

Towards a multiple-scenario approach for walkability assessment: An empirical application in Shenzhen, China

Abstract

In this paper, we propose to use a relational lens to understand walkability by acknowledging that what constitutes a walkable environment may vary considerably between pedestrians who have different needs, capacities, and purposes. A multiple-scenario approach is developed for assessing walkability, which recognises that in valuation, major components in walkability assessment may not always compensate each other. The analysis accommodates the idea that some components may be so important to certain people or in particular situations that they act as hard and non-negotiable constraints on valuation. Other components, however, are negotiable and lower scores can be compensated by, and traded against, higher scores on others. The procedures for applying the multiple-scenario approach to a rapidly developing city in China are presented, using environmental audit and reliability tests with data collected from four neighbourhoods of Shenzhen. The proposed approach offers an innovative way to account for different situations of assessing walkability, and challenges the traditional assumption of walkability by creating multiple scenarios that cater for the specific needs and preferences of pedestrians.

Keywords: neighbourhood walkability; multiple-scenario approach; street-level; built environment; heterogeneity; Shenzhen

1 Introduction

The accumulating evidence on the benefits of walking for physical and psychological health has attracted much interest from policymakers seeking to create a more sustainable urban environment (City of Melbourne, 2014; Transport for London, 2018). In line with this trend, many studies have been devoted to using different methods to assess walkability¹, including geographic information systems, environmental audits, and questionnaire surveys (Cerin et al., 2011; Cole et al., 2015; Koohsari et al., 2016; Pikora et al., 2003). However, most of these studies have seen walkability as a universal quality and assumed that a single walkability index can be applied in many different locations, contexts and situations (Frank et al., 2010; Lefebvre-Ropars et al., 2017; Nickelson, Wang, Mitchell, Hendricks, & Paschal, 2013; Zuniga-Teran et al., 2019). Such practice implicitly assumes that all pedestrians perceive and respond to the walking environment in a similar way. Nonetheless, this mode of thinking overlooks the fact that the ideas of what constitutes a walkable environment can vary considerably between different groups of people who have their own specific needs, purposes and preferences.

Moreover, individuals' experiences of walkability may be mediated by the places in which they have lived in the past or currently reside, as previous and recent experiences can shape how pedestrians interpret specific features of the built environment and understand walkability (Chan et al., 2020). As a result, in this paper we argue that walkability needs to be understood in a more relational way, by considering how individuals with specific bodily capabilities and understandings interact with various features of the built environment and other objects in places (Andrews, Hall, Evans, & Colls, 2012; Duff, 2010). Rather than seeing walkability as a single quality that unifies the environmental features, we argue that walkability should be reconceptualised as a relational quality that emerges from the current and past interactions between pedestrians and the environments in which they dwell, walk and use different means of transport.

To operationalise this concept, we apply the principle of non-compensatory decision

¹ Acknowledging that walkability is a loosely defined but commonly used concept (Forsyth, 2015), in this study, we consider walkability as a multi-dimensional construct that measures how the built environment is constructed to support walking and active lifestyles. We limit our attention to studies that consider the role of built environment features in people's walking behaviour and experience only. Further discussion about typologies of other walkability assessment studies is available in Vale, Saraiva, & Pereira (2016).

rules to develop a set of walkability scenarios to assess walkability for different pedestrian groups or situations. This approach takes into account that for some pedestrians or in certain situations, certain environmental qualities must be present for a segment of a street or footpath to be considered walkable; its absence, or a low level of quality, cannot be compensated by the presence of other qualities. The five scenarios presented in this study can be regarded as a starting point to widen our understanding of walkability with a more flexible and relational perspective.

The literature on walkability assessment has been dominated by studies in the global North. Recently, studies from cities in less developed countries are growing but are still relatively scarce (Albers, Wright, & Olwoch, 2010; Habibian & Hosseinzadeh, 2018; Su et al., 2014; Sun, Webster, & Chiaradia, 2017). Given that the population density, urban structure and walking environment are hugely different between cities in the developed and developing countries (Alfonzo, Guo, Lin, & Day, 2014), studies that are focused specifically on understanding walkability in the developing world are essential. Although Shenzhen has been recognised as one of the most walkable cities in China (NRDC, 2014), it is also experiencing rapid urban expansion and growth in automobile ownership. The daily average number of walking trips made by Shenzhen citizen has been decreasing as indicated in the most recent travel characteristics survey (Shenzhen Urban Planning and Research Centre, 2017). In view of this situation, there is an urgent need to improve the understanding and assessment of walkability in this rapidly changing urban environment.

The aim of this paper is to present a multiple-scenario approach for walkability assessment and empirically apply this approach in selected neighbourhoods of Shenzhen. The approach allows us to reconceptualise walkability as a relational construct where the saliency of specific attributes may differ between population groups and/or according to the situation.

2 Literature Review

2.1 Walkability and relational thinking

The constant debates on the meaning of walkability in research, practice and public

discussions did not prevent the frequency of its application, and large number of studies to date have developed tools and/or indices to measure walkability. In a recent literature review, Vale et al. (2016) categorised 80 studies that measures active accessibility into four major types based on their methodological and computational similarities, namely: distance-based, gravity-based, topographical or infrastructure-based, and walkability and walk score-type measures. Within this vast literature of walkability assessment, here, we focus specifically on two complementary strands of studies that emphasise the quantification of the built environment features that are important to people's walking behaviour and experience. The first strand of studies can be found more commonly in transportation and urban planning studies. They tend to use GIS tools to analyse built environment characteristics and develop quantitative indices to assess walkability (Cole et al., 2015; Frank et al., 2010; Glazier et al., 2012; Leslie et al., 2005; Neckerman et al., 2009; Tsiompras & Photis, 2017). These studies have provided a novel and direct way to quantify the walkability of the built environment. Nonetheless, walkability in these studies was assessed at a larger geographical scale, such as census tracts (Frank et al., 2010; Owen et al., 2007) and other administrative spatial units (Cho & Rodríguez, 2015). As a result, the components used to construct these indices focus more on capturing the density and diversity of land uses, such as residential or population density, land use mix, intersection density, retail floor area ratio, distance to nearest subway stops/parks/retail areas, while less attention has been placed on quantifying the smaller scale streetscape features along the footpaths² (Cho, & Rodríguez, 2015; Cole et al., 2015; Glazier et al., 2012).

Giving that walking is a much slower activity and pedestrians have more direct interaction with the surrounding environment during their walking trips (Clifton, Smith, & Rodriguez, 2007), the other strand of studies has focused more on the micro-scale of street-level attributes and design features such as footpath width, pavement flatness, presence of trees and various amenities, etc. in representing walkability. These studies have developed numerous environmental audit tools in developed countries (Clifton et al., 2007; Day, Boarnet, Alfonzo, & Forsyth, 2006; Millstein et al., 2013; Pikora et al., 2003) and developing countries (Albers, Wright, & Olwoch, 2010; Aghaabbasi, 2018; Su

² In this study, the term "footpath" is used to represent all types of walkways used by pedestrians, including walkways along the sides of a road and pedestrian only paths. The term "footpath" is used interchangeably with similar terms, like "sidewalk" and "pavement".

et al., 2014; Taleai & Amiri, 2017); for walking routes with specific purposes (Sun, Webster, & Chiaradia, 2017; Troped et al., 2006); and in different settings, like rural areas (Fisher, Richardson, & Hosler, 2010; Scanlin, Haardoerfer, Kegler, & Glanz, 2014) and the workplace (Dannenberg, Cramer, & Gibson, 2005). In general, these audit tools have paid more attention to the objectively measurable physical features. Subjective features, such as comfort, attractiveness, smells and sound, which have been identified to have significant influence on walking experience in other studies, have largely been overlooked (Cook, Bose, & Main, 2014; Ferrer, Ruiz, & Mars, 2015). The major environmental audit tools reviewed are shown in Table 1 below.

[insert Table 1]

Despite the substantial number of studies conducted on walkability and considerable efforts to assess walkability, the “relational turn” in human geography and the social sciences offers a new perspective to explore the fluidity of places and spaces as well as our understanding of walkability (Ettema & Schwanen, 2012; Hui & Walker, 2018; Jones, 2009). Scholars have sought to bring attention to the relational capacities of human bodies, and their encounters and interactions with multiple environmental features, other bodies and objects in places (Andrews, Hall, Evans, & Colls, 2012; Duff, 2010; Schwanen, Banister, & Bowling, 2012). Following their lead, we propose to reconceptualise walkability in a more relational way in which due consideration is given to the specific needs, capacities and preferences of pedestrians as well as their current and past interactions with the environments in which they dwell, walk and travel (Chan et al., 2021). Taking the variability of pedestrians’ needs, capacities and preferences into consideration, the concept of walkability can move from a previous “absolute” view towards different “relational” conditions (Ingold & Vergunst, 2008; Jones, 2009; Stevenson & Farrell, 2018).

Recognising that walkability can be reconceptualised in a more relational way by considering the differentiated needs, capacities and preferences of pedestrians and their interactions with the environment, we also need to consider how such ideas can be incorporated into practical walkability assessment. This leads us to rethink the

assumptions about the extent to which different qualities can compensate for each other in existing walkability assessment studies.

2.2 Decision rules in walkability assessment

In measuring and calculating walkability, many studies have assumed a fully compensatory structure among the major qualities and attributes concerned in walkability assessment, implying that a low score on one dimension can be compensated by a high score on another. For instance, in the widely applied walkability index (Frank et al., 2010; Leslie et al., 2005), the additive rule is applied to sum the z-scores of all walkability qualities together. In other studies, researchers assign certain weightings to each walkability quality based on results from questionnaire surveys or factor analysis and summarise the scores of each quality (Blečić et al., 2015; Glazier et al., 2012; Tsiompras & Photis, 2017). However, the use of weightings only considers the relative importance of different walkability qualities. It does not fully account for the fact that certain factors have decisive and non-negotiable influence on walking behaviour, especially for specific population groups (e.g. older adults, women and people with disabilities) (Ferrer et al., 2015; Golan, Wilkinson, Henderson, & Weverka, 2019; Gullón et al., 2015). These factors could be regarded as hard conditions that have to be met for some pedestrians to be able and/or willing to walk on that street segment or in that environment. In this case, assuming a fully compensatory structure among the walkability qualities might oversimplify the complex situation and unable to reflect the true walkability for certain pedestrians.

As individuals make their daily decisions based on various decision rules and heuristics, we draw on insights from the behavioural sciences in order to better consider the relationships between various qualities of walkability in constructing a walkability index. Behavioural scientists have identified numerous decision strategies to further our understanding of the complexity of people's evaluation and decision-making processes. These decision rules include lexicographic rules (Tversky, 1969), elimination-by-aspects (EBA) (Tversky, 1972), and conjunctive / disjunctive rules (Einhorn, 1970). A key distinguishing factor among these decision rules is the extent to which trade-offs can be made between the attributes within the model. A rule is considered compensatory if the

decision maker can trade a low value on one dimension against a high value on another dimension; it is non-compensatory if deficiencies in one dimension cannot be compensated by surpluses in another dimension (Payne, 1976).

In view of these concerns, it is necessary to reconsider the reliance on compensatory mechanisms in existing walkability assessment studies and to include non-compensatory mechanisms to consider the irreplaceable nature of certain qualities in walkability assessment. In this case, we propose to use a combination of multiplicative and additive functions to create multiple scenarios of walkability indices for walkability assessment.

3 Methods

3.1 Research procedures

This section introduces the procedures for conducting the multiple-scenario and relational walkability assessment, which consists of four major parts, namely: tool development, data collection, data preparation, and scenario construction. Figure 1 shows the major steps involved in this approach.

[insert Figure 1]

The first stage was to identify the major qualities of walkability and select appropriate measurement items to be included in the environmental audit tool. This was done with the help of a combination of methods, including literature review, semi-structured interviews, and the researcher's own experience of the local environment. After the tool was developed, an environmental audit was conducted in randomly selected samples of footpaths within the selected neighbourhoods, to collect data on walkability. The next stage was data preparation. Inter-rater and intra-rater reliability tests were performed to ensure the quality of the measurement items included for further analysis. Through a series of aggregation and scoring procedures, the data was transformed into scores to represent specific qualities of walkability. The final stage was the walkability scenario construction, where various combinations of compensatory and non-compensatory decision rules were applied to create different walkability scenarios for assessment.

3.2 The case of Shenzhen

As one of China's largest metropolitan cities, Shenzhen is experiencing rapid urban transformation and sprawl. Urban development has created neighbourhoods with diverse and distinctive characteristics, for instance, with varied road and pedestrian network structures, different block sizes and land use mix. This distinctive neighbourhood environment may influence people's walking behavior. For instance, a recent report noted that residents living in the outer urban neighbourhoods in Shenzhen conduct more walking trips than those living in inner urban neighbourhoods (Shenzhen Urban Planning and Research Centre, 2017). In order to capture the variability of Shenzhen's neighbourhood environments and its associations with walkability, we purposefully selected four neighbourhoods for analysis, including Xinzhou (Inner urban - High accessibility, IH), Xinsha (Inner urban - Low accessibility, IL), Shangjing (Outer urban - High accessibility, OH) and Huilongpu (Outer urban - Low accessibility, OL), as shown in Figure 2.

[Insert Figure 2]

3.3 Development of environmental audit tool

This process has involved two steps: 1) identifying major walkability qualities and 2) selecting measurement items. Major walkability qualities were selected on the basis of a synthesis of existing literature. In total, six qualities were identified: Land use and destinations (LAND), Safety (SAFE), Aesthetics (AEST), Amenities (AMEN), Footpath design and condition (PATH), and Subjective assessment and experience (SUBJ). Next, three methods were used in combination to select the measurement items: First, a comprehensive review of the walkability assessment literature was performed to identify the measurement items used in previous studies. Second, semi-structured interviews were conducted with local residents in Shenzhen to understand their views on the built environment features that contribute to walkability. Third, the lead author conducted a three-month fieldwork in the selected neighbourhoods to familiarise himself with the local context and immerse himself into the local walking environment (Phillips & Johns, 2012). This fieldwork not only offered a valuable opportunity for the

lead author to observe, sense and experience the walking environment in the study areas, but also provided important place-sensitive insights about which measurement items should be selected and how they should be specified, but also.

The combination of semi-structured interviews and fieldwork resulted in the identification and inclusion of various previously not considered items such as the volume of sound, air quality, and presence of a police stand. In the end, the resulting environmental audit tool is comprised of 87 measurement items, as shown in Table 2 (A brief review of the measurement items used in existing studies is included in Appendix 1).

[insert Table 2]

3.4 Conducting the environmental audit

An environmental audit was conducted with the approach developed in the previous section and a stratified random sample of footpaths in each selected neighbourhood was examined. Four professional surveyors were recruited to conduct the environmental audit. All of the surveyors had to participate in both in-class and on-site training by the lead author before performing the audit. First, a two-hour in-class training addressed the aim of the audit, its procedures, and the standard of the assessment. Detailed descriptions and photos of the environmental features to be assessed were provided to allow the surveyors to identify and familiarise themselves with the environmental features of the local environment. After that, an on-site training was provided during which the surveyors conducted a pilot assessment. Their performances were monitored before the actual audit was conducted. The environmental audit tool is included in Appendix 2.

Footpaths in this study were defined as roads, streets or pedestrian paths bounded by two consecutive junctions or cross streets. Footpaths were categorised into three types: major footpaths (footpaths alongside major roads), minor footpaths (footpaths alongside non-major roads), and other passageways (other informal footpaths and small alleys). This study pays particular attention to assessing the walkability of informal

paths and alleys that have typically been excluded from consideration in most existing studies, because the lead author's fieldwork has demonstrated that these paths were often used by pedestrians. Major and minor footpaths were categorised using the road hierarchy published by Shenzhen Planning and Natural Resources Bureau, while other passageways were identified during the lead author's fieldwork. If the footpaths were longer than 200m, they were subdivided into separate segments to ensure consistency in segment length and allow for better comparison across footpaths. Although previous studies had shown that auditing 25% of randomly selected footpaths within a neighbourhood could provide sufficiently reliable estimation of walkability (McMillan, Cubbin, Parmenter, Medina, & Lee, 2010), we randomly selected 50% of major footpaths and 30% of minor footpaths and 30% of other passageways in each neighbourhood for our audit to err on the side of caution. In total, 406 footpath segments were assessed, including 132 segments of repeated measures for the reliability tests.

3.5 Data preparation

Scoring of data collected from environmental audit

Dichotomous items (no/yes) were scored as 0/1 to indicate the presence of certain attributes. Further, the scores of these items were summed up as a combined score for further aggregation. Measurement items with multiple categories were scored as 0, 1, 2 (or more) to capture frequency or magnitude of environmental features. Continuous items were categorised into separate groups based on relevant standards. For example, PM_{2.5} was categorised into 3 groups: <36µg/m³, 36-75µg/m³ and >75µg/m³, based on national standards³. For ease of interpretation, all items were scored so that higher value indicates better walkability.

Reliability tests

To ensure the reliability of the measurement items, both intra-rater and inter-rater tests were conducted (as shown in Table 3 and 4). Intra-rater reliability was assessed by comparing a surveyor's repeated assessments of the same segment, and inter-rater reliability was evaluated by comparing the results of paired surveyors for the same segment. Cohen's kappa (k) and the intraclass correlation coefficient (ICC) were

³ Ambient air quality standards (GB3095-2012) published by Ministry of Ecology and Environment of the People's Republic of China

calculated for categorical and continuous variables respectively. We also computed the percentage agreements to consider the reliability of those items that exhibit little variation (Day et al., 2006). For measurement items with fewer than 3 observations, kappa and ICCs were not computed, but instead percentage agreement was presented with the caution that agreement due to chance may be high.

[insert Tables 3 and 4]

We found that measurement items in “Subjective assessment and experience” presented lower reliability compared to other walkability qualities for both intra-rater and inter-rater reliability tests, and this result is consistent with previous studies (Sun et al., 2017; Pikora et al., 2003). Nonetheless, moderate to high levels of percentage agreement were observed from these items. Considering the results from the reliability tests, we removed 16 items with low kappa/ICCs or without sufficient variability and retained 71 items for final analysis⁴.

Data aggregation

After the reliability tests, the next process was to further aggregate the data for analysis. Because there are multiple measurement items for one construct in the audit tool, we followed a similar approach as in Millstein et al.’s (2013) study to organise the measurement items into a tiered classification system. At the lowest level of constructs, we first summed the scores for the measurement items that belong to a single construct into a single numerical value. For example, to represent the presence of food-related destinations, the scores of the three individual measurement items (Supermarket / Fresh food market, Restaurant, 24hr convenient store) were added up to form a single numerical value. After that, as the measurement items have different ranges and distributions, they were normalised using the following formula to bring the values into the (0, 1) range:

$$X' = \left(\frac{X - X_{min}}{X_{max} - X_{min}} \right)$$

⁴ Some of the measurement items were grouped into a single question in the audit form as shown in Appendix 2 for convenience in implementation. Please refer to Table 2 for the number of measurement items retained after reliability tests.

X is the selected variable; X' is the normalised value of the variable; X_{\max} and X_{\min} are the maximum and minimum values respectively. In the next step, we further use average scores of the items to combine into walkability sub-quality and walkability quality scores. In practice, first, all measurement items under each sub-quality were averaged to obtain the sub-quality score. And then, all sub-quality scores were averaged and rescaled into values between 0 to 10, to form the walkability quality scores. This method of data aggregation is chosen because it is not only simple in operation, but it also allows the examination of the walkability attributes at various tiered levels of specificity.

3.6 Construction of walkability scenarios

After the data aggregation process, the walkability quality scores for all footpaths were computed, this section then presents the application of different decision rules to derive the five walkability scenarios and their potential applicability to different pedestrian groups. The first two scenarios present the two extremes of the spectrum (completely compensatory and non-compensatory), the other three scenarios are partial non-compensatory (with certain walkability qualities considered non-compensatory), and these scenarios try to measure walkability for specific population groups and/or in specific situations more realistically. However, the walkability scenarios presented here are by no means comprehensive. Different scenarios based on other method of combination could be developed in the future.

Scenario 1 – Completely compensatory

This scenario presents the most traditional and widely adopted method in calculating walkability index in existing studies, by assuming that all walkability qualities can be compensated by one another. The walkability index is computed by adding the scores of six walkability qualities together. This method is common as it is easiest to compute and able to provide a general picture of the data. The walkability index can be calculated by using the following formula:

$$WS_1 = LAND + SAFE + AEST + AMEN + SUBJ + PATH$$

Scenario 2 – Completely non-compensatory

In this scenario, we assume that none of the six walkability qualities can be compensated by the others. Thus, the scores of six walkability qualities were multiplied to get the walkability index. For example, a footpath with a lower score in aesthetics cannot be compensated by a higher score in another quality, e.g. safety. Hence, a lower score in any one of the qualities will significantly lower the overall walkability using this completely non-compensatory method of calculation. The walkability index can be calculated by using the following formula:

$$WS_2 = LAND \times SAFE \times AEST \times AMEN \times SUBJ \times PATH$$

Scenario 3 – Preference for short distances and safety

This scenario represents the circumstances in which the scores on the two qualities of land use and destinations, and safety are considered to be hard and non-compensatory criteria in assessment of walkability. This scenario assumes that pedestrians need or have a strong imperative to walk for short distances (e.g. because of poor physical condition or time constraints) and consider a safe walking environment as necessary. In this instance, having destinations in close proximity and being able to access them via safe routes are both essential. This scenario can be applied especially to pedestrians who have limited ability to walk for long distances and pedestrians who regard safety as critical factor for their walking experience, including older pedestrians and children. Other qualities are considered compensable by each other in this scenario. The walkability index can be calculated by using the following formula:

$$WS_3 = LAND \times SAFE \times (AEST + AMEN + SUBJ + PATH)$$

Scenario 4 – Emphasis on footpath quality

This scenario highlights the non-compensatory nature of the qualities of footpath design and condition, and amenities in computing the walkability index. This scenario assumes that the features and conditions of footpath are essential criteria for making walking attractive to certain people. The scenario is usable to assess walkability for pedestrians that have particular concerns over various aspects of footpath quality. For example, smooth surface of footpath is essential for pram users; having sufficient width of footpath and presence of various amenities are essential for people with disabilities or mobility impairments. The other four qualities can be compensated by each other in this

scenario. The walkability index can be calculated by using the following formula:

$$WS_4 = AMEN \times PATH \times (LAND + AEST + SAFE + SUBJ)$$

Scenario 5 – Emphasis on sensory experience

This scenario assumes that aesthetics and subjective experience as non-compensatory, indicating the circumstances in which sensory experience (e.g. pleasure and comfort) such as those depending on various stimuli from the environment (e.g. lights, sounds, smells) are critical constituents of walkability (Mehta, 2008). This scenario is particularly useful for specific purposes of walking trips in which pedestrians pay extra attention to sensory experiences of walking, such as for leisure or recreational trips. The other four qualities are regarded as compensatory in this scenario. The walkability index can be calculated by using the following formula:

$$WS_5 = AEST \times SUBJ \times (LAND + AMEN + SAFE + PATH)$$

4 Results

This results section consists of two parts. The first sub-section presents the descriptive statistics and one-way ANOVA to compare the overall walkability among neighbourhoods for the five walkability scenarios; the next sub-section further compares the changes in walkability for footpaths when assessed using different scenarios and highlights the applicability of each walkability scenario in different situations and conditions.

4.1 Descriptive statistics

Since the walkability scores in the five scenarios have different value ranges, the walkability scores for each footpath were further transformed into z-scores for comparison purpose. The descriptive statistics of the walkability scenarios are presented in Table 5 below. First, the use of the traditional compensatory approach (WS_1) for walkability assessment results in a higher mean walkability compared to other scenarios. In contrast, Scenario 2 (WS_2) results in the lowest mean walkability. Next, a comparison of footpath types indicates that major footpaths are the most walkable (highest mean walkability), followed by minor footpaths and other passageways across all five scenarios. But the differences between the footpath types vary across the

scenarios. For instance, the mean walkability for major footpaths is about six times higher than for other passageways in WS_2 , which is much higher than in the other scenarios (ranging from 1.78 to 3.39).

The mean walkability of the four neighbourhoods were compared using one-way ANOVA (Table 6). No statistically significant differences can be found for WS_1 ($F=2.459$, $p=.063$) and WS_3 ($F=1.286$, $p=.280$), but statistically significant differences at $p<0.05$ can be observed in the other scenarios (WS_2 , WS_4 and WS_5) using fully or partially non-compensatory methods. The outer urban - low accessibility neighbourhood is, on average, the most walkable and the inner urban - high accessibility neighbourhood is the least walkable in all scenarios except for WS_3 . In WS_3 , the outer urban - high accessibility neighbourhood ranked second, followed by the inner urban - low accessibility neighbourhood. This is due to the higher scores for the walkability quality “land use and destinations” in the outer urban - high accessibility neighbourhood. This observation is interesting because unlike the conventional understanding that high local accessibility neighbourhoods are usually more walkable, this result demonstrated that the accessibility level of a neighbourhood might not necessary associated with how walkable a neighbourhood is using the multiple-scenario approach for walkability assessment. Likewise, the post-hoc tests also demonstrated that the differences in walkability among neighbourhoods vary in each scenario, showing that these walkability scenarios capture different aspects of walkability.

[insert Tables 5 and 6]

4.2 Comparing relative walkability of footpaths

This section further compares the changes in walkability for footpaths in each scenario with reference to Scenario 1 (WS_1). We first ranked all of the footpaths into ten equal groups based on their walkability scores ranging from 1 (least walkable) to 10 (most walkable) for each scenario. The walkability of footpaths in decile groups for Scenarios 2 to 5 (WS_2 to WS_5) were then compared with the reference scenario (WS_1) respectively by using a number of tables (similar to that presented in Figure 3). If the walkability indices of footpaths are similar between the reference scenario (WS_1) and other

scenarios (WS_2 to WS_5), most of the footpaths will be concentrated along the diagonal line. Otherwise, more scattered patterns will be observed. In this way, we can examine the changes in relative walkability of footpaths in different scenarios.

[insert Figure 3]

The results of the changes in walkability (in decile groups) of WS_2 to WS_5 (compared with WS_1) are summarised in Table 7 below. The changes between scenarios were classified into five groups: Major decrease (decrease by more than one decile group); Minor decrease (decrease by one decile group); No change; Minor increase (increase by one decile group); Major increase (increase by more than one decile group). As shown in Table 7, the relative walkability of footpaths changed substantially compared to the reference scenario (WS_1). For example, a large proportion of footpaths have increased in relative walkability (19.3% minor increase and 28.1% major increase) in WS_3 , indicating that many footpaths that are less walkable in WS_1 became more walkable in WS_3 . To further disaggregate the changes in relative walkability by neighbourhoods and types of footpath, we present two separate figures (Figure 4 and 5).

[insert Table 7]

[insert Figures 4 and 5]

The discussion below concentrates on showing how the relative walkability of footpaths varies in different scenarios and how these scenarios can be applied in different situations to understand walkability in a more relational way. In Scenario 3 (WS_3) (top right corner of Figure 4), about 40% of footpaths in the two low accessibility neighbourhoods (Xinsha and Huilongpu) become less walkable, while more than 50% of footpaths in the high accessibility neighbourhoods (Xinzhou and Shangjing) become more walkable. Such observation might be attributable to the more diversified land uses in neighbourhoods with higher accessibility. For example, retail and commercial activities are more commonly found on footpaths within these two high accessibility neighbourhoods, so pedestrians are more likely to perceive these footpaths as safer. When the dimension of “safety” and “land use and destinations” are non-compensatory

qualities in WS₃, higher walkability scores are observed in these high accessibility neighbourhoods. This scenario could be applied to pedestrians who are especially concerned about the ability to reach destinations within short distances and regard safety as a critical factor that influences their walking intention and experience, such as children and older adults (Ferrer, Ruiz, & Mars, 2015). If information on walkability were provided to these pedestrians, they might want to make use of this scenario to identify footpaths and routes offer safe and short-distance walking trips without disregarding other dimensions of walkability.

In Scenario 4 (WS₄) (bottom left corner of Figure 4), a larger proportion of footpaths in the high accessibility neighbourhoods (IH and OH neighbourhood) have decreased in walkability (27% (OH) and 36% (IH)). This reflects that many footpaths in these neighbourhoods are of relatively poor quality and that “footpath design and condition” and “amenities” are non-compensatory qualities in WS₄. This situation is especially significant in Xinzhou (IH) because of the presence of urban villages within this neighbourhood. Many footpaths within the urban villages are characterised by poor design and lack of maintenance because of their rapid and unregulated developments in the past. This scenario (WS₄) can help to identify neighbourhoods and footpaths that require improvements in terms of footpath quality, such improvements can significantly improve the pedestrian environment in these areas. More importantly, this scenario is especially suitable for assessing walkability for pedestrians that have special concern over the quality of footpath, such as pram users, people with disabilities or mobility impairments (Imrie, 2000). In practice, this scenario (WS₄) can also be applied to examine the pedestrian network in proximity to specific destinations, such as hospitals and healthcare centres. The walking environment around these destinations requires special attention to ensure pedestrians (e.g. patients) can walk without being affected by obstructions on footpath.

For Scenario 5 (WS₅) (bottom right of Figure 4), distinctive pattern can be observed in Xinsha (IL). Here only 13% of footpaths decrease in walkability compared to the reference scenario, which is much lower than for the other three neighbourhoods (around 30%). At the same time, more than 30% of footpaths in this neighbourhood

become more walkable. This observation reveals that footpaths in Xinsha performed better in terms of aesthetics and sensory experience, although Xinsha was located in the outer urban area of Shenzhen and have low local accessibility, many of its footpaths are designed in a way that are more conducive for walking (with more aesthetic features and amenities). Given that aesthetics and subjective experience were positively associated with walking for leisure (Sugiyama et al., 2012), WS_5 can be especially relevant for pedestrians who pay special attention to sensory experiences of walking. For example, the results for this scenario could be used to provide information for leisure or recreational pedestrians to identify enjoyable and aesthetically pleasing footpaths, in this way, it is possible to increase pedestrians' satisfaction level of these trips.

When attention is directed towards relative walkability according to footpath type, the most noticeable observation is the increase in relative walkability for other passageways in Scenario 3 (WS_3) (top right corner of Figure 5). In this scenario, more than 44% of the other passageways increased in walkability compared to the reference scenario. This shows that unlike traditional understandings that regard these other passageways as unimportant in walkability assessment, these other passageways are really quite safe and many destinations can be found along these paths.

5 Discussion and Conclusion

In this study, we propose a new lens to see walkability as relational and emerging from the interactions between pedestrians and their environment. Since a footpath that is regarded as walkable to one individual may not be perceived to be equally walkable by others, it is important to consider the heterogeneity of pedestrians and their diverse needs, capacities and preferences in walkability assessment. The proposed multiple-scenario approach for walkability assessment advanced our current understanding and evaluation of walkability in the following ways.

Conceptually, we question the traditional assumption applied in existing studies that various aspects of walkability can compensate each other and applied the additive rule in calculating the walkability index. Although some existing studies have started to

apply different weightings to account for the varying perspectives of walkability for various pedestrian groups (Golan et al., 2019; Moura et al., 2017), nonetheless, it is still largely assumed that all aspects of walkability are important to pedestrians but assigned different levels of intensity to different pedestrian groups. But in reality, the assessment of walkability for a given type of footpath or street segment by a single pedestrian can differ significantly from one situation to the next and also differ from that by another individual with a similar sociodemographic background in a broadly comparable situation. Hence, the application of non-compensatory decision rules in walkability assessment as proposed in this study moves beyond the conventional assumptions implied. In this study, we proposed that in valuation of walkability, domains and elements in walkability assessment may not always compensate each other; rather, certain aspects in walkability are so important to certain people or in certain situations that they act as hard constraints on valuation and therefore cannot be compensated by other aspects. At the same time, certain aspects may be negotiable and it is possible that lower scores are compensated by, and traded against, higher scores on other factors. In practice, it is possible to develop walkability scenarios based on walkability domains and elements that are regarded as important to pedestrians, and disregard other walkability domains and elements that are unimportant.

This practice can be regarded as a starting point for future studies to consider using other decision rules for walkability assessment. Some of these decision rules, like lexicographic rules (Tversky, 1969) or elimination-by-aspects (EBA) (Tversky, 1972) may provide new insights for researchers to consider pedestrians' views in deciding what constitutes a walkable environment and how researchers can develop new methods for assessment. The five walkability scenarios proposed and tested in this study are by no means exhaustive, but serving more as an early attempt to show scholars, policymakers and practitioners that it is possible to develop other possible walkability scenarios that match with their specific needs and requirements of local context for future walkability assessment.

Practically, following the ongoing trend of “smart city” development, walkability indices of the kind proposed here can be made accessible to all residents, possibly in the form of

mobile phone applications (Neirotti et al., 2014). For example, most of the existing trip-planning applications only consider travel time as the sole criterion in route choice decision-making; the walkability of footpaths is rarely taken into consideration. If walkability indices are incorporated into these mobile applications, residents can make informed decisions on route choice and selection of residential location based on their own needs and preferences. Following this idea, it is even possible for future mobile applications to enable residents to decide which sets of environmental features and/or walkability qualities are non-compensatory for their walking trips. By doing so, walkability assessment can move from a top-down approach in which the local authorities or private companies provide information of walkability to the residents, to a bottom-up approach that allows residents to choose their own criteria and calculate their personalised walkability indices based on their specific needs and preferences. This approach can help to facilitate people's walkability as well as their well-being in the long term by recognizing individual's differentiated needs during different periods of their life-courses (Li & Chan, 2020).

The limitations of this study should be acknowledged. First, this study empirically tested the proposed multiple-scenario walkability approach with the case of a single city – Shenzhen, and focused in four selected neighbourhoods with different characteristics. In fact, it will be desirable for future studies to extend the scope of this study to more diversified neighbourhoods in Shenzhen and other cities in China. Collecting walking behaviour data in both Shenzhen and other cities in future studies can help to further verify the applicability of this approach and validate the walkability scenarios proposed in this study (Moura et al., 2017). Next, in this study, we have included 6 domains and 71 measurement items in the proposed environmental audit tool for walkability assessment, however, this list of measurement items is by no means exhaustive and universally applicable to other cities and contexts, therefore, future research can be conducted to identify other important domains and measurement items in assessing walkability and develop other meaningful walkability scenarios that can be applied to other population groups and/or in different situations (Wang & Yang, 2019).

References

- Aghaabbasi, M., Moeinaddini, M., Shah, M. Z., Asadi-Shekari, Z., & Kermani, M. A. (2018). Evaluating the capability of walkability audit tools for assessing sidewalks. *Sustainable cities and society*, *37*, 475-484.
- Albers, P. N., Wright, C., & Olwoch, J. (2010). Developing a South African pedestrian environment assessment tool: Tshwane case study. *South African Journal of Science*, *106*(9-10), 1-8.
- Alfonzo, M., Guo, Z., Lin, L., & Day, K. (2014). Walking, obesity and urban design in Chinese neighborhoods. *Preventive Medicine*, *69*, S79-S85.
- Andrews, G. J., Hall, E., Evans, B., & Colls, R. (2012). Moving beyond walkability: On the potential of health geography. *Social Science & Medicine*, *75*(11), 1925-1932.
- Blečić, I., Cecchini, A., Congiu, T., Fancello, G., & Trunfio, G. A. (2015). Evaluating walkability: a capability-wise planning and design support system. *International Journal of Geographical Information Science*, *29*(8), 1350-1374.
- Cerin, E., Chan, K.-w., Macfarlane, D. J., Lee, K.-y., & Lai, P.-c. (2011). Objective assessment of walking environments in ultra-dense cities: Development and reliability of the Environment in Asia Scan Tool—Hong Kong version (EAST-HK). *Health & Place*, *17*(4), 937-945.
- Chan, E. T., Li, T. E., Schwanen, T., & Banister, D. (2020). People and their walking environments: An exploratory study of meanings, place and times. *International Journal of Sustainable Transportation*, 1-12.
- Chan, E. T., Schwanen, T., & Banister, D. (2021). The role of perceived environment, neighbourhood characteristics, and attitudes in walking behaviour: Evidence from a rapidly developing city in China. *Transportation*, *48*(1), 431-454.
- Cho, G. H., & Rodriguez, D. A. (2015). Neighborhood design, neighborhood location, and three types of walking: results from the Washington DC area. *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design*, *42*(3), 526-540.
- City of Melbourne. (2014). Walking Plan 2014-17: A connected city. Melbourne, Australia.
- Clifton, K. J., Smith, A. D. L., & Rodriguez, D. (2007). The development and testing of an audit for the pedestrian environment. *Landscape and Urban Planning*, *80*(1-2), 95-110.
- Cole, R., Dunn, P., Hunter, I., Owen, N., & Sugiyama, T. (2015). Walk Score and Australian

- adults' home-based walking for transport. *Health & Place*, 35, 60-65.
- Cook, J., Bose, M., & Main, D. S. (2014). Design Quality Preferences for Walking in Youth in a Rural Setting. *Journal of Urban Design*, 19(2), 171-188.
- Dannenberg, A. L., Cramer, T. W., & Gibson, C. J. (2005). Assessing the walkability of the workplace: a new audit tool. *American Journal of Health Promotion*, 20(1), 39-44.
- Day, K., Boarnet, M., Alfonzo, M., & Forsyth, A. (2006). The Irvine–Minnesota inventory to measure built environments: development. *American Journal of Preventive Medicine*, 30(2), 144-152.
- Duff, C. (2010). On the role of affect and practice in the production of place. *Environment and planning D: Society and Space*, 28(5), 881-895.
- Einhorn, H. J. (1970). The use of nonlinear, noncompensatory models in decision making. *Psychological bulletin*, 73(3), 221.
- Emery, J., Crump, C., & Bors, P. (2003). Reliability and validity of two instruments designed to assess the walking and bicycling suitability of sidewalks and roads. *American Journal of Health Promotion*, 18(1), 38-46.
- Ettema, D., & Schwanen, T. (2012). A relational approach to analysing leisure travel. *Journal of Transport Geography*, 24, 173-181.
- Ewing, R., & Cervero, R. (2010). Travel and the built environment: a meta-analysis. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 76(3), 265-294.
- Ferrer, S., Ruiz, T., & Mars, L. (2015). A qualitative study on the role of the built environment for short walking trips. *Transportation Research Part F: Traffic Psychology and Behaviour*, 33, 141-160.
- Fisher, B. D., Richardson, S., & Hosler, A. S. (2010). Reliability test of an established pedestrian environment audit in rural settings. *American Journal of Health Promotion*, 25(2), 134-137.
- Forsyth, A. (2015). What is a walkable place? The walkability debate in urban design. *Urban design international*, 20(4), 274-292.
- Frank, L. D., Sallis, J. F., Saelens, B. E., Leary, L., Cain, K., Conway, T. L., & Hess, P. M. (2010). The development of a walkability index: application to the Neighborhood Quality of Life Study. *British Journal of Sports Medicine*. 44(13), 924-933.
- Glazier, R. H., Weyman, J. T., Creatore, M. I., Gozdyra, P., Moineddin, R., Matheson, F. I., & Booth, G. L. (2012). Development and validation of an urban walkability index for Toronto, Canada. *Toronto Community Health Profiles Partnership*, 1-21.

- Golan, Y., Wilkinson, N., Henderson, J. M., & Weverka, A. (2019). Gendered walkability: Building a daytime walkability index for women. *Journal of Transport and Land Use*, 12(1).
- Gullón, P., Badland, H. M., Alfayate, S., Bilal, U., Escobar, F., Cebrecos, A., . . . Franco, M. (2015). Assessing walking and cycling environments in the streets of Madrid: comparing on-field and virtual audits. *Journal of Urban Health*, 92(5), 923-939.
- Habibian, M., & Hosseinzadeh, A. (2018). Walkability index across trip purposes. *Sustainable cities and society*, 42, 216-225.
- Hoehner, C. M., Ivy, A., Ramirez, L. K. B., Handy, S., & Brownson, R. C. (2007). Active neighborhood checklist: a user-friendly and reliable tool for assessing activity friendliness. *American Journal of Health Promotion*, 21(6), 534-537.
- Hui, A., & Walker, G. (2018). Concepts and methodologies for a new relational geography of energy demand: Social practices, doing-places and settings. *Energy research & social science*, 36, 21-29.
- Imrie, R. (2000). Disability and discourses of mobility and movement. *Environment and Planning A*, 32(9), 1641-1656.
- Ingold, T., & Vergunst, J. L. (2008). *Ways of walking: Ethnography and practice on foot*: Ashgate Publishing Ltd.
- Jones, M. (2009). Phase space: geography, relational thinking, and beyond. *Progress in human geography*, 33(4), 487-506.
- Koohsari, M. J., Sugiyama, T., Mavoa, S., Villanueva, K., Badland, H., Giles-Corti, B., & Owen, N. (2016). Street network measures and adults' walking for transport: Application of space syntax. *Health & Place*, 38, 89-95.
- Lefebvre-Ropars, G., Morency, C., Singleton, P. A., & Clifton, K. J. (2017). Spatial transferability assessment of a composite walkability index: the Pedestrian Index of the Environment (PIE). *Transportation Research Part D: Transport and Environment*, 57, 378-391.
- Leslie, E., Saelens, B., Frank, L., Owen, N., Bauman, A., Coffee, N., & Hugo, G. (2005). Residents' perceptions of walkability attributes in objectively different neighbourhoods: a pilot study. *Health & place*, 11(3), 227-236.
- Li, T. E., & Chan, E. T. H. (2020). Diaspora tourism and well-being over life-courses. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 82, 102917.
- Malecki, K. C., Engelman, C. D., Peppard, P. E., Nieto, F. J., Grabow, M. L., Bernardinello,

- M., ... & Martinez-Donate, A. (2014). The Wisconsin Assessment of the Social and Built Environment (WASABE): a multi-dimensional objective audit instrument for examining neighborhood effects on health. *BMC public health*, *14*(1), 1165.
- McMillan, T. E., Cubbin, C., Parmenter, B., Medina, A. V., & Lee, R. E. (2010). Neighborhood sampling: how many streets must an auditor walk? *International Journal of Behavioral Nutrition and Physical Activity*, *7*(1), 20.
- Mehta, V. (2008). Walkable streets: pedestrian behavior, perceptions and attitudes. *Journal of Urbanism*, *1*(3), 217-245.
- Millstein, R. A., Cain, K. L., Sallis, J. F., Conway, T. L., Geremia, C., Frank, L. D., ... & Glanz, K. (2013). Development, scoring, and reliability of the Microscale Audit of Pedestrian Streetscapes (MAPS). *BMC Public Health*, *13*(1), 403.
- Moura, F., Cambra, P., & Gonçalves, A. B. (2017). Measuring walkability for distinct pedestrian groups with a participatory assessment method: A case study in Lisbon. *Landscape and Urban Planning*, *157*, 282-296.
- Natural Resources Defense Council (NRDC) (2014). *中國城市步行友好性評價 [Walkability assessment of Chinese cities]*. Beijing, China: NRDC. <http://nrdc.cn/information/informationinfo?id=182>
- Neckerman, K. M., Lovasi, G. S., Davies, S., Purciel, M., Quinn, J., Feder, E., ... & Rundle, A. (2009). Disparities in urban neighborhood conditions: evidence from GIS measures and field observation in New York City. *Journal of Public Health Policy*, *30*(1), S264-S285.
- Neirotti, P., De Marco, A., Cagliano, A. C., Mangano, G., & Scorrano, F. (2014). Current trends in Smart City initiatives: Some stylised facts. *Cities*, *38*, 25-36.
- Nickelson, J., Wang, A. R., Mitchell, Q. P., Hendricks, K., & Paschal, A. (2013). Inventory of the physical environment domains and subdomains measured by neighborhood audit tools: A systematic literature review. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, *36*, 179-189.
- Owen, N., Cerin, E., Leslie, E., Coffee, N., Frank, L. D., Bauman, A. E., ... & Sallis, J. F. (2007). Neighborhood walkability and the walking behavior of Australian adults. *American Journal of Preventive Medicine*, *33*(5), 387-395.
- Payne, J. W. (1976). Task complexity and contingent processing in decision making: An information search and protocol analysis. *Organizational Behavior and Human Performance*, *16*(2), 366-387.

- Phillips, R., & Johns, J. (2012). *Fieldwork for human geography*. London, UK: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Pikora, T. J., Bull, F. C., Jamrozik, K., Knuiiman, M., Giles-Corti, B., & Donovan, R. J. (2003). Developing a reliable audit instrument to measure the physical environment for physical activity. *American Journal of Preventive Medicine*, 23(3), 187-194.
- Scanlin, K., Haardoerfer, R., Kegler, M. C., & Glanz, K. (2014). Development of a pedestrian audit tool to assess rural neighborhood walkability. *Journal of Physical Activity and health*, 11(6), 1085-1096.
- Schwanen, T., Banister, D., & Bowling, A. (2012). Independence and mobility in later life. *Geoforum*, 43(6), 1313-1322.
- Shenzhen Urban Planning and Research Centre (SUPRC). (2017). 2016 年深圳市居民出行調查主要結論 [Summary of the 2016 Shenzhen residents travel survey]. Shenzhen, China: SUPRC.
- Stevenson, N., & Farrell, H. (2018). Taking a hike: exploring leisure walkers embodied experiences. *Social & Cultural Geography*, 19(4), 429-447.
- Su, M., Tan, Y.-y., Liu, Q.-m., Ren, Y.-j., Kawachi, I., Li, L.-m., & Lv, J. (2014). Association between perceived urban built environment attributes and leisure-time physical activity among adults in Hangzhou, China. *Preventive Medicine*, 66, 60-64.
- Sugiyama, T., Neuhaus, M., Cole, R., Giles-Corti, B., & Owen, N. (2012). Destination and route attributes associated with adults' walking: a review. *Medicine and Science in Sports and Exercise*, 44(7), 1275-1286.
- Sun, G., Webster, C., & Chiaradia, A. (2017). Objective assessment of station approach routes: Development and reliability of an audit for walking environments around metro stations in China. *Journal of Transport & Health*, 4, 191-207.
- Taleai, M., & Amiri, E. T. (2017). Spatial multi-criteria and multi-scale evaluation of walkability potential at street segment level: A case study of Tehran. *Sustainable cities and society*, 31, 37-50.
- Transport for London. (2018). Walking action plan: Making London the world's most walkable city (pp. 109). London, UK.
- Troped, P. J., Cromley, E. K., Fragala, M. S., Melly, S. J., Hasbrouck, H. H., Gortmaker, S. L., & Brownson, R. C. (2006). Development and reliability and validity testing of an audit tool for trail/path characteristics: The Path Environment Audit Tool (PEAT). *Journal of Physical Activity and Health*, 3(s1), S158-S175.

- Tsiompras, A. B., & Photis, Y. N. (2017). What matters when it comes to “Walk and the city”? Defining a weighted GIS-based walkability index. *Transportation research procedia*, 24, 523-530.
- Tversky, A. (1969). Intransitivity of preferences. *Psychological review*, 76(1), 31.
- Tversky, A. (1972). Elimination by aspects: A theory of choice. *Psychological review*, 79(4), 281.
- Vale, D. S., Saraiva, M., & Pereira, M. (2016). Active accessibility: A review of operational measures of walking and cycling accessibility. *Journal of transport and land use*, 9(1), 209-235.
- Wang, H., & Yang, Y. (2019). Neighbourhood walkability: A review and bibliometric analysis. *Cities*, 93, 43-61.
- Zuniga-Teran, A. A., Stoker, P., Gimblett, R. H., Orr, B. J., Marsh, S. E., Guertin, D. P., & Chalfoun, N. V. (2019). Exploring the influence of neighborhood walkability on the frequency of use of greenspace. *Landscape and urban planning*, 190, 103609.