicable/don't know/no opinion"). These 48 neighborhood attributes fall into three 136 137 categories: neighborhood environment and services, nuisance in the neighborhood, and social

138 cohesion in the neighborhood. One additional neighborhood attribute – ethnic makeup of the

neighborhood – was also measured on a five-point Likert scale that ranged from "nearly all of
the people who live in this neighborhood are of Belgian descent" to "nearly all of the people who
live in this neighborhood are of non-Belgian descent".

To avoid omitted variable bias, certain aspects of respondents' personal lives that may be 142 associated with their neighborhood satisfaction and their awareness of greenery in the 143 144 neighborhood should be included in the regression analyses (see below) as statistical control variables. In line with Campbell's model of residential satisfaction (Campbell, Converse, & 145 146 Rodgers, 1976), the extent to which residents are aware of their neighborhood surroundings is expected to influence neighborhood satisfaction. Some variables in the data set could be 147 indicators for residents' awareness of their neighborhood surroundings: the number of years a 148 respondent has lived at their current address, whether or not the respondent experienced 149 hindrance during daily activities due to a chronic illness (which may indicate restricted mobility 150 or specific mobility needs), and the frequency with which they used different modes of 151 152 transportation (indicating how actively respondents move about in their neighborhood). To further minimize the risk of omitted variable bias, we decided to include additional 153 variables that are expected to be associated with neighborhood satisfaction (Lovejoy et al., 154 155 2010). These are the reported monthly housing cost and whether or not a respondent had trouble paying this cost (economic neighborhood environment), whether the respondent was involved in 156 157 organizing and/or partook in neighborhood activities (community involvement), and their 158 commuting time to work or school (in relation to traffic congestion/satisfaction with traffic). 159 Lastly, a set of socio-demographic variables was included in the analyses to control for individual differences in perceptions and, consequently, neighborhood satisfaction (Campbell et 160 161 al., 1976). These variables are the respondent's age and sex as officially registered, whether they have Belgian nationality and/or a migratory background, their household size, whether or not underage children were present in the household, the respondent's education and professional status, their perceived financial status, and their net monthly household income. In total, 73 variables were selected for subsequent analyses.

166 **2.2 Imputing missing values**

Across the above-mentioned variables, there was missing data in about two thirds of the observations in the data set. Multiple imputation was chosen as technique to deal with the missing data (for an introduction, see van Buuren (2018)). It is an advanced imputation method that yields unbiased estimates and accurate standard errors under the assumption that the missingness mechanism is MAR (missing at random; Newman, 2014). Diagnostic tests as proposed by Hair, Black, Babin, and Anderson (2018) indicated that the data satisfy this assumption.

174 As the multiple imputation procedure consists of a series of regression analyses, the 175 categorical neighborhood attribute variables needed to be included in the multiple imputation model using dummy-coding. This would result in models consisting of well over 200 variables, 176 which far exceeds the recommended maximum of 100 variables for multiple imputation models 177 178 (Graham, 2009). Therefore, we decided to first run categorical principal components analyses on the neighborhood attribute variables (results included as Supplementary Material). Categorical 179 180 principal components analysis (CATPCA) simultaneously performs optimal scaling – 181 transforming the original categorical variables into metric variables – and applies principal 182 components analysis to the transformed variables (Linting, Meulman, Groenen, & van der Kooij, 183 2007; Linting & van der Kooij, 2012). Including the metric transformations of the original 184 categorical variables in the imputation model eliminated the need for dummy-coding.

Before starting to generate imputed values, we removed cases with extremely large proportions of missing data (at least 80% of model variables missing) from the data set. Because multiple imputation imputes missing data using the predicted values of regression models, it is likely that the imputed values for these problematic cases would be unreliable. This reduced the number of observations available for further analyses by 33 to 32,552. The final survey weights provided with the data were adjusted so that they would still sum to the total age and sex subpopulations in each stratum.

We then applied multiple imputation and generated 50 completed datasets using the R 192 package MICE (van Buuren & Groothuis-Oudshoorn, 2011). As shown by Graham, Olchowski, 193 and Gilreath (2007), generating at least 40 completed data sets is sufficient, unless the fraction of 194 missing information is very high (>0.5). All variables of the substantive model were considered 195 for inclusion in the imputation model, but variables with a variance inflation factor of 2.5 or 196 197 larger were excluded in order to avoid biased regression coefficient estimates due to problematic 198 multicollinearity. An inspection of the convergence plots showed healthy convergence of the MICE algorithm (plots included as Supplementary Material). 199

After the multiple imputation step, the transformed neighborhood attribute variables were 200 201 recoded to their original categorical coding scheme in each of the 50 completed data sets. While the use of the metric transformations of these variables in subsequent analyses would result in 202 203 simpler models, it would be impossible to assign a meaningful interpretation to the results 204 because the unit of measurement of the transformed variables is undefined. The original 205 categorical neighborhood attributes, on the other hand, need to be dummy-coded in order to be 206 used as predictors in the subsequent analyses, but do have a meaningful interpretation based on 207 the labels of the Likert scales used to measure them.

208

2.3 Logistic regression models

Given that neighborhood satisfaction was measured using a five-point Likert scale, the 209 common approach would be to use an ordered logistic regression model to estimate associations 210 between neighborhood satisfaction and the predictors of interest. However, this type of model 211 only applies if the data meets the proportional odds assumption, which assumes that the location 212 213 component of the model - the linear combination of predictor variables and their respective regression coefficients – remains equal across all cumulative levels of the outcome variable, and 214 215 that only the so-called thresholds (that is, constants) differ across levels (McCormick & Salcedo, 216 2017). We suspected that the variables of interest may violate this assumption: if neighborhood greenery is considered to be a non-essential neighborhood attribute that is "nice to have", the 217 greenery-related variables may not be as strongly correlated with low levels of neighborhood 218 satisfaction (that is, neighborhood dissatisfaction) as they are with high levels of neighborhood 219 220 satisfaction. In order to lift the proportional odds assumption, another modeling approach can be 221 used, in which one estimates a binary logistic regression model for each cumulative level of the outcome variable. 222

223 Taking the latter approach, we estimated four binary logistic regression models, 224 accounting for the stratified sample design, weighting the results for representativeness, and pooling them across the 50 multiply imputed data sets. The dependent variables of the four 225 226 models correspond to the cumulative levels of the outcome, neighborhood satisfaction: (M1) 227 "Very dissatisfied", (M2) "At best rather dissatisfied", (M3) "At best neither satisfied nor dissatisfied", and (M4) "At best rather satisfied". The same set of predictor variables was used in 228 229 each model. Given that the categorical neighborhood attribute variables were included in the 230 substantive model as dummy-coded variables, we checked again for potential multicollinearity

problems before estimating the regression models. Using a variance inflation factor threshold of 231 2.5, it was decided to remove five predictor variables from the analyses (availability of 232 playgrounds, sufficient activities for teens, commuting time to work, nationality, and age). Most 233 of the remaining 67 variables were categorical in nature, which, after dummy-coding, resulted in 234 models with 271 predictor variables. For all categorical predictors, the population-level mode 235 236 was chosen as the reference category. Formally, the estimated models (M) can be written as follows: 237 238 M1: $logit(P(Very dissatisfied)_i)$ 239 $= \alpha + \beta_1 GV_{1i} + \beta_2 GV_{2i} + \beta_3 GV_{3i} + \beta_4 GV_{5i} + \beta_5 SG_{1i} + \beta_6 SG_{2i} + \beta_7 SG_{3i}$ 240 $+\beta_8 SG_{4i} + \beta_9 SG_{6i} + \beta_{10} Pred_{10i} + \dots + \beta_{271} Pred_{271i} + e_i$ 241 M2: $logit(P(Very dissatisfied \cup Rather dissatisfied)_i)$ 242 $= \alpha + \beta_1 GV_{1i} + \beta_2 GV_{2i} + \beta_3 GV_{3i} + \beta_4 GV_{5i} + \beta_5 SG_{1i} + \beta_6 SG_{2i} + \beta_7 SG_{3i}$ 243 $+\beta_8 SG_{4i} + \beta_9 SG_{6i} + \beta_{10} Pred_{10i} + \dots + \beta_{271} Pred_{271i} + e_i$ 244 M3: $logit(P(Very dissatisfied \cup Rather dissatisfied \cup Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied)_i)$ 245 $= \alpha + \beta_1 GV_{1i} + \beta_2 GV_{2i} + \beta_3 GV_{3i} + \beta_4 GV_{5i} + \beta_5 SG_{1i} + \beta_6 SG_{2i} + \beta_7 SG_{3i}$ 246 $+ \beta_8 SG_{4i} + \beta_9 SG_{6i} + \beta_{10} Pred_{10i} + \dots + \beta_{271} Pred_{271i} + e_i$ 247 M4: $logit(P(Very dissatisfied \cup Rather dissatisfied \cup Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied$ 248 \cup Rather satisfied); 249 250 $= \alpha + \beta_1 GV_{1i} + \beta_2 GV_{2i} + \beta_3 GV_{3i} + \beta_4 GV_{5i} + \beta_5 SG_{1i} + \beta_6 SG_{2i} + \beta_7 SG_{3i}$ $+ \beta_8 SG_{4i} + \beta_9 SG_{6i} + \beta_{10} Pred_{10i} + \dots + \beta_{271} Pred_{271i} + e_i$ 251 252 where subscript *j* represents the *j*-th respondent and GV_1 through GV_5 and SG_1 through SG_6 253

represent the dummy-coded levels of "satisfaction with green views from the residence" and

"sufficient greenery in the neighborhood", respectively (GV_4 and SG_5 are the reference categories of these variables and are therefore not included in the model). The remaining 262 predictors in the model are represented by the "*Pred*"-terms (the full list of predictors can be found in the regression output included as Supplementary Material). Approximate separation was checked for each categorical predictor variable and the outcome of each of the four estimated models. As all cell frequencies were larger than five (Hair et al., 2018), we concluded that approximate separation was not an issue.

Goodness-of-fit of the estimated regression models was tested by applying the Hosmer-262 263 Lemeshow test to 1000 random draws of size 1000 from the larger data set, for each of the 50 multiply imputed data sets. As reported by Paul, Pennell, and Lemeshow (2013), the Hosmer-264 Lemeshow test is overpowered when applied to large samples. They suggest two potential 265 solutions for data sets larger than 25,000 observations, one of which is to draw random samples 266 of a standard size of 1000 from the data set, apply the Hosmer-Lemeshow test to these 267 268 subsamples, and evaluate the resulting set of p-values to assess model fit. The null hypothesis of good model fit was not rejected at the 5% significance level in the majority of the random draws 269 (69.8% for M1, 73.1% for M2, 83.0% for M3, and 85.8% for M4), so we concluded that model 270 271 fit was acceptable.

While the primary output of logistic regression models indicates which predictor variables are statistically significantly associated with the outcome and whether the relation is positive or negative, interpreting the results is less straightforward given that the outcome is modeled on a log-odds scale. Therefore, in the results section, we first discuss the regression output (Section 3.2) and then provide an interpretation of the results by showing how the estimated probability of a modal Flemish city dweller to report a certain level of neighborhood satisfaction changes as their evaluation of the greenery in their neighborhood changes (Section
3.3). To further ease the interpretation, the estimated probabilities resulting from M3 and M4 are
inverted and represent the neighborhood satisfaction levels "At least rather satisfied" and "Very
satisfied", respectively.

Finally, we assessed the practical relevance of having green views from the residence in urban areas by comparing how strongly this variable is associated with neighborhood satisfaction relative to other neighborhood attributes. Given the broad scope of the estimated regression models, incorporating no fewer than 67 predictors of neighborhood satisfaction, we expected minimal omitted variable bias and assumed that the strength of association of predictor variables with neighborhood satisfaction can be reliably compared.

288

3. Results

289 **3.1 Descriptive statistics**

Figure 1 presents descriptive information of the variables of interest of this study: neighborhood
satisfaction, satisfaction with green views from the residence, and perceived presence of
sufficient greenery in the neighborhood. Descriptive statistics of all variables can be found in the
Supplementary Materials.

3.2 Binary logistic regression results

Regression results regarding satisfaction with green views from the residence and
perceived presence of sufficient greenery in the neighborhood can be found in Table 1 (full
regression results are provided in the Supplementary Materials). The significance of the
regression results is evaluated at the 5% significance level throughout this paper.
Table 1 (a) shows the results of Model 1, estimating the log-odds of the probability of

300 being very dissatisfied with the neighborhood: neither greenery variable has statistically

- 301 Figure 1
- 302 Estimated population totals for each level of the variables of interest, expressed as percentages of the total



303 population of the 13 Flemish cities under study (N = 1,344,327).

305

306 Note. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals.

307

308 significant regression coefficients in this model. The results of Model 2 are shown in Table 1 (b). 309 Being very dissatisfied with the green views from one's residence is associated with an increased probability of being dissatisfied with the neighborhood compared to a modal Flemish city 310 311 dweller who reports being rather satisfied with their green views from the residence. Reporting 312 other levels of satisfaction with green views is not significantly associated with changing 313 probabilities of dissatisfaction with the neighborhood. Table 1 (b) also shows an association between not agreeing to the statement that there is sufficient greenery present in the 314 315 neighborhood and increased probabilities of reporting dissatisfaction with the neighborhood.

317 nor disagreeing with that statement are not statistically significant.

318

- 319 Table 1
- 320 Regression coefficients and 95% confidence intervals of the four estimated models for the variables of interest,
- 321 "satisfaction with green views from the residence" and "sufficient greenery in the neighborhood" (full output in
- 322 Supplementary Materials).

	(a) Model 1	(b) Model 2	(c) Model 3	(d) Model 4				
Modal Flemish city dweller	-5.2131	-3.8100	-2.9003	0.8264				
itisfaction with green views from residence								
Very dissatisfied	0.3032	0.2803*	0.3126**	0.2176				
	[-0.0299; 0.6363]	[0.0531; 0.5074]	[0.1150; 0.5103]	[-0.0333; 0.4684]				
Rather dissatisfied	-0.0681	0.0091	0.1293	0.2224*				
	[-0.5480; 0.4117]	[-0.2053; 0.2236]	[-0.0386; 0.2971]	[0.0230; 0.4218]				
Neither satisfied nor	-0.0388	-0.0619	0.1272	0.0574				
dissatisfied	[-0.3790; 0.3014]	[-0.2521; 0.1283]	[-0.0146; 0.2690]	[-0.0931; 0.2079]				
Rather satisfied	-	-	-	-				
Very satisfied	0.0340	-0.0790	-0.2089**	-0.5000**				
	[-0.2367; 0.3048]	[-0.2620; 0.1041]	[-0.3509; -0.0668]	[-0.6028; -0.3973]				
ufficient greenery in the ne	eighborhood							
Completely disagree	0.2819	0.3047*	0.2816*	0.0390				
	[-0.1648; 0.7286]	[0.0228; 0.5867]	[0.0305; 0.5328]	[-0.3434; 0.4214]				
Rather disagree	0.0064	0.3701**	0.2848**	0.1021				
	[-0.3770; 0.3897]	[0.1596; 0.5806]	[0.1089; 0.4607]	[-0.1101; 0.3142]				
Neither agree nor	0.3090	0.3924**	0.3399**	0.1171				
disagree	[-0.0225; 0.6405]	[0.1777; 0.6071]	[0.1723; 0.5076]	[-0.0678; 0.3020]				
Rather agree	-0.0866	0.1504	0.1023	0.1229*				
	[-0.3426; 0.1695]	[-0.0166; 0.3173]	[-0.0255; 0.2302]	[0.0142; 0.2315]				
Completely agree	-	-	-					
Don't know / NA	0.0187	0.2582	0.3510	0.0387				
	[-0.6178; 0.6553]	[-0.3392; 0.8555]	[-0.1269; 0.8290]	[-0.4176; 0.4949]				

323 *Note.* Model 1 estimates the log-odds of the probability of being very dissatisfied with the neighborhood. Model 2

stimates the log-odds of the probability of being at best rather dissatisfied with the neighborhood. Model 3

estimates the log-odds of the probability of being at best neither satisfied nor dissatisfied with the neighborhood.

326 Model 4 estimates the log-odds of the probability of being at best rather satisfied with the neighborhood.

327 * p-value < 0.05; ** p-value < 0.01

Table 1 (c) shows the results of Model 3. We find that respondents who are very 328 dissatisfied with the green views from their residence are significantly more likely to report a 329 lack of neighborhood satisfaction (that is, being very dissatisfied, rather dissatisfied, or neither 330 satisfied nor dissatisfied) than a modal Flemish city dweller who is rather satisfied with their 331 green views. Moreover, respondents who are very satisfied as opposed to rather satisfied with the 332 333 green views from their residence, are significantly less likely to report a lack of neighborhood satisfaction. Similar to the results of Model 2, not agreeing to the statement that there is 334 335 sufficient greenery in the neighborhood is associated with an increased probability of reporting a 336 lack of neighborhood satisfaction (no significant differences between completely disagreeing, rather disagreeing, or neither agreeing nor disagreeing). 337

Finally, Table 1 (d) shows the results of Model 4. Respondents who are very satisfied 338 with the green views from their residence are significantly less likely to report not being very 339 satisfied with their neighborhood (that is, being very dissatisfied, rather dissatisfied, neither 340 341 satisfied nor dissatisfied, or rather satisfied) in comparison to a modal Flemish city dweller who is rather satisfied with their green views. In other words, those who are very satisfied with the 342 green views from their residence are significantly more likely to be very satisfied with their 343 344 neighborhood than their peers who are rather satisfied with their green views. On the other hand, respondents who are rather dissatisfied with the green views from their residence are 345 346 significantly more likely to report not being very satisfied with their neighborhood. Regarding 347 the general perceived presence of greenery in the neighborhood, those who rather agree instead 348 of completely agreeing with the statement that there is sufficient greenery in their neighborhood 349 are significantly more likely to report not being very satisfied with their neighborhood (Table 1 350 (d)).

As described in Section 2.3, we chose to estimate four binary logistic regression models instead of one ordered logistic regression model in order to lift the latter's proportional odds assumption. A comparison of the regression coefficients across the four estimated models shows that the proportional odds assumption was indeed violated for the variables of interest in this study (for example, the coefficient on being "very satisfied" with one's green views from the residence varies from +0.0340 in Model 1 to -0.5000 in Model 4).

357 **3.3 Probability interpretation of logistic regression results**

Table 2 shows the predicted probabilities for a modal Flemish city dweller to experience a certain level of overall neighborhood satisfaction, corresponding to the four estimated regression models (the predicted probabilities of Models 3 and 4 have been inverted to ease interpretation).

According to the regression models' predictions, a modal Flemish city dweller is 362 extremely likely to be satisfied with their neighborhood (94.79%, of which 30.44% falls into the 363 364 "very satisfied" category) and extremely unlikely to be dissatisfied with their neighborhood (bold-faced probabilities in Table 2). We find that reporting to be very satisfied with the green 365 views from one's residence is associated to a statistically significant degree with increased 366 367 probabilities of being (very) satisfied with the neighborhood compared to the modal response of being rather satisfied with one's green views (Table 2, Panel a). Moreover, we find that reporting 368 369 dissatisfaction with green views from the residence is associated with lower probabilities of 370 being (very) satisfied with the neighborhood and a slight increase in the probability of being dissatisfied with the neighborhood. 371

Regarding the perceived presence of sufficient greenery in the neighborhood (Table 2, Panel b), not agreeing to the statement that there is sufficient greenery in the neighborhood is

Table 2 375

377 their neighborhood.

(a)	Neighborhood satisfaction				
Satisfaction with green views from residence	"Very dissatisfied"	"At best rather dissatisfied"	"At least rather satisfied"	"Very satisfied"	
Very dissatisfied	0.73%	2.85% *	93.01% **	26.04%	
Rather dissatisfied	0.51%	2.19%	94.11%	25.95% *	
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	0.52%	2.04%	94.12%	29.24%	
Rather satisfied	0.54% ref.cat.	2.17% ref.cat.	94.79% ref.cat.	30.44% ref.cat.	
Very satisfied	0.56%	2.01%	95.73% **	41.91% **	
(b)	Neighborhood satisfaction				
Sufficient greenery	"Very dissatisfied"	"At best rather dissatisfied"	"At least rather satisfied"	"Very satisfied"	
Completely disagree	0.72%	2.92% *	93.21% *	29.62%	
Rather disagree	0.54%	3.11% **	93.18% **	28.32%	
Neither agree nor disagree	0.74%	3.17% **	92.83% **	28.02%	
Rather agree	0.50%	2.51%	94.26%	27.90% *	
Completely agree	0.54% ref.cat.	2.17% ref.cat.	94.79% ref.cat.	30.44% ref.cat.	
Don't know / NA	0.55%	2.79%	92.75%	29.63%	

378 *Note.* (a) Estimated probabilities for respondents with differing levels of satisfaction with green views from the

379 residence, all else being equal. (b) Estimated probabilities for respondents with differing opinions on whether there

is sufficient greenery in the neighborhood, all else being equal. Asterisks indicate a statistically significant

difference with respect to the reference category at the 5% (*) and 1% (**) significance levels.

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associated with a lower probability of being satisfied and a higher probability of being
dissatisfied with the neighborhood compared to respondents who completely agree with that
statement (the differences between completely disagreeing, rather disagreeing, or neither
agreeing nor disagreeing are not statistically significant). Those who rather agree with the
statement that there is sufficient greenery in the neighborhood are significantly less likely to be

very satisfied with their neighborhood than those who completely agree with that statement,

³⁷⁶ Estimated probabilities of modal respondents of being very dissatisfied, dissatisfied, satisfied, or very satisfied with

while we find no significant difference for those who do not agree that there is sufficientgreenery in their neighborhood.

391 **3.4 Ranking statistically significant predictors of neighborhood satisfaction**

To determine how strongly the dummy-coded predictor variables are associated with 392 each of the four cumulative levels of neighborhood satisfaction (the outcome variables of the 393 394 four estimated models), we first adjusted the regression results for non-significant differences between levels of the categorical predictor variables and then calculated the range of estimated 395 396 probabilities across the levels of these predictor variables. For example, the estimated probability 397 of being satisfied with the neighborhood (Model 3) for someone who completely agrees with the statement that buildings in the neighborhood are beautiful is 95.68%, while the estimated 398 probability for someone who completely disagrees with that statement is 82.60%, resulting in a 399 probability range across variable levels of about 13.08 percentage points. Predictor variables 400 with larger probability ranges are considered to be more strongly associated with the cumulative 401 402 neighborhood satisfaction outcome variables.

Figure 2 shows the five predictors with the largest probability ranges for a modal 403 respondent in each of the estimated models, as well as the core variables related to neighborhood 404 405 greenery. Positive and negative values indicate positive and negative association with the outcome, respectively. Satisfaction with green views from the residence is only relatively weakly 406 407 associated with neighborhood dissatisfaction, as this predictor is not statistically significant in 408 Model 1 and ranks sixteenth out of 22 statistically significant variables in Model 2. However, 409 Models 3 and 4 show that it is rather strongly associated with neighborhood satisfaction, ranking 410 eighth out of 31 and fifth out of 36 statistically significant variables in these models, 411 respectively. As is the case with satisfaction with green views from the residence, perceived

presence of sufficient greenery in the neighborhood is only relatively weakly associated with 412 neighborhood dissatisfaction (not significant in Model 1, ranking fifteenth out of 22 significant 413 variables in Model 2). In contrast to satisfaction with green views from the residence, however, 414 the perceived presence of sufficient greenery in the neighborhood is also only relatively weakly 415 associated with neighborhood satisfaction: it ranks fifteenth out of 31 significant variables in 416 Model 3 and only 35th out of 36 in Model 4. 417

418

Figure 2 419





423 *Note.* Strength of association expressed relative to the variable with the largest difference in predicted probabilities 424 across its range (that is, the variable with the strongest association with the outcome). Numbers indicate variables' 425 ranks among statistically significant predictor variables. "Sufficient greenery" and "Satisfaction with green views" 426 were not significantly associated with being very dissatisfied with the neighborhood, so panel (a) shows no 427 association strength for these variables.

With respect to the non-greenery-related variables, the perceived presence of beautiful buildings in the neighborhood is most strongly associated with neighborhood satisfaction across all models, followed by the extent to which people feel at home among their neighbors. Overall, aesthetic neighborhood attributes – beautiful buildings, clean streets and sidewalks, and green views from the residence – are relatively strongly related to neighborhood satisfaction, along with social cohesion (feeling at home, pleasant talking to people) and perceived safety (the full list of ranked predictor variables is available as Supplementary Material).

435 **3.5 Robustness checks**

After estimating the full model described in Section 2.3, we checked the robustness of the 436 results by evaluating several alternative model specifications. A visual summary of this 437 robustness check can be found in the Supplementary Materials. First, we estimated four 438 alternative models (1-4) with subsets of control variables included in the full model (5). We also 439 re-estimated the full model on 10 imputed data sets resulting from an alternative imputation 440 441 model to check robustness to the choices made in the imputation procedure (6). Furthermore, we estimated two models with slightly different specifications based on the results of the CATPCA 442 procedure. One of these models included a more restricted set of dummy-coded control variables 443 444 which were selected as surrogate variables to cover all of the components that were derived in the CATPCA procedure (7). In the other model (8) the individual dummy-coded neighborhood 445 446 attributes were replaced with component scores derived from the CATPCA procedure (except for 447 the greenery-related variables of interest and the other neighborhood attributes in the same 448 component, which were still included as individual dummy-coded variables; see also the 449 CATPCA results in the Supplementary Materials). The component scores were calculated by 450 multiplying the metric transformations of the categorical neighborhood attribute variables by

451 their respective component weights (being the fraction of a variable's component loading and the 452 square root of that component's eigenvalue). To evaluate the goodness-of-fit of these alternative 453 model specifications, we used the same procedure as for the full model (Section 2.3). Model fit 454 was acceptable for all alternative model specifications.

All regression coefficients that were previously reported as being statistically 455 456 significantly different from zero consistently have the same sign across all alternative model specifications. Moreover, there are only two instances where a statistically significant coefficient 457 becomes insignificant in an alternative specification, while remaining statistically significant in 458 459 all other specifications. These slight deviations do not affect the main finding of the study: satisfaction with green views from the residence is found to be positively associated with overall 460 neighborhood satisfaction, independently of the perceived presence of sufficient greenery in the 461 neighborhood. Some alternative model specifications produce statistically significant regression 462 coefficients that are not significant in the results reported in this paper. Thus, the reported results 463 464 can be deemed conservative estimates.

465

4. Discussion

We find that satisfaction with green views from the residence is statistically significantly 466 and positively associated with neighborhood satisfaction, independent of the perceived presence 467 of sufficient greenery in the neighborhood. In other words, between two Flemish urbanites who 468 469 feel the same way about the overall level of greenery in their neighborhood (whether it is sufficient or insufficient), the one who is more satisfied with the green views from their 470 residence has a higher likelihood of being (very) satisfied with the neighborhood. Moreover, the 471 472 association between satisfaction with green views from the residence and neighborhood 473 satisfaction becomes stronger for higher levels of neighborhood satisfaction. Especially, the

probability of being very satisfied with the neighborhood is predicted to be much higher for
those who are very satisfied instead of rather satisfied with the green views from their residence
(+11.47 p.p. for a modal urbanite).

We also find that satisfaction with green views from the residence is of potential practical 477 relevance when compared to other neighborhood attributes, particularly in relation to 478 479 neighborhood satisfaction (Models 3 and 4) as opposed to neighborhood dissatisfaction (Models 1 and 2). While our results indicate that neither of the greenery-related variables is strongly 480 associated with neighborhood dissatisfaction, we find that satisfaction with green views is a 481 482 relatively strong predictor of (high) neighborhood satisfaction. On the other hand, the general perceived presence of sufficient greenery in the neighborhood is only of moderate to low 483 relevance for neighborhood satisfaction when compared to other neighborhood attributes. 484 Our findings are in line with the results of earlier studies linking green views to 485 neighborhood satisfaction (Kaplan, 1985, 2001; Kearney, 2006; Van Herzele & de Vries, 2012), 486 487 which also found evidence for a positive relation between (specific types of) green views and subdomains of neighborhood satisfaction. However, instead of investigating subdomains of 488 neighborhood satisfaction, our study quantifies how having green views from the residence 489 490 relates to neighborhood satisfaction in its totality. This is useful because finding a statistically significant relation between a neighborhood attribute and a subdomain of neighborhood 491 492 satisfaction (for example, green views and satisfaction with nature in the neighborhood) does not 493 mean that that neighborhood attribute is also significantly associated with overall neighborhood 494 satisfaction. Moreover, linking neighborhood attributes to neighborhood satisfaction in its 495 totality makes it possible to compare the strength of association of different neighborhood

496 attributes, thus providing a better understanding of which attributes are most relevant in relation497 to overall neighborhood satisfaction.

Lu (1999) argued for the use of regression models that are appropriate for the 498 measurement level of the outcome variable. Given that neighborhood satisfaction – the outcome 499 variable of this study – was measured on an ordinal scale, ordered logistic regression would be a 500 501 common modeling choice. However, we hypothesized that the proportional odds assumption of the ordered logistic regression model could be violated, so we chose to estimate binary logistic 502 503 regression models for each of the four cumulative levels of neighborhood satisfaction. Our 504 results (Section 3.2) show that the proportional odds assumption is indeed violated for the core variable of interest – satisfaction with green views from the residence – which highlights the 505 importance of carefully evaluating the appropriateness of a modeling approach. Moreover, 506 estimating a separate model for each cumulative level of neighborhood satisfaction makes it 507 possible to observe differences in the strength of association of the predictor variables across 508 509 levels of neighborhood satisfaction. For example, the perceived presence of sufficient greenery in the neighborhood was found to be a differentiating factor between reporting neighborhood 510 satisfaction and dissatisfaction (Models 3 and 2, respectively), while satisfaction with green 511 512 views from the residence was mainly associated with reporting (high) neighborhood satisfaction (Models 3 and 4; see also Table 2). 513

Given that mental health conditions are highly prevalent and largely undertreated worldwide (WHO, 2022), it is relevant to study the well-being enhancing effects of nature experience. Our findings provide additional empirical support for green views as a valuable type of nature experience, which is in line with theory suggesting that green views may provide psychological restoration by reducing stress levels (Ulrich, 1983), alleviating mental fatigue

519	(Kaplan & Kaplan, 1989), and fulfilling a basic human need for contact with nature (Kellert &
520	Wilson, 1993), which ultimately improves residents' mental well-being (Hartig et al., 2014;
521	Markevych et al., 2017). Previous research has linked green window views to relaxation and
522	improved mood states (Elsadek, Liu, & Xie, 2020), a reduced risk of anxiety and depression
523	(Braçe et al., 2020), student performance (Matsuoka, 2010), employee well-being (Gilchrist,
524	Brown, & Montarzino, 2015), and general life satisfaction (Chang et al., 2020), whereas the
525	present study has focused on neighborhood satisfaction as an indicator of urban livability.
526	In an increasingly urbanized world, it is challenging to preserve and enhance
527	opportunities for nature experience (Bratman et al., 2019). Mouratidis (2021) proposed to
528	"integrate various forms of urban nature as much as possible" as a strategy for improving
529	subjective well-being through urban planning. While some research has indicated that accessible
530	and usable neighborhood green spaces are related to neighborhood satisfaction (Wu et al., 2020;
531	Zhang et al., 2017), our results show that visibility of urban greenery may also be a contributing
532	pathway to urbanites' neighborhood satisfaction. In densely built-up city areas, where it may be
533	difficult to introduce new green spaces such as parks or private gardens, smaller-scale greenery
534	such as street trees and green façades (Elsadek, Liu, & Lian, 2019) could present a flexible
535	solution to increase the number of natural views. This is especially relevant in light of a recent
536	finding that dynamic green exposure during active travel does not compensate for a lack of static
537	exposure in one's neighborhood (Wang et al., 2021). Some evidence suggests that street trees
538	contribute to landscape preference and reduce the oppressiveness of streetscapes (Asgarzadeh,
539	Lusk, Koga, & Hirate, 2012; Jiang, Larsen, Deal, & Sullivan, 2015). The study by
540	Suppakittpaisarn, Larsen, and Sullivan (2019) provides a preference ranking of several urban
541	green infrastructure types and indicates that flowers, trees, and well-maintained but structurally

diverse roadside greenery are most preferred. However, research should go beyond types of
urban greenery and also investigate whether specific characteristics of urban green infrastructure
types matter for viewers' satisfaction. For example, Loder (2014) found that views of prairiestyle green roofs were not always well-liked by office workers, but were more likely to be
associated with fascination and well-being than sedum green roofs.

547 In line with previous research (Lovejoy et al., 2010; Mouratidis & Yiannakou, 2022), neighborhood aesthetics and upkeep, social cohesion, and perceived safety were found to be 548 549 most strongly associated with neighborhood satisfaction. The aesthetic neighborhood attributes 550 associated most strongly with neighborhood (dis)satisfaction were beautiful buildings and clean streets and sidewalks, followed by satisfaction with green views from the residence. These 551 findings offer some opportunities for urban planners to play into synergies between urban 552 greening and other neighborhood attributes that are strongly associated with neighborhood 553 554 satisfaction. As Smardon (1988) pointed out, "the particular promise of urban vegetation is that it 555 can be one of the most cost effective and rapid improvements in the aesthetic quality of degraded urban environments". Specific types of green infrastructure, such as green façades, living walls, 556 or green roofs, can be used to simultaneously beautify buildings and increase the number of 557 558 green views in the neighborhood, even in densely built-up city areas. Moreover, urban green spaces could be designed to facilitate social interaction and contribute to social cohesion and 559 560 feelings of safety in the neighborhood. However, while designing for enhanced livability, urban 561 planners and designers should be mindful of the potential gentrification-inducing effects of 562 greening urban neighborhoods (Wolch, Byrne, & Newell, 2014), in order to avoid displacing 563 vulnerable groups of urbanites as their neighborhood gets upgraded.

The main limitations of this study are related to the nature of the available data. While the 564 data set underlying this study is relatively rich in terms of both variables and observations, it is 565 cross-sectional in nature, which prevents us from making causal claims about the effects of 566 greenery on neighborhood satisfaction. Also, the data set does not include detailed geolocational 567 data, which precludes complementing the available survey data with objective measures of 568 569 neighborhood greenery. Moreover, respondents were not asked to report on their preferences for or satisfaction with specific types of green views, as the primary purpose of this government-570 collected data set was to support local governments' policy development in several domains, not 571 572 just regarding urban green infrastructure. While studies like the ones by Loder (2014) and Suppakittpaisarn et al. (2019) provide some insight, future work should further assess which 573 types and characteristics of urban green infrastructure afford beneficial viewing experiences to 574 urbanites (Ko et al., 2022). Lastly, because most predictor variables were measured on an ordinal 575 576 scale, we could not pursue an investigation into moderation effects between satisfaction with 577 green views and other predictor variables in the model. This remains an avenue for future research to explore. Longitudinal studies would also contribute to a better understanding of the 578 role that green views can play for neighborhood satisfaction and well-being in urban 579 580 environments. Such studies could follow up on whether the neighborhood satisfaction of urbanites changes when greenery, such as street trees or green façades, is added in view of their 581 582 residence, or compare the neighborhood satisfaction of people who move between locations with 583 different types of views while controlling for confounding neighborhood characteristics.

584

5. Conclusion

The results of this study indicate that urbanites who are more satisfied with the greenviews from their residence are more likely to report high neighborhood satisfaction,

587 independently of their perception of the general level of greenery in their neighborhood. In contrast to existing studies, we used a large probability sample (n=32,552) and obtained 588 weighted results representative of the urban population of 13 cities in the Flanders region of 589 Belgium. Our findings imply that greenery that can be seen from the residence is valuable to 590 urban residents. Greenery that can be flexibly introduced into the existing urban landscape, such 591 as street trees and green façades, presents urban planners and designers with a way to leverage 592 this finding and contribute to meeting the need for livable neighborhoods in an increasingly 593 urbanized world. 594

CRediT author statement

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Appendix A: City characteristics

Table A.1

Characterization of the 13 cities where data has been gathered.

City	Antwerp	Ghent	Bruges	Leuven	Aalst	Mechelen	Hasselt
Surface area in km ²	204.32	157.77	140.99	57.51	78.65	65.79	102.69
% residential greenery ^a	31.1	33.1	31.2	44.1	39.9	39.1	44.3
% neighborhood greenery ^b	15.2	14.0	19.2	27.1	29.2	30.1	39.1
% ward greenery ^b	12.0	9.2	15.2	21.2	24.1	25.1	34.1
% district greenery ^b	9.0	6.1	13.0	18.1	20.1	20.1	32.9
% city greenery ^b	8.1	4.1	12.1	16.9	19.0	19.0	30.0
% urban forest ^b	3.0	2.1	11.0	11.0	12.1	16.0	27.0
Inhabitants	414,540	213,486	100,519	84,188	70,281	68,577	65,548
% within 150m walking distance of residential greenery	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
% within 400m walking distance of neighborhood greenery	86.9	94.3	97.3	98.1	98.6	94.1	97.7
% within 800m walking distance of ward greenery	57.7	51.1	53.5	52.3	80.7	78.5	65.0
% within 1600m walking distance of district greenery	59.0	60.8	62.9	67.6	98.2	97.3	92.1
% within 3200m walking distance of city greenery	94.0	89.9	83.8	98.9	99.1	98.2	99.0
% within 5000m walking distance of urban forest	68.7	79.4	94.9	98.9	99.1	98.2	99.0

Note. Sources: STATBEL via Statistiek Vlaanderen (surface area in 2020; Statistiek Vlaanderen, n.d.) and

Stadsmonitor 2017 (number of inhabitants, availability and accessibility of urban greenery; Agentschap Binnenlands Bestuur, 2018a).

^a Any type of urban greenery of any size. ^b Publicly accessible urban greenery or nature area of a minimal size of 0.002 km² (neighborhood greenery), 0.1 km² (ward greenery), 0.3 km² (district greenery), 0.6 km² (city greenery), or 2 km² (urban forest).

Table A.1 Continued

City	Kortrijk	Sint-Niklaas	Oostende	Genk	Roeselare	Turnhout
Surface area in km ²	80.69	84.20	40.95	87.57	60.40	56.71
% residential greenery ^a	24.1	30.1	38.1	65.2	23.1	39.9
% neighborhood greenery ^b	9.2	17.2	27.1	48.1	6.2	38.1
% ward greenery ^b	4.2	12.0	24.1	46.1	2.2	36.1
% district greenery ^b	3.0	11.0	23.0	45.0	2.1	34.9
% city greenery ^b	2.1	9.0	22.0	42.9	1.0	34.1
% urban forest ^b	0.0	6.1	14.0	42.0	0.0	34.0
Inhabitants	62,802	61,970	61,092	54,313	51,016	35,995
% within 150m walking distance of residential greenery % within 400m walking	100.0 96.7	100.0 95.1	98.5 95.8	100.0 98.6	100.0 95.8	100.0 97.5
distance of neighborhood greenery % within 800m walking distance of ward greenery	32.1	41.7	89.8	98.7	24.8	73.6
% within 1600m walking distance of district greenery	21.8	66.0	98.2	98.8	34.2	99.1
% within 3200m walking distance of city greenery	77.7	84.9	98.6	98.8	64.8	99.5
% within 5000m walking distance of urban forest	0.0	69.5	98.6	98.8	0.0	99.5

Characterization of the 13 cities where data has been gathered.

Note. Sources: STATBEL via Statistiek Vlaanderen (surface area in 2020; Statistiek Vlaanderen, n.d.) and

Stadsmonitor 2017 (number of inhabitants, availability and accessibility of urban greenery; Agentschap Binnenlands Bestuur, 2018a).

^a Any type of urban greenery of any size. ^b Publicly accessible urban greenery or nature area of a minimal size of 0.002 km² (neighborhood greenery), 0.1 km² (ward greenery), 0.3 km² (district greenery), 0.6 km² (city greenery), or 2 km² (urban forest).