A Health Impact Assessment of a

SKATEPARK

IN CITY HEIGHTS, SAN DIEGO

HUMAN IMPACT PARTNERS

July 2014
humanimpact.org

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Acknowledgments
Many individuals aided in the preparation of this HIA. In particular, we thank the Mid-City CAN Youth Council, focus group participants, and interview participants for their willingness to share their time and insights.

Advisory Committee
Many thanks to the following advisory committee members for taking time out of your weekends, being available for phone calls, making us aware of data and other local information, and providing invaluable feedback on this HIA.

Angeli Hernandez, Mid-City CAN
Hanna Kite, Health & Human Services Agency, North Central Region
Karen Moy, Circulate San Diego
Lesliee Renteria, Mid-City CAN Youth Council
Martin Moreno, Mid-City CAN
Miki Vuckovich, Tony Hawk Foundation
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Suggested citation
Human Impact Partners. July 2014. A Health Impact Assessment of a Skatepark in City Heights, San Diego. Oakland, CA.

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Funding
This HIA was made possible by the generous support of The California Endowment.

Human Impact Partners is a national nonprofit working to transform the policies and places people need to live healthy lives by increasing the consideration of health and equity in decision making.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Human Impact Partners (HIP) in partnership with Mid-City Community Advocacy Network (Mid-City CAN) and their Youth Council and the Tony Hawk Foundation conducted a Health Impact Assessment (HIA) that examines a proposal to create a skatepark in City Heights, San Diego. The HIA evaluates the potential health and equity effects of the proposal and makes recommendations that maximize benefits and minimize unintended consequences to the community.

HIA is a research and community engagement process that brings together data, health expertise, and stakeholder input to identify the potential health effects of a proposal and to make recommendations that improve policies for health. Health impact assessment provides a way for health experts to collaborate with public and private sector representatives and to provide health information that helps proponents and decision-makers make informed policy decisions.

The HIA presents evidence from the literature and local data sources that describes what is known about the relationship between skateboarding, skateparks, and the prioritized and relevant health determinants. Using these sources, the HIA then makes predictions about how health determinants will be affected and recommendations to maximize health benefits and mitigate any potentially adverse health impacts.

This report provides background on skateboarding and skateparks, describes the proposal and decision-making context, reviews the HIA methodologies applied, presents the City Heights and Mid-City neighborhood context, presents findings related to health impacts, and finally, offers recommendations.

2. BACKGROUND

2.1. SKATEBOARDING AND SKATEPARKS

Surfers in the U.S. are thought to have started skateboarding, as a way to "surf" on land, in the late 1940s or early '50s.[1] Despite a number of surges and declines over the years the sport is currently experiencing an expansion in popularity. Participation today has grown to about 6.3 million skateboarders in the U.S, according to a 2012 national sports participation survey from the Sporting Goods Manufacturing Association.[2]

Skateboarders often use public, concrete and metal surfaces, such as ledges, stairs, or handrails to perform and practice tricks. However, skateboarding is often prevented in these places through policy and by making structures less appealing for skating.

The impetus for skateboarding bans and ordinances is most often property damage and to mitigate legal liability, though improved public safety is commonly cited as well. In some cases, the perceived nuisance of skateboarding noise and countercultural behavior serves as a motivation to prevent the activity in public areas.

Skateparks are designated spaces for skateboarding that typically include purpose-built structures, such as ramps, bowls, stairs, ledges, or handrails to facilitate the performance of skateboarding tricks. They can be privately or publicly owned and operated and many government agencies are building skateparks to encourage active lifestyles and mitigate risk to skateboarding youth. Public skateparks started being built in the 1970s and continued at a slow pace through the '80s and '90s. Skatepark development has seen a recent increase, with just over 3,000 skateparks nationwide at a current estimate.[3]

Skateboarding has a number of potential benefits. It is not only a form of exercise that can increase strength, balance, and coordination, but it is also a way for an individual to challenge him or herself and to continuously try to improve his or her skills. It can also serve as a form of transportation and can provide an inexpensive way for young people to gain access to all parts of their community.

Skateboarding has a very low cost to entry and many first-time skateboarders rely on hand-me-down equipment. Skateboarding can be pursued casually or seriously and does not require coaches, teams, or any specific kind of training regimen. Although skateboarding is an individual activity it can be highly social as well, as skateboarders often skate together and learn from, support, and challenge each other. Finally, skateboarding provides an option for youth who are not inclined towards organized or mainstream sports.

The most notable risks associated with skateboarding are physical injuries. Skateparks can be associated with these risks as well as health benefits. Skateparks offer a sanctioned and safe place to skateboard, which encourages physical activity and spending time with peers.[4] Skateparks may also change the types of activities that take place, visitors to, and conditions of the area, which could affect real or perceived safety.

2.2. THE SKATEPARK PROPOSAL

For the past three years the Mid-City CAN Youth Council has been advancing a campaign to develop a skatepark in their community. Continued efforts to identify a suitable location for a full-sized skatepark revealed a few possible sites and recent efforts have focused on one site adjacent to Park De La Cruz and near Cherokee Point Elementary School, which is an empty dirt lot that is currently owned by the city but leased to the YMCA. Although, it is suspected that the YMCA will not be using the City's lease, plans for the site have not yet been made or announced.

Several different decision-making bodies are weighing in on the decision about how to appropriate the vacant land and developed space and how much of the current space could be used for a skatepark, if this use is approved. The City Council has the authority to approve the use and negotiate the amount of space with the YMCA. The City Council will also need approval from the City Heights Area Planning Committee, the Parks and Recreation Board, and the City Heights Town Council.

Figure 1. Park De La Cruz and the Proposed Skatepark Location

Grant funds, available through the California Department of Housing and Community Development, are likely to be available to finance the skatepark if the land is granted; however, if the land grant does not come through, or come through in time, these funds will be forfeited and funding for the project would need to be allocated in the city budget. There is currently about $250,000 included in the City's preliminary budget to fund the skatepark design process; however, this is subject to approval by the City Council. If the necessary approvals are granted and financing is secured, there would also be one or more design meetings during which input would be solicited from stakeholders regarding the design and layout of the skatepark.

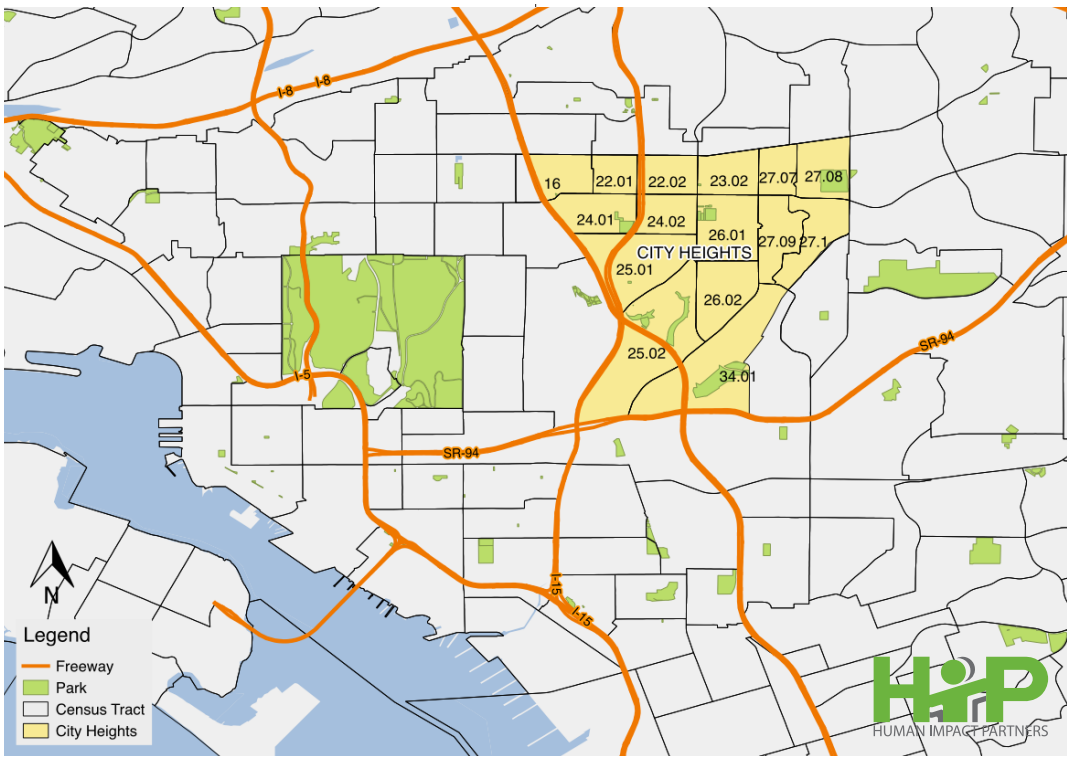
The HIA is intended to inform these decision-making bodies and contexts.

Figure 1 is an aerial photograph of the area where the skatepark is proposed. Depending on how much land is granted for a skatepark and the design, the space can accommodate a minimum of 10,200 sq. ft. park and this square footage can accommodate a maximum of 66 active users. If more space were granted, the skatepark would be able to accommodate additional users. Given that many skateparks commonly operate over capacity, additional square footage would reduce the chances that less confident skaters are displaced when the skatepark gets crowded.

2.3. HIA OF THE SKATEPARK PROPOSAL

HIA uses a broad definition of health – one where aspects of built, economic, and social environments contribute to wellness, health outcomes, and health equity. These aspects are what the public health world commonly calls the *social determinants of health*, formally defined by the CDC and WHO as, "The complex, integrated, and overlapping social structures and economic systems that are responsible for most health inequities. These social structures and economic systems include the social environment, physical environment, health services, and structural and societal factors. Social determinants of health, or health determinants, are shaped by the distribution of money, power, and resources throughout local communities, nations, and the world."[5]

Figure 2. Map of City Heights Census tracts and neighborhoods



Source: SanGIS/SANDAG Data Warehouse. May 27, 2014. San Diego Geographic Information Source - JPA/San Diego Association of Governments (SANDAG). Downloaded April 29, 2014. <http://www.sangis.org/Download_GIS_Data.htm>.

The HIA process consists of six steps: screening, scoping, assessment, recommendations, reporting, and monitoring and evaluation. Stakeholders involved in the HIA process were representatives from Human Impact Partners, the Mid-City CAN Youth Council, the Tony Hawk Foundation, San Diego County Health and Human Services Agency, the City Heights Community Development Corporation, a City Councilmember's office, the City of San Diego, and a public health advocacy organization. Stakeholders were involved for the duration of the HIA, which was initiated in October 2013 and is expected to conclude by August of 2014. See Appendix 1 for a full description of the specific process used to carry out the steps of HIA for this project.

A collaborative scoping process selected the following health determinants potentially affected by the skatepark proposal to be the focus of the HIA research: youth development, physical activity, injuries, and safety from crime.

The HIA focused on addressing the following research questions:

- How would a skatepark change the number of youth who identify as skateboarders, the frequency of skateboarding, and where youth skateboard?
- How would a skatepark change how much physical activity youth in City Heights are getting and how they get it, and how would this change health outcomes associated with physical activity?
- How would a skatepark change youth self-esteem, social support, and interactions with law enforcement and how would this affect youth's future prospects and health?
- How would a skatepark change injuries from skateboarding?
- How would the skatepark change the safety of the area and perceptions of safety and how would this affect youth and the surrounding community?

Evidence from the literature, existing local data sources, and primary data collection were used to answer the research questions and predict the impacts of the skatepark proposal on health determinants and outcomes. See Appendix 3 for existing local data sources and methods.

Three primary data collection activities were employed to get evidence that was not available in existing sources. These consisted of: 1) a City Heights/Mid-City youth survey; 2) a focus group of skateboarders; and 3) interviews with key community members to get perspectives on the safety of Park De La Cruz. See Appendix 4 for primary data collection methods.

2.4. CITY HEIGHTS/MID-CITY DEMOGRAPHIC, SOCIOECONOMIC, AND HEALTH PROFILE

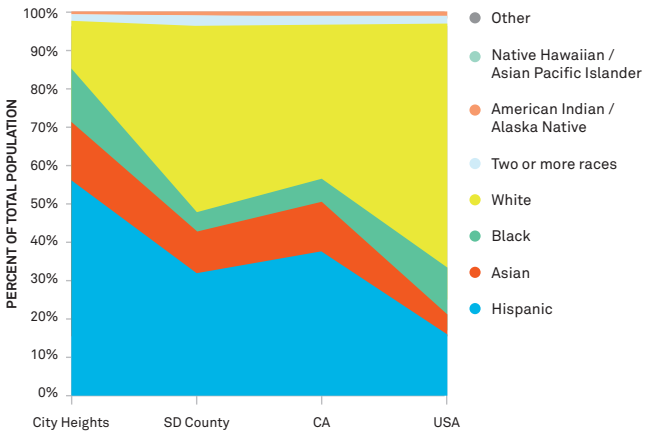
Demographic, socioeconomic, and health information was compiled from a number of sources (see Appendix 3) to paint a picture of the baseline conditions that are relevant to health determinants or health outcomes. City Heights is located in the Mid-City region of the City of San Diego. The study area includes 15 Census tracts and neighborhoods (see Figure 2) that make up City Heights.

Demographics

According to the Census, City Heights has approximately 77,000 total residents, with around 26,000 (33.9%) residents between the ages of five and 24.[6] This is a relatively high proportion of young people compared to San Diego County (29%), California (29%), and the US as a whole (27%).

The City Heights community is evenly split in its gender distribution.[6] City Heights residents are very racially and ethnically diverse, with 56% being Hispanic, 15% being Asian, 14% being black, 12% being white, and 2% being multiracial.[6] The neighborhood is more ethnically similar to California as a whole compared to San Diego County, which like the nation, remains predominantly white.

Figure 3. Ethnicities in City Heights compared to other regions, 2008-12



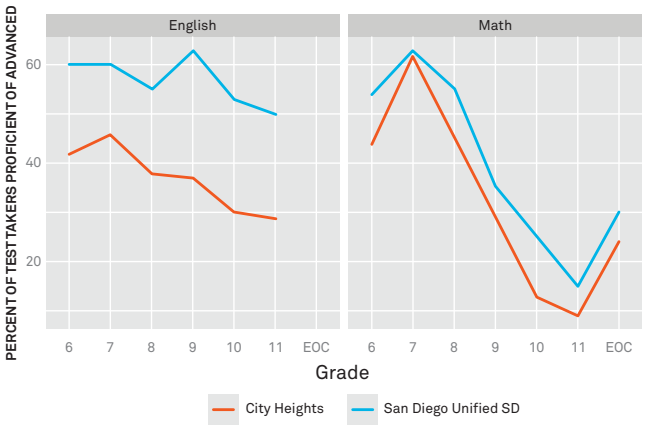
Source: 5-year American Community Survey, 2008-12. ACS Demographics. Table DP05.

Socioeconomics

City Heights residents have generally lower educational attainment than San Diego County as a whole, with a higher percentage of City Heights residents having not completed high school (38% vs. 15%) and fewer college-educated adults in City Heights (13% vs. 34%).

Academic performance was assessed in five City Heights middle and high schools, which serve the age groups that most skateboarders fall into. These schools include Clark Middle, Mann Middle, Wilson Middle, Crawford High, and Hoover High. Test scores for English and Math at each grade were generally lower in City Heights compared to schools in the San Diego Unified School District as a whole. In particular, the gap between scores in English was especially pronounced, where City Heights schools as a whole scored on average 20 percentage points lower than the district average.

Figure 4. California Standardized Test results for City Heights schools compared to San Diego Unified School District, 2012-13



Source: Dataquest

In City Heights, 13.2% of those in the civilian labor force are unemployed.[7] This is higher than the county-wide unemployment of 9.6%.[8]

In City Heights, 58.7% of families with children in the household have all parents in the labor force, while 65.8% of those families in San Diego County have all parents in the labor force.[7]

The median household income in City Heights is $34,649, compared to $63,373 for San Diego County, $61,400 in California, and $53,046 in the nation. Using this metric, City Heights is a lower income neighborhood.

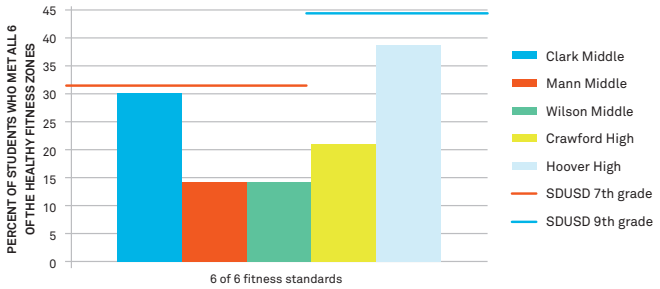
Health Profile

Health behaviors and outcomes related to the health determinants of focus for this HIA are presented here.

Physical Fitness

The California Physical Fitness Test measures six areas of fitness in 5th, 7th, and 9th graders and reports the percentage of students who performed "in the Healthy Fitness Zone" in each area. The percentage of students who met the requirement for all six areas is used as a proxy for good fitness. Fewer youth at the five City Heights middle and high schools met the six criteria compared to San Diego Unified School District (see Figure 5).

Figure 5. Percent of 7th and 9th graders who met all 6 Physical Fitness Test requirements

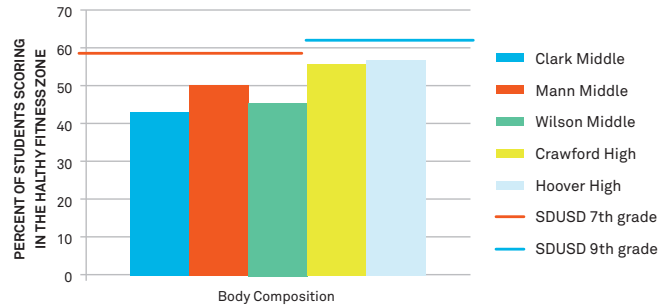


Source: California Department of Education. California Physical Fitness Test for San Diego Unified School District, 2012-13 school year.

Obesity

The measure of obesity in City Heights can be measured in several ways. The California Physical Fitness Test measures body mass index (BMI) by measuring the heights and weights of students in 5th, 7th, and 9th grade. If the student's BMI falls below a certain number, which varies by age, they are considered as being in the Healthy Fitness Zone criteria. Fewer youth at the five City Heights middle and high schools were considered to be in the Healthy Fitness Zone for body composition compared to San Diego Unified School District (see Figure 6).

Figure 6. Percent of 7th or 9th graders in City Heights that scored in the Healthy Fitness Zone for Body Composition, 2012-13 CA Physical Fitness Test

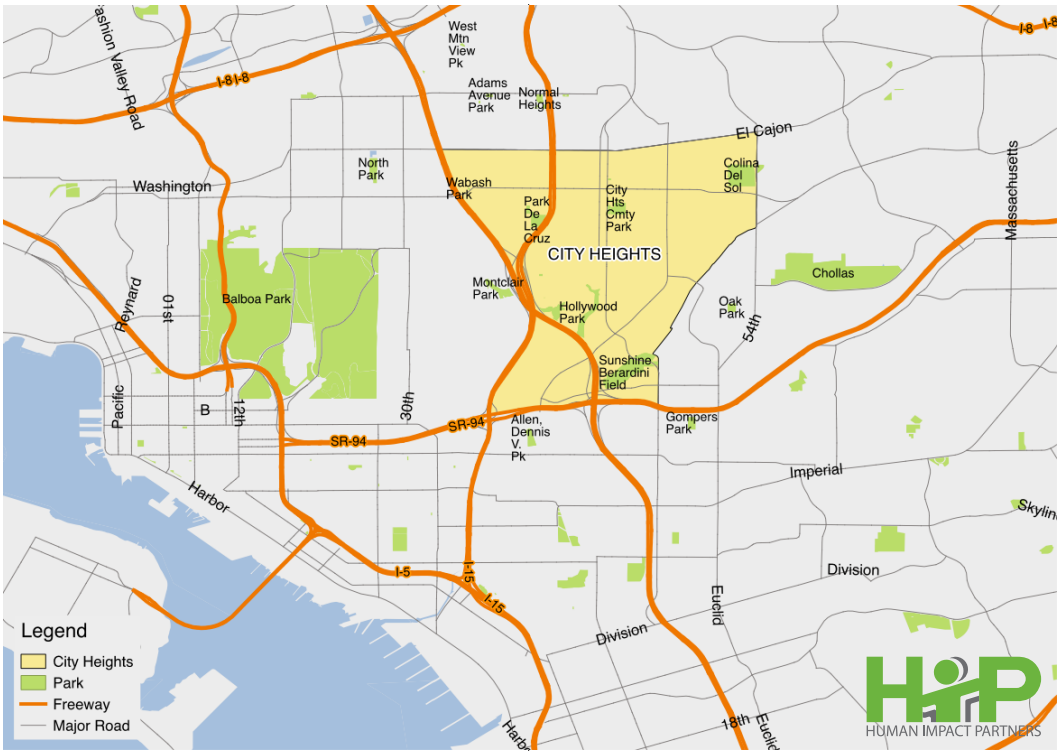


Source: California Department of Education. California Physical Fitness Test for San Diego Unified School District, 2012-13 school year.

Diabetes

According to the San Diego County Health and Human Services Agency, the diabetes death rate for the Mid-City Subregional Area in 2009 was 138.9 per 100,000, with a hospitalization rate of 219.3 per 100,000. These are higher than the rates for San

Figure 7. San Diego Public Parks in and Around City Heights



Source: SanGIS/SANDAG Data Warehouse. May 27, 2014. San Diego Geographic Information Source - JPA/San Diego Association of Governments (SANDAG). Downloaded April 29, 2014. <http://www.sangis.org/Download_GIS_Data.htm>.

Diego County from the same report (17.4 per 100,000 deaths, 211.4 per 100,000 hospitalizations) and the diabetes death rate in particular is much higher than the overall county rate.[9]

According to the California Department of Public Health, the age-adjusted rate of diabetes deaths in San Diego County was 19.5 from 2010 to 2012. This is lower than the California rate of 20.4 deaths per 100,000.[9]

Heart Disease

According to the San Diego County Health and Human Services Agency, the coronary heart disease death rate for Mid-City in 2009 was 83.9 per 100,000, with a hospitalization rate of 219.3 per 100,000. These are lower than the rates for San Diego County from the same report (107.2 per 100,000 deaths, 318 per 100,000 hospitalizations).[9]

According to the California Department of Public Health, the age-adjusted rate of coronary heart disease deaths in San Diego County was 91.1 per 100,000 from 2010 to 2012. This is lower than the California rate of 106.2 deaths per 100,000.[9]

Injuries

According to the San Diego County Health and Human Services Agency, the unintentional injury death rate for Mid-City in 2009 was 25.5 per 100,000, with a hospitalization rate of 639.3 per 100,000. These are lower than the rates for the County from the same report (29.8 per 100,00 deaths, 663.9 per 100,000 hospitalization).[9]

According to the California Department of Public Health, the age-adjusted rate of accident (unintentional injury) deaths in San Diego County was 30.4 per 100,000 from 2010 to 2012. This is higher than the California rate of 27.3 deaths per 100,000.[9]

Physical Activity Resources

Parks are important community resources that ensure residents have opportunities to get physical activity, social interaction, and other health-related benefits. Therefore, we include a map of parks as a component of the health profile (see Figure 7).

The Trust for Public Land published a report in 2011 with facts about city parks nationwide. Overall, the City of San Diego has 47,383 acres of parkland. As a percentage of city area, San Diego's park acres are 22.8% of its total land area (median for all cities is 8.1%). San Diego has 36.3 acres per 1,000 residents (the median for all cities is 12.4 acres per 1,000 residents).[10]

City Heights has 1.52 acres of park per 1,000 residents (see Figure 8). This is much lower than the overall San Diego estimate. This was calculated by summing the park acres that fall mostly within City Height's boundaries (116.5 acres), dividing by the population of City Heights and then multiplying by 1,000.

3. EXISTING CONDITIONS

In this section, we focus on the four health determinants that were prioritized in the scoping process – physical activity, youth development, injuries, and safety from crime – and the causal pathways that link the skatepark proposal to each and the associated health outcomes. For skateboarding and skateparks in general and for each health determinant, we:

- Describe how the skatepark proposal is related to the health determinant;
- Present evidence from the literature to describe relevant existing conditions;
- Present evidence from City Heights/Mid-City to describe relevant existing conditions; and
- Evaluate how the skatepark proposal will impact the health determinant and health outcomes.

3.1. WHAT IS KNOWN ABOUT SKATEBOARDING AND SKATEPARKS IN GENERAL

Change in the health determinants, for which more detailed evidence is presented below, is based on limited evidence about the influence a new skatepark at this location would have on individuals. The influence of a new skatepark varies by how much an individual skates, therefore we describe the effects for potential, casual, and core skateboarders separately and we provide evidence to support these statements below.

- A new skatepark in City Heights may influence *potential* skateboarders by increasing the visibility and attractiveness of the activity and thereby encouraging youth to try it out.
- A new skatepark in City Heights may influence *casual* skateboarders (defined by the industry as those who, on average, skateboard less than once a week over the course of a year) by motivating them to skate more and improve their skills, so they can feel comfortable skating at the skatepark.
- A new skatepark in City Heights may influence *core* skateboarders (defined as those that have ridden a skateboard 26 times or more in the past year)[2] by encouraging them to skate more at the skatepark rather than other locations and allowing them more time to skate because having a skatepark in the neighborhood makes it easier.

The following provides evidence to describe conditions related to these effects.

Evidence from Literature

What draws youth to skateboarding?

In their chapter in the book, *To the Extreme: Alternative Sports Inside and Out*, Beal and Weidman did an extensive ethnographic study of skateboarders and found skaters were attracted to the sport for a number of reasons. They enjoyed the sense of participant control, as they were the ones who made the decisions about the activity. They also valued the non-competitive nature of the sport.[11] One skateboarder they spoke to noted that, "Unless you are on the pro or amateur circuit, you're not really competing against anybody." The absence of authority and the subculture of creativity, self-expression, and nonconformity were also cited as important aspects of the sport in addition to the individual nature of practice and improvement, where each skater has the opportunity to create their own personalized form of skateboarding.[11]

What is the population of skateboarders?

According to a 2012 national sports participation survey from the Sporting Goods Manufacturing Association, there are an estimated 6.3 million skateboarders in the U.S., and almost 3 million of them are "core skaters" (skating 26 or more times a year).[2] The overwhelming majority of skaters in the U.S. are young; 81% of general skaters are under 25 years old, and of core skaters, this figure is 88%. The survey also found that the majority of skaters are male (78% and 82% of core skaters), which is consistent with recent smaller-scale studies in the U.S. and other countries where skating is popular. Additionally, 58% come from households with an income under $75,000.[2]

How much do skateboarders skate?

One survey done in 2008 by the Loudoun County Skate Project, a skatepark advocacy organization in Loudoun County, Va., that found over 13,000 skaters lived in the County, revealed that 64% of skaters surveyed skate everyday of the week and 31% skate at least 5 times a week.[12] However, this population is

dissimilar to City Heights, so we exercise caution in drawing conclusions from these findings for this HIA.

Beyond the number of times a week skaters skate, the HIA did not find evidence from the literature to describe the number of hours casual and core skateboarders spend skateboarding in general.

Where do skateboarders skate?

Skateboarding is done in many different locations, such as open public squares and plazas, areas on the outskirts of cities, old industrial sites; estates or other hard landscapes with desirable features, suburban malls, parks or shopping centers, and of course in skateparks.[4]

Results from the Loudoun County Skate Project survey found that 67% of the skateboarders they surveyed skate mostly in shopping plazas, business buildings and public parks (illegal areas, which they attribute to a lack of skateparks), 15% skate mostly in the street or in a driveway, and 18% skate mostly in skateparks. The survey found that 92% of surveyed skaters said they are told to leave public property at least twice a week and 89% said they would stop going to illegal skate areas if legal skate areas were built.

In Western Australia, approximately one-third of skaters under the age of 15 years revealed that they occasionally traveled to skateparks outside of their residential area to try out different skate layouts. In contrast, skateboarders aged 15 years or over indicated they regularly traveled to skateparks outside their immediate residential area. Indeed, some of this older age group voiced a desire to go all-city (i.e., to skate at least one time in each of the city's skateparks).[13]

What draws youth to skateparks?

We did not find evidence from existing studies to support the assumption that a new skatepark motivates casual skaters to skate more and to skate at a skatepark. There are studies, however, that examine why skateboarders who do skate at skateparks chose to do so and what they get out of it. One study found that skateboarders chose to skateboard at a skatepark because:

- It is a designated area and environment for skating;
- It is not crowded;
- It provides an opportunity to interact with others;
- Its location is preferable;
- The design or terrain is preferable; and
- It allows them to perform tricks.[14]

The consequences of these attractors included entertainment, social opportunities, creative expression or freedom, fun, healthy living or physical fitness, meaning and purpose, mental engagement, inspiration, relief from stress, development of skills, safety, and being able to stay out of trouble. The values associated with these drivers included ambition, enjoyment of life, self betterment, self-esteem, self-reliance, sense of accomplishment, and relationships with others.[14]

An English study found that central accessibility, "trickability," compatibility and sociability were the key characteristics that skateboarders were looking for in a skating location. It must be centrally located and easily accessible, have desirable features to do tricks on, allow people to congregate without necessarily skating all the time, and be compatible with the other types of uses that the space offers, such as public events, performances, or heavy foot traffic.[4] Another researcher also found that youth's perception of their control of open space influences their desire to use a skatepark."[15]

Evidence from City Heights/Mid-City

Sources for the following information include the demographic data presented above, the youth survey, and the skateboarder focus group.

How many skateboarders and potential skateboarders are there in City Heights?

Although the youth survey included a question to assess core, casual, and potential skateboarders, the survey was not a representative or big enough sample to generalize to the entire youth population in City Heights. Therefore to approximate these numbers for City Heights we use Census data and the Sporting Goods Manufacturing Association survey results.[2,6] We estimate (see Appendix 5 for calculations):

- The population of core skaters from the 5 and older age group is **882** (1.15% of the total population of City Heights);
- The population of casual skaters from the 5 and older age group is **933** (1.22% of the total population of City Heights);
- The total population of skaters from the 5 and older age group is 1**,815** (2.37% of the total population of City Heights); and

- The population of potential skaters from the 5 - 24 age group is **1,437** (1.88% of the total population of City Heights).

The youth survey provides additional information about skateboarders and potential skateboarders in City Heights. The average age of the respondents was 16.3 years. Respondents were 53% female and 47% male (two respondents did not fill in a gender). Of all respondents, 27% said they didn't skateboard and were not interested in trying; 35% didn't skateboard, but were interested in trying (considered potential skateboarders); 11% skateboarded less than once a week (casual skateboarders); and 28% of those surveyed skateboarded once a week or more (core skateboarders). A total of 159 respondents answered this question.

Thirty-four percent of those who said they skateboarded (core or casual) were female and 66% were male. Because surveys were distributed through the Mid-City CAN Youth Council – several of whom are skateboarders – this should not be considered a representative sample of youth. Additionally, this survey used a different threshold for number of days spent skating per year to define a core vs. casual skateboarder compared to the Sporting Goods Manufacturing Association survey (52 or more days per year to define core skaters vs. 26 in the survey). Therefore, we cannot compare national estimates to those obtained through our survey.

How much do skateboarders in City Heights skate?

Although we did not have a representative source to estimate the amount of time skateboarders spend skating, the youth survey provides some insight into this question.

The mean number of hours the respondents reportedly spent skateboarding was 14.9 hours per month. However, male skateboarders reported spending over twice as many hours skateboarding each month compared to females (17.4 hours compared to 8). Differences among core, casual, and non-skaters were substantial. Core skateboarders skated an average of 32.6 hours per month and casual skateboarders skated around 5 hours per month.

All respondents who reported skating more than 20 hours per month also reported themselves as core skateboarders, and for this group, the range was 1-189 hours per month. For casual skaters, the range of was half an hour to 10 hours.

Where do skaters skateboard?

According to one Youth Council member, the primary places where City Heights youth skate are Memorial Skatepark, Rosa Parks Elementary School, Highland and Landis Park, Adams Avenue Park, Ibarra Elementary School, and Wilson Middle School.[16]

On the youth survey, respondents were asked where they skated in general. Fifty-seven percent reported skating on sidewalks, 49% on public park land, 30% in parking lots, 28% at school, 27% on quiet streets with few cars, 19% on busy streets with many cars, 13% at skateparks, and 8% at other locations.

Figure 8 shows a map of skatepark locations around City Heights. The closest skatepark to the center of City Heights is Memorial Skatepark, which is about 4.5 miles from the center of City Heights.

According to *sdskateparks.com*, there are approximately 37 skateparks in the Greater San Diego metro area.[17]

What draws youth to skateparks?

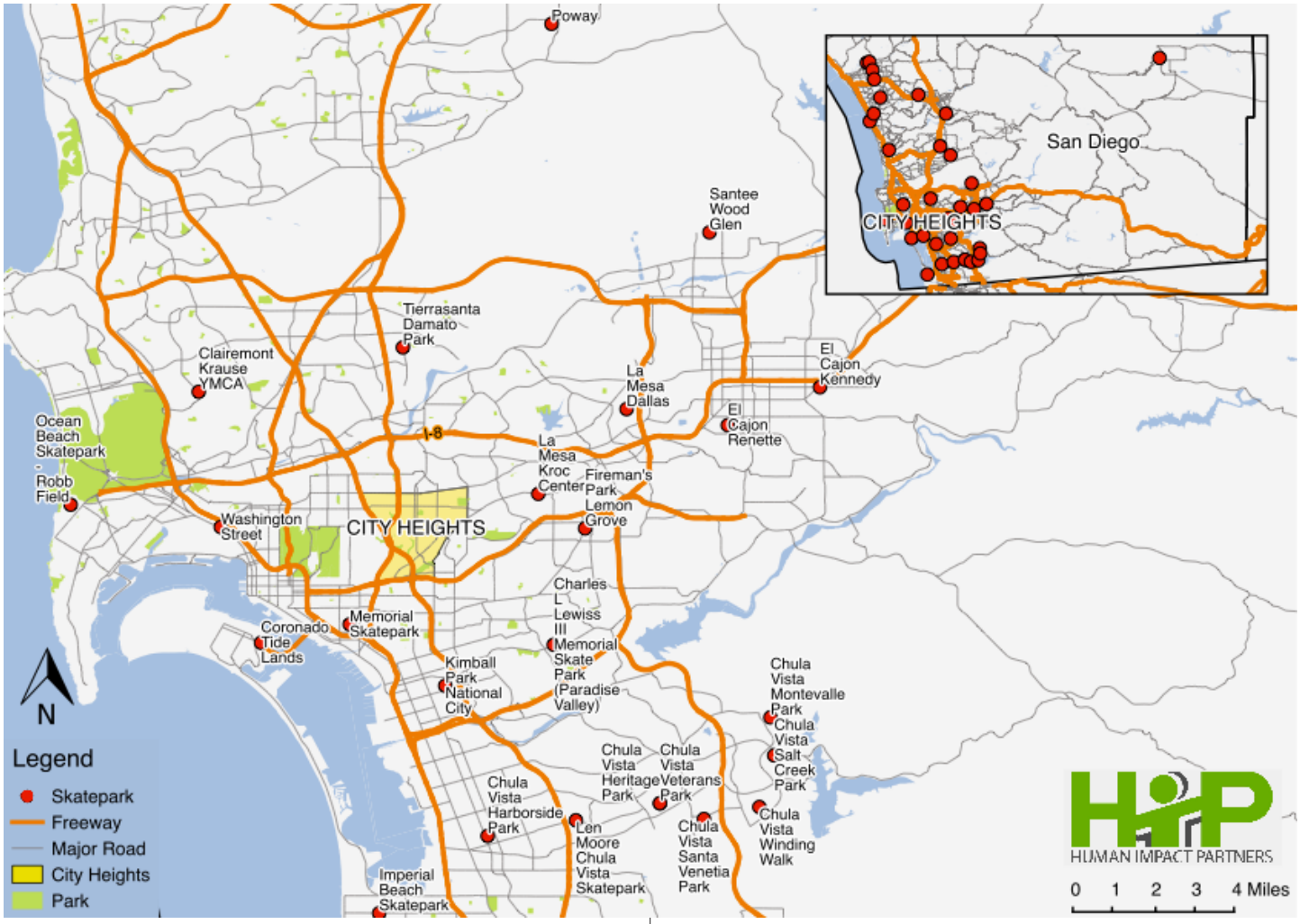
On the survey, respondents were asked what a skatepark would mean to them. Sixty-six percent of respondents said that a skatepark would mean more friends, 62% said it would mean more skating, 61% said it would mean they would be more likely to skate at the skatepark, 47% said that it would mean better skills, 47% said it would mean less contact with police, 43% said it would mean less chance of getting hurt, and 6% said none of the above.

When looking at what a new skatepark would mean to respondents by gender, male respondents included more skating, better skills, and less police contact, while more female respondents included the lower chance of getting hurt compared to male respondents.

When looking at the different types of skateboarders, core skaters were more likely to skate at every location except for parking lots, where more casual skaters reported skating than the core skaters.

Focus group participants also shared their impressions of skateparks. Overall, participants said that skateparks are where you're meant to legally skate – there are no rocks or other obstacles intentionally put in your way to keep you from skating, there are no police to harass you, and skateparks are set up for

Figure 8. Map of San Diego Skateparks



you to try new things and improve your skills. For one less experienced skater, skateparks are also something to strive for – a place to go once you get good enough.

Distance was an important factor for participants in choosing to go to a skatepark. All participants said it is important for skateparks to be located near their homes or in their immediate neighborhoods. One participant felt that if he lived by a park, he would skate every day and excel at skating. Some participants said they might drive to a park, since they have access to car, but gas prices are very high, which is an obstacle as well. One participant shared, "Skateboarding is a hobby and if it takes too long to get to where you are going to skate, it takes away from your time actually skating and can make the hobby hard to keep up."

Another important factor mentioned was having enough space to skate and not too many people crowding the skatepark. Everyone said they did not like it when skateparks are too crowded, and this can happen especially on weekends. The presence of bikes and scooters can be a challenge as well, especially if it is crowded and they are not being respectful of others. Crowding was also a factor for the less experienced skater, who felt that skateparks could be intimidating if there are a lot of people there.

3.2. WHAT IS KNOWN ABOUT SKATEBOARDING, SKATEPARKS, AND YOUTH DEVELOPMENT

The scoping process for this HIA hypothesized that a skatepark could affect youth development through increases in the number of skaters in City Heights and the amount of time they spend skating and at a new skatepark. Skating and a new skatepark were hypothesized to influence the following youth development factors: youth self-esteem or self-efficacy, social cohesion, social belonging, stigmatization, and contact with law enforcement. Each of these factors has associations with health outcomes and well-being (see Appendix 2 for pathway diagrams). The following presents evidence from the literature and from City Heights/Mid-City that supports associations between skateboarding and skateparks and youth development factors.

Skateboarding, and skateparks specifically, can facilitate the development of increased self-esteem and self-efficacy, lasting social connections, social capital, opportunities for leadership, and a strong sense of social belonging. All of these are factors that contribute to youth development and have positive health effects lasting into adulthood.

Evidence from Literature

Youth Development refers to a holistic definition of a young person's overall well-being, and his or her capacity to develop healthily given living conditions and available resources.[18] Youth development approaches emphasize young people's positive attributes, rather than their deficits. Some measures of positive youth development researchers have used include sense of self and self-confidence, contributions to community, social inclusion, leadership and skill-building opportunities, and caring relationships, in addition to challenges youth might face such as depression, anxiety, or substance use.[19,20]

Health effects of self-esteem/ self-efficacy

Higher self-esteem in the teenage years and adolescence is associated with several positive life trajectory measures in adulthood, including higher job performance and satisfaction,[21] stronger social connections, higher persistence in the face of adversity, and overall increased happiness.[22] Lower self-esteem, on the other hand, can lead to higher rates of sadness, loneliness, and nervousness and increase likelihood of engaging in high-risk behaviors like smoking and consuming alcohol.[23]

Self-esteem among adolescents and older teens across the U.S. today, however, is fairly low, especially for girls and young women.[24] One recent large and diverse national study found that, across the lifespan, self-esteem drops dramatically in adolescence (ages 13-17) and is twice as low among girls compared to boys.[24] Other recent research shows that several factors can contribute to lower self-esteem in youth, including perceived racial discrimination (specifically for Latinos and American Indians more than blacks),[25,26] obesity,[23] and negative body image (especially for white and Latina girls).[24,23]

Self-esteem that comes from skill development and competence (also referred to as self-efficacy) contributes to an individual's stronger cognitive development, goal orientation, and general well-being.[27]

Of note as well is the association between adolescent sports participation and higher school achievement, including a lower risk of dropping out of school.[19] Studies show that educational attainment is significantly associated with health, including greater life expectancy. Lower levels of school attainment, on the other hand, are strongly related to several poor health indicators, including higher levels of cigarette smoking, obesity, and lower overall life expectancy.[28,29]

Health effects of social capital, social belonging, and stigmatization

Studies show that feeling a sense of social belonging and acceptance is associated with positive mental health for adolescents, whereas feelings of rejection and social isolation are linked to depression, suicidal thoughts, and other psychological distress.[30–32] Moreover, social capital – the resources individuals and collectives derive from their social networks[33] – can be acquired through the social experience of skateboarding and spending time at skateparks. Social capital provides social integration and can protect against negative adolescent experiences (i.e., depression) or life events.[34]

Social belonging in a community is associated with a number of physical health outcomes as well, including longer life expectancy and reduced levels of stress.[35] Connection to social networks, and the emotional support they provide, is also linked to longer life expectancy.[36,37] Conversely, social isolation

has been shown to be associated with greater risk of heart attack and overall lower life expectancy.[38,39]

Additionally, the experience of feeling stigmatized (identifying with or belonging to a group that is stereotyped or viewed negatively within one's community) can have several negative effects on both mental and physical health. Feelings of stigmatization have been associated with depression and threats to one's identity and sense of self-worth. Feeling stigmatized or stereotyped often elevates cortisol levels (the hormone associated with stress).[40–42] Some of the physical health effects found to be associated with experiences of stigma are hypertension, coronary heart disease, and stroke.[41] Additionally, lower self-esteem and school performance are both linked with experiences of stigma and negative stereotyping in adolescence, which, as outlined above, can have a negative effect on one's life trajectory and overall well-being.[41,43]

However, the presence of strong social support in one's life – from peers or others – can protect against some of these negative effects of stigma and being strereotyped.[41–43] Since the need for social acceptance is so pronounced in adolescence and a key component of adolescent healthy development, supporting young people in opportunities for social inclusion, social support, and positive group participation is of critical importance.[13,19,44,45]

Health effects of law enforcement contact

Skaters and users of skateparks have noted in some studies their high incidence of contact with law enforcement, mainly due to skating in unsanctioned places.[40,46,47] Though arrest or detention are rare results of skaters' interactions with law enforcement, a young person's contact with the juvenile justice system can have significant implications for his or her options later in life as well as on short- and long-term mental health and well-being.[48] Importantly, in addition to having financial implications, which could be a hardship for some youth and their families, citations that go unpaid can stay on a juvenile's record. Many young people and their families do not know a juvenile record has to be officially expunged after 18, and not doing so can affect their job options, housing access, and, in some cases, immigration status.[48]

Skateboarding, sports participation, and self-esteem/ self-efficacy

Participation in sports during adolescence, for boys and girls alike, has positive effects, including higher self-esteem, increased feelings of social belonging, and decreased social isolation.[19,44] Additional positive outcomes related to sports participation are initiative-taking, emotional regulation, and civic engagement in their communities.[19] Little distinction in these positive outcomes has been found between team sports (i.e., soccer, basketball) and individual "alternative" sports like skateboarding.[19] Adolescent participation in sports can be particularly beneficial for female athletes, with lasting effects on positive feelings of self-worth, physical capability, and body image.[19,49]

The association of higher self-esteem among youth athletes is thought to come about because of two main factors: the confidence built through the acquisition and mastering of skills (self-efficacy) and the development of strong social connections through participation in a sport with peers, including in more individual or informal sports like skateboarding.[50,19,44,51] The process of learning and mastering skills in a specific context contributes to one's self-esteem and sense of self-worth.[21,52] In the context of sports, opportunities to improve and build on one's skills can build self-efficacy and, in turn, positive feelings about one's self.[53] Activity-centered leisure time for adolescents, which skateboarding provides through social interaction, is also associated with higher self-esteem, as well as higher school and family attachment.[45]

A core component of skateboarding is the building of individual skills through learning and practicing new tricks.[40,45,54] This process of learning new skating maneuvers and the practice and focus this requires has been found to support the development of several attributes of self-efficacy and self-esteem. Skaters interviewed in some studies report being motivated to persevere in their skill-building by the challenge of mastering tricks and the positive feelings associated with their successes, including feelings of heightened focus, freedom, satisfaction and even euphoria.[27,40,55] One researcher also notes that skateboarding builds development of spatial and bodily awareness, which he describes as the experience of "becoming one with the board".[40]

Researchers have explored the motivational qualities of skateboarding through interviews with young male skaters.[27] They found that the act of skating promotes this type of individual development through challenge and feelings of freedom, satisfaction, and accomplishment. The study, which included skaters with a range of experience (1-6 years), found that skateparks in particular can facilitate this heightened state of motivation because skaters can focus just on skating rather than worry about navigating populated areas.[27] Some skaters, however, report still preferring street skating and see it as more authentic and sometimes more challenging.[40]

Indeed, along with the challenge of skill building also comes risk. In two of just a few studies to look at the experiences of girl skaters, researchers found that young women reported feelings of heightened competence resulting from the challenge and adventure they felt while skating, including enjoying the risk-taking that learning new tricks can entail.[55] In this way, for girls, the risk-taking aspect of skating can create a unique opportunity for girls to push against gender norms[56] that expect them to be hyper-feminine and not risk-taking.[55] In general, adolescents like risk-taking, which is another widely-noted reason they are drawn to skating and other "extreme" or "alternative" sports like BMX biking or roller derby teams.[13,54]

Video-making of one's self or others doing tricks is also noted as a key component of skating culture. Video-making can build transferable media skills and contributes to the development of a sense of self, which is part of youth psychological development.[57,58]

In addition to its self-esteem benefits, sports participation in adolescence has been associated more directly with higher school engagement and lower dropout rates.[19,44] This finding is confirmed in several studies, although the inclusion of school-based sports in these analyses has been critiqued by some as potential bias because participation in school-based sports generally requires minimum grade point averages. However, two large-scale studies we surveyed had sizable school and non-school sports participants, including non-traditional sports and specifically skateboarding.[19,44]

Skateboarding, skateparks, social capital, social belonging, and stigmatization

Skateboarding, skateparks, and social capital

By presenting opportunities for social interaction, friendships to form, and for peers to support each other in both skateboarding skill development and in ways unrelated to skateboarding, skateboarding and skateparks may facilitate the development of social capital.[33,34,45]

In addition to individual skill-building, skaters and researchers have noted that peers tend to support each other in skating and developing new tricks. In this way, skating also helps skaters' development of self-efficacy through peer support and group affirmations of their accomplishments.[27,34,45] The supportive and relatively non-competitive environment noted by skaters in several studies encourages them to both stay engaged in skating over time and increases belief in their ability to improve their skills. Through learning new tricks from one another, skaters engage socially and participate in a collective group. Any competition that does exist, most skaters note, is generally friendly, and centered more on self-improvement (i.e. mastering tricks) and learning from others.

Through skating together, newer skaters develop friendships and build basic skills, while more experienced skaters provide coaching skills and injury prevention techniques like "not underestimating difficult jumps" and "recognizing one's limits.".[34] In this way, "intergenerational" mentorship forms naturally in the process of teaching and supporting one another.[34,45] Moreover, in interviews with skaters, researchers found that both young men and young women often experienced informal social support, either as a mentor or mentee, around issues in their lives unrelated to skating.[34] As one ex-professional skateboarder interviewed in one study put it, skateboarding is like a family and skaters "feel part of something bigger."[45] For many young skaters, most of their social networks and socializing time revolves primarily around skating.[34]

One study of the impact of skateparks on youth social networks noted that skateparks "satisfy adolescents' needs for autonomy within a positive, activity-based context."4[5,63,60] Having a social space that is separate from older adults can help youth feel a sense of belonging to a group and ownership of space, and along with this sense of ownership comes a responsibility to the space and to each other.[45]

By facilitating a combination of socializing time and participation in a generally non-competitive but challenging activity, skateparks have been shown to provide social and mental health support for the young people who use them.[34,45,59]

Skateboarding, skateparks, and social belonging

Indeed, skateboarding is not only a physical activity and sport but, for many skaters, also a culture and identity. Skateboarding has been identified as a youth subculture because of its defined aesthetics and cultural norms.[54] Identification with a youth subculture that revolves around an activity, such as skateboarding, has been found to have several confidence-building and general well-being effects, as a result of developing both an individual identity and a sense of belonging to a larger entity.[54]

Part of what attracts non-conformist youth to skateboarding is also the "edgy" culture and attitude associated with skate culture and proclaimed by many skaters. Other words used by skaters to describe skating culture are "counterculture", "anti-establishment", and "rebellious" – all relating to defying social norms and expectations of them.[54]

Skateboarding also tends to attract young people to whom more traditional team or individual sports do not appeal. Such sports (i.e. baseball, soccer) tend to both involve adult supervision (coaches, referees, etc.) and emphasize competition.[44]

Skating, rather, has been shown to bring social support, social connections, and a sense of belonging to young people who reject or feel rejected by the mainstream culture of their communities, all of which in turn can lead to a higher sense of belonging, self-worth, and self-esteem.[44,54] Skateboarding has been noted to attract young people who are drawn to the more non-competitive, youth-regulated, and unstructured nature of skating.[54]

In fact, researchers have noted skateparks may be a particularly effective means of engaging youth who might otherwise be socially isolated.[44] Researchers suggest that for alternative sports participants (i.e., skateboarders), having this peer support and social identity related to their subgroup of friends may be of heightened importance for youth who consider themselves outsiders to mainstream cultures and attitudes in their community.[44]

Skating is also popular across many racial and ethnic groups, including on several Native American reservations,[54] and skateparks specifically have been shown to bring together a wide range of demographic groups. In fact, skateparks have been identified as unique in their facilitation of cross-cultural and cross-demographic interactions (across age, class, and neighborhood of residence) that may not otherwise take place.[34,45,54,59] However, the location of the skatepark can affect whether this cross-demographic interaction happens. In one study, some skateparks were found to be less diverse compared to open public space skating which tends to be more dispersed throughout the city than confined to designated spaces in certain neighborhoods, which can be less accessible to some.[40]

Indeed, especially for people with limited resources, research shows accessibility of parks is key to their use, especially by youth from lower-income families. In a study of park use across demographics with middle school students in the Los Angeles area, researchers found that low-income youth living in high-density urban neighborhoods use parks more than young people in higher-income areas, and highest usage was among Latinos. This higher use is thought to be because in high-density urban areas there are fewer options for recreational and social spaces and thus parks play a critical role in providing this space.60 In that study, proximity to their residence was an especially key factor in the lower income youth's use of parks.[60]

Not all social experiences of skateparks are positive. Skateboarding in general tends to be male-dominated. At skateparks, girls are often outnumbered by boys,[34,55,61] although one study shows boys generally use parks more than girls.[60] In several studies on girls' experiences of skating, both in and outside of skateparks, there are common themes of sometimes feeling excluded or not treated as serious skaters by male skaters.[34,54,55,61] In interviews with both boy and girl skaters, young women skaters shared that connecting with other girl skaters was especially important for them given these negative experiences, and that skateparks can help them in doing so.[34]

Many positive experiences have, at the same time, been noted by girls.[34,55,56] Additionally, in an early study of girl skaters' experiences, one researcher suggests that the masculinity displayed at skateparks is an "alternative masculinity reflected in values of personal freedom, self-expression, and cooperation, rather than the more traditional masculine values of aggression, power, and competitiveness."[62]

In addition to the many positive aspects of social connection and support experienced by participants, there are also some reports of negative social experiences in skateparks. Some of these negative experiences involve social conflicts between youth, exclusion based on skill levels, unaddressed bullying, and anti-social behavior.[34,45] Other anti-skatepark sentiments shared in studies had more to do with their landscape than the social aspects, like boredom with skating in a controlled environment, or preference towards street skating for the challenge of skating in a more varied street, or other public, landscape.[34,40]

Despite these critiques, research generally points more towards the many potential positive developmental and social support opportunities provided by skateparks.

Skateboarding and stigmatization

As a result of the rebellious and counterculture image often associated with skating (and sometimes embraced by skaters themselves), many skaters report being labeled with a range of negative stereotypes. Skaters have reported feeling that adults in their communities view them negatively and assume skatepark users engage in illicit behavior (specifically drug use and crime).[13,34,40,45] Other labels shared with past researchers by skaters have included "punks", "noise makers", "slackers", "drop-outs", and hoodlums", "potheads", "graffiti writers", and generally as "juvenile delinquents."[14,40,54,59,63] Negative stereotypes such as these can have a stigmatizing effect on those who experience them.

Skateboarding, skateparks, and law enforcement contact

Some researchers of skating culture and skater experiences suggest that these negative views and stereotypes of skaters not only influence community attitudes in general, but also may drive a disproportionate targeting of skaters by law enforcement, particularly in urban spaces.[40,46]

There is a long history of skateboarders being cited or otherwise coming in to contact with law enforcement in cities. This is especially noted in U.S. based research though also somewhat in other countries where skating experiences have been studied, including Canada, Australia, and the Netherlands. As skateboarding gained popularity in the 1990's, cities across the United States passed ordinances and other regulations limiting or altogether banning any skateboarding in public (and sometimes also private) spaces. Citing potential damage to property as well as potential threats to bystander or pedestrians' safety, many cities increased surveillance and patrolling of popular skating areas, and began issuing citations for various violations related to skating in unsanctioned areas and sometimes confiscating boards.[40,46] In efforts to expel skaters from popular skating areas, cities have also often responded with landscaping and other built environment changes to make the areas un-skatable.[40,46] As such, and contrary to reported stereotypes, most interactions and citations result from skateboarding in non-designated areas, not from illicit behavior of the skaters themselves (i.e. drugs or altercations).[13,40,46]

Underpinning this regulation of skateboarding, some researchers suggest, is a wider attitude and treatment of teens and adolescents as out of place in public spaces, especially when in large groups (which skating often entails).[13,46] This negative attitude towards young people occupying public spaces may be particularly heightened for young people of color, who have been shown to experience significantly greater and more punitive interactions with law enforcement.[40,64–66] Indeed, in one study in New York City, enforcement of a city-wide ban on skateboarding anywhere in public spaces was found to be inconsistent across neighborhoods.[40] On privately-owned property, where private security guards rather than

police had discretion to regulate behavior of 'visitors', research found that those who most often were penalized in such spaces were young, black, and/or homeless.[40]

Researchers note that as regulation of skateboarding increased rapidly in the 1990's, so did public pressure for cities to provide alternative spaces for skating. Skateparks were the result. As skateboard restrictions and bans increased across the country so did the development of new skateparks, often built by these same cities as an alternative to street skating or on unsanctioned property, as in the cases of New York City and Philadelphia, as documented in two studies about those cities' responses to skateboard regulation.[40,46] Outside of the U.S., municipalities followed similar trajectories, including in the Netherlands.[47]

Skateparks can mitigate this widespread experience of contact with law enforcement by providing sanctioned, legal spaces for skating.[40,45] This finding may be particularly relevant for young people of color in low income urban neighborhoods, who, studies show, often experience additional scrutiny from law enforcement due to racial profiling.[64–66]

Skateparks, as sanctioned spaces created for skating, also legitimize skating as a sport and skaters as athletes. This recognition of skaters as legitimate, through the creation of spaces for them, sends a message of acceptance by their communities in contrast to the stigmatization skaters often report experiencing.[13,14,45,59,63]

Evidence from City Heights/Mid-City

The following presents findings from existing local data and primary data collected through focus groups in City Heights. Focus group participants shared experiences that support many of the findings in the literature.

Skateboarding, sports participation, and self-esteem/ self-efficacy

When asked what participants got out of skateboarding, the benefits mentioned echoed those identified by researchers. All participants shared that they value the sense of accomplishment and forward momentum associated with practicing and continually improving skating skills. As one participant said, "I like that I can improve in something every day." They mentioned feeling proud for accomplishing something new and this excitement motivated them to keep moving forward. One participant said that skating helps him to "move forward in life and try to accomplish things."

In fact, the same person said skating helps him with school because, in school, they sit a lot and skating allows him to move around and get exercise. Another participant elaborated by saying,

> *"The fact that you learned something new shows you that you can keep learning and learning. A lot of people, when they try to learn something new, get frustrated and give up, but if you have a mentality for learning something new, you can keep going forward. In order to succeed you must fail. You fall, you get back up, you do it again and once you get it you're going to be happy. It gives you more motivation."*

Other skating benefits shared included that skating helps to relieve stress, is a form of art and a way of being creative and expressing yourself, and it offers a sense of freedom. One participant shared, "I like feeling the wind on myself and just going up and down on my street and skating." Another participant said, "I do it to relieve stress. If something's going on in life, all you have to do is pick up a board and skate. It's fun to skate." Another offered this perspective: "It's really a form of art. People think it's just a curb, but in reality you can do stuff on it – have fun with the simplest stuff in the streets."

Filming each other and hanging out with friends were also mentioned. Specifically, one participant said that he and his friends enjoy "going around, seeing things, filming, and filming each other."

Skateboarding, skateparks, social belonging, social capital, and stigmatization

Focus group participants were asked about the relationship between skating and their social life. All participants said that skating was a part, and in most cases a big part, of their social lives. Skating was an activity that they did with their friends and a way for them to get more connected to them. One newer skater who skates with a friend said that skating was "a way to share something cool and productive with each other." One avid skater said the he skates almost everyday with a group of about 10 skaters, although, he also said that he is friends with more than just skaters because " . . . [I]t is more about where you

skate and the people around there. I skate at a park and there are a lot of people going through there all the time, so it is not only skaters that I associate with."

Respondents noted that skating is inherently social. One participant said, "To be a skater, you have to be social - that is pretty much the only requirement of skateboarding. You can skate by yourself, but you have to be someone that can motivate yourself. If you skate with a group, you have to socialize." Participants said they socialized a lot when they skateboarded. They talked about skateboarding, school, and in general liked to relax with friends.

Socializing and being around other skaters was also mentioned as an important part of learning skating tricks and improving. Everyone said that they learned from other people by watching what others were doing and trying it out themselves. One skater highlighted that he talks to other skaters and tries to teach others tricks. He socializes with a lot of people every time he skates. Going to skating events and skating with other skilled skaters was mentioned, and the competitive motivation associated with this skating context. One skater said,

> *"The better people you skate with the more motivated you are to try and learn new things. There is a sense of competition – you want to be able to do what others are doing and one-up them. Competitive motivation gets people to learn. If my friends know that there is something I can't do, they will do it, so I have to try it. The more you try it – you will learn something eventually."*

Being good at skating was mentioned as important for a sense of belonging as a skater. One participant noted, "The better you are at skating will define who you are and what skateboarding is in general." In fact, one newer skater didn't socialize that much with other skaters because they were more experienced, which made skateparks somewhat intimidating.

The nature of one group of skaters who all skate at one popular spot was described. The group, described as consisting of skaters from different neighborhoods, had a fun rivalry with each other where, as one participant noted,

> *"We wouldn't beat each other up or anything. We're all cool with each other. Of course there is some drama, but that is normal in any group. We're like a family – who I skate with. Within the group, we have each other's back no matter what. Someone is out late, we pick each other up, or if someone has problems, we talk to him."*

Other examples of this sense of social capital were also offered in the focus group. One skater emphasized that he is involved in the community and does community work, teaches kids, and is a mentor. It was also mentioned that some skaters from the neighborhood, who are sponsored by skateboarding companies, give back to their communities. For example, one participant knew someone from their neighborhood who is sponsored and will give new skateboards to kids.

All participants spoke about the stereotyping and stigmatization that skateboarders experience. They explained that a lot of people will stereotype skateboarders – they will think they are rude, that they don't care for the community, or that they frequently commit crimes. Participants emphasized that the main thing they do that is illegal is skating where they are not supposed to and the reason for this is that the city doesn't have places for them to skate, or a skatepark that is close enough. They pointed out that it is a low-income community and many skateboarders there have parents who work a lot and don't have time to bring them to skateparks that are outside of the community. This leaves skaters with no choice but to use their community to skate and this is a struggle for many.

Participants also pointed out that even if there are people who fit a stereotype, this doesn't mean that everyone associated with the group fits that stereotype. It is important to get to know a person before making assumptions about his or her character. One participant said he knew plenty of other skateboarders like him – who get involved in the community, help kids, and help others. What might make a person inclined to participate in illegal activities is not association with skateboarding, rather it is a matter of personal choice. There can be destructive people in any group, but those people don't make the whole group bad.

Skateboarding, skateparks, and law enforcement contact

Participants reported that their experience with law enforcement varied by individual officers and skating locations. Some officers, participants said, can be supportive and encouraging of skaters by sharing their own skateboarding stories, giving skaters ideas of tricks to try, or by helping them up after a fall. Other officers may threaten to arrest or ticket

skaters and get aggressive when they try to explain themselves or respond to a question from the officer. Participants felt that some police officers directly target and treat skateboarders unfairly. For example, one skater told a story about being issued a ticket when he was sitting on his skateboard outside of a school – not riding on it. Despite protests, he was given the ticket anyway, which he protested in court and it was dismissed. As one participant put it, "Cops will find any reason to stop you."
Participants agreed that by and large interactions with police happen outside skateparks, rather than in them. However, police may check on activities going on in a skatepark and if people are choosing to do illegal things they may be cited.

Participants shared that the way they are treated by law enforcement can make them feel angry, frustrated, paranoid, and less motivated to skate. One participant felt particularly targeted and upset by police interactions and explained:

> *"They will find any reason to go toward you or start a confrontation. They think because they are police they are god, so they try to make you feel inferior. And they try to make it so you can't explain yourself. You can't do anything. They will tell you something and even if it is wrong, you just have to listen because if you don't they will give you a ticket, or arrest you."*

One participant, who had not been stopped by the police before, felt angry when she saw it happening to someone else because skating is a hobby: "You're not really doing anything bad and the police officer could use his time to do something else, so it is sad that they are targeting skaters." Another participant elaborated to say, "I feel frustrated because it is not like they are stopping us because we're doing something bad – they are stopping us because of who we are. Even though they are not supposed to discriminate, in reality they always stop skaters."

In the City of San Diego, Article 4, Section 84.12 of the city's municipal code regulates skateboarding. Under the code, skateboarders are not permitted to skate on open roadways, but sidewalk skating is generally permitted as long as skaters go at a safe speed and yield to pedestrians. Violations of these regulations are subject to citations, and fall under the infraction category.[67] Minors can also be cited for not wearing helmets or other protective gear.

Violating the municipal traffic codes related to skateboarding is an infraction, which can come with a fine. The amount of the fine is dependent on several factors, but an estimate provided by the San Diego Police Department is $300. According to information provided by the San Diego Juvenile Court, if a minor has no prior record and receives this type of citation, they are referred instead to probation and the charge is dropped. Police department records indicate there were nine infraction citations issued in City Heights in 2012 and three in 2013. There were 251 and 278 issued in the City of San Diego in 2012 and 2013, respectively.

However, skateboarding in a non-sanctioned place, such as at a school or on private property, can result in more serious violations, including trespassing and loitering, which can sometimes be considered misdemeanors. According to the Juvenile Court, whether such violations are charged as infractions or misdemeanors is case-by-case and is largely the discretion of the citing officer. The level of violation can depend on how the minor is behaving and if there are other violations taking place at the same time (i.e. drug possession). In the case of a more serious charge, including misdemeanors for minors, the violation remains on their record until the age of 23.

3.3. WHAT IS KNOWN ABOUT SKATEBOARDING, SKATEPARKS, AND PHYSICAL ACTIVITY?

The scoping process for this HIA hypothesized that a skatepark could impact youth physical activity through increases in the number of skaters in City Heights and the amount of time they spend skating at a new skatepark (see Appendix 2). The following presents evidence from the literature and from City Heights/Mid-City to support associations between skateboarding and skateparks and physical activity.

Skateboarding, and skateparks specifically, can encourage more youth to spend more time being physically active. Physical activity is associated with immediate and long-term positive health effects that last into adulthood.

Evidence from Literature

In large part, skateboarding can impact health by encouraging increased physical activity. Physical activity is a major component of fitness and is associated with many short- and long-term health benefits.

People with more education are likely to live longer and healthier lives than their less educated peers.[68] Literature that has specifically looked at the impact of skateboarding on physical activity levels is scarce, but there is a large body of research on the impacts of organized athletics, walking, biking, and other active extracurricular activities.

According to the CDC, children and adolescents should participate daily in 60 minutes or more of moderate to vigorous physical activity that is developmentally appropriate, enjoyable, and involves a variety of activities.[69,70] Skateboarding provides significant amounts of exercise, variety, and exposure to fresh air.

Having ample physical activity is associated with lower rates of cardiovascular disease, obesity, diabetes, respiratory disease, mental health, stress and more.[71] Researchers have found that having access to a safe park was positively associated with regular physical activity and negatively associated with inactivity for urban youth. Additionally, adolescents living in apartment buildings, unsafe neighborhoods, and lower-income families who had access to a safe park were less likely to be inactive than those without access to a safe park (see Safety from Crime). However, when the authors of one study stratified by race and ethnicity, they only found significant associations between park access and physical inactivity for Asian and white youth, but not for Latino or African American youth.[72]

Physical activity has also been shown to be associated with improved academics in several studies. A Centers for Disease Control review of 19 studies found positive associations between participation in extracurricular physical activities and academic performance.[73] In a study of public school students in third and fifth grades, aerobic capacity was positively associated with achievement on standardized tests, whereas body mass index was inversely related. Associations were demonstrated in total academic achievement, mathematics achievement, and reading achievement.[74] Also, as mentioned previously, sports participation in adolescence has been associated with higher school engagement and lower dropout rates.[19,44]

However, different results have been found in a few studies. One study of sixth graders found that students engaged in vigorous physical activity had significantly higher grades than those who performed no vigorous activity and those who performed moderate physical activity did not see any difference in their grades. Also in this study, standardized test scores were not significantly related to physical activity levels.[75] In another study, a statistically significant association was found between fitness and academic achievement, but the direction of the relationship between them was not clear. Math grades were also found to be more strongly associated with fitness than English grades.[76]

Amount of physical activity associated with skateboarding

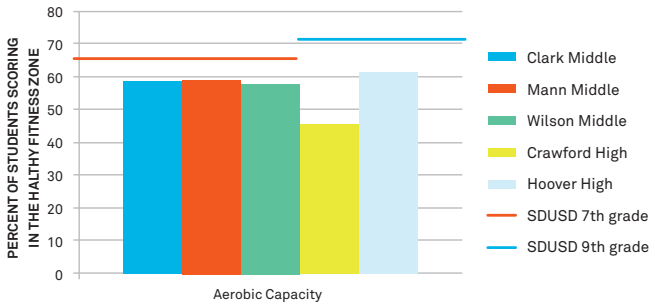
The literature on the physical activity aspects of skateboarding is overwhelmingly focused on injuries, and not on the benefits that the sport brings to the fitness of its participants. However, one study on youth physical activity found that youth they classified as skateboarders had 13.1 times the odds of meeting physical activity recommendations compared to youth who have a high frequency of television and video game viewing. They also found that as skateboarders age into adulthood, they experienced an 88% drop in the percentage that met the recommended physical activity level, the largest drop compared to other groups of youth. The authors suggested that this drop could be buffered by altering the physical environment, such as building skateparks.[77]

Evidence from City Heights/Mid-City

Amount of physical activity City Heights/Mid-City residents are getting

In 2013, 55% of high school youth aged 15 or younger in the San Diego Unified School District were physically active for at least 60 minutes a day on at least five days of the week. This number dropped for the older youth aged 16-17, where only 45.3% got the recommended amount of exercise. A higher percentage of males in both age groups got the recommended amount of physical activity compared to girls in both age groups. This may be partly due to the fact that a higher percentage of boys played on sports teams and attended PE class more regularly than girls at each age group.[78] Fewer youth in City Heights scored in the Healthy Fitness Zone for aerobic capacity compared to all youth in San Diego Unified schools. (see Figure 9)

Figure 9. Percent of 7th or 9th graders in City Heights that scored in the Healthy Fitness Zone for Aerobic Capacity, 2012-13 California Physical Fitness Test



Source: California Department of Education. California Physical Fitness Test for San Diego Unified School District, 2012-13 school year.

According to the skateboarding survey in City Heights, respondents skated an average of 14.9 hours per month. While this varied by age, the sample was too low to find trends. However, skating varied by gender, with males reporting over twice the number of hours skating per month compared to females (17.4 hours compared to 8). In addition, core skaters reported a monthly average of 32.6 hours and casual skaters reported 5 hours.

3.4. WHAT IS KNOWN ABOUT SKATEBOARDING, SKATEPARKS, AND INJURIES

The scoping process for this HIA hypothesized that a skatepark could impact the prevalence and severity of youth injuries through increases in the number of skaters in City Heights, the amount of time they spend skating, and where youth are skateboarding (on streets vs. in a new skatepark) (see Appendix 2). The following presents evidence from the literature and from City Heights/Mid-City that supports associations between skateboarding and skateparks and injuries.

Skateboarding can expose youth to risks from injuries, but compared to other sports the risks are similar in frequency and severity. Collisions with motor vehicles are responsible for many of the most severe skating injuries, and skateparks can minimize the severity of these as well as other types of skating related injuries.

Evidence from Literature

According to the American Academy of Orthopedic Surgeons, it is common for skateboarding injuries to happen when the skateboarder loses balance, falls off the skateboard and lands on an outstretched arm. Skateboarding injuries often involve the wrist, ankle, or face. Injuries to the arms, legs, neck and trunk range from cuts and bruises to sprains, strains, and broken bones. Wrist fractures are also common, although wearing wrist guards can reduce the frequency and severity of these fractures. Facial injuries, such as a broken nose or jawbone, are moderate in severity, and severe injuries include concussion and other head injuries.

In general injuries impair functioning, and the amount of time it takes for an injury to heal varies greatly by the type of injury and level of severity. Injuries in childhood can also have long-term effects that may last into adulthood. The most severe injuries can result in brain damage or death.

Skateboarding is relatively safe

Culturally speaking, skateboarding has been associated with a high potential for injury, garnering it a reputation as an "extreme" sport. However, according to decades of data, this reputation for excess risk may not be warranted. Skateboarding is in the middle of the spectrum when it comes to the number of injuries resulting from participation in popular sports. These misconceptions, related to the potential of attaining high speeds and performing aerial tricks, have historically led to skateboarding bans in various localities in the interest of health and safety.[79,80]

Using data from national surveys of sports participation conducted by the National Sporting Goods Association, the incidence of injury per individual skateboarding participant is comparable to other popular sports. A study assessing participation-based injury rates for skateboarding between 1987 and 1998 found that while injury rates fluctuated over time, in 1998 the incidence of skateboarding injuries was less than half those for both basketball and football.[81] Statistics from 2009 show that while the estimated incidence of injury for skateboarding was higher than for baseball and soccer, it was lower than the incidence for basketball and football (Table 1). Statistics from 2006 (Table 2) are the same in the order of injuries per sport. In addition, football saw fewer injuries in 2006 (25.6 injuries per 1,000 participants), skateboarding had more participants in 2006, and skateboarding was statistically identical to soccer (13 injuries per 1,000 participants).

Table 1. Sport related injuries for individuals 7 years of age or older in 2009

Sport	Estimated number of Injuries*	Estimated number of participants**	Estimated injury incidence per 1000 participants[1]
Football	446,330	8,900,000	50
Basketball	495,807	24,400,000	20.3
Skateboarding	139,750	8,400,000	17
Soccer	203,611	13,600,000	15
Baseball	155,421	11,500,000	13.5
Softball	119,909	11,800,000	10.2

Table 2. Sport related injuries for individuals 7 years of age or older in 2006

Sport	Estimated number of injuries*	Estimated number of participants**	Estimated injury incidence per 1000 participants
Football	455,952	17,800,000	25.6
Basketball	524,276	26,700,000	19.6
Skateboarding	122,555	14,000,000	13
Soccer	182,584	9,700,000	13
Baseball	152,023	14,600,000	10.4
Softball	110,157	12,400,000	8.88

**Source: National Electronic Injury Surveillance System. Estimate generated from a weighted probability sample of injuries treated in emergency departments from 96 hospitals of varying size and location around the United States.[84,85]*
***Source: National Sporting Goods Association. Figures include those who participated more than once per year.[82]*

[1] The National Safety Council cautions that these statistics are limited in their ability to estimate predictive exposure-based injury rates, since frequency and duration of participation are not taken into account and the numbers of participants vary by sport.[82,83] Also, the National Electronic injury Surveillance System only monitors injuries that are treated in emergency departments, precluding analysis of injuries that are addressed with alternative forms of care. Still, these data indicate that the incidence of skateboarding injuries has remained moderate in relation to other popular sports, even as it has varied over time.

Skateboarding injury characteristics and risk factors

Much research regarding the nature of skateboarding injuries is derived from cases seen in emergency rooms. Studies in these populations have shown that sprains, fractures, and other soft tissue injuries are the most common injury types seen in skateboarders.[86,87] One review of skateboarding injuries studies cites the following percentages of different types of injuries: fractures, which are the most common, accounted for 15.2–60% of injuries, followed by sprains and strains, which accounted for 14.8–44% of injuries. Lacerations and contusions were also common, while concussions were less commonly reported.[88]

In terms of age, most skateboarding injuries affect youth and young adults. 51.1% of skateboarding injuries in 2012 occurred among 15-24 year olds, while another 34.3% occurred within the 5-14 age group.[33] The prevalence of injury also varies by experience, with one study finding that up to a third of skateboarding injuries occur during a skater's first week of participation.[90]

Several studies indicate that the majority of skateboard injuries are minor.[79,86,87,91] Severe injuries do occur, however. According to a study of the U.S. National Trauma Databank conducted by Lustenberger et al. (2010), the incidence of severe trauma in patients admitted for skateboard-related injuries ranged from 5.4%-23.7%.[92] Moreover, in a similar study, using the trauma registry of British Columbia, researchers found that of people with severe injuries from skateboarding, the most common injuries were to the extremities, followed in frequency by injuries to the head.[91]

It is not always clear how age and experience interact to generate injury risk for a particular population of skaters. Variations in injury severity have been associated with several factors, including age. Multiple studies have found that the incidence of severe injury, including traumatic brain injury, has been higher in older skaters, although the opposite trend has also been observed.[92,93,86] Conversely, lower rates of fractures have been seen in more experienced skaters versus novice skateboarders.[87] In some cases, more experienced skaters may offset their greater skill by attempting more challenging tricks that expose them to different types of injuries.[86]

Differences in injury frequency and severity have also been shown to vary by skateboarding location

and cause. Injuries on skateboards commonly result from falls involving a loss of balance or a failure to perform a trick and or jump.[86] Skateboarding injuries may also be caused by collision with a motor vehicle.[91] Skateboarding falls can happen anywhere – on streets or in skateparks.[86] However, some data indicate there is a higher incidence of skateboarding injuries in streets and roads.[92,93] Research shows that encounters with surface irregularities have been linked to the majority of skateboarding injuries caused by falls.[94] Indeed, some studies have found that irregular riding surfaces were the cause of the highest incidence of skating injuries in general.[90,95] In terms of severity, there is evidence that injuries due to irregular riding surfaces, are more likely to lead to injuries of moderate severity, as compared to injuries due to missed tricks, which have been linked to more minor traumas.[90,86]

Collisions with motor vehicles are responsible for many of the most severe skating injuries. While skateboarding fatalities are rare, studies have consistently noted that vehicles are involved in a high proportion of skateboard related deaths.[86,91,94,96] One review of studies examining skateboarding injuries found that hospitalization was 11.4 times more likely after a skateboarder experiences a collision with a motor vehicle, compared to another cause of skateboarding injury.[81] This combination of findings – skateboarding injuries caused by motor vehicle collisions are most severe and that there is a higher incidence of skateboarding injuries in streets and roads,[92,93] points to a need for safer, off-street options for skaters.

Skateparks may minimize injuries

As a result of those and other data, many researchers recommend the use of skateparks to minimize the risk of skateboard-related injuries.[96,92] Benefits of skateparks include smooth riding surfaces and protection from motor vehicle traffic.[79,86] Along with use of helmets, skateparks have been found to be a protective factor against head injuries as well.[92]

Importantly, skateparks are not risk free. A study of patients at one hospital found an increased risk of fracture in skateboarders from skatepark use.[97] Additionally, certain elements of skateparks, such as ramps and bars, can be particularly risky.[98] Also, it is crucial to note that the use of protective gear has greater impact on injuries than skating location.[99] One California study estimated a rate of injury for their population of skatepark users to be just 1.1 per 1,000 participants, much lower than other participant-based injury incidence estimates for skateboarding in general as well as other popular sports mentioned above.[98] Due to this body of evidence, dedicated skateparks appear to be a safer option for skateboarders compared to roads or other alternatives.

Evidence from City Heights/Mid-City

Focus group participants were asked about their experiences with injuries in skateboarding. Experiences varied widely within the group, both in terms of frequency and severity. Still, overall, the more frequently experienced injuries described by group members were minor.

Frequency and severity

All participants, except for the least experienced skateboarder in the group, reported experiencing injuries due to skateboarding. The more experienced skaters reported experiencing minor injuries, such as scrapes and bruises frequently, and more serious injuries, such as wrist and ankle sprains, about once every one to three months. One of the more experienced skaters shared that he was injured more frequently when he first started skating. The least experienced and newest skater, on the other hand, shared not having experienced any injuries.

The more experienced skaters in the group shared that they considered minor injuries - bruises and scrapes – to be part of the experience of skating. Speaking about minor injuries, one participant said: “Those don’t really count”.

Higher level of skill and risk-taking among group participants did seem to correspond with having had more serious injuries. Three of the four participants characterized injuries they had as serious, which ranged from sprains to one participant having hit his head and had a headache for three days. None of the participants had broken a bone, although two shared that they knew people who had.

How injuries occur

The more serious injuries described occurred when skaters lost control while trying to land a trick and instead fell onto some part of their body. Injuries resulting from trick attempts included sprains and, for one participant, hurting his knee to the extent he could not walk well for two months, which occurred attempting a trick on stairs. One other participant

also identified stairs, including ones in skateparks, as dangerous, particularly if a skateboarder doesn't know how to do stairs. Two participants also mentioned uneven surfaces or rocks as contributing to falls.

Injuries in skateparks vs. street skating

Two of the more experienced skaters in the group expressed a belief that skateparks are not guaranteed protection against injuries, but they do not have some of the same injury-causing obstacles as street skating, including small rocks and irregular surfaces, "skate blockers" (barrriers placed in some public spaces to prevent skating), cars, and pedestrians. This was expressed well by one participant:

> *"In the street you just injure yourself because it is not a safe place to skate. On a street there are things (even people, security guards, can push you) that will get in your way and make you fall (rocks, asphalt, or uneven surfaces), or that you can fall on. In the city there are just too many different things that could hurt you – it's dangerous."*

Two participants, however, acknowledged that injuries do occur often in skateparks as well, but are more predictable and within a controlled environment. They both described how skateparks are built for challenge and skill-building, and, in effect, injuries that take place there are often the result of skaters learning, and sometimes failing, the attempted tricks. One participant elaborated by saying:

> *"When you're at a skatepark, you know how you're going to get hurt. There will be no rocks that will stop you – no one will push you out of the way. It's just – either you land it or you bail. The reason why people break things is either they are not experienced – they think they can do something and they can't – or they are there to get better and improve, so they try something big and of course you're going to get hurt if you don't land it."*

Protective gear use is minimal

Use of protective gear among group members was overall very low. Only one participant, the new skater in the group, reported regularly wearing a helmet, and said she does so out of fear of injury. However, this same person expressed that she would probably use it while she learns the basics of skating and will likely stop after she gets the hang of it, suggesting the protection would no longer be necessary. Of the three other participants in the group, who were also the more experienced, one reported sometimes though rarely wearing a helmet or other protective gear, while the other two reported never using either. The participant who occasionally uses protective gear said he does so only at two local skateparks, where use of helmets, wrist guards, and kneepads is required.

Rationales shared by two of these three participants for not using helmets included a belief that their skill level was high enough to not need the extra head protection and that helmets seemed futile because they had not protected them from other injuries they had experienced, like sprains and bruises. The two more experienced skaters also both voiced a belief that risk-taking, and the potential resulting injuries, was part of the experience of skating.

3.5. WHAT IS KNOWN ABOUT SKATE-BOARDING, SKATEPARKS, AND SAFETY FROM CRIME

The scoping process for this HIA hypothesized that building a new skatepark in City Heights (at Park De La Cruz) could influence real and perceived safety from crime through changes to activities at the park and to conditions of the park itself (see Appendix 2). The following section summarizes evidence from the literature about the connections between public safety and health outcomes, and about the relationship between public safety and skatepark development.

Evidence from Literature

Perceived and real safety from crime impacts health

Public safety is a primary determining factor contributing to a community's health, well-being and vitality. Violent crime can cause injury and death. Even if crime does not result in injury, it may indirectly affect health by causing fear, feeling unsafe, stress, and poor mental health.[100] Both physical and psychological safety are particularly important for positive development among youth.[59]

Living in an area with high rates of actual or perceived crime can deter the use of public spaces including sidewalks, retail, parks, and community centers. This has an impact on opportunities for physical activity and for establishing and maintaining social networks, both of which are important determinants for physical and mental health.[101,100,102,60]

Being exposed to crime and violence has a ripple effect in communities, especially among youth. Witnessing and experiencing community violence can lead to longer-term behavioral and emotional problems including post-traumatic stress disorder, depressive symptoms, and perpetration of violence.[103,104]

City parks can help meet the need for safe, legal and accessible places for recreation and outdoor physical activity.[105] However, if an area is unsafe or perceived to be unsafe, or poorly maintained, people may be deterred from using local parks.[106,107,60]

Skatepark safety

Skateparks are often perceived as contributing to a lack of safety or an increase in crime in surrounding neighborhoods, however, research indicates this is not the case. In fact, well-maintained, monitored and used skateparks have actually been shown to promote neighborhood safety.[14,13] The Skatepark Association of the USA reports that, in the last three years it has never received a complaint about a skatepark, saying: "Cities seem very happy with their parks after they have built them. There are some concerns about noise, etc. before the park goes in but after – no complaints."[108]

A study in Portland, Ore., found that skateparks do not contribute to serious crime and have similar impacts as other park amenities such as basketball courts. With proper siting, design, management, and use, skateparks have been shown to have positive effects on the neighborhoods in which they are located. This is particularly true in urban settings since skateparks bring more people to the park, discouraging crime.[105,13] While neighbors had expressed concern and anticipated that skateparks would bring crime (such as drugs, fights, and even gang activity) to the larger park areas in which they were situated, the study found that staff and local residents had not actually witnessed serious crimes at neighborhood skateparks.

In 2009 Tony Hawk Foundation surveyed 102 law enforcement officers in 37 states where a public skatepark had been open for at least a year. They found that majority of officers reported their public skatepark as a community asset. They reported receiving fewer complaints about skate-related incidents, that the skatepark was not a magnet for crime, being in a visible location was important for safety, and that some skatepark openings were associated with a decrease in overall youth crime.[109]

Conflicts do sometimes occur within skateparks, often among different users (BMX bikes, skaters, scooters).[13] However, one study pointed out that some of the conflict within skateparks is generated not from skatepark users themselves, but from other groups (graffiti-writers, binge-drinkers, drug-users, gang members, etc.) who hang out in the park, particularly at night.[13] Additionally, the overall lack of hangout locations for youth often leads to a sense of competition for these spaces, or can result in having large numbers of young people gather in areas such as skateparks, which can feed into fearful perceptions of activities that will take place among congregating youth.[13,105]

Skateparks in Portland were found to contribute to nuisances such as litter, vandalism (including tagging) and noise at higher levels than did other recreational park facilities. However, park staff did note that these impacts were in part due in to the fact that the skateparks were by far the park's most used facilities (accommodating approximately 20 users at one time).[105] They also noted that skaters themselves were not likely responsible for tagging in the skateparks, as it would interfere with the quality of the skating surface by making the concrete too slippery, and are among those who often participate in helping to maintain the park facilities by cleaning up tagging and graffiti.[105]

The context and setting of the skatepark facility also has an important impact on safety. Poor quality design and/or construction of a skatepark may contribute to neglect by park users, which can make the area more likely to attract problems.[105,13] Differences between neighborhood location and type (i.e., urban vs. suburban), history of crime and existing perceptions of safety among neighbors can also impact people's expectations of skateparks and tolerance for safety related issues.[105]

Having clear skatepark facility rules, monitoring by park staff, and the participation of older, friendly skatepark users has been shown to promote physical safety and to provide a supportive environment for users.[34,59] Police involvement and patrolling early on is key to long-term skatepark acceptance, and could prevent problems from developing. Skateparks, like all youth-oriented facilities, should also be sited in visible locations for safety and easy monitoring.[105]

Perceptions of safety of skateparks

Skateboarding is commonly characterized as an activity that challenges social norms.[40,54] This non-conforming image has lead skateboarders to be stereotyped as drug users and "slackers" who lack respect for private property.[54,110,105] Those opposed to skatepark development often cite these concerns, and a general fear and distrust of groups of youth who are part of skateboarding culture, assuming that their presence will lead to an increase in vandalism, drugs, physical threats, and other dangerous behaviors.[111,40,13,54,110] The dominant stereotypes of skateboarding youth have come to persist despite the lack of evidence that skateboarding and proximity to skateboarders have led to an increase in crime or other dangerous activities.[13] These attitudes have generally led to increased restrictions on skateboarding, an increase in policing and prosecution practices targeting skateboarding youth, and a movement towards preventing young people from hanging out in public spaces.[105,13] It is also one of the reasons that many of the skateparks that do exist have been situated in areas that are less visible to the public eye (industrial areas, back ends of sports fields or other parks).[13,105]

While, in large part, neighbors' opinions of skateparks have been found to be primarily moderate, the more vocal resistance to proposed skatepark development is often grounded in the misconception of skaters themselves.[105] The development of a series of skateparks in Portland led to an increase in perceptions of vandalism in the area, even if these perceptions were not based on evidence. In some cases the new skateparks and their users became an easy target to blame for existing vandalism and other neighborhood issues.[105]

Research indicates that there are mixed views about how negative perceptions of skateboarders can be altered, with some skateboarders in favor of increased supervision and patrolling/monitoring of skateparks, and others opposed to these measures, which they feel will restrict their freedom and drive skateboarders out of the skateparks and to skateboard in the streets.[13]

Evidence from City Heights/Mid-City

Local information on the issues identified above related to safety from crime include crime rates for City Heights, where the skatepark is proposed, perspectives from community members and potential skatepark users about the safety of the area and the impact that a skatepark would have on the safety of the area.

Crime rates in City Heights neighborhoods

Of the City Heights neighborhoods, overall crime rates are highest in Corridor, Teralta West, and Fairmont Village. Crime rates in all of these areas, which are reported by police precinct (see Appendix 6 for a map of precinct areas and a table with crime rates in City Heights), are higher than in the City or County of San Diego.

Perceptions of park and skatepark safety

To understand neighborhood safety factors and perceptions around Park De La Cruz, we conducted key informant interviews with six different community members. Interviewees represented administration at the neighboring elementary school, law enforcement leadership, the City Heights Town Council, the Parks and Recreation Board, a resident who lives near the park, and another active and engaged community member.

Interviewees were asked about overall park safety, park users, typical activities; litter, fighting, drug use, vandalism, noise, parking, the presence of homeless or transient people; and the impact they thought a skatepark in the park would have on safety.

Overall, interviewees thought Park De La Cruz was safe and similar in terms of safety – potentially slightly more safe according to some interviewees, compared to other parks. A few interviewees noted that the police station is nearby and police make a difference because they make community involvement a priority and crime rates have decreased in the area more recently.

All interviewees said the park was frequently used. The park, which is adjacent to about 20 homes, contains a baseball field, is next door to the neighboring elementary school's grassy field used for soccer and other sports, and is next to the current YMCA facility, still in operation until the new one opens. Users reported seeing families with children, baseball and soccer players, elderly people, and YMCA users who pass through or linger on their way to and from this facility. Users frequent the park throughout the day and week, though there may be more activity on weekends. Typical activities include sports, such as baseball and soccer, walking, running, sitting and socializing, picnics, parties, playing on the play equipment, and community events.

In terms of the presence of factors that contribute to feelings of safety, interviewees' reports were similar, though there were some differences. Some interviewees reported seeing no litter; most said there was some, but no more or less than other areas and nothing that made the park feel unsafe. Fighting was not mentioned as something that happens with any frequency at the park. One interviewee reported that fights happen, but the person had not seen any take place. Drug use does take place, as reported by interviewees, but interviewees also said it happens at most parks and it is not a big problem for this park. Similarly vandalism or graffiti and excessive noise were reported as not being highly problematic for the park. Last, homeless or transient people were reported to use the park by a few interviewees, mostly at night as a place to sleep, but it was also recognized that this is a community-wide problem and it does not have a big impact on park user's feelings of safety or use of the park. Although one interviewee suggested a need for more security in the park to help people feel more secure, all people interviewed said that none of these issues end up discouraging people from using the park.

A variety of responses were offered in response to questions about the impact that a skatepark in the park would have on safety. All interviewees thought that a skatepark would be a positive thing for safety, although most responses were oriented toward keeping skateboarders safe from injuries and off the streets, where there are risks from motor vehicle collisions and where they have the potential to damage property. Several people said that there are a lot of skateboarders in the area and this would give them a place to go that is closer to home, a safe and designated place to skate, and would keep them physically active.

One respondent noted that a skatepark would increase the amount of activity in the park, which could have a positive or a negative effect. Considering that the skatepark location currently is a dirt lot, he thought more activity could contribute to the safety of the park, if the skatepark is well-lit and maintained.

On the downside, he thought more activity could increase noise and attract people who may engage in illicit activities, but also said it is hard to tell what will really happen.

A few interviewees mentioned the residential nature of the park and that a few directly adjacent neighbors have expressed concerns. It was clear from interviews that these concerns will need to be considered and addressed in light of the positive impact that all interviewees felt the skatepark would have on youth.

A few interviewees were emphatic in their opinions that a skatepark is needed in the community. No one felt that safety concerns for the park or surrounding neighborhood would be a deterrent to skatepark use.

Focus group participants were also asked about their perceptions of safety around Park De La Cruz. All participants felt safe in the neighborhood, mentioned that they know many people in the community, and felt like a part of community. One participant said that he would be likely to be welcoming of skateboarders at the park, but also likely to act protectively towards the park. For example, if he saw people drinking or smoking, he would suggest that they not do those things in or near the skatepark.

Participants gave the sense that the area would be an active social spot with not only many skaters, but also spectators and friends coming to spend time there. Everyone said that they would be very happy and feel safe with a skatepark at this location.

4. IMPACT PREDICTIONS

The following findings are supported by evidence from literature and Mid-City/City Heights. Findings assume a skatepark built at Park De La Cruz will be planned, designed and completed using best practices in skatepark planning and design and will include community input.

4.1. GENERAL SKATEBOARDING AND SKATEPARK IMPACT PREDICTIONS

A new skatepark at Park De La Cruz will *increase* the number of people who identify as skateboarders. Specifically, the presence of the skatepark will entice City Heights youth to try out skateboarding. This finding is based on youth survey results, where 67% percent of those surveyed who didn't skateboard but were interested in trying, said that having a skatepark at Park De La Cruz would make them more interested in skateboarding. And 51% of this group said that a new skatepark at this location would mean they would be more likely to skate at the skatepark.

Over 1,400 youth ages 5-24 will potentially be drawn to skateboarding if a new skatepark were built. This is 6% of the population of City Heights youth ages 5-24. There may be a difference in the distribution of this effect among all youth in this age group, as youth who live or go to school closer to the park may be more likely to pick up skateboarding than youth who live much farther away. Likewise, there is evidence to suggest that lower-income households may be more influenced by this resource in the community than their higher-income peers because lower-income youth may be more likely to skateboard.[2,60]

The skatepark is likely to attract newcomers to skateboarding, given survey results. However we have less confidence in the actual number of people who will be attracted to the sport. The 6% youth population estimate is based on a national survey and local skateboarding influences and participation may differ.

A new skatepark at Park De La Cruz will *increase* the amount of time that youth spend skateboarding. The youth survey and focus group evidence suggests a new skatepark will influence potential skateboarders to start skating, thus they will be skating more, and will motivate casual skateboarders to skate more.

Some core skateboarders may skate more overall, but those with an existing consistent and dedicated practice may not in reality spend more time skating. Youth survey results found that for 72% percent of those surveyed (excluding those who don't currently skate and were not interested), having a skatepark at Park De La Cruz would make them more interested in skateboarding and for 62%, a new skatepark would mean more skating.

Over 3,000 youth in City Heights (1,815 existing skateboarders + 1,437 potential) could increase the amount of time they spend skateboarding as a result of the skatepark. However, to account for youth who might not change the amount of time they spend skating, we take 62% (the percentage of youth surveyed who said a skatepark would mean more skating) of 3,252, which is just over 2,000. **Therefore, as many as 8% of the age 5-24 population of City Heights will increase the amount of time spent skateboarding.** Youth who live or go to school closer to the park may be more likely to increase the amount of time they spend skateboarding compared to youth who live farther away. Evidence suggesting that lower income households may be more likely to skateboard and thus more influenced by a skatepark in the community applies to this finding as well.[2,60]

The skatepark is likely to contribute to an increase in the amount of time youth spend skateboarding and even more likely to have this effect on current skateboarders because the skatepark is expected to make it easier for many skateboarders to skate. Evidence from youth surveys and the skateboarder focus group supports this conclusion; however, there are some uncertainties. Conclusions are drawn from a small sample of youth in City Heights who responded to the youth survey and there may be variation in the local population of skateboarders and potential skateboarders compared to the national statistic from which we drew these estimates. These limitations make us uncertain about the extent to which a skatepark will be a source of motivation for new and current skateboarders and about the actual potential and existing numbers of skateboarders in City Heights.

A new skatepark at Park De La Cruz will influence potential and current skateboarders to skate at the

skatepark rather than at other locations. Sixty-one percent of survey respondents said that a new skatepark at Park De La Cruz will mean they would be more likely to skate at the skatepark. Evidence from the skateboarding survey in Loudon County, Va., found that 89% of those surveyed said they would stop going to illegal skate areas if legal skate areas were built.[12]

A conservative estimate considers current skaters, rather than potential skaters, as most likely to convert to skating at the skatepark. **Therefore, over 1,800 youth ages 5-24 will potentially start, or switch to, skateboarding at the park if it were built. This is 7% of the population of City Heights youth, ages 5-24.** Again, youth who live closer to the park and lower-income youth will be more likely to make the switch.

The skatepark is very likely to influence skaters to skate at the skatepark, especially in the short term, in the months after it is opened. The dedication from current youth working to get skateparks built in the community in addition to reports from youth in the focus group indicates there will be great enthusiasm for the skatepark. One focus group participant said, "We have been waiting for years for a skatepark here in City Heights and people now feel encouraged by the action and likelihood that a skatepark will be done." Another participant said that the skatepark would give them a better place to skate where they don't have to worry about getting hassled by the police or falling down on rocks and unsuitable skate surfaces. Proximity was also mentioned as a reason why this park will be viewed as an asset and well used. In addition, many youth do not have cars, and those that do are concerned about the cost of gas, so it is reasonable to expect a skatepark to attract youth.

There is some uncertainty about whether skateboarders will switch to using the park. If it does not live up to youth expectations, or it gets too crowded, it is less likely that youth will choose to skate there.

4.2. YOUTH DEVELOPMENT IMPACT PREDICTIONS

Youth development is an issue of high importance for City Heights youth. Evidence shows that factors of youth development, such as self-esteem, self-efficacy, social belonging, and social support become more important during adolescence and the protective effects of sports and skateboarding participation may therefore be even more important during this time.

A new skatepark at Park De La Cruz will improve measures of youth development, specifically increased self-esteem/self-efficacy and social support and belonging. There is also evidence that these youth development benefits are linked to positive mental and physical health and overall life outcomes.[21,22,27,30–32,35]

The evidence suggests most skateboarders in City Heights will experience these benefits. The skatepark itself has the potential to facilitate increased self-esteem, a sense of social belonging and support, and decreased stigmatization for skateboarders. Similarly, individuals who are drawn to skateboarding because of the new skatepark have an increased chance of seeing these self-esteem and social benefits simply through their association with the sport. However, skaters who are skating at the skatepark might have an increased chance of experiencing these changes because skateparks by their nature encourage self-improvement, social interaction, and a mix of people from different age groups, neighborhoods, or backgrounds.[14,34,45,54,59] In fact, the number one response (66%) to the youth survey question asking what a skatepark would mean to respondents was "more friends."

The skatepark is expected to help dispel stereotypes of skateboarders because it presents opportunities for the community to witness positive skateboarder behaviors and interactions, thus improving the public's opinion of the sport and its participants.

The skatepark will contribute to youth development benefits for non-skateboarders as well. HIA stakeholders emphasized that skatepark advocacy itself is a testament to the effectiveness of youth organizing and gives youth a sense of accomplishment from working with peers towards a common goal. Youth who don't skate may use the space for socializing and may feel the youth development benefits of the resource in this way.[45,59,60] Youth who live or go to school closer to the skatepark and those who are more vulnerable to negative self-esteem or social development, such as females, lower income youth, or youth targets of discrimination, may be more likely to see youth development benefits.

This effect is likely, as evidence from literature and the skateboarder focus group strongly supports this conclusion. Conflicts that arise from overcrowding or between different types of users (BMX bikes and scooters) and the potential for exclusion based on gender or skill level are factors that could reduce

the positive effects of the skatepark on youth development.

A new skatepark at Park De La Cruz will lead to a decrease in skateboarder-police interaction. The primary rationale behind this conclusion is the finding that the skatepark will mean more skateboarders would skate at the skatepark and thus will have less opportunity to be cited for skating in unsanctioned locations.

Anecdotal reports from the focus group and police department records suggest that skater-police interaction is an issue for skateboarders in City Heights. Focus group participants reported that the main problems with skater-police interactions are inconsistent or arbitrary enforcement of skateboarding policies and the targeting of some skateboarders with unfair treatment. Interactions described focused on skateboarding in unsanctioned places.

The decrease in police interactions will therefore be most notable for those who typically skate in places where there are regulations restricting skateboarding and for those who have been targeted by police previously. Citation information suggests that relative to the estimated numbers of skateboarders, those that have been cited are a relatively small proportion of all skaters. Therefore evidence suggests a few skateboarders will experience the decrease in police interactions, rather than the majority.

The lack of supporting information lends much uncertainty to the likelihood of this effect. It is possible that skateboarders will get more tickets at the skatepark for not wearing a helmet, which would be a disincentive to skateboarding at the park and could lead some skateboarders back to their usual skating locations where they could be at risk for police interaction again. Likewise, additional youth skateboarding may increase the likelihood of police contact for those who didn't skate before. Last, it is unlikely that all skaters will forgo skating in their usual locations to skate at the skatepark, so these skaters may still remain at risk.

4.3. PHYSICAL ACTIVITY IMPACT PREDICTIONS

Physical activity is an issue of high importance for youth in City Heights because more students in this area have lower scores on fitness tests compared to the rest of the school district. Further, only about half of all students in City Heights are getting the recommended amount of physical activity per day. Having ample physical activity is associated with health benefits such as lower rates of cardiovascular disease, obesity, diabetes, respiratory disease, mental health issues, and stress.[71] Research also suggests extracurricular physical activity can contribute to improved academic performance, which has long-term health benefits over the lifespan.[73]

If a new skatepark were built at Park De La Cruz, physical activity will increase for youth who skateboard. This conclusion is supported by the findings that the presence of the skatepark in that location will draw more youth to the sport, will encourage casual skateboarders to skate more, and will make it easier for core skateboarders to skate, thus increasing the amount of time they spend being physically active.

Drawing from the prediction made above, that over 2,000 potential and existing skateboarders could increase the amount of time they spend skateboarding, this could mean that **as many as 8% of the age 5-24 population of City Heights will be more physically active as a result of a new skatepark at Park De La Cruz**. The effect may, again, be more likely for current skateboarders, youth who live or go to school closer to the park, and for youth from lower-income households.[2,60]

Although this effect is likely, as evidence from youth surveys and the skateboarder focus group supports this conclusion, there are some uncertainties related to the number of youth that will be impacted, as mentioned above.

If skateboarding and physical activity will increase once the skatepark is built, it is possible that those who participate will have a decreased chance of being overweight or obese,[71] which can lead to better outcomes later in life. In addition, the literature has shown that increased physical activity is associated with improved academics.[74–76]

4.4. INJURIES IMPACT PREDICTIONS

The HIA found that safety from injuries is an issue of moderate importance for skateboarders in City Heights. However, the level of importance varies by where skateboarding injuries are occurring – on streets or in skateparks. Overall, skateboarding is one of the better choices for physical activity because the injury rate is lower than some other sports like football and basketball. However, the severity of skateboarder-motor vehicle injuries is highly important for skateboarders given the potentially fatal consequences of these incidents.

Given differences in street vs. skatepark injuries, impacts are reported separately. There are also differences in injury rates by skateboarder experience. If a new skatepark brings more new skateboarders into the sport, these newcomers will be exposing themselves to the injury risk associated with this sport. Likewise, if a new skatepark motivates casual skateboarders to skate more, they will also be exposed to more injury risk because of their increased exposure. Core skateboarders would be expected to skate for roughly similar amounts of time, but more of this time would be spent in a skatepark where injury risk is minimized compared to skating in streets.

If a new skatepark were built at Park De La Cruz, the number of injuries that happen *within the park* will increase at first for new and casual skateboarders and stay the same or decrease for core skateboarders. Injury severity is expected to stay the same because skateparks are associated with lower injury severity.

If a new skatepark were built at Park De La Cruz, the number of injuries that happen *in streets* will increase for new skateboarders at first due to overall increases in the amount of time they are skateboarding and some likely street skating they will do. Street injuries will stay the same for casual skateboarders since they may skate more, but more of this skating is expected to take place in the skatepark. Street injuries will decrease for core skateboarders due to the change in skateboarding location predicted above. The injury severity is also expected to remain high because of the potential for motor vehicle collisions.

The *change* in injury rates as a result of the skatepark are likely to only affect some skateboarders, not the majority. However, core skaters that skate a lot on streets may experience a greater benefit from the skatepark compared to new and casual skaters, who may increase their likelihood of injury because of the additional risks they are taking in trying new tricks.

Similar uncertainties apply to these predictions. The extent to which skateboarders switch their skating location and the actual increased amount of skateboarding will affect predictions about injury rates, where they occur, and how severe they are. Additionally, use of proper safety equipment will impact injury rates and severity.

Worth mentioning is also the potential effect of the enforcement of protective gear use within the skatepark. Many skateboarders will be deterred from skating in the skatepark if they are ticketed within the skatepark for not following these regulations. While the use of protective gear can reduce injuries and injury severity, if skateboarders avoid the skatepark and skate in the street, this puts them at greater risk of the most severe injuries.

4.5. SAFETY FROM CRIME IMPACT PREDICTIONS

Evidence from the HIA indicates safety from crime is an issue of medium importance for the area around Park De La Cruz. Interviews with community members, including law enforcement, reported that the park currently sees plenty of activity from a variety of different users and that compared to other parks the amount of illicit activity that goes on is similar, if not less.

Safety from crime will improve with a new skatepark in Park De La Cruz. This has been found in other locations where skateparks have been built.[105,109] This is likely to affect health by decreasing risks from violent crime, reducing fear and stress, and increasing the use of the park, which is beneficial for physical activity, social connections, and mental health overall.[100,101,102,60]

Changes in safety are most likely to affect users of the park, including skateboarders, and these users are more likely to be people who live or go to school close to the park.

Although evidence suggests the skatepark is likely to have a positive impact on safety from crime, a number of uncertainties affect the confidence with which we can make this conclusion. Since the YMCA is expected to vacate the building currently adjacent to the park and this contributes some amount of activity, it is not clear what effect this change will have on park safety, if these people are not using the space anymore. New skatepark activity could fill the void, however, contributing to activity and park safety. Design choices can have an impact on the safety of the park as well. For example, enclosures that inhibit the visibility of the park are likely to reduce park safety.

5. CONCLUSION

A new skatepark in Park De La Cruz would have a positive impact on the health of City Heights youth, resulting in increased youth development factors, physical activity, and safety from crime in and around the park. While injuries may increase, these are balanced with youth development and physical activity benefits and are mitigated by increased skating within the skatepark. Specifically:

- A new skatepark at Park De La Cruz will *increase* the number of youth who identify as skateboarders. Over 1,400 youth ages 5-24 will potentially be drawn to skateboarding if a new skatepark were built, which is 6% of this age group's population in City Heights.
- A new skatepark at Park De La Cruz will *increase* the amount of time that youth spend skateboarding. As many as 8% of the age 5-24 population of City Heights will increase the amount of time they spend skateboarding.
- A new skatepark at Park De La Cruz will influence potential and current skateboarders to skate at the skatepark rather than at other locations. Of the population of City Heights youth ages 5-24, 7% could start, or switch to, skating at the skatepark.
- A new skatepark at Park De La Cruz will contribute to improvements in measures of youth development, specifically increased self-esteem/self-efficacy and social support and belonging. Most skateboarders and some non-skateboarders in City Heights will experience youth development benefits.
- A new skatepark at Park De La Cruz will lead to a *decrease* in skateboarder-police interaction.
- If a new skatepark were built at Park De La Cruz, physical activity will increase for youth who skateboard. As many as 8% of the age 5-24 population of City Heights will be more physically active as a result of a new skatepark at Park De La Cruz.
- If a new skatepark were built at Park De La Cruz, the number of injuries that happen *within the park* will increase at first for new and casual skateboarders and stay the same or decrease for core skateboarders. Injury severity is expected to stay the same because skateparks are associated with lower injury severity.
- If a new skatepark were built at Park De La Cruz, the number of injuries *in streets* will increase for new skateboarders at first due to overall increases in the amount of time spent skateboarding and still some likely street skating. Street injuries will stay the same for casual skateboarders, but more of this skating is expected to take place in the skatepark. Street injuries will decrease for core skateboarders due to changes in skateboarding location. The injury severity is expected to stay the same because of the potential for motor vehicle collisions.
- Safety from crime will improve with a new skatepark in Park De La Cruz.

6. RECOMMENDATIONS

The following table provides recommendations to promote the positive and mitigate the negative health impacts of building a skatepark at Park De La Cruz. Recommendations are based on consultation with experts in skatepark development, recreational planning, public health, and community organizing who are members of the project team and advisory committee.

The parties responsible for implementing each recommendation are provided in the table below.

Because many of the recommendations are relevant to more than one of the health determinants examined in this HIA, an explanation is provided to describe the relevance of the recommendations to the skatepark impacts. Recommendations are presented in order of relevance to the planning, design, implementation, and programming/operating phases of a skatepark. A few recommendations are highlighted in bold to indicate those that could be considered a higher priority.

RECOMMENDATION	RECOMMENDATION TARGETED TO	EXPLANATION
1. Allocate 25,000 sq. feet of space for a skatepark at Park De La Cruz	City Council; YMCA; City Heights Town Council; City Planning; Parks & Recreation (Parks & Rec.)	Prevents crowding and conflicts and ensures enough skateboarding space (youth development, physical activity, and safety from injuries and crime)
2. Monitor the use of the skatepark for crowding and build another one if capacity is consistently exceeded	Parks & Rec.; City Council; City Heights Town Council; City Planning	Prevents crowding and conflicts and ensures enough skateboarding space (youth development, physical activity, and safety from injuries and crime)
3. Research the need for a community-wide skatepark system (i.e., understand skatepark demand in terms of the number of skateparks, their size, and the locations that would meet demand)	Parks & Rec.; City Heights Town Council; City Planning	Prevents crowding and conflicts and ensures enough skateboarding space (youth development, physical activity, and safety from injuries and crime)
4. Convene police and skateboarders to collaboratively create and agree on skatepark policies	Youth groups; community groups; Police Department; Parks & Rec.	Encourages positive youth-law enforcement relations (youth development), promotes youth leadership (youth development), ensures park use (physical activity), keeps skaters in the skatepark (safety from injury), and ensures park is well used and protected (safety from crime)
5. Engage the Police Department in the skatepark development process as early as possible and encourage Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) review	Parks & Rec.; City Planning; Police Department	Promotes skatepark and park safety from crime
6. Ensure skatepark is designed and constructed by experienced skatepark professionals and ensure youth/users and community members are engaged in the design and development process	Parks & Rec.; City Heights Town Council; City Planning; youth groups; community groups	Promotes use (youth development and physical activity), promotes leadership (youth development), prevents injuries (design), and gets community invested in the skatepark (safety from crime)

RECOMMENDATION	RECOMMENDATION TARGETED TO	EXPLANATION
7. Clearly define allowed uses of the park before design phase, (e.g. skateboarding, BMX biking, scooters)	Parks & Rec.; City Planning; community groups; youth groups	Minimizes collisions between skatepark users (safety from injuries), and prevents conflicts (youth development and safety from crime)
8. Consider including the following design features: • **A water fountain** • **Nighttime lighting** • **Noise buffering** • **Shaded areas with landscaping and seating** • **Fences below eye level;** • **Multiple, ungated entry points** • **Different areas with progressive difficulty, so park is not too hard for beginners, but doesn't get boring for the more experienced skaters** • **Different areas that would appeal to different types of users (e.g., BMX bikes and scooters)**	Parks & Rec.; City Planning; Public Works	• Water fountain - prevents drinking sugary beverages (promotes physical activity) • Lighting - promotes use later (physical activity) and safety from crime • Shaded/seating areas - creates social spaces (youth development) and encourages skating and skating for longer (physical activity) • Fences and entry points - promotes visibility into and access to the park (promotes social use of space and protects from criminal activity) • Different areas - prevents exclusion (youth development), encourages skating for all (physical activity), prevents premature risk taking and collisions (safety from injury), and reduces conflicts (youth development and safety from crime)
9. Design park to reflect the cultural vibrancy of City Heights (e.g., mural or other artistic element to the park)	Parks & Rec.; City Planning; Arts Commission	Fosters community engagement and promotes park activity (safety from crime)
10. Consider funding skatepark art projects through the City of San Diego's Commission for Arts & Culture and use local artists	Parks & Rec.; City Planning; Arts Commission	Fosters community engagement and promotes park activity (safety from crime)
11. Ensure signage within the skatepark recognizes the youth role in getting the park built	Parks & Rec.; City Planning; youth groups; community groups	Promotes youth development
12. Create skatepark signage outside the skatepark and promote the skatepark at public events	Public Works; community groups	Promotes skatepark use (youth development and physical activity) and prevents on-street injuries and criminal activity
13. Create paths to and from schools that are well marked and maintained	Public Works; Parks & Rec.; City Planning	Promotes skatepark use, physical activity, and safety from injury
14. Establish a maintenance and monitoring plan for the skatepark	Parks & Rec.	Promotes safety from crime
15. Create female-specific programming and skateboarding classes for other specific groups	Parks & Rec.; community groups; skate shops; school student organizations	Promotes youth development for all skateboarders (prevents exclusion)

RECOMMENDATION	RECOMMENDATION TARGETED TO	EXPLANATION
16. Consider engaging youth, schools, and local businesses as stewards of the skatepark to assist with skatepark promotion, programming, monitoring, addressing issues, and engaging the community. Youth liaisons could be selected to play a role and/or coordinate between Parks & Rec. and other entities. Define all steward roles and responsibilities	Parks & Rec.; Youth groups; community groups; skate shops; school student organizations	Promotes youth development for all skateboarders (prevents exclusion) Promotes youth ownership of space and leadership (youth development), promotes skatepark use (physical activity), and prevents conflicts and criminal activity (safety from crime)
17. Engage local skate shops to promote the skatepark opening, clubs or programs, events, and/or to coordinate giveaway programs/events (see #16)	Parks & Rec.; youth groups; community groups; school student organizations; skate shops	Promotes leadership development and ownership of space (youth development and safety from crime)
18. Engage local schools to facilitate skateboarding and skatepark promotion through the following potential actions: • **Have school officials/administrators coordinate programming for things like afterschool skate clubs, mentoring, and skateboarding events connected to schools** • **Review and consider changing school policies that limit or may facilitate skateboarding** • **Install skate lockers at schools (ensure they accommodate helmets)**	Local schools; Parks & Rec.; skate shops; school student organizations; community groups; youth groups	• School-related programming - encourages youth school engagement (youth development), promotes park use and skating (youth development and physical activity), keeps skaters in the skatepark (safety from injury), and ensures park is well used and protected (safety from crime) • Review policies - promotes skatepark use and legitimizes skateboarding as an active mode of transportation for students (physical activity) • Lockers - promotes skateboarding for physical activity and ensures safety from injury
19. Practice safe skating and follow the City of San Diego's safety requirements (i.e., use protective gear such as helmets and wrist guards)	Skatepark users; skateboarders	Promotes safety from injuries
20. Set up a program to facilitate access to protective gear (e.g., helmet giveaways)	Parks & Rec.; community groups; skate shops; school student organizations	Promotes safety from injuries
21. To facilitate on-street safety from injuries, support implementation of policies and programs that are working to create safer streets for all transportation modes, such as Complete Streets, City Heights Urban Greening, and Safe Routes to Schools	City Planning; City Heights Area Planning Committee	Promotes safety from injuries
22. Monitor noise levels and have a plan in place to address noise if it does become an issue	Parks & Rec.; City Planning	Mitigates potential noise impacts

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8. APPENDICES

8.1. APPENDIX 1. DESCRIPTION OF HIA PROCESS

The following describes the process of carrying out the steps of HIA for this project.

Screening

Screening, which is the step of HIA where it is decided that an HIA is timely, feasible, and would add value to the decision making process, was initiated in October 2013 when the project partners identified the skatepark proposal as a potential upcoming decision that could have health and equity implications and for which health was not a primary consideration. Partners considered whether there was time to conduct the HIA and resources to carry out the HIA process and conduct the necessary research, there were partners available and interested in being engaged in the process, and whether the HIA would be used in the decision-making process or future skatepark campaigns.

It was concluded that there was time to conduct the HIA, since it was expected that City Council decisions would be made in summer 2014; there were adequate financial, staff, and methodological resources; partners were interested and available to participate in and help guide the process; and there was receptivity to health perspectives yet not complete agreement about the proposal decision.

Scoping

Scoping, which involves the creation of a plan and timeline for conducting an HIA that defines priority issues, research questions and methods, and participant roles, was carried out between November 2013 and February 2014.

Three groups were engaged to help guide the development of the Scope and the HIA in general. These were: 1) a Project Team, which consisted of two Human Impact Partners staff, two representatives of Mid-City CAN and the Youth Council, and a skateboarding/technical representative from Tony Hawk Foundation; 2) an Advisory Committee, which consisted of the Project Team members in addition to three members of the Youth Council, three public health representatives, a community development representative, a staff person from a City Councilmember's office, and an urban planner who specializes in recreation and skatepark development; 3) the Mid-City CAN Youth Council.

Three different scoping meetings took place – one in late December with the Advisory Committee, one in early February with the Youth Council, and another one in early February with the Advisory Committee. Scoping meetings consisted of an overview of HIA and HIA Scoping, a discussion of the goals of the HIA, small group exercises where participants provided input on the likely impacts of a skatepark on health determinants and the health of the community, and the prioritization of the health determinants that the HIA research would focus on.

The following determinants of health that could be affected by the skatepark proposal were selected as the focus of the HIA research through the scoping process: physical activity, youth development, injuries, and crime. Noise effects were strongly considered for inclusion in the research, but were, in the end, excluded at the advice of technical experts who cited a recent study showing that a typical concrete skatepark generated about 52 decibels of ambient sound at its center. An average conversation is around 59-63 decibels.[112]

Causal pathways linking the skatepark to health were determined and diagrams were developed for each of the health determinants to visually represent the relationships (see Appendix 2).

Pathway diagrams and the direction provided during Scoping focused the Assessment on answering the following overarching research questions:

- How would a skatepark change the number of youth who identify as skateboarders, the frequency of skateboarding and where youth skateboard?
- How would a skatepark change how much physical activity youth in City Heights are getting and how they get it and how would this change health outcomes associated with physical activity?
- How would a skatepark change youth self-esteem, social support, and interactions with law enforcement and how would this affect youth's future prospects?

- How would a skatepark change injuries from skateboarding?
- How would the skatepark change the safety of the area and perceptions of safety and how would this affect youth and the surrounding community?

While the scoping process can be iterative, the Scope for the HIA was considered final in mid-March and the Project Team moved towards data collection for the Assessment phase.

Assessment

Assessment has two components: 1) an analysis of existing health conditions and existing social/environmental/economic conditions that determine health outcomes and that are related to the proposal under consideration; and 2) a prediction of the potential health impacts associated with the proposal. This Assessment documented findings from the literature, available/existing local data, and data from people in City Heights to answer the research questions defined during Scoping. See Appendix 3 for existing local data sources.

Three primary data collection activities were employed to get evidence that was not available in existing sources. These consisted of: 1) a youth survey to understand skateboarding frequency, duration, and location and what a skatepark in City Heights/Mid-City might mean to youth; 2) a focus group of skateboarders to understand youth experiences with skateboarding in San Diego, the social aspects of skating, skateboarding safety, and interactions with law enforcement and what a new skatepark would mean for skaters; 3) an interview with key community members to get perspectives on the safety of Park De La Cruz and the impact of a skatepark there. See Appendix 4 for primary data collection methods.

Findings from the literature, existing local data sources, and primary data collection were used to predict the impacts of the skatepark proposal on health determinants and outcomes. Impact predictions are qualitative in nature and offer a judgment about the direction (positive or negative impact on health), magnitude (number of people affected), severity (the nature of the effect on functioning and life expectancy and/or its permanence), likelihood (how likely the effect is to happen), and strength of evidence (the certainty of the prediction given the data that was used to make it) of the effect.

Recommendations and Reporting

The objective of Recommendations is to provide evidence-based recommendations to mitigate negative and maximize positive health impacts. Reporting involves both the drafting of a report that includes the HIA findings, predictions, and recommendations and the dissemination of findings. Reporting took place between April and July 2014 and Recommendations were incorporated at the end of this phase through meetings with project advisors.

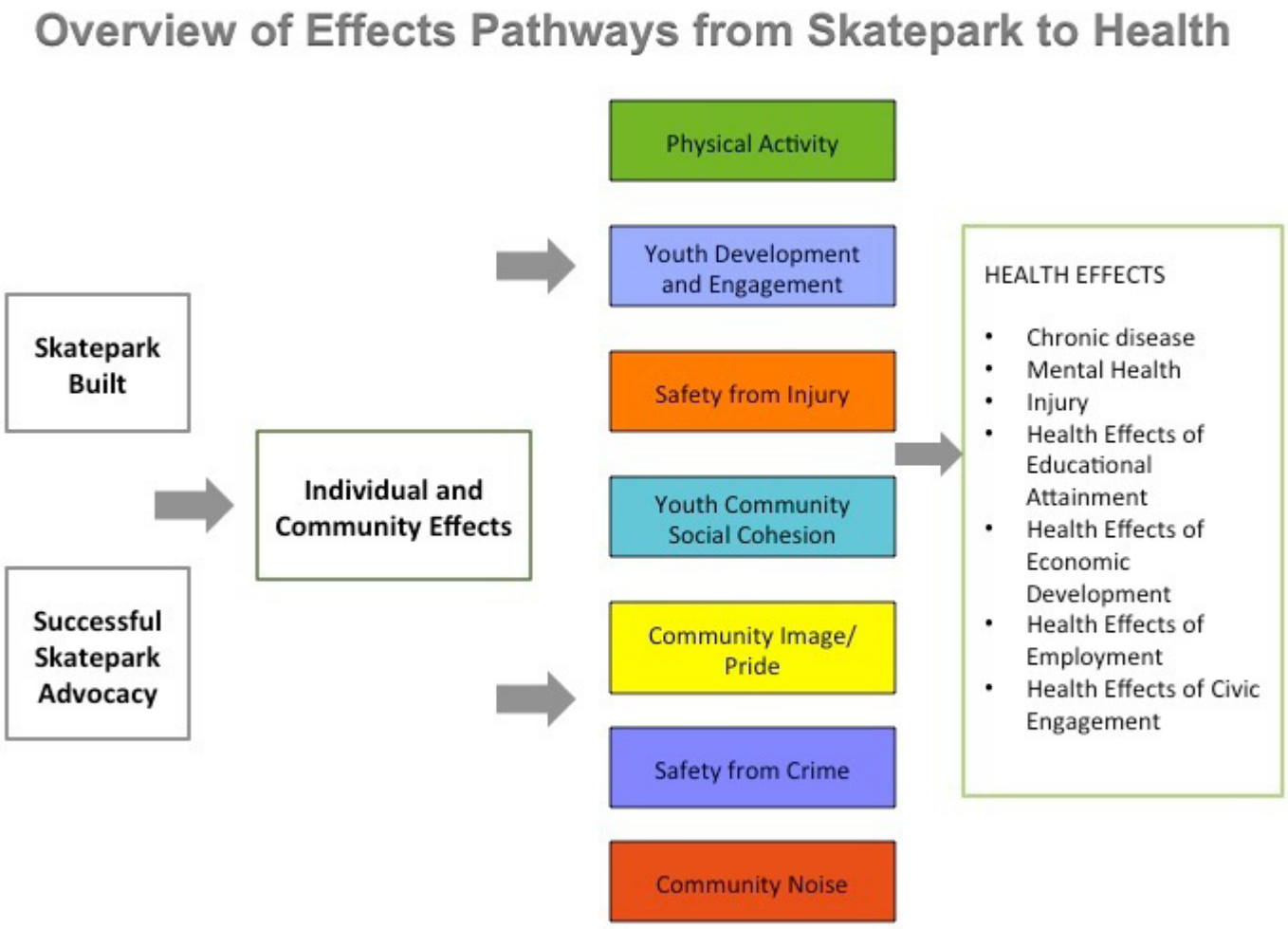
A preliminary draft and a summary were shared with Advisory Committee and Youth Council members in advance of an in-person meeting in early-June. Two meetings were held – one with Youth Council members, where the focus was on using the existing conditions findings to come up with and confirm potential impact predictions – and one with the Advisory Committee, where the focus was on coming up with recommendations to address these impacts. Impacts and recommendations output from these meetings and other feedback was further refined and incorporated into the report draft. Participants who elected to review the draft one more time reviewed the next iteration and it was finalized. A complete executive summary was created as well.

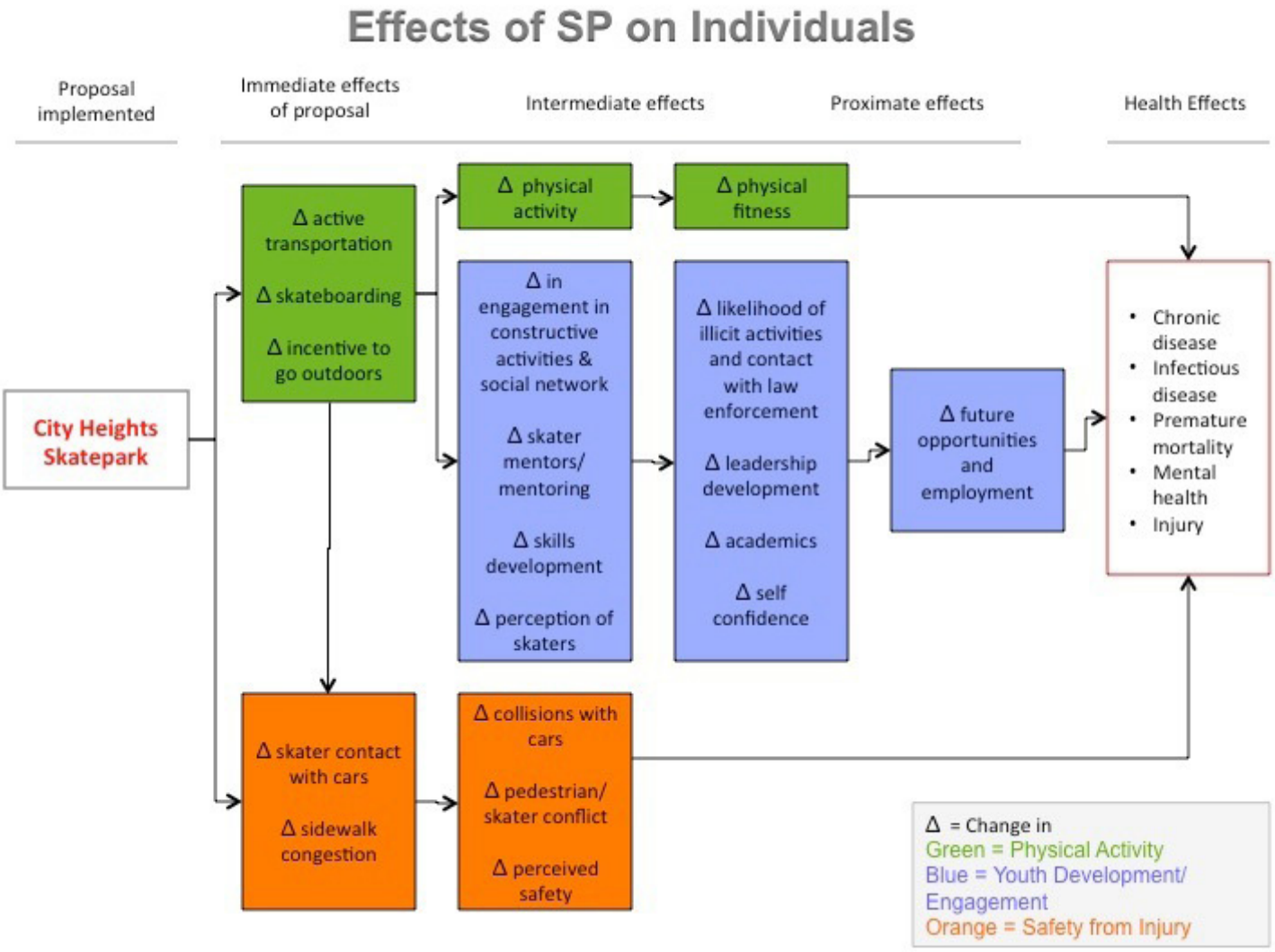
Evaluation and Monitoring

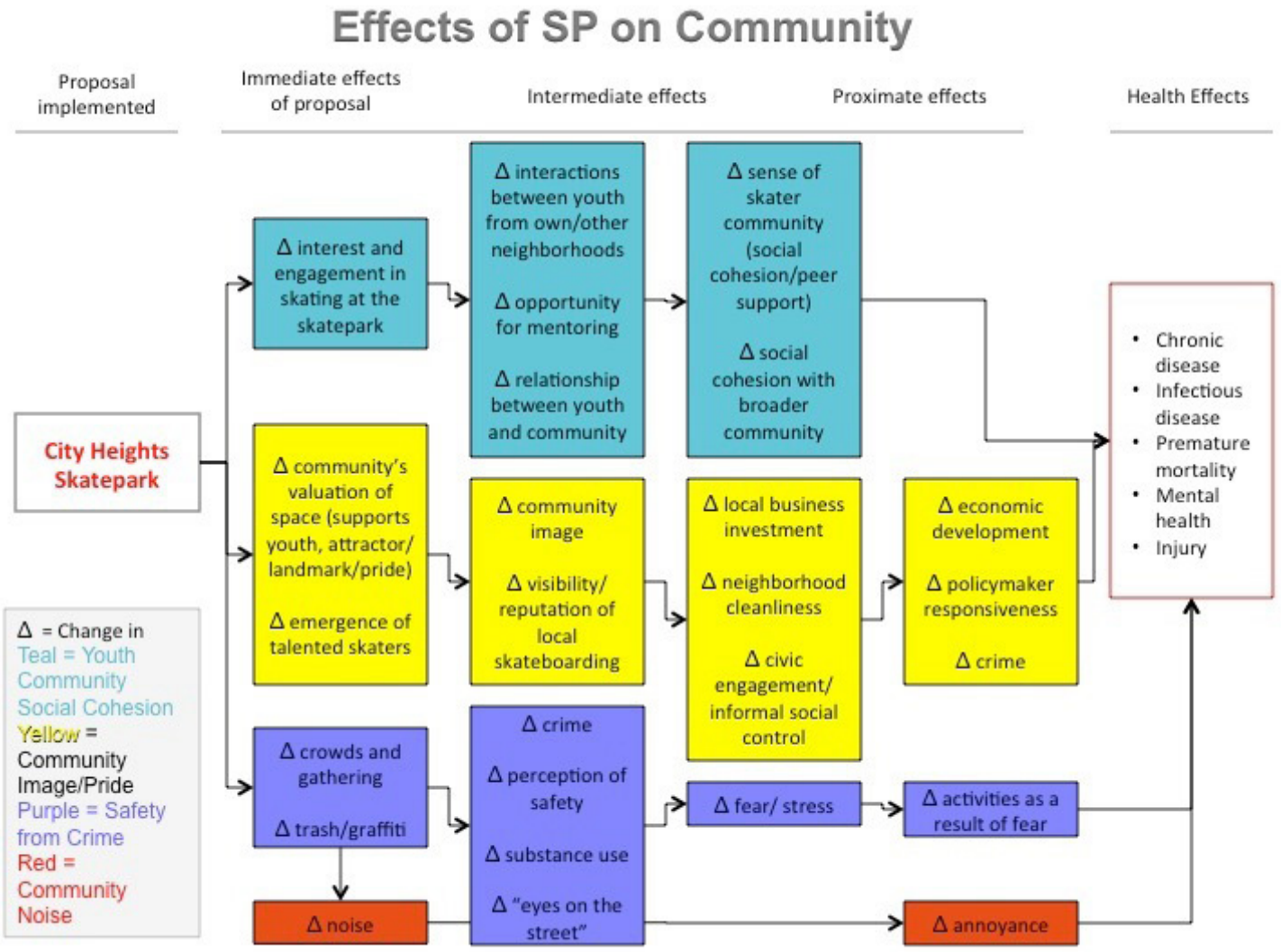
The objective of evaluation and monitoring is to track the impacts of the HIA on the decision-making process and the decision, the implementation of the decision, and the impacts of the decision on health determinants. This HIA step involves tracking recommendation adoption, discussion of HIA findings in the decision-making process about the plan, and how the decision-making climate for health considerations and HIA changed as a result of the HIA. This step also involves monitoring decision implementation to track whether the policy was carried out in accordance with HIA recommendations and monitoring health determinants and outcomes to evaluate HIA predictions.

A set of questions and indicators for this HIA will be provided following final report production. Indicators are used to track the impacts of the HIA on the decision and decision-making process, the implementation of the decision, and the impacts of the decision on health determinants. It is, however, beyond the scope of this HIA to comprehensively carry out the monitoring plan. Therefore, the evaluation and monitoring plan proposal may be used to guide stakeholders who are interested in tracking the effects of the HIA after the HIA is completed.

8.2. APPENDIX 2. PATHWAY DIAGRAMS




Effects of SP on Individuals
Proposal implemented
Immediate effects of proposal
Intermediate effects
Proximate effects
Health Effects
City Heights Skatepark
Δ active transportation
Δ skateboarding
Δ incentive to go outdoors
Δ physical activity
Δ physical fitness
Δ in engagement in constructive activities & social network
Δ skater mentors/ mentoring
Δ skills development
Δ perception of skaters
Δ likelihood of illicit activities and contact with law enforcement
Δ leadership development
Δ academics
Δ self confidence
Δ future opportunities and employment
Chronic disease
Infectious disease
Premature mortality
Mental health
Injury
Δ skater contact with cars
Δ sidewalk congestion
Δ collisions with cars
Δ pedestrian/ skater conflict
Δ perceived safety
Δ = Change in
Green = Physical Activity
Blue = Youth Development/ Engagement
Orange = Safety from Injury


Effects of SP on Community
Proposal implemented
Immediate effects of proposal
Intermediate effects
Proximate effects
Health Effects
City Heights Skatepark
Δ interest and engagement in skating at the skatepark
Δ community's valuation of space (supports youth, attractor/ landmark/pride)
Δ emergence of talented skaters
Δ crowds and gathering
Δ trash/graffiti
Δ noise
Δ interactions between youth from own/other neighborhoods
Δ opportunity for mentoring
Δ relationship between youth and community
Δ community image
Δ visibility/ reputation of local skateboarding
Δ crime
Δ perception of safety
Δ substance use
Δ "eyes on the street"
Δ sense of skater community (social cohesion/peer support)
Δ social cohesion with broader community
Δ local business investment
Δ neighborhood cleanliness
Δ civic engagement/ informal social control
Δ fear/ stress
Δ economic development
Δ policymaker responsiveness
Δ crime
Δ activities as a result of fear
Δ annoyance
• Chronic disease
• Infectious disease
• Premature mortality
• Mental health
• Injury
Δ = Change in
Teal = Youth Community Social Cohesion
Yellow = Community Image/Pride
Purple = Safety from Crime
Red = Community Noise

8.3. APPENDIX 3. EXISTING LOCAL DATA SOURCES

In addition to peer and gray literature and primary data (described in Appendix 4), the following existing data sources were accessed to describe local City Heights/Mid-City conditions:

- American Community Survey 5-year estimates, 2008-12 of the U.S. Census (*see Census geoprocessing methods description below)
- San Diego Association of Governments (SANDAG) Data Warehouse
- California Standardized Test results from Dataquest
- California Physical Fitness Test results from the CA Department of Education (2012-2013 school year)
- Death and hospitalization rates from San Diego County Health and Human Services Agency
- Death and hospitalization rates from California Department of Public Health
- Park statistics from The Trust for Public Land
- National skateboarding statistics from the Sporting Goods Manufacturing Association, Sports Participation Survey
- Skatepark locations from SD Skateparks.com
- Skateboarding citations from San Diego Police Department Traffic Division
- Crime rates from SANDAG Automated Regional Justice Information System (ARJIS)

* Census tracts that comprise City Heights were located by intersecting tracts with the City Heights neighborhood boundary, as defined by the San Diego Association of Governments. Some tracts stretch outside the boundary, but are mostly contained in the neighborhood. These were retained. Other tracts have a small portion that intersects the neighborhood, but the majority of their area is outside the neighborhood; these were not retained.

8.4. APPENDIX 4. PRIMARY DATA COLLECTION METHODS

Youth Survey

Human Impact Partners, with the aid of Mid-City CAN and Tony Hawk Foundation, designed a two-page survey to better understand skateboarding practice and interest, skateboarding frequency and duration, and what a skatepark at Park De La Cruz would mean to youth in City Heights. The survey was designed to target people ages 10-30 who lived, worked, or played in City Heights.

The survey consisted of an online and paper version, both of which were identical except for a notification on the paper version for the respondent to stop the survey if they marked themselves as being a non-skater with no interest in skateboarding. The link to the online version was distributed through online and social media channels, such as Mid-City CAN's website and Facebook page. The Mid-City CAN Youth Council primarily administered the paper version to their social networks. Mid-City CAN announced an incentive to those who administered the most surveys within a two-week time period. Survey respondents filled out surveys between March 28 and April 25, 2014.

Both the paper and the online survey used a convenience sampling approach, although the youth council members were encouraged to target those ages 10-30 and who spent time in City Heights.

Focus Group

A focus group was conducted to better understand local skater motivations and social experiences, interactions with law enforcement and their effects, injuries and safety risks, and what a new skatepark in City Heights would mean for skaters.

Participants were recruited through the youth survey and the Mid-City CAN Youth Council. A question was included on the youth survey for respondents to provide their contact information and then a member of the HIA project team followed up with an email and phone invitation to the focus group. Youth Council focus group participants were invited during a meeting. As incentive, $10 Subway gift card was offered and provided to participants.

The focus group took place at Mid-City CAN's office in San Diego at from 10 a.m. to noon on Saturday, May 10, 2014. There were four participants total – three males and one female. One participant arrived halfway through the focus group. Two facilitators from Human Impact Partners alternated asking questions and taking typewritten notes. The focus group was also audiotaped to fill in gaps in the typed notes.

Park De La Cruz Safety Interviews

One-on-one phone interviews were conducted with several key community members to better understand conditions related to the safety of Park De La Cruz. Interviewees were asked to provide information about how people use the park and the kinds of activities that go on there and for their opinions about the impact a skatepark in the park would have on neighborhood safety. A snowball sampling approach was used. Interviewees were identified by Mid-City CAN and one key community member and consisted of the principal of the school adjacent to the park, a member of the Parks & Recreation Board, a neighbor of the park, a member of the City Heights Town Council, the Mid-City Division Police Captain, and another community member who is active in community affairs. Interviews were recorded through typewritten notes only and were conducted in April and May 2014.

8.5. APPENDIX 5. SKATEBOARDER POPULATION ESTIMATE CALCULATIONS

Estimating total skateboarders in City Heights

Estimating the number of skateboarders in City Heights was challenging, as no studies have been done previously. The eligible population of skateboarders was determined to be ages 5 and older, as very few children skateboard before this age. This population was further narrowed to focus on those ages 5-24, as skateboarders predominantly are of this age group.

Literature from academic journals and skateboarding industry technical reports demonstrate differences in skateboarding participation based on gender and age. For example, 81% of skateboarders in the US are under 25 years old, and 78% of skateboarders are male.[2] These figures were multiplied by the estimate of total skateboarders in the US, which is 6.3 million.[2]

Therefore, we found the following:

$$\begin{aligned} Skateboarders_{U.S.A.,\ female,\ aged\ 5-24} &= 6,300,000 * 0.22 * 0.81 = 1,122,660 \\ Skateboarders_{U.S.A.,\ male,\ 5-24} &= 6,300,000 * 0.78 * 0.81 = 3,980,340 \\ Skateboarders_{U.S.A.,\ female,\ 25+} &= 6,300,000 * 0.22 * 0.19 = 263,340 \\ Skateboarders_{U.S.A.,\ male,\ 25+} &= 6,300,000 * 0.78 * 0.19 = 933,660 \end{aligned}$$

These national percentages can be used to estimate the number of skateboarders in City Heights. Directly multiplying these percentages by the population estimates in City Heights would result in a likely underestimation, as City Heights is noticeably younger than the US as a whole; 34% of City Heights residents are between ages 5-24, compared to 27% in the US.[6] Therefore, the rates of skateboarding participation must be age- and gender-adjusted to produce more accurate estimates for skateboarders in the community.

To conduct this adjustment, the following steps were followed:
1. Obtain the total population figures for the nation and for City Heights from the 5-year American Community Survey 2008-12.[6] The results are as follows:

Table 3. Total US Population, aged 5 and older, by age group and gender

	United States		City Heights, CA	
	Estimate	Percent	Estimate	Percent
total pop age 5+	289,000,827	--	69,300	--
total pop age 5-24	84,664,810	29.3	25,975	37.5
total pop females 5-24	41,332,038	48.8	12,803	49.3
total pop males 5-24	43,332,772	51.2	13,172	50.7
total pop age 25+	204,336,017	70.7	43,325	62.5
total pop females 25+	105,941,114	51.8	21,936	50.6
total pop males 25+	98,394,903	48.2	21,389	49.4

2. Calculate age- and gender-specific rates (i.e., the number of skateboarders per 1,000 population in that specific age and gender group) of skateboarding participation at the nationwide level, for each of four age/gender groups, as follows:

	Ages 5-24	Ages 25+
Female	$Rate_{female,\ ages\ 5\text{-}24}$	$Rate_{female,\ ages\ 25+}$
Male	$Rate_{male,\ ages\ 5\text{-}24}$	$Rate_{male,\ ages\ 25+}$

For example, to calculate the rate for females, aged 5-24 in the US:
3. Multiply those rates by the absolute population estimates in City Heights from the same time period that match the age and gender groups of the rate.

$$Rate_{U.S.A.,\ female,\ aged\ 5-24} = \frac{Skateboarders_{U.S.A.,\ female,\ aged\ 5-24}}{TotalPop_{U.S.A.,\ female,\ aged\ 5-24}} * 1000$$

$$Rate_{U.S.A.,\ female,\ aged\ 5-24} = \frac{1{,}122{,}660}{41{,}332{,}038} * 1000$$

$$Rate_{U.S.A.,\ female,\ aged\ 5-24} = 27.2$$

4. Calculate #3 for each age/gender group, then add the four estimates together to produce a total estimate for City Heights.
Therefore, there is estimated to be 1,815 total skateboarders in City Heights. Of these, 1,558 are estimated to be age 5-24, and 257 are estimated to be age 25 or older.

$$Skateboarders_{City\ Heights(C.H.)} = \begin{array}{l} \left(TotalPop_{C.H.,\ female,\ aged\ 5-24} * \frac{Rate_{C.H.,\ female,\ aged\ 5-24}}{1000}\right) + \\ \left(TotalPop_{C.H.,\ female,\ 25+} * \frac{Rate_{C.H.,\ female,\ 25+}}{1000}\right) + \\ \left(TotalPop_{C.H.,\ male,\ 5-24} * \frac{Rate_{C.H.,\ male,\ 5-24}}{1000}\right) + \\ \left(TotalPop_{C.H.,\ male,\ 25+} * \frac{Rate_{C.H.,\ male,\ 25+}}{1000}\right) \end{array}$$

$$Skateboarders_{City\ Heights(C.H.)} = \begin{array}{l} \left(25{,}975 * \frac{27.2}{1000}\right) + \\ \left(21{,}936 * \frac{2.5}{1000}\right) + \\ \left(13{,}172 * \frac{91.9}{1000}\right) + \\ \left(21{,}389 * \frac{9.5}{1000}\right) \end{array}$$

$$Skateboarders_{City\ Heights(C.H.)} = 348 + 55 + 1{,}210 + 203$$

$$= 1{,}815$$

Estimating core skateboarders in City Heights

Out of the 6.3 million skateboarders in the US, 3 million of those are core skateboarders.[2] The steps to calculate the number of core skateboarders (those who skate at least 26 times per month) are much the same as steps 1-4 above. The only differences are that the literature says that instead of 81% of total skateboarders being under 25 years old, 88% of *core skateboarders* are under 25, and instead of 78% of total skateboarders being male, 82% of *core skateboarders* are male.[2]

Using these figures, we can estimate the following for the number of core skateboarders in the US:

$$
\begin{aligned}
Cores_{U.S.A.,\ female,\ aged\ 5-24} &= 3,000,000 * 0.18 * 0.88 &&= 316,800 \\
Cores_{U.S.A.,\ male,\ 5-24} &= 3,000,000 * 0.82 * 0.88 &&= 2,323,200 \\
Cores_{U.S.A.,\ female,\ 25+} &= 3,000,000 * 0.18 * 0.12 &&= 43,200 \\
Cores_{U.S.A.,\ male,\ 25+} &= 3,000,000 * 0.82 * 0.12 &&= 316,800
\end{aligned}
$$

Multiplying these numbers by their age- and gender specific rates following steps 1-4 above, the number of core skaters in City Heights was estimated to be 882. This is broken out to 804 core skaters between the ages of 5-24, and 78 core skaters age 25 or older.

Estimating casual skateboarders in City Heights

In order to calculate casual skateboarders, the number of core skaters in each age and gender group was subtracted from the number of total skateboarders in that age and gender group.

$$
\begin{aligned}
Casuals_{U.S.A.,\ female,\ aged\ 5-24} &= 1,122,660 - 316,800 &&= 805,860 \\
Casuals_{U.S.A.,\ male,\ 5-24} &= 3,980,340 - 2,323,200 &&= 1,657,140 \\
Casuals_{U.S.A.,\ female,\ 25+} &= 263,340 - 43,200 &&= 220,140 \\
Casuals_{U.S.A.,\ male,\ 25+} &= 933,660 - 316,800 &&= 616,860
\end{aligned}
$$

Multiplying these figures by their age- and gender-specific rates, as in steps 1-4 outlined above, produces the number of estimated casual skateboarders in City Heights as 933 casual skaters. Among these, 753 casual skaters are aged 5-24, and 180 are age 25 or older.

Estimating potential skateboarders in City Heights

Potential skateboarders were assumed to come from primarily the age 5-24 group, and so for this particular calculation, those 25 or older were ignored.

For each gender, the total number of skateboarders was subtracted from the number of City Heights residents aged 5-24 for that gender. This number represents the number of nonskaters for females and males in City Heights.

$$\begin{aligned} Nonskateboarders_{C.H.,\ female,\ aged\ 5-24} &= 12,803 - 348 = 12,455 \\ Nonskateboarders_{C.H.,\ male,\ 5-24} &= 13,172 - 1,210 = 11,962 \end{aligned}$$

It is not reasonable to assume that 100% of nonskaters are "convertible" to skateboarding, and so the actual proportion of skateboarding participation for each gender, aged 5-24, was used as a multiplier to estimate how many people could be counted as potential skateboarders.

$$\begin{aligned} Potentials_{C.H.,\ female,\ aged\ 5-24} &= 12,455 * \left(\frac{Skateboarders_{C.H.,\ female,\ age\ 5-24}}{TotalPop_{C.H.,\ female,\ age\ 5-24}} \right) \\ &= 388 \end{aligned}$$

$$\begin{aligned} Potentials_{C.H.,\ male,\ 5-24} &= 11,962 * \left(\frac{Skateboarders_{C.H.,\ male,\ age\ 5-24}}{TotalPop_{C.H.,\ female,\ age\ 5-24}} \right) \\ &= 1,099 \end{aligned}$$

Finally, the estimates for female and male potential skateboarders were added together to produce an estimate of 1,437 potential skateboarders in City Heights.

8.6. APPENDIX 6. POLICE PRECINCT AREAS AND CRIME RATES IN NEIGHBORHOODS SURROUNDING PARK DE LA CRUZ

Police Precinct Neighborhoods Surrounding Park de la Cruz[113]

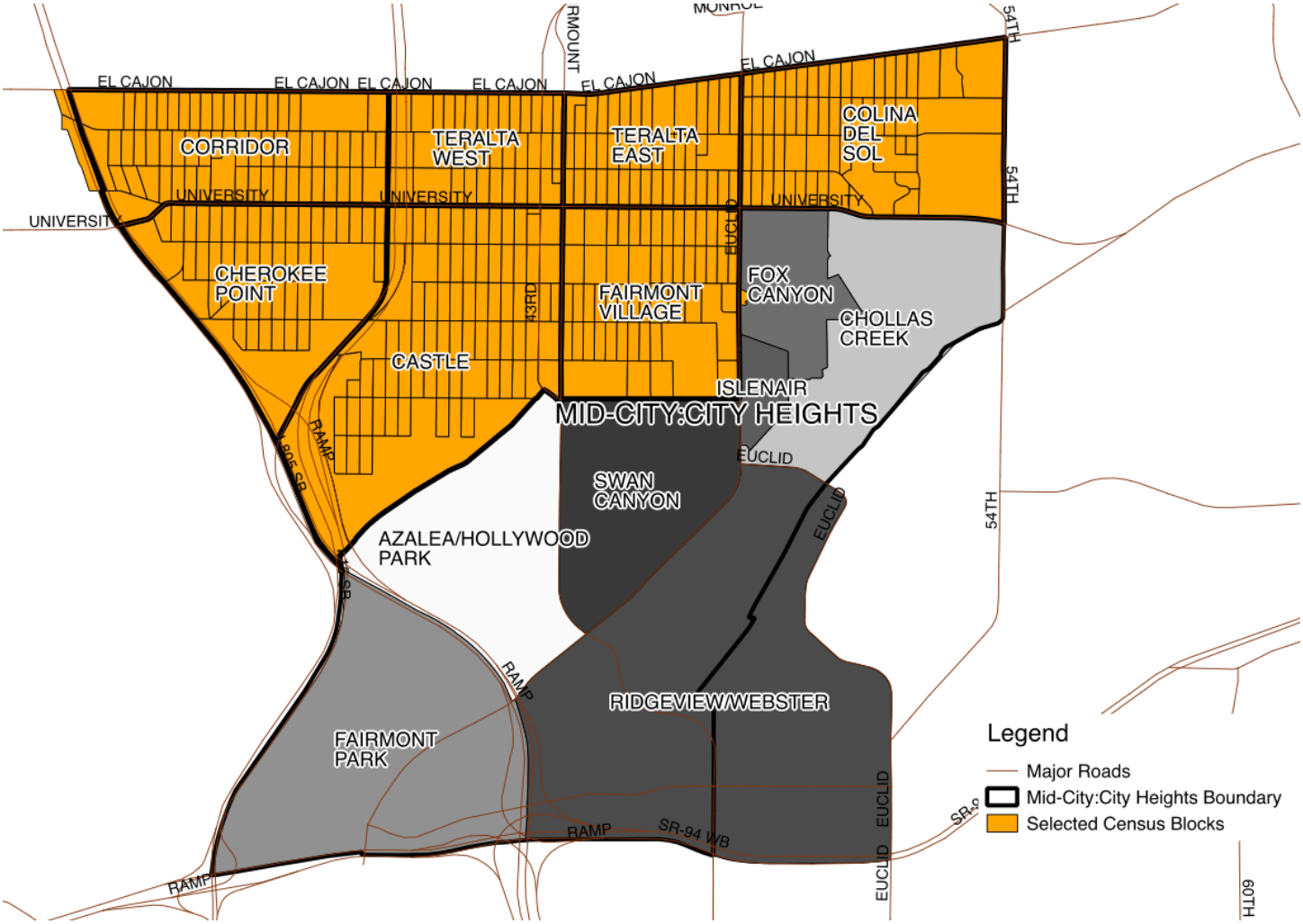


Table 4. Crime Rates, per 10,000 people

Crime	CASTLE	CHEROKEE POINT	COLINA DE SOL	CORRIDOR	FAIRMOUNT VILLAGE	TERALTA EAST	TERALTA WEST	CITY OF SAN DIEGO	SAN DIEGO COUNTY
Murder	0.0	5.7	2.9	5.2	11.4	3.3	0.0	1.4	1.3
Rape	6.7	12.8	23.1	20.9	22.7	6.7	17.2	11.9	11.2
Armed Robbery	30.3	21.4	46.2	87.2	50.0	43.4	97.6	21.3	21.0
Strong Arm Robbery	56.4	40.0	107.8	176.1	156.7	106.7	198.2	39.9	33.5
Aggravated Assault	161.5	151.3	333.9	460.2	422.5	203.4	390.6	137.2	124.5
Total Violent Crime	254.9	231.3	513.8	749.5	663.3	363.5	703.6	211.7	191.4
Residential Burglary	152.3	204.2	207.8	258.0	243.1	100.1	298.7	159.8	146.5
Non-Residential Burglary	17.7	31.4	46.2	97.6	63.6	35.6	91.9	79.5	83.2
Total Burglary	169.9	235.6	254.0	355.6	306.7	135.6	390.6	239.3	226.5
Theft >=$400	94.2	142.8	135.7	252.7	272.6	111.2	275.7	310.3	263.7
Theft < $400	196.0	218.4	271.3	437.5	608.8	220.1	453.8	397.9	403.1
Total Thefts	290.3	361.2	407.0	690.3	881.4	331.3	729.5	708.2	666.9
Motor Vehicle Theft	255.8	346.9	305.0	740.8	390.7	266.8	686.4	252.3	198.3
Total Property Crime	716.0	943.7	966.0	1786.6	1578.8	733.7	1806.4	1199.8	1091.7
Crime Index	**970.9**	**1175.0**	**1479.8**	**2536.2**	**2242.2**	**1097.3**	**2510.1**	**1411.6**	**1283.1**