The evolution of Health & Place: Text mining papers published between 1995 and 2018

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Abstract
We examine trends in words/terms published in Health & Place between 1995 and 2018. Terms used have diversified over this period, including a decline in ‘health’ overall, as well as greater usage of ‘diet’, ‘alcohol’ and ‘depression’. There was a noticeable increase in using ‘neighbourhood’ to describe context. Topic modelling reveals that papers are increasingly concerned with specific aspects of place (e.g. the built environment). Our findings emphasise that Health & Place has matured into the leading outlet for examining the geographical dimensions of health with important and enduring insights that continue to inform research and policy.

Keywords
Text; text mining; health; health geography.

1.0 Introduction

To mark the 25th anniversary of Health & Place, we examine trends in the types of work published in Health & Place between 1995 and 2018. Our paper complements the accompanying bibliometric analysis also celebrating the milestone (Moon and Pearce, 2020). Through undertaking a text mining approach to assess how terms and themes within articles have changed over time, rather than the citations or author origins of papers as Moon and Pearce focus on, we provide a fine grained analysis of the evolution of the content published in Health & Place.

Over the past quarter of a century, articles appearing in the pages of Health & Place have been at the forefront of revealing the ways in which places matter for health (Moon, 2008). Health & Place originally emerged at a time of flux across the social sciences and sought to consolidate synergies with researchers interested in health-place connections in cognate disciplines including Geography, Sociology, Public Health, Social Policy and others (Moon, 1995). The interdisciplinary outlook of the journal, aligned to sub-disciplinary developments (e.g. Kearns, 1993; Moon, 1995; Kearns and Moon, 2002), and papers appearing in Health & Place have developed rapidly in three interrelated ways.

First, authors of the journal’s papers have adopted a broader range of theoretical standpoints, which has resulted in greater conceptual plurality in the published research. These changes reflect in part the evolution in the social sciences from a medicalised focus on disease and healthcare to a theory-led and enriched analyses of the interactions between health and place (Kearns and Moon, 2002). This theoretical expansion has helped to facilitate the adoption and
development of a greater diversity of methods used in answering key questions about the role of place on health.

Second, the past 25 years have also seen a wider set of disciplines pursue an interest in the connections between health and place. Scholars in fields including Epidemiology have provided new insights into these questions adding to the theoretical richness, deepening the methodological toolbox and enhancing analytical rigour.

Finally, and as this paper examines comprehensively, there has been a broadening of the thematic focus of the published research from a traditional focus on environmental determinants of disease and the role of health service provision, to a wider set of concerns covering many of the largest public health challenges including non-communicable disease prevention, mental health and health inequities (Richardson et al., 2013). Further, researchers are increasingly grappling with a wider range of places including neighbourhoods and broader activity spaces, primary and secondary healthcare settings, schools, prisons and other contexts important in shaping people’s health-related experiences.

To understand these changes over time, we turn to methods born out of the big data revolution. While much of the interest in big data have focused on the size of datasets, new forms of data types offer exciting opportunities for studying the (geographical) determinants of health (Green et al., 2018). Traditionally, quantitative data (e.g. surveys, administrative databases, Censuses) are often numerical and structured in design to help facilitate statistical analyses (Connelly et al., 2016; Timmins et al., 2018). The growing capabilities of computers, alongside newly developed algorithms, have repurposed unstructured data formats allowing their integration into quantitative analyses.

Historically, humans have stored information in the form of text through books, journals and written records. There is increasing realisation that these vast quantities of textual records might be mined to process the information and generate new insights. Examples of text mining within health-related research include: automatic coding of discharge summaries (Kukafka et al., 2006); mining electronic health records to identify the clustering of comorbidities and how they relate to treatment procedures (Metsker et al., 2017); classifying disease phenotyping for diseases from medical records (Ning et al., 2019); developing predictive algorithms for cancer based on pathology and radiology reports (Spasić et al., 2014). Many of these applications are in biomedical fields and are rarely used in by researchers interested in the connections between health and place. We are only aware of Porter, Atkinson and Gregory (2015) who examine spatial patterns in themes reported in Registrar-General reports for Great Britain between 1850 and 1911.

Text mining approaches have also been used to process research published in journals to understand how fields have evolved. Examples include: identifying how the usage of terms changed in old medical periodicals (Ferry, 2015); exploring the evolution of research relating to topics (Balan, Gerits and Vanduffel, 2014); finding terms relating to subfields of research (Westergaard et al., 2018). Such approaches can supplement traditional literature reviews through generating data driven insights that are less intensive, faster, reproducible, output quantifiable information, and can scale with the increasing quantities of complex text data.
2.0 Methodology

2.1 Data
All papers related to research published in Health & Place between 1995 and 2018 (volumes 1 to 54) were electronically downloaded from the journal’s website. We include all article types comprising research articles, short reports, opinion pieces and commentaries, editorials, book reviews and review articles. We excluded editorial board pages, referee lists, volume contents, keyword and author indexes. Articles were downloaded as PDFs since this was the only consistent file type available across all years.

PDF files for each year were joined into a single year file and then converted to text format using Adobe Reader Pro. Conversion from PDF to text format can be messy (Westergaard et al., 2018) and required manually editing files to remove non-alphanumeric characters that were not present in papers (using search and find functions in Adobe Reader Pro). All headers were removed to avoid repeating ‘Health & Place’ throughout. For the topic modelling analyses, we read the PDF directly into R statistical software and converted individual files to text format.

Text files were converted to a corpus which is a database for text information that allowed the text data to be processed into numerical information (Silge and Robinson, 2017). Data cleaning of the corpus included removing all special characters (i.e. anything that is not an alphanumeric symbol or space), converted all terms to lower case (otherwise terms with capital letters would be considered as different to their lower case spelling), removed ‘stop’ words (e.g. the, of, in etc which add little value to understanding the language of research), removed all numbers, removed all whitespace left and finally converted all words to their root (e.g. remove ‘ing’, ‘s’, ‘ed’ etc). The corpus allowed the creation of a document-term matrix identifying how common terms were across each year.

2.2 Statistical Analysis
Natural language processing and machine learning offer the potential for processing vast quantities of electronic text information (Silge and Robinson, 2017). We use a combination of descriptive and formal techniques to evaluate trends in terms throughout the journal’s publication history. Term frequency is explored over time using summary statistics and we focus on several case studies that highlight key features of debate during this period (selected by author’s expert opinion). We consider terms independently, as well as common combinations of terms as well. Sentiment analysis is undertaken through classifying non-neutral words as ‘positive’ or ‘negative’ (using the bing lexicon) to understand the emotion of terms used throughout the journal (Liu, 2012). Finally, a Latent Dirichlet Allocation model was used to classify papers through identifying a latent structure of unstructured terms within papers (Blei, Ng and Jordan, 2003).

3.0 Results
Table A1 (Appendix) presents summary statistics for the papers selected within our sample. Between 1995 and 2018, the journal published a total of 19 312 870 words from 804 372 sentences and 1928 articles. The general trend demonstrates a clear increase in the number of words published from 1995 to 2012, before declining thereafter. At its height in 2012, the journal published ~9 times as many words (1 691 656) and ~8 times as many papers (171) annually than when it was first established in 1995 (192 913 and 22 respectively).
3.1 Health outcomes

We first consider trends in the most common term ‘health’. Figure 1A presents the term frequency for ‘health’ which is the proportion of occurrences of a term across the entire set of documents. The use of the term ‘health’ displayed a small increase in frequency initially between 1995 and 2003, however has become less popular over time especially since 2012. While this may appear counterintuitive for the journal, it can be explained by the evolution of the field. Earlier papers published focused on identifying whether geographical context mattered for understanding health. Many papers examined this through focusing on general outcomes such as self-rated health status. With the association between health and place established, research changed focus towards understanding how geography mattered, in addition to examining a greater diversity of topics and more specific outcomes (Richardson et al., 2013). For instance, terms such as ‘wellbeing’ have become more popular in occurrence since 2010 (term frequency increased from 0.0004 to 0.0013 between 2010 and 2018). This is arguably a natural progression once the framework of place as a means to understand health been established.

![Smoothed term frequency trends in Health & Place, 1995-2018 for A: Health, B: Health Outcomes, C: Risk Factors, D: Policy.](image)

We next examined trends in specific health outcomes. We selected seven outcomes that represented the largest contributions to several metrics from the Global Burden of Disease study including mortality rates, years of life lost and disability adjusted life years globally (GBD, 2017). Trends in occurrences of these conditions is presented in Figure 1B.
The ordering of term frequency does not necessarily match the prevalence of these diseases reflecting the diversity of interests published in the journal. Suicide was the most common of these terms at the inception of the journal, but has declined sharply since and is the least popular of the terms by the end of the period. Cancer quickly becomes the most common issue and remains as such for most of the period peaking in 2003, before declining sharply thereafter. HIV/AIDS sees an increasing popularity in usage during the 2000s before declining rapidly from 2010. By the end of the period, depression is the most common outcomes (whereas it had started the period as a relatively uncommon term), reflecting the growing interests in mental health research over the period. Finally, dementia-related conditions have shown growing interest since 2011 suggesting a future important issue in the journal. This interest is likely to continue with the growing prevalence of such diseases in ageing populations.

Trends in terms relating to risk factors and exposures were examined (Figure 1C). We selected the seven risk factors that had the largest influence on ill health and disability (GBD, 2018). Diet (and related terms i.e. food and nutrition) was the most common term for the majority of the period having overtaken smoking-related terms in 2005. The usage of diet-related terms is far higher than the other terms we considered, although since 2013 they have declined in occurrence (a similar trend is observed for obesity which is likely related). Smoking was most important prior to 2005 and remains a common term with a curvilinear trend post 2005. Interestingly, e-cigarettes (not covered here) is first mentioned in 2014 however by 2018 is just as common as obesity, which suggests an emerging area for the journal. Alcohol also becomes an increasingly more prevalent term over the period as well.

Finally, we focused on terms relating to policy and applications of research (Figure 1D). Both ‘policy’ and ‘prevention’ have declined in usage over the period, contrasting to an upward trend in use of ‘intervention’. ‘Intervention’ was not a common term at the start of the journal and is likely a phrase that has gained in popularity due to the growing diversity of fields (particularly epidemiology and medical sciences) publishing in the journal that have introduced the term to the readership, as well as changes in the funding landscape which have encouraged evaluative work. The evolution towards intervention-led research may also reflect maturing of the field through identifying specific geographical phenomenon that can be altered to improve health. This is likely a natural progression of research following the establishment of how and why geographical context matters.

3.2 Describing geographical context

Figure 2 focuses on trends in terms that correspond to how geographical context is described in papers in the journal. It reveals nuanced insights in how the language of Health & Place has evolved over time. ‘Neighbourhood’ was a fairly rare term used in the early years of the journal, however it has increased in popularity over time and is now the most common of the terms considered. The increasing popularity coincides with the development of the subfield of neighbourhood effects. Terms that have become less popular include ‘area’, ‘community’ and ‘geography’ (all popular at the beginning of the journal). It may be that ‘area’ and ‘geography’ are more general phrases than compared to ‘neighbourhood’ hence their respective trends. This explanation does not apply to ‘community’, which may reflect a shift of interests away from studying the topic or a substitution of terms. The decline in ‘geography’ may also represent the growing diversity of fields publishing in Health & Place.
3.4 Methods

We next compare trends in specific methodological approaches. There is no systematic list to define what are the most popular amongst studies concerned with geographical aspect of health. We selected eight methods that give a good range of qualitative and quantitative approaches, as well as approaches that we anticipate will be increasingly adopted amongst researchers in the field (Figure 3).

Interviews were the most common of the terms we considered and have seen rising prevalence in occurrence over the period. The only other method which also saw a large increase in usage over the period was regression. Both GIS and multi-level models saw growth and decline over the period, albeit peaking in 2006 and 2010 respectively. The other methods were less common over the period, but all saw rising trends since 2012 and may represent some future directions in the field. This included agent based models which gained popularity at the beginning of the period as well.
Using the 1928 papers from 1995-2018, we sought to classify papers based on the terms within each to generate a classification of topics published in the journal. A Latent Dirichlet Allocation model was used to classify papers based on the presence of terms used within them (Blei, Ng and Jordan, 2003). The number of clusters was identified through comparing model fit statistics, as well as a subjective judgement based on the interpretation of the results. We aimed to identify the parsimonious solution which preserves the diversity in article types, while also seeking to minimise the complexity of having a large number of clusters. A nine cluster solution was selected as the most appropriate. Figure A2 (Appendix) plots the probabilities (beta values) for the top 15 most common terms in each cluster. Descriptions of each clusters (including their estimated prevalence) are provided in Table 1. We have contextualised their interpretation through including the paper with the highest associated gamma value reflecting the paper which is the best match for the cluster (all values were at least 99.99% match).
|   | The cluster was only one of two clusters where ‘health’ was not the most popular term. ‘Care’ was the most popular term, with other common terms reflecting health services research (‘hospital’, ‘services’, ‘patients’, ‘medical’, ‘access’). Studies often explored barriers to care services utilisation, including accessibility. | Kämpers et al., 2006: The study compared dementia policies and approaches for integrated care between four areas in England and the Netherlands. | 10.7% |
|---|---|---|
| 3 | The cluster was similar to the fifth cluster through focusing on terms relating to the built environment (‘environment’, ‘built’, ‘physical’, ‘activity’), however differed by focusing more on studying the built environment rather than necessarily its association to specific health outcomes. | Cusack et al., 2017: A study on how neighbourhood green space was associated to birth weight was the strongest match to the cluster. | 11.2% |
| 4 | The most popular terms for the cluster reflected spatial analyses of health outcomes (particularly ‘cancer’, ‘mortality’ and ‘HIV’). Many studies were ecological and involved clustering based methods. | Jongsthapongpanth and Bagchi-Sen, 2010: An analysis of the spatial clustering of AIDS in Thailand. | 9.0% |
| 5 | ‘Health’ was not the most popular term, but was superseded by ‘food’, ‘activity’ and ‘physical’. Terms reflected built environment research, often focusing on understanding their associations to obesity or physical activity. | Audrey and Batista-Ferrer, 2015: A systematic review of interventions designed focused on improving the built environment to improve health in children and adolescents (particularly obesity, active travel and road safety). | 14.3% |
| 6 | The beta values for the topic were the largest suggesting the cluster was well defined in the model. ‘Social’ is very high and almost as strong as ‘health’. The other terms suggested social capital (‘social’ and ‘capital’ were both important, which was reflected from exploring the papers included in the cluster), as well as descriptors of geographical context | Elgar et al., 2011: An exploration of the association between social capital to health and life satisfaction across 50 countries. | 11.4% |
The most popular terms that defined the cluster were similar to cluster 6, but were subtly different in focus. The interest in studying geographical context was key ('place', 'community', 'home'). However, papers were more focused on exploring qualitative understandings of place (and how we engage with them).

Coleman and Kearns, 2015: The study used photo-elicitation interviews to explore the role of bluespace in ageing and wellbeing.

Betav values were fairly low for the cluster suggesting that it was less distinct overall. The most common terms were somewhat general, though included phrases conceptualising context ('place', 'public', 'local'), as well as 'policy'. Papers were mixed and likely reflected those that did not fit the other clusters well (given the diversity of the journal).

Dooris, 2013: They used interviews with policy makers and experts to examine how health promotion messages are designed.

The topics covered in the papers classified in the final cluster reflected approaches to quantitatively model ('data', 'model') social factors ('social', 'education', 'school') on child health and health-related behaviours ('smoking', 'tobacco').

Fotso and Kuate-Defo, 2005: The study used multi-level modelling to identify the role of community and family socioeconomic status on child health.

**Table 1: Summary of clusters identified from classifying papers published in Health & Place, 1995-2018**

We also repeated the analysis by comparing the first (1995-1999; n = 125) and last (2014-2018; n = 665) five years of the journal to identify how the types of papers have changed. For both models, a six cluster solution was selected as most appropriate. Descriptions of the clusters for the period 1995-1999 are given in Table 2 (also see Figure A3 in the Appendix). Table 3 (also see Figure A4 in the Appendix) presents the results for 2014-2018.

Comparing the results between 1995-1999 and 2014-2018, the topics of papers have evolved reflecting the maturing of the field. Between 1995 and 1999, the field was focusing on understanding if geographic context was important for understanding health. When these associations became more established and consistent, papers began to move towards exploring specific aspects and mechanisms of place (and concepts of health). This was helped both by the research set up earlier in the journals formation, as well as the availability of
newer more detailed data sets. This can be seen in the cluster characteristics that are far more specific in the later period. The term ‘care’ was also common in all clusters between 1995 and 1999, whereas was less important in 2014-2018. It is also noticeable how the papers provided as examples of the clusters are all bar one single author in 1995-1999, a contrast to more recent papers which reflect greater collaboration and research teams.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cluster</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Prevalence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Studies focusing on HIV/AIDS (‘hivaid’, ‘aids’) were common in the cluster and reflected the focus of many papers. Other common terms included health services (‘pharmacy’), context and interconnections between people (‘community’, ‘network’). These were typically explored in relation to HIV/AIDS to understand experiences of the disease and opportunities to accommodate them.</td>
<td>Wilton, 1996: The qualitative study explored experiences of men living with HIV/AIDS on everyday life in Los Angeles.</td>
<td>12.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>The terms in the cluster were mixed and wide-ranging, suggesting it contains papers that were not classified elsewhere. In the formative years of the journal this may not be surprising as it will have attracted a diverse range of topics while subfields begin to develop.</td>
<td>Congdon, 1997: A Bayesian spatial analysis exploring the social drivers of small area suicide rates in London.</td>
<td>16.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>The terms ‘community’ and ‘place’ reflected that papers in the cluster examined how conceptualisations of place and space with respect to health (with other terms being their focus of these discussions). They were important early papers in establishing what place-based research was.</td>
<td>Madge, 1998: An analysis of therapeutic landscapes in The Gambia to understand the role of place and cultural context in shaping health care practices</td>
<td>16.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>The term ‘mental’ was common in papers in the cluster. The cluster is largely picking up the special issue ‘Space, Place and the Asylum’ in 1997 (as well as related papers preceding and following it).</td>
<td>Philo, 1997: Philo argues for research into ‘asylum geographies’ through reviewing the literature on the role of mental health facilities</td>
<td>16.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Papers utilising small area health statistics to explore their spatial patterns. These included analyses of the demographic and socioeconomic correlates to health patterns. Congdon, 1999: The study analyses small area data on socioeconomic status to understand health care utilisation patterns in London.  

The terms in the final cluster represent health services research (including the topics they have investigated). They include access, utilisation and the experiences of services. Lewis and Rapaport, 1995: An examination of health services pressures in Pacific Island contexts particularly with respect to alcohol, HIV/AIDS and environmental issues.

Table 2: Summary of clusters identified from classifying papers published in Health & Place, 1995-1999

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cluster</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Prevalence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>The cluster is defined by popular terms including ‘mental’, context (‘neighbourhood’, ‘place’) and quantitative study terms (‘data’, ‘model’). ‘Social’ and ‘capital’ are also frequent and investigations into the role of social capital is a common topic among papers.</td>
<td>Cheung, 2014: The study examined the role of social ties in promoting wellbeing adolescent migrants in China</td>
<td>15.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>The cluster is themed around the built environment mainly focusing on associations to alcohol and smoking (separating it out from clusters five and six).</td>
<td>Decker et al., 2018: The study is a systematic review of neighbourhood characteristics that were associated with adolescent health and health-related behaviours.</td>
<td>17.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>The cluster was mostly concerned with health services and community care research. There was a wide breadth of topics investigated with these themes, particularly how care is experienced as well as links to space and place</td>
<td>Coleman and Kearns, 2015 (see Table 1)</td>
<td>25.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Accessibility to health services and small area statistics were the most common themes present in the papers classified in the cluster. Many studies were ecological analyses.</td>
<td>El Anshasy and Katsaiti, 2015: The paper used panel data to model how natural resource expenditure was associated to health care spending and health outcomes.</td>
<td>14.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>The terms which were popular in the cluster referred to</td>
<td>Audrey and Batista-Ferrer, 2015 (see Table 1)</td>
<td>13.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The only cluster where the term ‘health’ is not the most popular term. Instead, ‘food’ is more common and this is reflected in the other terms which relate to foodscape and obesogenic environments

Lytle and Sokol, 2017: It was a systematic review of how the food environment was measured.

15.0%

Table 3: Summary of clusters identified from classifying papers published in Health & Place, 2014-2018

4.0 Discussion

In this paper, we have considered the evolution of research within Health & Place between 1995 and 2018. We find growing numbers of papers and words published over time with the expansion of research covered in the journal. The growth of research reflects a greater diversity of topics published including a decline in the use of the term ‘health’. Health outcomes of focus have changed, with less interest in cancer and growing research focusing on diet and mental health. There have been subtle changes in the language used throughout, particularly a decline in the use of ‘geography’ in favour of ‘neighbourhood’. We define 10 ‘types’ of papers that characterise the research published in the journal and stratifying the analyses over time reveals articles types are becoming more focused on specific aspects of neighbourhood effects.

The growing diversity of research published in Health & Place demonstrates the maturing of the interdisciplinary fields (and sub-disciplines) represented in general. Initial discussions and research were tentative in the formative years of the journal, representing the early development of the field. Following early calls prioritising ‘place’ in health-related research (Kearns, 1993), many papers began to define what exactly place-based research might look like (Kearns and Moon, 2002), before exploring whether geographical context mattered overall. With growing confidence that place mattered, studies have evolved to drill down into specific features of geographical context that may influence health. This was evident in the changes over time of the topic modelling analysis with studies examining the role of the built and food environment becoming prominent in the most recent years compared to the formative years of the journal.

Interesting insights are revealed about subtle changes to language regards geographical context. The term ‘neighbourhood’ has come to the forefront in the journal despite being rarely used at the journals conception. The growth in the term seems to have appeared at the expense of terms such as ‘geography’, ‘area’, ‘community’ and ‘place’ which have all declined over time. These trends have coincided with increasing interest in identifying neighbourhood effects on health (Oakes et al., 2015). The use of terminology might be explained through moving away from vague terms towards more specific mechanisms. The decline in the term ‘community’ is an exception to this understanding. A wide variety of research has investigated the importance of communities for health (Arcaya et al., 2018). Our work suggests the need for greater investigation therefore into the reasons behind this decline.
and potential a renewed focus onto community systems amongst studies on the relations between health and place.

Our study is one of the few applications of text mining and natural language processing in geographical work on health concerns and serves to demonstrate the potential of such approaches. The growing diversity of new forms data combined with advances in analytical algorithms (Green et al., 2018; Timmins et al., 2018), opens up new opportunities to understand the geographical determinants of health. Text mining may also help to supplement qualitative approaches towards reviewing the literature through providing quantifiable data, as well as the ability to process larger quantities of information.

There are several limitations to our study. We only consider papers published in Health & Place and therefore we cannot claim wider generalisability to the field of Health Geography given that academics publish in a broader range of journals. While Health & Place has a defining role in the evolution of this research area, it is only one lens through which we view broader trends in the field. Future research should look to strengthen this investigation to improve our understanding of the field. Text data is messy and the conversion of PDF to text files was limited when trying to convert tables and figures from papers that were difficult to clean (Westergaard et al., 2018). We were unable to extract information from all tables and examine how trends have varied in the results presented in papers. Analysis of papers does not consider the quality of papers or relate trends to outcomes (e.g. citations) that might help to contextualise and prioritise the papers. Finally, our study only considers the words as independent terms and ignores the wider context of language that they were situated within (e.g. terms being used sarcastically).

In conclusion, our study demonstrates the evolution of Health & Place into a platform for diverse and internationally leading research into the geographical determinants of health. We fully expect the field to remain dynamic and continue to reinvent investigations between health and place. The 25 years of research published in the journal marks an exciting maturing of the field and we look forward to discovering where the next 25 years might lead.

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