Measuring Perceptions of Social Environments for Walking: A Systematic Review of Walkability Surveys

Nicole Iroz-Elardo, PhD¹*; Arlie Adkins, PhD¹; Maia Ingram, MPH¹ 2020 Transportation Review Board Washington DC – January 14th, 2020

1 University of Arizona; * irozelardo@email.arizona.edu



















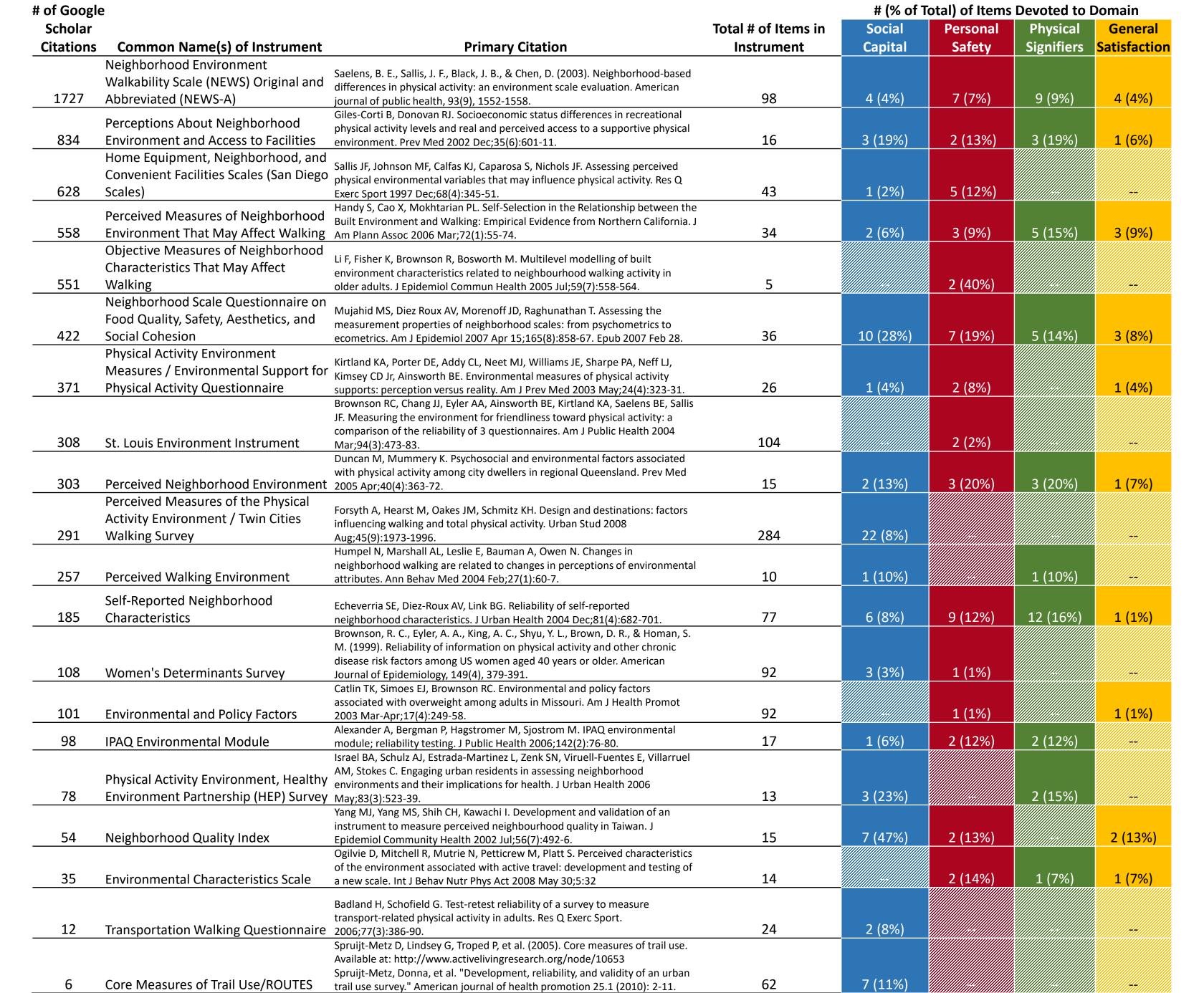
Does The Social Environment Matter?

Over two decades of walkability research has led to an abundance of tools to measure and evaluate environments that promote physical activity. Yet disparities in physical activity and health persist, particularly for low-income communities and communities of color. If we hope to understand and support vulnerable communities, we need methods and measures that capture the unique social and cultural barriers and facilitators of walking.

Researchers have long known that the social context – including safety, physical signifiers, and social capital – likely influences when and where individuals walk. However many walkability instruments have overlooked the social elements that are harder for a trained observer to immediately recognize. Instead, most instruments favor "objective" data describing the physical environment or physical symbols of the social environment. Survey instruments are more likely to contain social questions, usually in sections that ask about how a resident perceives their neighborhood environment. Yet these surveys also vary widely in their approach to the social context.

This project seeks to systematically document social environment questions in instruments to better understand strengths and weaknesses of walkability measures from the social perspective.

Table 1: 20 Instruments that Contain Social Environment Items

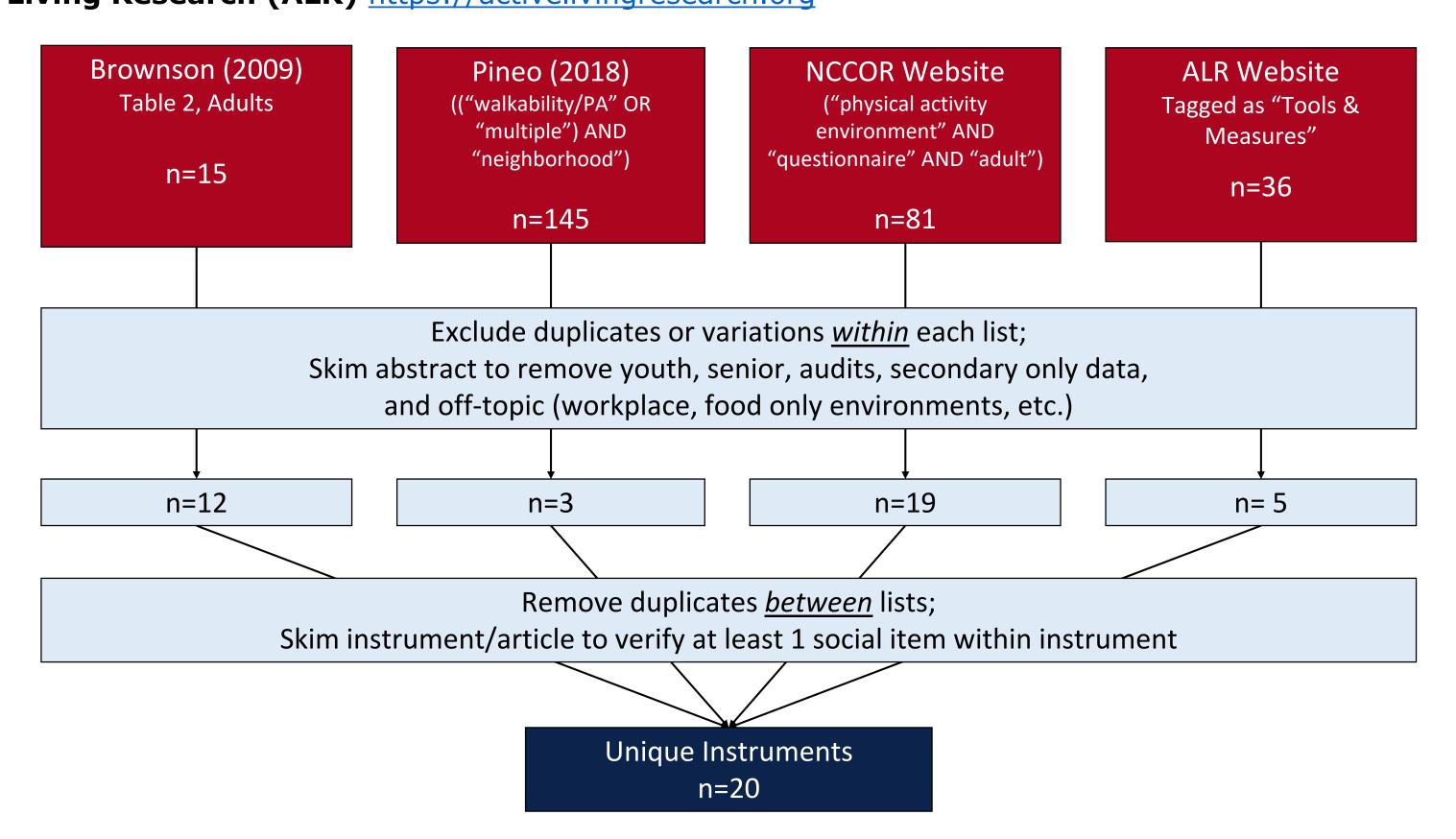


Method to Identify Instruments and Items

Step 1: Identify Source Lists (n=277 Potential Instruments)
Searching both the literature and the internet for walkability measures and tools resulted in the following source lists of

- potential survey instruments:
 Table 2 of Brownson et al (2009). Measuring the built environment for physical activity: state of the science. Am J
- Appendix in **Pineo et al (2018)**. *Urban Health Indicator Tools of the Physical Environment: a Systematic Review.* J Urb Health. 1-34.
- National Collaboration of Childhood Obesity Research (NCCOR) Measures Registry https://tools.nccor.org/measures
- Active Living Research (ALR) https://activelivingresearch.org

Prev Med. 36(4): S99-S123.



Step 2: Skim Abstracts and Papers for Inclusion (n=20 Unique Instruments)

We looked for resident surveys about the perceived neighborhood environment with a research connect to physical activity. **Exclusion** criteria included:

- Instruments that were clearly aimed at youth or seniors
- Audit instruments, secondary data tools, or GIS methods that did NOT contain a survey of residents
- Instruments that focused on scales larger than the neighborhood
- Instruments that asked only about the workplace or food environment

Duplicates within and between source lists were also removed. For example, NCCOR listed 9 different Neighborhood Environment Walkability Scale (NEWS) instruments; these were collapsed into a single "instrument". Each source list also contained at least 1 NEWS derived instrument; these too were collapsed. After inclusion and exclusion criteria were applied and all of the duplicates were accounted for, 20 unique instruments remained.

Step 3: Skim Papers/Instruments and Abstract Social Environment Items (n=184 items)

Using the citation and original instrument, each survey was skimmed for social environmental items for walking. (Biking specific items were ignored.) The item and its response type (i.e. 5-pt Likert) were placed in an excel spreadsheet.

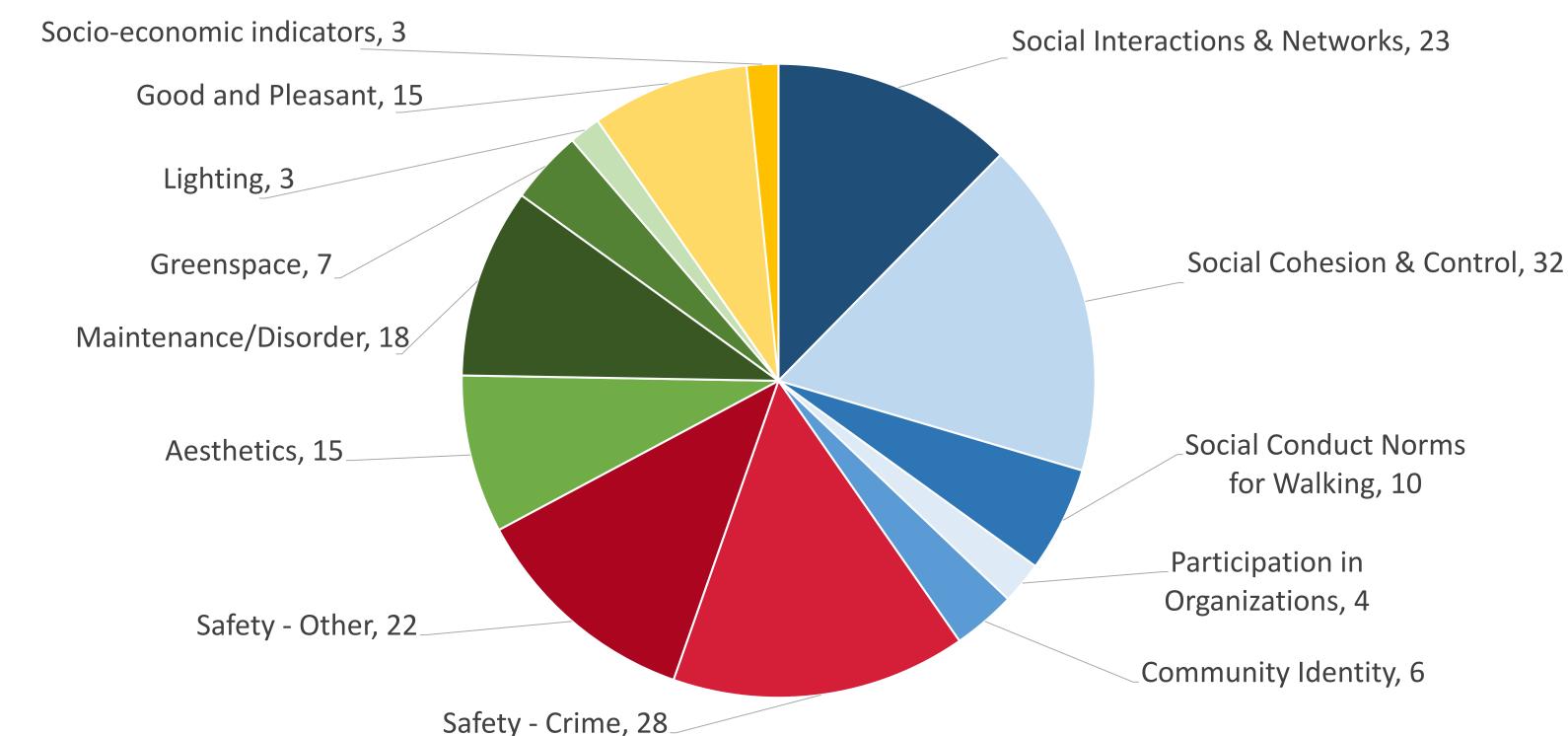
Step 4: Categorize Items by Social Domain

The three authors then categorized each item by social theme until the following stable domains emerged:

- Social Capital, further subdivided using Sampson (2009) into interaction/networks; cohesion/control; conduct norms
 for walking; and organizational capacity. We also added a community identity category.
- Personal Safety, further subdivided into crime-specific safety including lighting and non-traffic, non-crime "general" safety;
- Physical Signifiers with separate subcategories for aesthetics and upkeep/maintenance/disorder;
- General Satisfaction for items that discussed a neighborhood being pleasant, good, or nice.

Findings & Challenges

We identified over 180 items addressing social environment elements across the 20 instruments. None were published after 2010. It is unusual for ALL 3 major domains (Social Capital, Personal Safety, and Physical Signifiers) to be included in a single instrument, making the pooled summary below somewhat misleading. Table 1 shows that only 6 of the instruments (Saelens 2003; Giles-Corti 2002; Mujahid 2007; Duncan 2005; Echeverria 2004; Alexander 2006) included an item in all three of the major domains. While this finding may be due to study or instrument purpose, it also may also reflect lingering silos of disciplines.



There were 75 social capital items. Social capital items are most likely to capture social cohesion (32 items). Since a key part of walking is the pedestrian scale facilitating face-to-face interaction, the emphasis on social efficacy may need to be better balanced with interactions (23 items) and with conduct norms of walking (10 items) in the neighborhood. Four instruments had no social capital items. Only three instruments had more than 20% of items covering social capital (Mujahid 2007; Israel 2006; Yang 2002). Forsyth 2008, as a very long survey, only devotes 8% to social capital but includes 22 items across multiple dimensions. Community identity and a sense of belonging is a significant social capital element that likely contribute to perceived support for walking; yet only 6 items across 3 instruments address community identity. For example, a non-native English speaker likely walks more in a neighborhood where signage is bilingual and shops carry culturally specific goods. LBGTQ individuals similarly may feel more comfortable in a place where there are visible signifiers they are welcome. A third generation family may feel a strong sense of connection to the shopping corridor of their neighborhood.

Fifty questions across 15 instruments asked about safety. Most instruments had 2-3 questions with thirteen instruments including at least one crime-specific item. Twelve asked about non-traffic, non-crime safety, often using general "I feel safe walking" language. Developing non-crime social safety questions may align better with context-specific conduct norms and thus improve our understanding of the walking environments in traditionally marginalized neighborhoods.

Balancing aesthetics with maintenance may help reduce class bias in the instruments. A low-income community may be more utilitarian (i.e. not have a lot of "interesting" or "pretty" houses) and thus less aesthetically pleasing; upkeep and maintenance of both private and public space may be a more appropriate signifier of an enjoyable walking environment in low-income neighborhoods. See Echeverria 2004 for many upkeep items balanced by aesthetic items. However, care needs to be taken not to further stigmatize neighborhoods.

General satisfaction questions are difficult to interpret and may not be as relevant to practitioners. Eighteen items in ten instruments were so broad as to make it difficult to categorize ("pleasant place to walk" or "neighborhood as a good place to live"). These types of questions are not particularly helpful in identifying what the underlying intervention would be.

The authors would like to acknowledge Hannah Oden, Monica Landgrave-Serrano, and Holly Barton for their assistance with this review.

We would also like to acknowledge that this project was funded by

- National Institute for Transportation and Communities (NITC; grant numbers 183 and 1087, 2017–2019), a U.S. DOT University Transportation Center
- Centers for Disease Control & Prevention as part of the Physical Activity Policy Research Network (PAPRN; grant number DP005002, 2014-2019)





