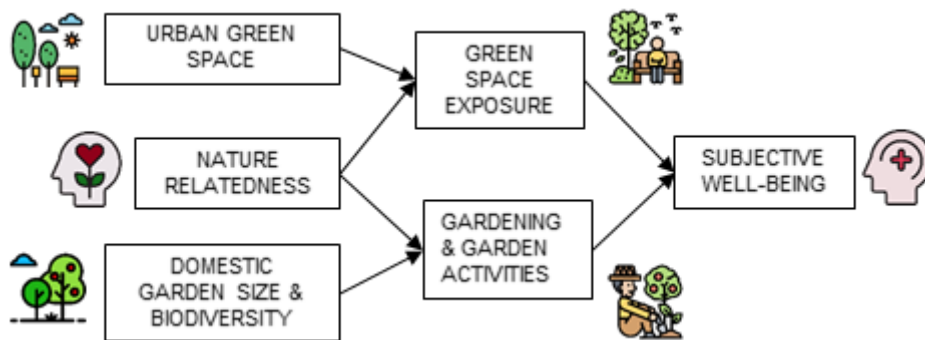


Residential green space, gardening, and subjective well-being: a cross-sectional study of garden owners in northern Belgium

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26 **Residential green space, gardening, and subjective well-being: a cross-**
27 **sectional study of garden owners in northern Belgium**

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57 **Abstract**

58 Urban green spaces and the biodiversity therein have been associated with human health and
59 well-being benefits, but the contribution of domestic gardens to those benefits is insufficiently
60 known.

61 Using data from a cross-sectional sample (n=587) of domestic garden owners in Flanders and
62 Brussels (northern Belgium), associations between residential green space quality in and
63 around domestic gardens, green space related activities and socioeconomic background
64 variables of the gardeners, and self-reported health (stress and depression) were investigated
65 with structural equation models.

66 Socioeconomic security was associated with lower stress and depression. Nature relatedness
67 and green space in the neighbourhood of the house were associated with higher exposure to
68 green space, which was in turn negatively associated with stress and depression. Garden
69 quality, indicated by biodiversity values and size, and nature relatedness were associated with
70 being active in the garden, which was in turn associated with lower values of depression, but
71 not stress.

72 Nature relatedness seems to play a key role in the pathway linking gardens to improved health.
73 Improving biodiversity and ecosystems services in gardens may increase exposure to green
74 space and help to restore and enhance nature relatedness. This, in turn, could potentially
75 improve human health and well-being, and contribute to the conservation of biodiversity in
76 urban environments.

77

78 **Highlights**

79

- 80 • We examined how domestic gardens contribute to health benefits of urban green space.
- 81 • We used data from 587 domestic garden owners in northern Belgium.
- 82 • Higher exposure to green space was associated with lower stress and depression.
- 83 • Higher garden quality was associated with gardening and lower values of depression.
- 84 • Nature relatedness seems to shape the pathway linking green space to improved health.

85

86 **CRedit author statement**

87 **Jeroen Krols**: Formal analysis, Data Curation, Writing – Original Draft, Visualization. **Raf**
88 **Aerts**: Conceptualization, Methodology, Writing – Original Draft, Writing – Review &
89 Editing, Visualization, Supervision. **Naomi Vanlessen**: Writing – Review & Editing. **Valerie**
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91 Review & Editing. **Ben Somers**: Conceptualization, Writing – Review & Editing, Project
92 Administration, Resources, Funding Acquisition, Supervision.

93

94 **1. Introduction**

95 Urban green space is commonly defined as the complex of natural and semi-natural vegetation
96 in urban environments (Taylor & Hochuli, 2017) and is associated with multiple health benefits
97 (van den Berg et al., 2010; Kardan et al., 2015; Frumkin et al., 2017; Twohig-Bennett & Jones,
98 2018). Nature exposure in general has been shown beneficial for subjective well-being, quality
99 of life, and for lowering stress levels (White et al., 2019; de Bell et al., 2020). Myriad potential
100 pathways underlying these effects have been suggested, with the most frequently mentioned
101 the restorative effects of contact with nature on attention (Kaplan, 2001; Corley et al., 2021),
102 reducing stress and negative affect, increasing positive affect, and improving emotion
103 regulation (Kondo, Jacoby, & South, 2018; Bratman, et al., 2021). In addition, exposure to
104 (urban) green space may promote physical activity and social cohesion, and hereby improve
105 perceived and objective general and mental health (Gianfredi et al., 2021).

106 Domestic gardens are a significant component of urban green space, yet the health impacts of
107 gardens and gardening are often overlooked (Ambrose, Das, Fan, & Ramaswami, 2020). A
108 review of studies on green space and mental health benefits found that only 1% of 263 studies
109 included in the analysis involved private gardens (Wendelboe-Nelson, Kelly, Kennedy, &
110 Cherrie, 2019). In some studies, domestic gardens are entirely excluded (Mitchell & Popham,
111 2008; Nutsford, Pearson, & Kingham, 2013), while other studies found that including domestic
112 gardens resulted only in minimal changes of the associations between green space and health
113 outcomes (Alcock, White, Wheeler, Fleming, & Depledge, 2014; White, Alcock, Wheeler, &
114 Depledge, 2013). Nevertheless, a review that included 77 studies and 35 health outcomes
115 associated with gardens and gardening demonstrated links between gardens and improved
116 mental well-being (Howarth, Brettell, Hardman, & Maden, 2020). Garden owners themselves
117 attribute various physical and psychological health benefits to their garden, report to recover
118 from stress from their daily (work)lives by being in the garden, and see their garden as a place

119 where they can connect with nature (de Bell et al., 2020; Freeman, Dickinson, Porter, & van
120 Heezik, 2012; Young, Hofmann, Frey, Moretti, & Bauer, 2020). In a study among 5,766
121 gardeners and 249 non-gardeners in the UK, the most important motivators to garden were the
122 direct pleasure, joy, and aesthetics derived from the garden, while gardeners were less driven
123 by potential health benefits (Chalmin-Pui, Griffiths, Roe, Heaton, & Cameron, 2021).
124 Nevertheless, studies at the population level in England found that local health deprivation
125 decreased with domestic garden cover (Dennis & James, 2017), and self-reported health status
126 increased and income-related health inequalities decreased with increasing domestic garden
127 sizes (Brindley, Jorgensen, & Maheswaran, 2018). Earlier literature on gardens focused mainly
128 on communal and allotment gardens [gardening on public or semi-public land e.g. van den
129 Berg et al., 2010; Heise et al., 2017; Soga, Cox et al., 2017] or horticultural therapy [gardening
130 or other plant-based activities as a treatment for mental health issues e.g. Gonzalez, Hartig,
131 Patil, Martinsen, & Kirkevold, 2010; Adevi & Martensson, 2013]. In this study we specifically
132 focus on domestic gardens and their health benefits experienced by the garden owners.

133 The health effects of domestic gardens may be related to i) their biodiversity; to ii) the duration
134 or frequency of the exposure to domestic gardens; and to iii) the nature of the activities that are
135 carried out in domestic gardens (Chalmin-Pui, Griffiths, Roe, Heaton, & Cameron, 2021).
136 Earlier studies have investigated the role of biodiversity in explaining the health effects of
137 green spaces, but the evidence for a positive role of biodiversity was often mixed (Aerts,
138 Honnay, & Van Nieuwenhuysse, 2018). Comparing biodiversity estimates between different
139 studies has proven difficult as biodiversity indicators often relied on different indicators for
140 objective or perceived species richness. Young et al. (2020) investigated psychological
141 restoration after spending time in domestic gardens and found a positive effect of the number
142 of plant species through the perceived restorativeness of the garden, while feeling garden-
143 related stress had a negative impact.

144 The second factor that may explain the magnitude of health effects of gardens is related to
145 exposure. Increasing duration, frequency, and intensity of exposure to urban green has been
146 associated with decreasing occurrence of depression and high blood pressure (Shanahan et al.,
147 2016).

148 The third factor that has an influence on the health impacts of gardens is what garden owners
149 or users do within the garden or how garden owners are connected to their garden. Positive
150 associations between greenness of the neighbourhood and increased physical activity and a
151 lower occurrence of mental health problems have also been documented earlier (James, Banay,
152 Hart, & Laden, 2015). An experimental study in 30 allotment gardens in the Netherlands
153 demonstrated the ability of gardening to promote relief from acute stress (van den Berg &
154 Custers, 2011). Domestic gardening on a regular basis (at least 2-3 times a week) corresponded
155 with improvements in well-being, physical activity, and a reduction in perceived stress
156 (Chalmin-Pui et al., 2021). Cervinka et al. (2016) found that perceived restorativeness of a
157 garden was influenced by characteristics of a garden such as the size and number of natural
158 elements, but also by the garden-user relationship (connectedness, enjoyment, and satisfaction
159 with the garden). In a study in England, persons who used their garden both for relaxation and
160 the activity of gardening reported better levels of general health and well-being, more
161 frequently visited other natural areas, and were more likely to reach recommended levels of
162 physical activity (de Bell et al., 2020). Gardening has been associated with benefits on social
163 health too (Soga, Gaston, & Yamaura, 2017). Especially for the elderly gardening has a positive
164 effect on their quality of life, cognitive ability, and socialization (Wang & MacMillan, 2013).

165 During the COVID-19 pandemic, scientific interest grew for the effects of spending time in the
166 garden specifically, showing a positive association with well-being (de Bell et al., 2020;
167 Theodorou et al., 2021) and resilience in times of hardship (Sia et al., 2020). Gardening, as a
168 particular way of experiencing nature, allows people to find rest, pleasure, and relief (Kingsley,

169 Foenander, & Bailey, 2019) and promotes the experience of positive mood (van den Berg &
170 Custers, 2011), which all counter stress and depressive feelings. During COVID-19 lockdowns
171 in Scotland, older people who frequently used their garden scored higher on physical and
172 mental health as well as sleep quality (Corley et al., 2021). Another study performed during
173 the COVID-19 pandemic demonstrated that people “experienced an increased sense of nature
174 connection than they had at other times”, because "birds felt louder" (Marsh et al., 2021).

175 In Flanders, the densely populated northern region of Belgium, approximately 21% of
176 residential cores and more than 8% of the total land cover consists of domestic gardens
177 (Dewaelheyns et al. 2014). In 2021, the proportion of inhabitants that reported to have access
178 to a private or shared garden ranged from 66% in the major cities to 93% in small municipalities
179 (overall average 82%; Pisman et al., 2021). This means that gardens are a natural environment
180 experienced by the majority of the Flemish citizens in their daily lives. In terms of total surface
181 area gardens are comparable to forests (~10%; Dewaelheyns et al. 2014). The totality of
182 domestic gardens in a Flanders can be considered as a region-wide landscape structure, a
183 concept called the ‘garden complex’ by Dewaelheyns et al. (2014). Therefore, the exposure to
184 domestic gardens in Flanders can be considered relatively high. As such, the mental health
185 benefits of gardens and gardening could have potential economic and public health relevance,
186 in particular during the COVID-19 pandemic.

187 The mental health benefits of gardens are influenced by complex interactions of characteristics
188 of the garden and the environment, human behaviour, and personal background variables.
189 Therefore, this study aims to analyse the relationship between domestic gardens and potential
190 well-being effects for the gardeners, measured in the form of stress and depression indicators.
191 We used structural equation models, which are suitable for testing a-priori models of these
192 complex interactions. We hypothesized that higher garden quality (increasing with size,
193 biodiversity, and number of natural elements) is associated with reduced stress and depression

194 symptoms, and that these associations may be impacted by garden-related activities, nature
195 relatedness, visits to public green space, and the quantity of green space in the neighbourhood.

196

197 **2. Methods**

198 *2.1. Study design and setting*

199 This study was designed as a self-selected cross-sectional study of garden owners in the
200 Flemish Region and the Brussels Capital Region in northern Belgium. On January, 1st, 2020,
201 there were 1.2 million inhabitants in the Brussels Capital Region (50.9% women) and 6.6
202 million inhabitants in the Flemish Region (50.5% women) (Statbel, 2022). According to the
203 Health Interview Survey of 2018 (the most recent survey), 77% of women and 80% of men
204 reported to be in good (to very good) subjective health in both regions (HIS, 2022).
205 Nevertheless, before the COVID-19 pandemic, 27% of women and 18% of men in the Flemish
206 Region and 46% of women and 33% of men in the Brussels Capital Region reported anxiety
207 or depression according to the EQ-5D instrument (HIS, 2022). In the Flemish Region only 3%
208 of the population reported lack of access to parks or other green or recreational public spaces;
209 in the Brussels Capital Region, which is more urbanized, this proportion was 7% (HIS, 2022).

210 Participants were recruited through MijnTuinlab (www.mijntuinlab.be). This online citizen
211 science platform is designed to solicit citizen's contributions to research projects focused on
212 the assessment of biodiversity and ecosystem services in domestic gardens, and is connected
213 to the platforms waarnemingen.be and observations.org focusing on biodiversity observations.
214 Participants for MijnTuinlab were recruited via a media campaign supported by the large
215 newspaper Het Nieuwsblad (circulation: ~22,5000 copies; readership 1,130,710; reach
216 14.5%). The campaign included dedicated articles about the importance of gardens and the
217 objectives of MijnTuinlab, advertisements in the printed and online editions of the newspaper,

218 and direct mailing. Advertisements were also published in other large newspapers, on social
219 media, and broadcasted on television. In a first phase, self-selected participants were asked to
220 register their garden and to complete a survey on the biotic and abiotic properties of their
221 garden. These questionnaires were available from the launch of MijnTuinlab on 24 April 2020
222 (near the first peak of the COVID-19 pandemic), but answers could permanently be updated.
223 In a second phase, participants provided data on their exposure to green space (including their
224 garden), physical and mental health, feelings towards nature, and socio-economic background.
225 These questionnaires were open to the public from 17 August 2020 until 31 October 2020. In
226 November 2020 follow-up e-mails were sent out to respondents with missing data on garden
227 properties to minimize exclusions (Fig. 1).

228 The protocol of this study was approved by the Social and Societal Ethics Committee of the
229 KU Leuven (G-2020-1988) and respondents provided their informed consent before starting
230 and completing the survey. All questionnaires were administered in Dutch.

231 In total 907 responses were registered throughout both phases of the study, 786 of which were
232 filled in completely. Of these, 115 responses were excluded (after sending follow-up emails)
233 as either no corresponding profile existed on the MijnTuinlab platform or information
234 regarding their garden was incomplete. Potential confounders age and sex were registered
235 separately on the MijnTuinlab platform, but were missing in a number of cases. This resulted
236 in a total sample of 587 responses included in the analysis, or 65% of the original survey
237 response (Fig. 1). The sample comprises 3‰ of the total number of private garden parcels in
238 the study area (approximately 2 million) and is geographically well distributed (Fig. A1).

239

240

241

242 2.2. *Outcome variables*

243 Mental health was assessed using the depression and stress subscales of the Depression Anxiety
244 Stress Scale (DASS). The full scale exists of 42 items, but we used 14 items (7 items per
245 dimension) of the 21-item short form DASS-21 (Lovibond & Lovibond, 1995). Respondents
246 had to indicate if a statement was applicable to them during the past week on a 4-point Likert
247 scale from 0 to 3 ranging from “did not apply to me at all” to “applied to me very much, or
248 most of the time”. For example, two statements from the depression scale are: “*I couldn't seem*
249 *to experience any positive feeling at all*” and “*I found it difficult to work up the initiative to do*
250 *things*”. The stress scale consisted of statements such as “*I found it hard to wind down*” or “*I*
251 *tended to over-react to situations*”. The DASS-21 subscales are scored by adding up the scores
252 on the subscale items and multiplying this result by a factor two, yielding a subscale range
253 between 0 and 42.

254

255 2.3. *Explanatory variables*

256 2.3.1. Nature relatedness

257 Connection with nature was estimated using responses to the six items of the short-form nature
258 relatedness scale (NR-6; Nisbet & Zelenski, 2013). A high score is typically associated with
259 high environmental concern. Examples of the items are “*I always think about how my actions*
260 *affect the environment*”, and “*My relationship to nature is an important part of who I am*”.
261 Items were measured on a five-point Likert scale (1–5) on a range from “completely disagree”
262 to “completely agree”. The NR-6 scale is obtained by calculating the average score of the six
263 items, with high scores indicating high nature relatedness.

264

265

266 2.3.2. Garden quality

267 We focussed on biodiversity to quantify garden quality. An empirical biodiversity score was
268 calculated based on self-reported properties of the gardens. In the first phase of the data
269 collection, garden owners digitized the perimeter of their parcel on an interactive map.
270 Subsequently, each participant subdivided his/her garden polygon into smaller polygons,
271 representing the house, water, vegetated areas, and other buildings, impervious areas and bare
272 soil. Water polygons were further split into two subcategories: (semi-)natural water and
273 artificial waterbodies without the presence of plants. Vegetated area was further subdivided in
274 eight categories: three possible types of grass (short cut lawn, flowery or species-rich grassland,
275 grazing meadow), planted flowers or shrubs, trees (later divided in categories of higher and
276 lower than 6 m), bushes, wild vegetation, and vegetable garden. Furthermore, the presence of
277 four types of climbing plants, a green roof and the type of trees in the garden (deciduous, fruit-
278 and coniferous or needle-leaved trees) were registered. Participants then indicated the total
279 number of plant species in their garden (less than 10, between 10 and 100 or more than 100)
280 and the presence of certain animal-friendly features (feeding/drinking place in winter for
281 animals, passage for hedgehogs, dead wood, or a nesting place) or compost infrastructure. Each
282 land cover type was given a separate score for biodiversity, ranging between 1 (e.g. manicured
283 lawn) and 5 (e.g. species-rich grassland) (see Table 2.1). A total garden biodiversity score was
284 then calculated as the product of feature scores and their area, with additional points for the
285 presence of certain features without specific surface area. The garden biodiversity score was
286 then converted to a relative score (%) by dividing the score by the maximum score observed in
287 the sample and multiplying by 100. Higher garden biodiversity scores indicated higher
288 (subjective) garden quality.

289 The number of natural elements in the garden was calculated as the number of features of the
290 following list present in the garden: (semi-)natural water, green roof, the subcategories of

291 vegetated area (with a maximum of eight), dead wood, a vertical garden, and the (combined)
292 presence of any of the three other forms of wall vegetation. The maximum for this indicator
293 was 13 natural elements.

294 To take into account the green space in the surrounding neighbourhood, three buffers were
295 made around the perimeter of the garden with buffer distances of 100, 500, and 1000 meter. In
296 these buffers the size of forest patches, grassland, and other gardens was calculated in m² and
297 in % cover. These land covers were derived from the Top10Vector land cover geodataset for
298 Belgium (National Geographic Institute (NGI), 2014). For forest, classes belonging to
299 coniferous woodland, predominantly coniferous mixed woodland, mixed woodland,
300 predominantly broad-leaved mixed woodland or broad-leaved woodland were used to define
301 forest cover. For grassland, the classes permanent grassland or hay meadow and lawn were
302 used.

303

304 2.3.3. Green space related activities

305 To gain information about the respondent's activities in nature, a set of questions around this
306 topic was made. A first question was related to how often respondents visit public green spaces.
307 This was measured on a seven-point ordinal scale with options "never", "once a year", "once
308 every three months", "once a month", "multiple times a month", "once a week", or "multiple
309 times a week". Coupled with this, the number of visits to public green spaces during the last
310 week was measured on a scale of 0 to 7 and if there were visits in the last week the average
311 duration of these was asked. Available options were "less than 30 minutes", "30 minutes to one
312 hour", "between one and two hours", "two to three hours", "three to four hours", or "more than
313 four hours". These last two questions were then repeated for visits to gardens other than the
314 primary (own) garden. This could for example be an allotment garden owned by the

315 respondent, or the garden of a friend or relative. Next, participants recorded how many days
316 they spent in their own garden in the past week and the average daily time spent in their garden
317 during summer. In total there were 20 options starting from “less than one hour” to “ten hours
318 or more” with steps of 30 minutes. Finally, respondents indicated how their time in their own
319 garden was divided between being active (gardening, doing sports in the garden ...) and being
320 passive (resting, observing the fauna and flora ...).

321

322 *2.4. Potential confounders*

323 Earlier studies in Belgium have demonstrated that associations between green space and health
324 outcomes are influenced by socio-economic background variables, and notably by socio-
325 economic deprivation (e.g. Aerts et al., 2020a). Education, profession, and income are
326 dimensions of socioeconomic deprivation that strongly correlate to socio-economic status in
327 Belgium (Bossuyt, Gadeyne, Deboosere, & Van Oyen, 2004). The net monthly income of the
328 household was measured in six categories (“Less than 1000 euro”, “1001 -2000 euro”, “2001-
329 3000 euro”, “3001-4000 euro”, “4001-5000 euro” and “more than 5000 euro”). Ownership of
330 the house to which the garden belonged was assessed and treated as a binary variable of
331 ownership. Low values for income and ‘not owning the house’ were used as indicators of
332 potential income deprivation. Education was measured in eleven options, and reduced to a
333 binary variable of post-secondary education. We used ‘no post-secondary education’ as an
334 indicator of potential education skills and training deprivation. Employment status was
335 questioned through seven options and reduced to a binary variable currently employed or not,
336 and we used ‘not employed’ as an indicator of potential employment deprivation. Finally,
337 participants also provided information on age, sex (man/woman), marital status (having a

338 partner/no partner), and having children living at home (yes/no), because these variables could
339 have an impact on both stress/depression levels and garden activities.

340

341 2.5. Data analysis

342 The main analysis was carried out with structural equation models (SEM) in which effects
343 between measured (observed) variables and outcomes can be linked through latent
344 (unobserved) variables (Kaplan, 2009). We hypothesized that depression and stress would be
345 associated with garden activities, activities in other gardens, and time spent in public green,
346 and that socio-economic security, garden quality, neighbourhood green space, and nature
347 relatedness may impact this association through direct and indirect impacts on symptoms of
348 depression and stress (Fig. 2).

349 The models were evaluated in the R environment for statistical computing with the package
350 *lavaan* (Rosseel, 2012). Variables derived from Likert scales were treated as continuous
351 variables (Rhemtulla, Brosseau-Liard, & Savalei, 2012). Explanatory variables related to
352 garden and surrounding green space quantity and quality were first converted to z-scores. The
353 model was evaluated using the cut-off criteria presented in Hu and Bentler (1999). They specify
354 that an ideal model has a root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) smaller than or
355 equal to 0.06, a standardized root mean square residual (SRMSR) smaller than or equal to 0.08,
356 and a comparative fit index (CFI) larger than or equal to 0.95. Two SEMs were run separately
357 for stress and depression outcomes. Internal consistency of the indicator variables for the latent
358 variables was calculated with the Cronbach's alpha in R with the package *psych* (Revelle,
359 2021). Scores higher than 0.7 are generally considered acceptable.

360

361

362 3. Results

363 The geographical distribution of included gardens is presented in Figure A1. The characteristics
364 of the study population are presented in Table 1. The sample included 55% women, and garden
365 owners were on average aged 54.8 years old (SD 13.0). The mean size of the included gardens
366 was 1827 m² (standard deviation (SD) 8930 m²). The median garden size was 734 m²
367 (interquartile range difference 1387 m²). The majority of respondents reported normal values
368 for depression (depression scale <10, n = 479, 81.6%) and stress (stress scale < 15, n = 516,
369 87.9%) . The average nature relatedness score was 4.05 (SD 0.6) on a maximum of 5. The
370 internal consistencies of the latent variables stress, depression, and nature relatedness were high
371 to acceptable (Cronbach's alpha $\alpha(\text{Stress}) = 0.89$, $\alpha(\text{Depression}) = 0.87$, $\alpha(\text{NR-6}) = 0.76$).

372 The model for stress had better fit indices than the model for depression, although the CFI was
373 still not optimal (N = 587, CFI = 0.907, AIC = 41482, RMSEA = 0.055, SRMR = 0.068). The
374 obtained fit indices for depression were a bit lower (N = 587, CFI = 0.899, AIC = 40675,
375 RMSEA = 0.057, SRMR = 0.069).

376 In the SEM for stress, there was evidence for protective associations between stress and socio-
377 economic security (standardized parameter estimate/regression coefficient $\beta = -0.14$, $p = 0.016$,
378 $SE = 0.034$) and nature exposure ($\beta = -0.07$, $p = 0.079$, $SE = 0.009$). Nature relatedness had an
379 indirect effect through a positive association with exposure to nature ($\beta = 0.11$, $p = 0.012$, SE
380 $= 0.191$). Green space in the surrounding neighbourhood contributed to nature exposure ($\beta =$
381 0.07 , $p = 0.060$, $SE. = 0.100$). Nature relatedness and garden quality were positively linked to
382 garden activities (NR: $\beta = 0.16$, $p = 0.001$, $SE = 0.135$; quality: $\beta = 0.12$, $p = 0.003$, $SE = 0.071$)
383 but garden activities were not associated with levels of stress (Fig. 3, Table B2).

384 In the SEM for depression, similar associations were found: there were protective associations
385 between depression and socio-economic security (standardized parameter estimate/regression

386 coefficient $\beta = -0.22$, $p < 0.001$, $SE = 0.032$) and nature exposure ($\beta = -0.08$, $p = 0.059$, $SE =$
387 0.007); nature relatedness had an indirect effect through a positive association with exposure
388 to nature ($\beta = 0.11$, $p = 0.012$, $SE = 0.191$); and green space in the surrounding neighbourhood
389 contributed to nature exposure ($\beta = 0.07$, $p = 0.058$, $SE = 0.100$). Nature relatedness and garden
390 quality were positively linked to garden activities (NR: $\beta = 0.15$, $p = 0.002$, $SE = 0.134$; quality:
391 $\beta = 0.12$, $p = 0.003$, $SE = 0.071$) and, in contrast to stress, garden activities exhibited a weak
392 inverse association with depression ($\beta = -0.09$, $p = 0.075$, $SE = 0.013$) (Fig. 4; Table B3). Both
393 models were subject to confounding by age, while only the model for stress was subject to
394 confounding by sex.

395

396 **4. Discussion**

397 We examined how domestic gardens contribute to health benefits of urban green space. We
398 found that i) higher exposure to neighbourhood green space was associated with lower reported
399 stress and depression symptoms; ii) higher garden quality was associated with more frequent
400 gardening and lower values of depression symptoms; and iii) nature relatedness seems to shape
401 the pathway linking gardens to improved well-being by having an impact on both exposure to
402 green space and activities in gardens.

403 Several mechanisms for these effects of garden activities can be put forward. First of all,
404 gardening facilitates mindful engagement with nature (Macaulay, Lee, Johnson, & Williams,
405 2022). The direct and intentional interaction with nature allows for a heightened sensitivity to
406 sensory experiences (March et al., 2021) and experiences of interest and curiosity (Nisbet,
407 Zelenski, & Grandpierre, 2019), inviting people to a more mindful state. Second, gardening
408 might reduce stress and alleviate depressive symptoms by providing the opportunity to perform
409 tasks that are meaningful (e.g. they lead to a more beautiful or healthier garden, food

410 production, ...) and relatively easy to execute, providing the gratification of having fulfilled a
411 meaningful task, and a sense of autonomy and competence (Nisbet et al., 2019) and self-esteem
412 (Wood, Pretty, & Griffin, 2016). Finally, being in the garden allows people to experience a
413 strengthened sense of connection with nature (Egerer et al., 2022). A meta-analysis showed a
414 positive link between experiencing nature connectedness and positive affect, vitality, and life
415 satisfaction (Capaldi et al., 2014). Nature connectedness can give rise to a sense of belonging
416 (Mayer et al., 2009) and experiencing a sense of meaning or purpose in life (Capaldi et al.,
417 2014; Martin et al., 2020), key protective resources against depression and the debilitating
418 effects of stress, especially in times of adversity, like a pandemic (White, 2020). Indeed, nature
419 relatedness has been linked to self-reported (mental) health outcomes before. For instance, in
420 a population study including 1536 inhabitants of Brisbane, Australia, (subscales of) nature
421 relatedness scale were associated with increased self-reported health (Dean et al., 2018). In the
422 same study, lower values for depression, anxiety, and stress were associated with higher scores
423 for nature relatedness. In a study including 1,005 individuals in Ecuador, home garden users
424 were more satisfied with gardens if their motives for garden use were related to nature (Cruz-
425 Cárdenas & Oleas, 2018). Nature relatedness has also been linked to higher values in well-
426 being (Nisbet, Zelenski, & Murphy, 2011). The short form NR-6 used in the present study has
427 also been correlated with happiness indicators before, although no link with depression was
428 found (Nisbet & Zelenski, 2013).

429 The positive effect of gardening activities on depression is in line with findings from the meta-
430 analysis on the health effects of gardening performed by Soga et al. (2017) where 8 of the 11
431 studies investigating the effect of daily gardening or horticultural therapy on depression found
432 a protective effect against depression. For stress, 4 of the 6 studies included in this analysis
433 found a protective effect against stress, which is not replicated in our study. In a study of 529
434 university students in Bulgaria, Dzhambov et al. (2019) found a link between residential green

435 space and reduced scores on depression, and this was mediated by the restorative quality of the
436 green space, which we did not measure in our study.

437 The structural equation models used in this study are a strength, because they allow us to infer
438 some degree of causality in an observational study. However, as in other epidemiological
439 studies relying on self-reported data, our study may be prone to self-reporting bias (Rosenman,
440 Tennekoon, & Hill, 2011) and thus be affected by over- or underestimation in the outcome
441 variables (stress and depression) and by exposure misclassification. Because we have included
442 objective indicators of green space exposure in addition to self-reported green space exposure
443 data, i.e. the relative covers of green space types in different buffers around the home derived
444 from detailed land cover maps, and because self-reported garden properties of several gardens
445 were validated by field workers in the context of another project, we are confident that exposure
446 misclassification is limited.

447 A second limitation of the study is the potential bias associated with self-selection of
448 participants. For instance, the gardens in our sample were larger than the average garden in
449 Flanders (average size 688 m², median 400 m²; Somers et al. 2021). Moreover, garden owners
450 with a special interest in their garden and the nature within it may have been more likely to
451 participate in this study, than garden owners that experience stress from their garden. Indeed
452 gardens may cause stress because gardens may require physical work (for instance, to control
453 unwanted species), may contain allergenic tree species (Aerts et al. 2020b), may consume time
454 and money, and may be sources of annoying ‘dirt’ and ‘bugs’ (Cruz-Cárdenas & Oleas 2018;
455 Young et al., 2020). In informal interviews with garden owners in Flanders performed by RA,
456 examples of plants inducing garden-related stress included a hazel tree (*Corylus avellana*)
457 ‘occupying too much space’, ivy (*Hedera helix*) ‘destroying a wall’, dandelions (*Taraxacum*
458 *officinale*) ‘popping up everywhere’, yew (*Taxus baccata*) ‘unpleasant to prune’ and hedge
459 bindweed (*Calystegia sepium*) ‘disturbingly climbing over and through hedges’ leading to

460 disputes among neighbours. Most likely, garden owners experiencing such garden-related
461 stress are underrepresented in the sample. This means that garden quality, nature relatedness,
462 or green space related activities are probably biased towards higher values compared to the
463 entire population of garden owners, and compared to the general population. There is no
464 reference data available for the study area, but the average nature relatedness (NR-6 = 4.05,
465 SD 0.60) was higher than the average NR-6 reported in the original study describing the new
466 scale (NR-6 = 3.26, weighted average across three studies of 683 participants; Nisbet &
467 Zelenski, 2013). Although 82% of the inhabitants of Flanders has a garden or has access to a
468 shared garden, the results should not be used to infer about the general population, as socio-
469 economic characteristics of the sample of garden owners may also be biased towards higher
470 values of socio-economic status than those of the general population.

471 A third limitation of our study is that the restrictions and lockdowns during the COVID-19
472 pandemic through the data collection period may have had an impact on exposures and
473 outcomes. Exposure – or the need for exposure – to public green space could have been higher
474 than before because people started using green space more actively during the pandemic (da
475 Schio et al., 2021; Lenaerts et al., 2021), and felt more connected to nature than before (Marsh
476 et al., 2021). Conversely, exposure could have been lower or less diverse than before because
477 garden owners may have avoided public green space, spending more time in their own garden
478 (da Schio et al., 2021). Lockdown measures such as home confinement may have affected the
479 outcome too, as people experienced much higher levels of psychological distress during the
480 pandemic than before (a 2.3-fold increase compared to 2018), in particular women and younger
481 people (Lorant, Smith, Van den Broeck, & Nicaise, 2021). Nevertheless, the median scores for
482 depression (4; IQR 0–8) and stress (6; IQR 2-12) were comparable to the median scores for
483 depression (4; IQR 1–10) and stress (7; IQR 3-12) that were obtained in a cross-sectional

484 sample of 7,972 adult subjects in the Netherlands long before the COVID-19 pandemic (2013-
485 2014) (Wardenaar, Wanders, Jeronimus, & de Jonge, 2017).

486 Finally, the fit indicators of the SEMs are acceptable but not optimal and therefore the
487 interpretation of these models should be done with caution.

488

489 *Implication for planning*

490 Garden quality, here defined by garden size and the diversity of natural and semi-natural
491 elements of gardens, was associated with lower depression symptoms via its impact on garden
492 activities. Green space in the neighbourhood of the house also contributed to better subjective
493 well-being via its impact on exposure. This means that the *neighbours* of garden owners also
494 benefit from gardens they don't own. These spill-over effects on human health illustrate that
495 the garden complex provides benefits for the society that were not sufficiently recognized until
496 now. For instance, informing citizens on health benefits of biodiverse gardens may help to
497 motivate behaviour change towards climate change adaptation (Semenza, Ploubidis, & George,
498 2011). Our results therefore lend support to ongoing efforts to improve urban environmental
499 quality by informing garden owners on the biodiversity and ecosystem services in their gardens
500 and by engaging them towards improvement of these garden properties, for instance via citizen
501 science projects. Our results demonstrate that gardens are an important component of the urban
502 green infrastructure, and that despite their status as private property, should be considered in
503 landscape and urban planning for their collective impact on health, biodiversity, and climate.

504

505

506

507 **5. Conclusion**

508 This cross-sectional study in Flanders investigated effects of domestic gardens on subjective
509 well-being, indicated by self-reported stress and depression. Well-being was associated with
510 nature relatedness and green space in the neighbourhood of the home because these had an
511 impact on exposure to green space. The quality of the garden, which is a function of size and
512 diversity, and nature relatedness also had an impact on subjective well-being because these
513 variables had an impact on garden activities. Nature relatedness therefore seems to play a key
514 role in the pathway linking gardens to improved health. Improving biodiversity and ecosystem
515 services in gardens could potentially improve human health and well-being, and contribute to
516 the conservation of biodiversity in urban environments.

517

518 **Data Statement**

519 The garden data and health data are confidential. The land cover data that were used to quantify
520 residential green space (Top10Vector, identifier BE.NGI-IGN/5F4130E6-DF5C-41E6-A956-
521 BB9F04088D11) are copyrighted (©Institut Géographique National) and were used under
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532

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764

Table 1. Characteristics of the study population of garden owners in Flanders, Belgium (N = 587)

Characteristic	N (%) or mean (SD)
Sex	
Male	264 (45.0 %)
Female	323 (55.0 %)
Age in years	54.8 (12.9)
Higher education: yes	453 (77.1%)
Currently employed: yes	324 (55.1%)
Owner of house: yes	569 (96.9%)
Children living in household: yes	237 (40.3%)
Partner: yes	470 (80.1%)
Green space around garden	
Buffer of 100m (ha)	2.7 (1.3)
Buffer of 100m (%)	59.0 (17.8)
Buffer of 500m (ha)	46.7 (13.5)
Buffer of 500m (%)	54.6 (14.8)
Buffer of 1000m (ha)	172.6 (46.4)
Buffer of 1000m (%)	52.6 (13.8)
Garden size (m ²)	1827.6 (8930.1)
Median (m ²)	734 (IQR 1386.5)
Relative biodiversity score	
Average	71% (4.0%)
Median	27% (IQR 56%)
Natural elements	8.5 (2.2)
Nature relatedness scale (range 1-5)	4.05 (0.6)
Exposure to green space	
Total time in garden (hours/day)	3.25 (2.13)
Time active in garden (hours/day)	1.66 (1.32)
Days spent in garden (days in past week)	4.83 (2.16)
Time spent in other gardens (median)	less than 30 minutes
Days spent in other gardens (days in past week)	0.60 (1.25)
Time spent in public green space (median)	30 minutes to one hour
Frequency visits to public green spaces (median)	multiple times a month
Days spent in public green spaces (days in past week)	1.94 (1.93)
Depression scale	median 4 (IQR 0–8)
Normal (<10)	479 (81.6%)
Mild (10-13)	50 (8.5%)
Moderate (14-20)	36 (6.1%)
Severe (21-27)	13 (2.2%)
Extremely severe (> 27)	9 (1.5%)
Stress scale	median 6 (IQR 2–12)
Normal (<15)	516 (87.9%)
Mild (15-18)	20 (3.4%)
Moderate (19-25)	28 (4.7%)
Severe (26-33)	19 (3.2%)
Extremely severe (> 33)	4 (0.7%)

765 **List of figures**

766

767 **Figure 1.** Flow diagram of the garden owners included and excluded in the study.

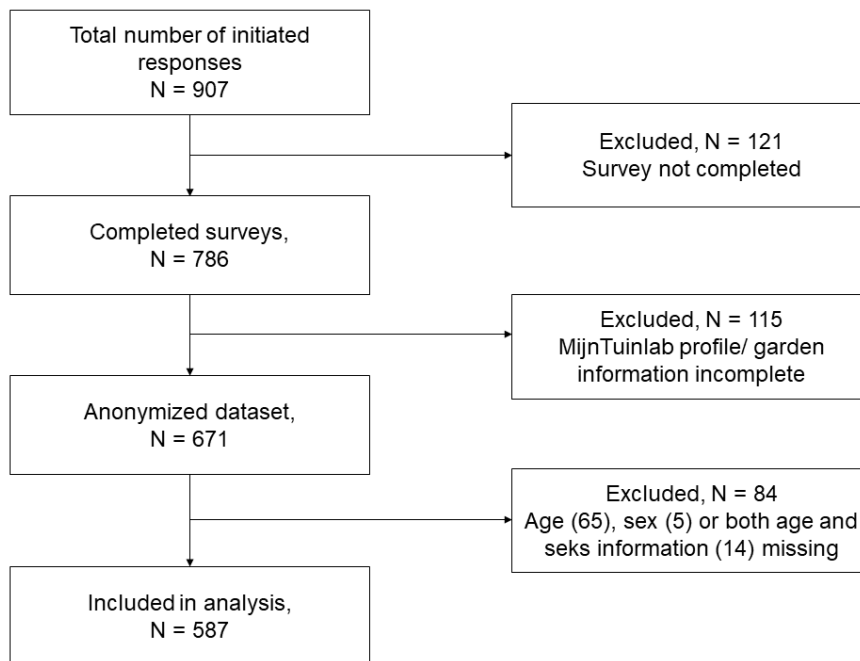
768 **Figure 2.** A-priori structural equation model with hypothesized direct and indirect
769 associations between green space quality, garden use, owner background variables, and self-
770 reported stress and depression in adult garden-owners in Flanders, Belgium.

771 **Figure 3.** Structural equation model of the associations between residential green space
772 quality, garden use, owner background variables, and self-reported stress in adult garden
773 owners in Flanders, Belgium (N = 587 gardens). Observed variables and confounders are not
774 included in the figure but are presented in Table B2. Coefficients and thickness of paths
775 represent standardized regression coefficients β .

776 **Figure 4.** Structural equation model of the associations between residential green space quality,
777 garden use, owner background variables, and self-reported depression in adult garden owners
778 in Flanders, Belgium (N = 587 gardens). Observed variables and confounders are not included
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780 standardized regression coefficients β .

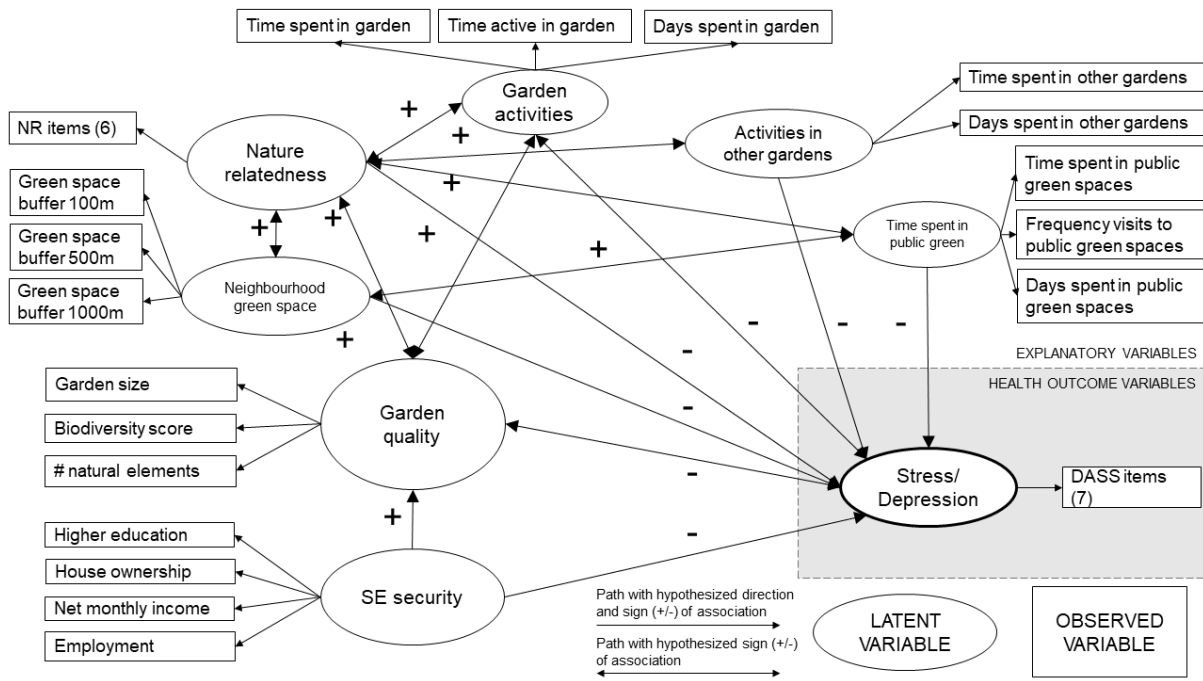
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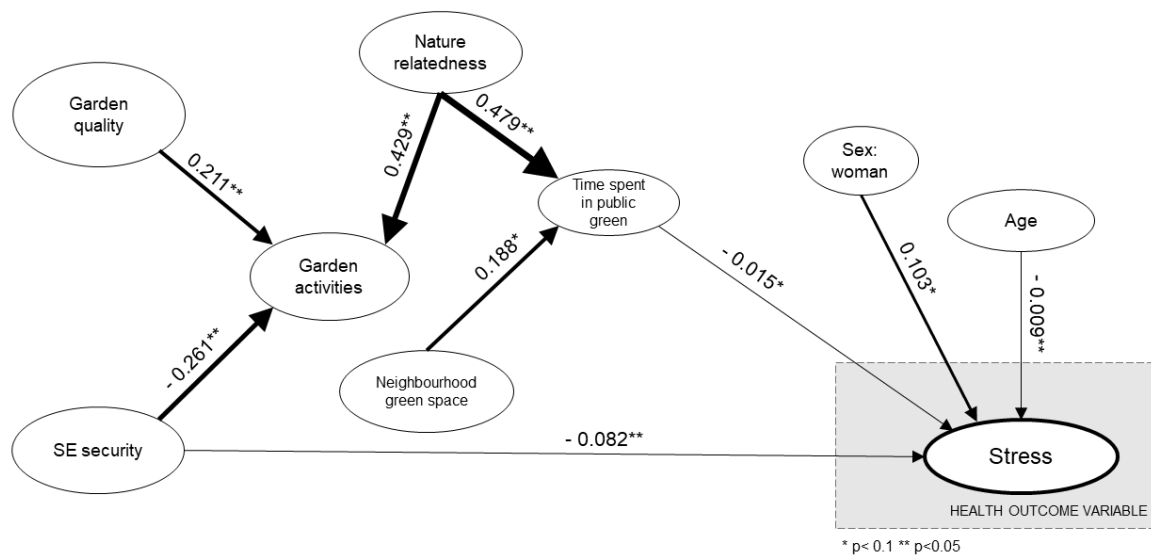
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788 **Figure 2.** A-priori structural equation model with hypothesized direct and indirect
 789 associations between green space quality, garden use, owner background variables, and self-
 790 reported stress and depression in adult garden-owners in Flanders, Belgium.

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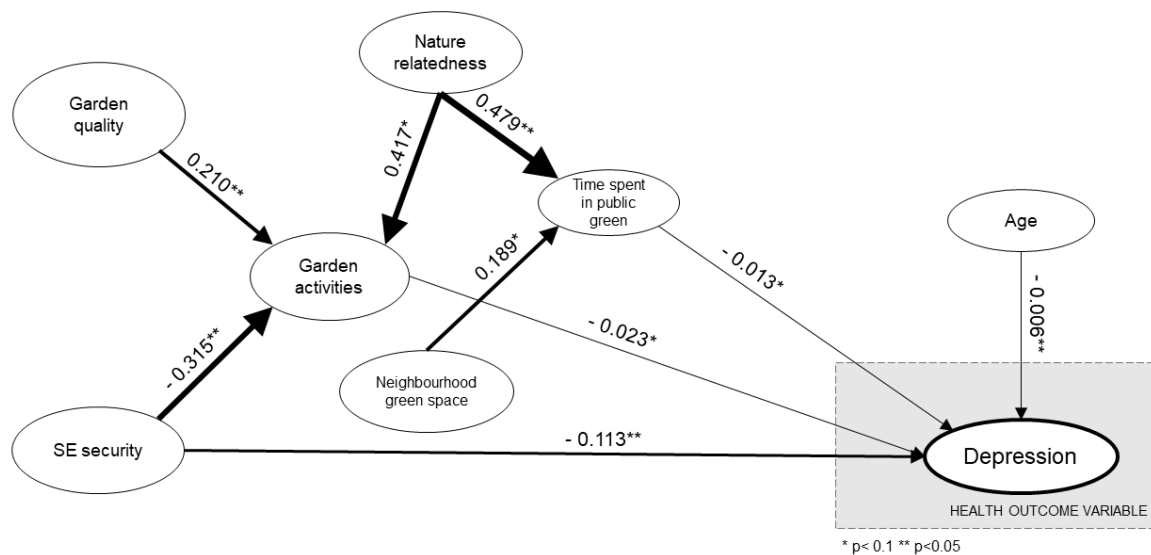


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794 **Figure 3.** Structural equation model of the associations between garden quality, garden
 795 activity, neighbourhood green space, garden owner background variables, and self-reported
 796 stress in adult garden owners in Flanders, Belgium (N = 587 garden owners). Observed
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803 **Figure 4.** Structural equation model of the associations between garden quality, garden
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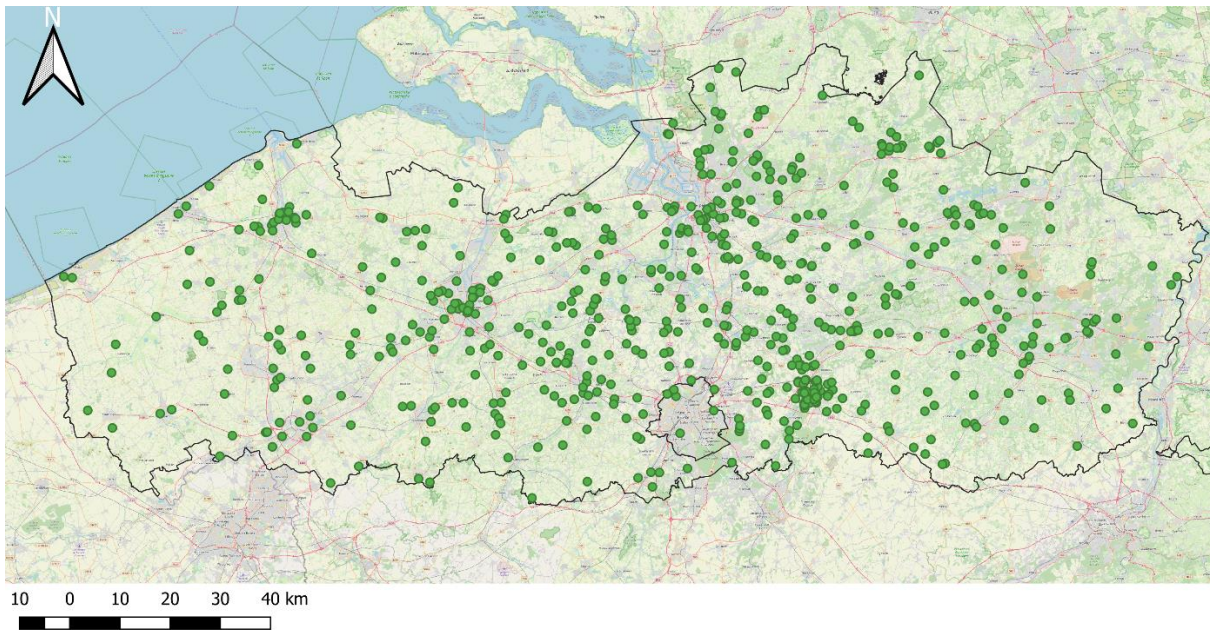
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810 **List of appendices**

811 **Appendix A.** Supplementary maps

812 **Appendix B.** Supplementary tables

813



815

816 **Figure A1.** Spatial distribution of garden-owners included in the study in the Flemish and the
817 Brussels-Capital Region, Belgium.

818

Table B1. Partial biodiversity scores for specific garden features, used to calculate overall biodiversity scores of domestic gardens in Flanders, Belgium.

Garden element (area based)	Biodiversity score
Green roof	1
(Semi-)natural water	4
Short cut lawn	1
Grazing meadow for animals	3
Flowery or species-rich grassland	5
Wild vegetation	5
Vegetable garden	3
Flowers and plants	3
Climbing plants or vertical garden	2
Wall vegetation	3
Shrubs, bushes, small trees and hedges (>1 m)	3
Trees higher than 6 m (deciduous or fruit)	4
Trees higher than 6 m (coniferous or needle-leaved)	3
Garden provisions (present/absent)	Added to overall score
Nesting place, feeding/drinking place for animals in winter, hedgehog passage, presence of dead wood	+3
Compost infrastructure	+3
Number of species (self-reported)	
Less than 10	-6
Between 10 and 100	0
More than 100	6

Table B2. Parameter estimates, SE, and standardized parameter estimates of a structural equation model of the associations between residential green space quality, garden use, owner background variables, and self-reported stress in adult garden owners in Flanders, Belgium (N = 587).

	Estimate β	SE	p	Std. Est. β'
<i>Latent variables</i>				
Garden activities =~				
Time in garden	1			0.87
Days garden	0.370	0.055	< 0.001	0.32
Time active	0.570	0.055	< 0.001	0.80
Time spent in public green space =~				
Time in public green sp.	1			0.70
Days in public green sp.	0.345	0.022	< 0.001	0.65
Frequency visit public green sp.	0.681	0.043	< 0.001	1.02
Act. in other gardens =~				
Time in other gardens	1			0.71
Days in other gardens	0.575	0.268	0.032	1.02
Neighbourhood green space =~				
Green buffer 500m (%)	1			1.07
Green buffer 100m (%)	0.593	0.034	< 0.001	0.63

Green buffer 1000m (%)	0.796	0.028	< 0.001	0.84
Garden quality =~				
Area garden	1			1.03
Biodiversity score	0.948	0.024	< 0.001	0.97
# natural elements	0.093	0.035	0.007	0.10
Socio-economic security =~				
Net income household	1			0.80
House ownership	0.019	0.009	0.035	0.11
Employment	0.252	0.047	< 0.001	0.51
Higher education	0.122	0.027	< 0.001	0.29
<i>Regressions among latent variables</i>				
Garden quality ~				
SE security	0.064	0.048	0.181	0.059
Nature relatedness	0.037	0.062	0.551	0.023
Neighbourhood green space	0.033	0.033	0.316	0.032
Garden activities ~				
SE security	-0.261	0.107	0.015	-0.14
Nature relatedness	0.429	0.135	0.001	0.16
Garden quality	0.211	0.071	0.003	0.12
Time spent in public green space ~				

SE security	-0.001	0.141	0.994	-0.00
Nature relatedness	0.479	0.191	0.012	0.11
Garden quality	-0.002	0.090	0.982	-0.00
Neighbourhood green space	0.188	0.100	0.060	0.07

Neighbourhood green space ~

SE security	0.060	0.049	0.222	0.057
Nature relatedness	0.052	0.064	0.417	0.033

Activities in other gardens ~

SE security	-0.030	0.108	0.780	-0.01
Nature relatedness	-0.290	0.201	0.150	-0.09
Garden quality	-0.017	0.069	0.800	-0.01

Regressions with outcome variable

Stress ~

Time spent in public green space	-0.015	0.009	0.079	-0.07
Garden activities	-0.018	0.016	0.247	-0.06
Act. in other gardens	0.001	0.012	0.948	0.00
Garden quality	0.005	0.020	0.813	0.01
Neighbourhood green space	-0.012	0.022	0.580	-0.02
SE security	-0.082	0.034	0.016	-0.14
Nature relatedness	0.009	0.042	0.824	0.01
Children living at home	0.041	0.059	0.489	0.03

Partner	0.079	0.065	0.229	0.05
Age	-0.009	0.002	<0.001	-0.18
Sex: women	0.103	0.054	0.055	0.08

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Table B3. Parameter estimates, SE, and standardized parameter estimates of a structural equation model of the associations between residential green space quality, garden use, owner background variables, and self-reported depression in adult garden owners in Flanders, Belgium (N = 587).

	Estimate β	SE	p	Std. Est. β'
<i>Latent variables</i>				
Garden activities =~				
Time in garden	1			0.87
Days garden	0.370	0.055	< 0.001	0.32
Time active	0.570	0.055	< 0.001	0.80
Time spent in public green space =~				
Time in public green sp.	1			0.70
Days in public green sp.	0.345	0.022	< 0.001	0.65
Frequency visit public green sp.	0.679	0.042	< 0.001	1.02
Act. in other gardens =~				
Time in other gardens	1			0.73
Days in other gardens	0.563	0.255	0.027	1.00
Neighbourhood green space =~				
Green buffer 500m (%)	1			1.07
Green buffer 100m (%)	0.593	0.034	< 0.001	0.63
Green buffer 1000m (%)	0.795	0.028	< 0.001	0.84

Garden quality =~

Area garden	1			1.03
Biodiversity score	0.948	0.024	< 0.001	0.97
# natural elements	0.093	0.028	0.008	0.10

Socio-economic security =~

Net income household	1			0.76
House ownership	0.019	0.009	0.048	0.10
Employment	0.281	0.047	< 0.001	0.54
Higher education	0.134	0.027	< 0.001	0.31

Regressions among latent variables

Garden quality ~

SE security	0.061	0.052	0.240	0.05
Nature relatedness	0.034	0.062	0.576	0.02
Neighbourhood green space	0.033	0.033	0.311	0.03

Garden activities ~

SE security	-0.315	0.116	0.007	-0.16
Nature relatedness	0.417	0.134	0.002	0.15
Garden quality	0.210	0.071	0.003	0.12

Time spent in public green space ~

SE security	-0.011	0.155	0.941	-0.00
Nature relatedness	0.479	0.191	0.012	0.11
Garden quality	-0.003	0.090	0.977	-0.00
Neighbourhood green space	0.189	0.100	0.058	0.07

Neighbourhood green space ~

SE security	0.064	0.053	0.229	0.057
Nature relatedness	0.052	0.064	0.413	0.034

Activities in other gardens ~

SE security	-0.036	0.122	0.769	-0.02
Nature relatedness	-0.301	0.201	0.134	-0.09
Garden quality	-0.020	0.071	0.780	-0.01

Regressions with outcome variable

Depression ~

Time spent in public green space	-0.013	0.007	0.059	-0.08
Garden activities	-0.023	0.013	0.075	-0.09
Act. in other gardens	-0.003	0.009	0.758	0.01
Garden quality	-0.007	0.016	0.679	0.02
Neighbourhood green space	0.027	0.018	0.120	0.06
SE security	-0.113	0.032	<0.001	-0.22
Nature relatedness	-0.034	0.034	0.322	-0.05
Children living at home	0.040	0.047	0.401	0.04

Partner	-0.024	0.052	0.644	-0.02
Age	-0.006	0.002	0.001	-0.16
Sex: women	0.021	0.043	0.620	0.02

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