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**Title:**

The influence of urban design on neighbourhood walking following residential relocation:  
Longitudinal results from the RESIDE study

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**1 Abstract**

2 The design of urban environments has the potential enhance the health and wellbeing of  
3 residents by impacting social determinants of health including access to public transport,  
4 green space and local amenities. Commencing in 2003, RESIDE is a longitudinal natural  
5 experiment examining the impact of urban planning on active living in metropolitan Perth,  
6 Western Australia. Participants building homes in new housing developments were surveyed  
7 before relocation (n=1813; 34.6% recruitment rate); and approximately 12 months later  
8 (n=1437). Changes in perceived and objective neighbourhood characteristics associated with  
9 walking following relocation were examined, adjusted for changes in demographic,  
10 intrapersonal, interpersonal and baseline reasons for residential location choice. Self-reported  
11 walking was measured using the Neighbourhood Physical Activity Questionnaire. Following  
12 relocation, transport-related walking declined overall ( $p<0.001$ ) and recreational-walking  
13 increased ( $p<0.001$ ): access to transport- and recreational destinations changed in similar  
14 directions. However, in those with increased access to destinations, transport-related walking  
15 increased by 5.8 minutes/week for each type of transport-related destination that increased  
16 ( $p=0.045$ ); and recreational walking by 17.6 minutes/week for each type of recreational  
17 destination that increased ( $p=0.070$ ). The association between the built environment and  
18 recreational walking was partially mediated by changes in perceived neighbourhood  
19 attractiveness: when changes in 'enjoyment' and 'attitude' towards local walking were  
20 removed from the multivariate model, recreational walking returned to 20.1 minutes/week  
21 ( $p=0.040$ ) for each type of recreational destination that increased. This study provides  
22 longitudinal evidence that both transport and recreational-walking behaviours respond to  
23 changes in the availability and diversity of local transport- and recreational-destinations, and  
24 increases the potential of local infrastructure to support health-enhancing behaviours. As  
25 neighbourhoods evolve, longer-term follow-up is required to fully capture changes that occur,  
26 and the impact on residents. The potential for using policies, incentives and infrastructure

27 levies to enable the early introduction of recreational and transport-related facilities into new  
28 housing developments warrants further investigation.

29 **Keywords:** Australia, social determinants, natural experiment, built environment, walking,  
30 quasi experimental, longitudinal, physical environment

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### 33 **Background**

34 Recognition that city design impacts public health was first established in the 19<sup>th</sup> century in  
35 efforts to control the outbreak of communicable disease (Corburn, 2007). With  
36 communicable disease control, the links between urban planning and public health  
37 attenuated, and only recently have there been calls for the two disciplines to reconnect  
38 (Corburn, 2007): this time in an effort to create healthy and sustainable cities that facilitate  
39 health behaviors that reduce the risk of non-communicable diseases.

40 For over two decades the World Health Organisation's Healthy City Movement  
41 (Duhl, 1996) has promoted urban design features required to create health enhancing cities  
42 (Rydin et al., 2012). Healthy and sustainable communities create the conditions that optimize  
43 physical and mental health and well being (Marmott, 2011) by impacting social determinants  
44 of health including access to public transport, public open space, local amenities and other  
45 social infrastructure. Nevertheless, relatively little systematic research has examined the  
46 influence of contextual factors on health outcomes (Macintyre & Ellaway, 2003). As a  
47 consequence, there is little understanding of the potential of urban environments to deliver  
48 and equitably distribute health benefits (Rydin et al., 2012).

49 Planning, transport and urban design policies and regulations directly influence the  
50 location and proximity of activities required for daily living (e.g. shops, workplaces and  
51 school, facilities places to socialize and recreate) and the ease with which places can be  
52 reached using active forms of transport (i.e., walking, cycling and public transport). Physical  
53 inactivity is a common risk factor for major non-communicable diseases, yet less than one

54 half of adults in many developed countries are sufficiently active to protect their health  
55 (WHO, 2010). This poses a substantial public health risk and an economic burden to national  
56 health care budgets in both the developed (Department of Health, 2009) and the developing  
57 world (Rydin et al., 2012). Increasing levels of physical activity through popular activities  
58 such as walking and cycling is a practical means of improving health (Department of Health,  
59 2009), as well as producing co-benefits across other sectors by reducing car use, traffic  
60 congestion and air pollution (Giles-Corti et al., 2010; Haines et al., 2009).

61 To support policy-reform, recently there has been a plethora of reviews on the impact  
62 of the built environment on various health outcomes, including physical activity and obesity  
63 (CDC, 2007; Kopelman et al., 2007; National Institute for Health and Clinical Excellence,  
64 2008; National Preventative Health Taskforce, 2009). The evidence suggests that community  
65 design affects travel mode choices,(National Institute for Health and Clinical Excellence,  
66 2008; Transportation Research Board, 2005) and levels of walking and/or cycling (Durand et  
67 al., 2011; McCormack et al., 2004; Ogilvie et al., 2007; Owen et al., 2004b; Panter et al.,  
68 2008; Saelens & Handy, 2008; Transportation Research Board, 2005) with mixed evidence  
69 on its impact on obesity (Dunton et al., 2009; Feng et al., 2010; Papas et al., 2007; Robertson-  
70 Wilson & Giles-Corti, 2010; Van Cauwenberg et al., 2011). Specifically, walking for  
71 transport appears to be associated with increased residential density, high street connectivity,  
72 mixed land-use and proximity to destinations. Recreational walking on the other hand is  
73 associated with access to public open space, neighbourhood attractiveness and the  
74 accessibility and functionality of local facilities. Thus, creating pedestrian-friendly  
75 neighbourhoods with access to local amenities and well designed public open space has the  
76 potential to be benefit health (Marmott, 2011).

77 Despite the complexities associated with implementation (Rydin et al., 2012), urban  
78 planning that promotes walking, cycling and transit use is now being recommended by

79 multiple sectors including public health (CDC, 2007; Kopelman et al., 2007; National  
80 Institute for Health and Clinical Excellence, 2008; National Preventative Health Taskforce,  
81 2009), transport (Transportation Research Board, 2005) and planning authorities (Planning  
82 Institute of Australia & Heart Foundation, 2008). Nevertheless, most of the evidence to date  
83 is cross-sectional, and most evidence reviews conclude that stronger longitudinal evidence is  
84 required to better inform urban planning and practice. A limitation of cross-sectional  
85 evidence is self-selection: i.e., people may choose to live in neighbourhoods that reflect their  
86 active-living preferences, rather than neighbourhood design changing their behaviour. To  
87 address this limitation, some cross-sectional studies control for participants' reasons for  
88 moving into their current neighbourhood (Cao et al., 2009; Frank et al., 2007; Handy et al.,  
89 2005; G. R. McCormack & Shiell, 2011; Owen et al., 2007). However recall bias cannot be  
90 ruled out when asking retrospectively about factors influencing decisions to relocate.  
91 Longitudinal evidence is therefore required to examine the influence of changes in urban  
92 form on health outcomes and individual lifestyle behaviors (Rydin et al., 2012).

93 Studies examining the impacts of changes to neighbourhood design and transport  
94 infrastructure are difficult to design and implement, and randomised controlled trials (RCTs)  
95 are rarely possible. Consequently, there are now a number of large established cohort studies  
96 examining the impact of neighbourhood design on health outcomes by identifying  
97 participants who relocate during follow-up (Berry et al., 2010; Boone-Heinonen et al., 2009;  
98 Boone-Heinonen et al., 2010; Hou et al., 2010; Krizek, 2000; Lee et al., 2009; Ludwig et al.,  
99 2011). To date, mixed results have been reported, and frequently authors highlight  
100 methodological flaws that may contribute to their findings including: a small sample of  
101 'movers'; an inability to account for length of exposure to residential environments; and the  
102 use of behavioural and built environment measures that lack specificity or were chosen for  
103 another purpose. In addition, few of these studies have been grounded within a broader

104 ecological framework. Ecological frameworks consider multilevel factors that influence  
105 behavior including intrapersonal, interpersonal, and physical environment factors (Sallis et  
106 al., 2006; Stokols, 1996), allowing both contextual and compositional variables to be  
107 captured (Macintyre & Ellaway, 2003). Use of this framework enables consideration and  
108 adjustment for changes in demographic, intrapersonal (e.g., attitudes), and interpersonal,  
109 (e.g., social support) factors, as well as changes in built environmental factors following  
110 relocation.

111 Importantly, very few studies (Wells & Yang, 2008) have been specifically designed  
112 to study residential relocation within the context of a natural experiment, although this has  
113 been identified as a gap in the literature (Ogilvie et al., 2007). Such an opportunity arose in  
114 Australia, where capital cities are experiencing average annual growth of around 1.6% (ABS,  
115 2012), and providing sufficient affordable housing is a major policy challenge for  
116 government (Department of Infrastructure and Transport, 2011). The current study was  
117 conducted in the west coast city of Perth, which is one of Australia's fastest growing capital  
118 cities (2.5% annually) (ABS, 2012). Nevertheless, outer suburban metropolitan regions of  
119 other Australian capital cities are also experiencing even more rapid growth (e.g., some areas  
120 in the North-West metropolitan region of Melbourne grew almost 8% in the 12 months to  
121 June 2011) (ABS, 2012). Thus, the findings in this study are relevant to other greenfield  
122 outer suburban areas in Australia and elsewhere.

123 This paper uses data from the RESIDential Environment Project (RESIDE), a  
124 longitudinal natural experiment of people building houses and relocating to new  
125 neighbourhoods, to examine the impact of the built environment on walking for transport and  
126 recreation following relocation. We hypothesized that people relocating to neighbourhoods  
127 with infrastructure supportive of transport or recreational walking, would walk more. To  
128 understand the independent effects of the built environment, the study adopted an ecological

129 framework (Giles-Corti et al., 2008), which allowed for adjustment for changes in  
130 demographic, intrapersonal and interpersonal characteristics as well as the changes in the  
131 built environment. In addition, measures of residential location preference were collected to  
132 adjust for one aspect of self-selection.

### 133 **Methods**

134 The University of Western Australia's Human Research Ethics Committee  
135 (#RA/4/1/479) provided ethics approval. RESIDE involved participants who moved into 73  
136 new housing developments across metropolitan Perth. Intrapersonal, interpersonal and  
137 perceived built environmental data were collected using questionnaires completed by  
138 participants, while objective built environmental data were derived from a Geographic  
139 Information System (GIS).

#### 140 *Selection of housing developments*

141 Housing developments were selected to include developments planned according to  
142 the state government's new sub-division design code, the 'Liveable Neighbourhoods  
143 Guidelines' (Western Australian Planning Commission, 2004), a local interpretation of new  
144 urbanism. RESIDE included 18 housing developments classified by the Department of  
145 Planning as 'Liveable' (i.e., complying with most of the LN Guidelines), 11 as 'hybrid' (i.e.,  
146 complying with some but not all of the LN guidelines) and 44 'Conventional' (i.e.,  
147 conventional development that did not comply with the LN Guidelines) (Giles-Corti et al.,  
148 2008).

#### 149 *Selection of participants*

150 People building new homes in the study areas were identified and invited to  
151 participate by the state water authority (n=10,193), which is notified routinely of land transfer  
152 transactions. Eligibility criteria included English proficiency,  $\geq 18$  years, intention to relocate  
153 by December 2005, and willingness to complete surveys and wear a pedometer for a week on



154 three separate occasions over four years. Those ineligible or not interested opted-out by  
155 returning a reply-paid card. Remaining home builders were contacted by phone or letter by  
156 the study team (n=9,148). One person from each household was randomly selected, of whom  
157 5,238 were eligible for inclusion.

#### 158 *Data collection and response rates*

159 The design includes participants being surveyed four times, each in the same season:  
160 before they moved into their new home (T1); then approximately 12 (T2), 36 (T3) and 48  
161 (T4) months later. This paper reports changes from T1 to T2 only. Of those eligible to  
162 participate, 1813 provided written consent and returned completed T1 questionnaires (34.6%  
163 response rate), 1437 (83.3% of those still eligible) also completed T2 questionnaires, and  
164 1420 provided current address data.

#### 165 *Variables*

166 Table 1 provides details of the variables used in the analyses (dependent, independent  
167 and covariates), their source and how they were handled in models. Table 2 presents the  
168 factor analyses of items measuring factors influencing choice of new neighbourhood i.e.,  
169 variables used to adjust for self-selection.

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Insert Table 1 about here

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Insert Table 2 about here

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#### 176 *Statistical analysis*

177 Generalized Linear Mixed Models (that included a random cluster effect to allow for  
178 clustering by (new) developments) in SAS v9.2 were used to examine associations with

179 changes in neighbourhood recreational and transport-related walking. All models were  
180 adjusted for baseline age, gender, education level, marital status, having children < 18 years  
181 at home, and baseline total minutes of recreational or transport-related walking. Socio-  
182 demographic change variables ( $p \leq 0.20$ ) were included in all multivariate models using forced  
183 entry. Thus, transport-related walking models included changes in work status, number of  
184 hours worked weekly and time to travel to work, while recreational walking models included  
185 change in education level.

186 The first (adjusted) multivariate model included variables representing changes (T2-  
187 T1) in objective environmental characteristics (Model 1), followed by progressive adjustment  
188 for changes in neighbourhood environment perceptions (Model 2), interpersonal variables  
189 (Model 3), and intrapersonal variables (Model 4). Given the importance of self-selection for  
190 studies of this type, the final models further adjusted for the self-selection scales ( $p \leq 0.20$ ).

191 The variables representing changes in objective environmental characteristics and the  
192 variables representing changes in environmental perceptions are counts of the number of  
193 objective and subjective favourable changes. These variables are included as continuous  
194 variables in the regression models. We also included the square of these variables to assess  
195 curvature in the relationship but in no case was there any evidence of curvature (all  $p > 0.2$ ).

196 The effect of a continuous variable is reported as the estimated additional minutes of  
197 walking for a unit increase in the continuous variable. For a categorical change variable, the  
198 estimated mean change in minutes of walking for each level of the categorical change  
199 variable is reported.

## 200 **Results**

201 Table 3 shows the socio-demographic characteristics of study participants who  
202 completed both surveys ( $n=1420$ ) and those who completed T1 only. Those remaining in the  
203 study at T2 were significantly more likely to be female, slightly older, and more likely to be

204 married or in a de facto relationship and to have children under 18 years at home ( $p<0.05$ ).  
205 They were also significantly less likely to work and were engaged in significantly fewer  
206 hours of paid or unpaid work ( $p<0.05$ ). Nevertheless, mean minutes of neighbourhood  
207 transport and recreational walking were similar ( $p>0.05$ ).

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Insert Table 3 about here

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211 Following relocation, there was an overall decrease of 8.5 minutes/week in transport-  
212 related walking ( $p<0.001$ ) and an overall increase of 15.5 minutes/week in recreational  
213 walking ( $p<0.001$ ) (see Table 4).

214 Univariate associations between changes in mean minutes of transport and  
215 recreational walking following relocation and changes in objective and subjective measures  
216 of the built environment are shown in Table 4. Subjective measures with  $p\leq 0.20$  were  
217 included in the construction of the perceived neighbourhood environment indices.

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Insert Table 4 about here

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221 Table 5 shows univariate associations between changes in transport and recreational  
222 walking and baseline reasons for choice of housing development location (i.e., self-selection  
223 variables). Walking for transport was associated with the perceived importance of pedestrian  
224 and cycling friendly streets ( $p=0.019$ ), and the proximity to parks and recreational facilities  
225 ( $p=0.036$ ). However, none of the other self-selection scales nor the type of housing  
226 development to which respondents moved was significantly associated with changes in  
227 transport-related or recreational walking in the univariate models. However, using the  $p\leq 0.20$   
228 cut-off, the importance of the accessibility of services required for daily living (e.g., shops,

229 jobs, or place of study) ( $p=0.188$ ), and neighbourhood safety, diversity and ease of living  
230 ( $p=0.182$ ) were also adjusted for in the final transport-related walking multivariate model,  
231 while the perceived importance of pedestrian and cycling friendly streets ( $p=0.088$ ) and a  
232 self-selection scale used in previous studies ( $p=0.190$ ) were also adjusted for in the final  
233 recreational walking model.

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Insert Table 5 about here

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237 Table 6 shows the multivariate associations between changes in built environment and  
238 weekly minutes of transport-related walking, with progressive adjustment for changes in  
239 intrapersonal and interpersonal characteristics. After adjustment for changes in socio-  
240 demographic variables, neighbourhood perceptions, interpersonal and intrapersonal  
241 characteristics (model 4) walking for transport increased on average 6.1 minutes/week  
242 ( $p=0.035$ ) for each transport-related destination type that increased, attenuating to 5.8  
243 minutes/week after adjustment for self-selection variables ( $p=0.045$ ). In the final model  
244 (model 5), for each additional neighbourhood feature that was perceived to change  
245 favourably, walking for transport also increased by 3.0 minutes/week ( $p=0.011$ ). Notably,  
246 although not shown, 89% of RESIDE participants did not gain access to local transport-  
247 related destinations following relocation. Only 8% of participants gained access to one  
248 additional transport destination, while only 0.2% gained access to four or more.

249 Table 6 also shows the multivariate associations between changes in built  
250 environment and changes in minutes/week of recreational walking, progressively adjusted for  
251 changes in socio-demographic, intrapersonal and interpersonal characteristics. After  
252 adjustment for changes in socio-demographic and intrapersonal characteristics (Model 3) for  
253 each additional recreational destination type that increased, recreational walking increased by

254 21.1 minutes/week ( $p=0.034$ ). This attenuated slightly and did not retain statistical  
255 significance after adjustment for interpersonal characteristics (Model 4; 17.2 minutes/week  
256 ( $p=0.078$ )). It remained constant with further adjustment for self selection variables (17.6  
257 minutes/week ( $p=0.070$ )) (Model 5).

258 Further modeling indicated that the association between changes in the built  
259 environment and recreational walking were mediated through changes in attitudes to walking  
260 and enjoyment of walking locally. When these variables were removed from the final,  
261 similar results were observed prior to adjustment for interpersonal characteristics (Model 3)  
262 i.e., for each additional recreational destination type that increased, recreational walking  
263 increased by 20.6 minutes/week ( $p=0.035$ ).

264 Finally, we also found that after full adjustment (model 4), for each additional  
265 neighbourhood perception that changed favourably from T1 to T2, on average, recreational  
266 walking increased by 2.3 minutes/week ( $p=0.024$ ), with little change in Model 5 after  
267 adjustment for self-selection i.e., 2.2 minutes/week ( $p=0.033$ ).

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Insert Table 6 about here

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274 **Discussion**

275 The physical characteristics of neighbourhoods can facilitate health enhancing  
276 behaviours, thus having the potential to reduce social inequalities (Marmott, 2011).  
277 Nevertheless, to date much of the evidence on the impact of the built environment on  
278 physical activity is cross sectional. There has been a small number of quasi-experimental  
279 studies (Berry et al., 2010; Boone-Heinonen et al., 2009; Boone-Heinonen et al., 2010; Hou  
280 et al., 2010; Krizek, 2000; Lee et al., 2009; Ludwig et al., 2011; Wells & Yang, 2008), but a  
281 dearth of purpose-designed longitudinal studies (Wells & Yang, 2008).

282 Our study extends this limited evidence-base using a longitudinal study design  
283 allowing estimation of changes in minutes of neighbourhood walking among adults following  
284 relocation to a new neighbourhood, after adjusting for a myriad of other variables that might  
285 also change with relocation. We found that following relocation overall transport-related  
286 walking significantly declined, while recreational walking significantly increased. This  
287 appeared to be because most participants relocated into housing developments with fewer  
288 local transport-related destinations, but more public open spaces. Nevertheless, consistent  
289 with previous cross-sectional evidence (McConville et al., 2011; McCormack et al., 2008),  
290 we also found that if residents did gain access to a mix of neighbourhood destinations, this  
291 was positively associated with changes in minutes of local walking, highlighting how  
292 responsive walking behavior is to the presence of local destinations. Similarly, in those  
293 whose perceptions of their local neighbourhood improved following relocation, minutes of  
294 transportation and recreational local walking increased modestly for each positive perception  
295 gained and this effect remained even after adjusting for objectively-measured changes in their  
296 environments. Thus positive changes in perceived and objective neighbourhood attributes are  
297 independently related to changes in walking and suggest that the impact on walking of an

298 enhanced built environment will be greater if residents also perceive these to be favourable  
299 changes.

300         Given growing recognition of the importance of the mix and diversity of local  
301 destinations (McCormack et al., 2008; Sallis et al., 2009), the overall changes observed in  
302 walking behavior in this study were not surprising. Following relocation to their suburban  
303 fringe neighbourhoods, only 11% of study participants gained access to local transport-  
304 related destinations, yet 99% gained access to at least one type of public open space (data not  
305 shown). The public open space results are likely to reflect local planning requirements in  
306 Perth which, since the 1950s, have specified that 10% of the sub-dividable land in new  
307 developments must be allocated to public open space (Stephenson & Hepburn, 1955). Thus,  
308 all housing developments studied had access to at least one public open space. Moreover, in  
309 many housing developments studied (i.e., those developed according to the Western  
310 Australian government's Liveable Neighbourhood Guidelines (Western Australian Planning  
311 Commission, 2004)), the government also offered property developers an incentive to  
312 provide *high quality* public open space i.e., a 2% dispensation on the open space requirement  
313 if they developed and maintained the public open spaces during the establishment phase of  
314 these new developments. This is likely to have created more attractive neighbourhoods  
315 (Owen et al., 2004a) thereby increasing the enjoyment of, and amount of, local recreational  
316 walking. No comparable incentive strategy was offered to encourage the early establishment  
317 of local businesses or other social infrastructure. It clearly takes time to establish local  
318 businesses and services in urban fringe greenfield developments, which explains why few  
319 participants gained access to these destinations following relocation. Unless policies or  
320 strategies are in place to escalate their development, those relocating to urban fringe  
321 developments are likely to live for extended periods in communities with poor access to the  
322 facilities required for daily living – including public transport – thereby fostering greater car

323 dependency and unsustainable living (Marmott, 2011). In Western Australia, it is clear that  
324 what constitutes a healthy, walkable neighbourhood is well known in urban planning circles,  
325 and this is reflected in state urban planning policies (Department of Infrastructure and  
326 Transport, 2011; Western Australian Planning Commission, 2000) aimed at creating more  
327 pedestrian-friendly environments. Nevertheless, while urban planners might plan for more  
328 mixed use development and the location of public transport, there appears to be a gap  
329 between policy and policy implementation: or at the very least, there will be a considerable  
330 delay in full implementation when new neighbourhoods are developed. This suggests that  
331 business development and regional transportation policy and delivery strategies are required  
332 to complement urban planning to ensure that plans for well designed communities are both  
333 fully implemented, and implemented in a timely manner. Critically, unless urban fringe  
334 developments are planned with sufficient population density, it may take decades (if ever) for  
335 the infrastructure required for daily living to be provided (Giles-Corti et al., 2012).

336 This study provides preliminary evidence of a dose-response relationship between  
337 transport and recreational walking, and access to a mix of local neighbourhood destinations.  
338 This was independent of changes in other known intrapersonal, interpersonal and socio-  
339 demographic determinants. For each additional transport-related destination type that  
340 increased following relocation, neighbourhood transport-related walking increased by 5.8  
341 mean minutes/week, findings highly consistent with previous cross-sectional evidence  
342 conducted in Australia (McCormack et al., 2008) and elsewhere (McConville et al., 2011).  
343 McCormack and colleagues found that for each additional local (i.e., within 1500m) transport  
344 destination present, transport walking increased by an additional 11 minutes/fortnight  
345 (McCormack et al., 2008). Moreover, McConville et al. (McConville et al., 2011) found an  
346 increase in the likelihood of achieving sufficient levels of transport-related walking (i.e.,  
347  $\geq 150$  minutes/week) for each additional type of destination located within 800m of home.



348 This highlights the importance of both the presence and mix of local destinations to optimize  
349 walking outcomes.

350 However, contrary to previous research (e.g., (Rodriguez et al., 2006)) we also found  
351 preliminary longitudinal evidence that recreational walking also may be determined by  
352 increasing access to a mix of supportive, local recreational opportunities highlighting the  
353 importance of social infrastructure. In this study, for each additional recreational destination  
354 type that increased, recreational walking increased by 17.6 mean minutes/week ( $p=0.078$ ).  
355 This increased to 21.0 mean minutes/week ( $p<0.05$ ) when ‘attitude towards’, and ‘enjoyment  
356 of local walking’ were removed from the model, confirming cross sectional evidence (Owen  
357 et al., 2004a) that an attractive local environment encourages recreational walking. Our  
358 results suggest that access to well designed green space may partly influence recreational  
359 walking by making the experience of walking more pleasant and enjoyable. This finding is  
360 important given that questions have been raised about whether the built environment is  
361 indeed a determinant of recreational walking (Rodriguez et al., 2006). However, there is  
362 evidence that exposure to nature is restorative and beneficial to mental health (Francis, 2010),  
363 further supporting the importance of green space. Thus, RESIDE provides vital quasi-  
364 experimental evidence reinforcing the 19<sup>th</sup> century view (Giles-Corti et al., 2005) of the value  
365 and importance of public open space for the health and well-being of residents.

366 If the level of change observed in this relocation study (i.e., about 6 minutes of  
367 additional transport walking per additional transport destination-type present and 18 minutes  
368 of additional recreational walking per additional recreational destination-type present) were  
369 able to be achieved across entire population groups simply by increasing access to suitable  
370 destinations in all areas, the population health impacts could be significant. For example,  
371 more than a decade ago, it was estimated a five percentage point increase in the proportion of

372 Australians who were moderately physically activity could save as many as 600 lives per year  
373 and the health system \$18 million annually (Stephenson & Bauman, 2000).

374 From a public health perspective, this study provides further longitudinal evidence  
375 that efforts to increase the mix and diversity of local transport- and recreational-related  
376 destinations are to be encouraged (McCormack et al., 2008; Sallis et al., 2009). It supports the  
377 notion that the physical characteristics of communities enable and promote health behaviours  
378 and thus have the potential to reduce social inequalities in health (Marmott, 2011). In new  
379 housing developments, it may therefore be warranted to consider providing incentives (e.g.,  
380 to the private sector) and/or introducing infrastructure levies that would facilitate the early  
381 establishment of a mix of local businesses (e.g. shops, retail) and social infrastructure (e.g.,  
382 public transport, government health and community services), as well as public open space.  
383 This might include levies also being paid by residents living in amenity-rich neighbourhoods  
384 to fund the social infrastructure required to support healthy and sustainable living in newly  
385 established areas. However, it is also important to explore how these tools could be used to  
386 facilitate the retrofitting of established neighbourhoods (Giles-Corti & Donovan, 2002b).  
387 Importantly, greater emphasis needs to be placed on the location and design of local  
388 infrastructure, with the aim of maximizing the number of people able to access these facilities  
389 using active modes of transport (i.e., walking, cycling and public transport).

390 Contrary to previous findings, we found no evidence that self-selection related to the  
391 choice of residential location was associated with changes in walking. Indeed, nearly 90  
392 percent of RESIDE participants cited 'affordability' as the main reason for their choice of  
393 neighbourhood (Giles-Corti et al., 2008). Our findings contrast with earlier cross-sectional  
394 evidence (Owen et al., 2007), however in cross-sectional studies participants generally recall  
395 (often from the distant past) reasons for neighbourhood choice. Plausibly, their current

396 responses reflect current preferences, rather than what influenced their original choice of  
397 neighbourhood.

### 398 **Limitations**

399 Our findings are limited to new home buyers moving into new housing developments,  
400 most of which were greenfield developments located on the urban fringe. This was  
401 unavoidable given RESIDE aimed to study the impact of the built environment on behavior,  
402 controlling for self selection. This required that participants be surveyed prior to relocation  
403 and new home buyers were more readily identified than other groups, for example, those who  
404 rent accommodation. This is a major limitation and future studies may attempt to replicate  
405 this study design with other population groups, particularly those more disadvantaged.  
406 Nevertheless, those living on the urban fringe as home owners or tenants, typically move to  
407 the outer suburbs in search of more affordable housing, and tend to be less advantaged those  
408 living closer to the city. Thus our findings are important because they highlight inequalities,  
409 in that (at least when they first relocate) these residents have very poor access to local  
410 amenities and public transport.

411 While RCTs are often seen as the gold-standard for intervention research,  
412 randomization is generally impossible when investigating the impact of the built environment  
413 on free living adults. In this study, a natural experiment was undertaken. These studies  
414 provide an alternative study design for complex interventions around the built environment  
415 (Ogilvie et al., 2007) and are increasingly being recognized as providing valuable policy-  
416 relevant evidence (Medical Research Council, 2011).

417 Another limitation was the response rate at T1. Although at T2 the response rate was  
418 high (83.3%), the recruitment response rate at T1 was only 34% and loss to follow-up was  
419 more likely in males, and those younger or employed. Nevertheless, we were limited by the  
420 study design and the need to recruit our study participants through an intermediary i.e., the

421 Water Authority. Our aim was therefore to maximize our retention levels, which were high  
422 at T2. Notably, the physical activity patterns of participants and non-participants at T2 were  
423 similar.

#### 424 **Conclusion**

425 This study provides longitudinal evidence that both transport and recreational-walking  
426 behaviors change in response to changes to access and the diversity of local transport- and  
427 recreational-destinations, highlighting the importance of local facilities to enable and promote  
428 active living. Together these will help reduce social inequality by providing a supportive  
429 environment. However, longer-term follow-up is paramount to explore the full impact on  
430 behavior, as some of the features designed to encourage walking (e.g., access local shops and  
431 services, green leafy streets) take time to develop. Our results suggest that using policies,  
432 incentives and infrastructure levies to facilitate the early introduction of recreational and  
433 transport-related destinations into new housing developments are important to reduce  
434 inequalities in access, and warrant further investigation.

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611 **Table 1: Variables used in analyses**

<b>Variable</b>	<b>Measures</b>	<b>Source</b>	<b>Handling for analyses</b>
<b>DEPENDENT</b>	Self-reported walking for recreation and transport in a usual week within the neighbourhood	<sup>1</sup> Neighbourhood Physical Activity Questionnaire (NPAQ) (Giles-Corti et al., 2006)	Changes in total weekly minutes of neighbourhood recreational and transport-related walking calculated from T1 to T2
<b>COVARIATES</b>	Age, gender, marital status, having children <18 years at home, and level of education	<sup>2</sup>	Baseline (T1) variables adjusted for in all analyses
<b>CHANGE VARIABLES</b>		<sup>1</sup>	Adjustment was made for changes in all known correlates of walking from T1 to T2. Unless indicated variables coded as an increase, decrease or no change.
<b>Socio-demographic change variables</b>	Marital status, work status, level of education, having children <18 years at home, hours worked and minutes travelled to work	<sup>1</sup>	T1 to T2 changes in marital (coded as no change, couple to single, single to couple) and work status (coded as no change – still not in workforce, no change – still in workforce, now in workforce, no longer in workforce, level of education, having children <18 years at home (coded as no change, children now living at home, children no longer living at home), hours worked and minutes travelled to work.
<b>Intrapersonal change variables<sup>3</sup></b>	Behaviour intention, enjoyment, attitudes towards trying to walk locally, self-efficacy, perceived behavioural control, and	<sup>1</sup> (Cutt et al., 2008; Giles-Corti & Donovan, 2002a; Giles-Corti & Donovan, 2003;	T1 to T2 changes in all variables in the <b>recreation walking models</b> T1 to T2 changes in all variables except behavioural skills in <b>transport walking models</b> .

	behavioural skills	Giles-Corti et al., 2008)	
<b>Social environmental change variables<sup>3</sup></b>	Frequency in last month of social support from family and friends who: (i) encouraged; (ii) offered to walk; or (iii) walked with; the study participant (5 point scale: never to very often)  Dog ownership (Yes/No)	<sup>1</sup> Modified from (Sallis et al., 1987)  (Cutt et al., 2008)	T1 to T2 changes in all variables included in the <b>recreation walking models</b>  T1 to T2 changes in encouragement to walk (only) included in <b>transport walking models</b>
<b>Objective built environment change variables<sup>3</sup></b>	Seven transport-related destinations (i.e., post offices, bus stops, delicatessens, supermarkets within 800m of study participant's home, and train stations, shopping centres or CD or DVD stores within 1.6km)  Three recreation-related destinations (i.e., beaches within 800m, or parks or sports fields within 1.6km)	<sup>4</sup> Participant addresses were geocoded and destinations sourced from SENSIS Pty. Ltd. using a Geographic Information System (GIS). Choice of variables based on (GR McCormack et al., 2008)	Number out of seven of key transport-related walking destinations (range 0-7) that increased from T1 to T2.  Number out of three of key recreation-related walking destinations (range 0-3) that increased from T1 to T2.
<b>Perceived built environment change variables</b>	Scales and individual items measuring perceived access to mixed use and services, <sup>5</sup> fewer cul de sacs, having footpaths on most streets; neighbourhood aesthetics, <sup>5</sup> shorter intersection distances, many alternative routes,	<sup>1</sup> Based on neighbourhood Environment and Walking Scale (Cerin et al., 2006)	Score constructed based on number of favourable changes in perceptions T1 to T2 associated with transport and recreational walking ( $p < 0.20$ ). <b>Recreation walking models</b> included the number out of fourteen key recreation-related neighbourhood perceptions that became more favourable: perceived access to mixed use and services,

slower traffic speeds, traffic slowing devices, accessibility of local parks or nature reserve, traffic safety,<sup>5</sup> crime safety,<sup>5</sup> infrastructure and safety for walking and local footpaths, hilly streets, the presence of major barriers (five-point Likert scale)

neighbourhood aesthetics, fewer cul de sacs, shorter intersection distances, many alternative routes, slower traffic speeds, traffic slowing devices, accessibility of local parks or nature reserve, traffic safety, crime safety, infrastructure and safety for walking and local footpaths, and a decrease in hilly streets and major barriers (Range=0-14). **Transport walking models** included the number out of four key transport-related neighbourhood perceptions that became more favourable: perceived access to mixed use services, fewer cul de sacs, having footpaths on most streets, and infrastructure and safety for walking (Range=0-4).

**MEASURES OF SELF SELECTION**

Importance of 21 reasons that may have influenced participants choice of new housing development (five-point Likert scale)

<sup>2</sup>(Giles-Corti et al., 2008)

T1 items were factor analysed using principal axis factoring extraction and oblique rotation (see Table 2). Five factors accounted for 42% of the variables and were used as ‘self selection scales’ in subsequent analyses.

612 <sup>1</sup>Data derived from both the T1 and T2 RESIDE questionnaires; <sup>2</sup>Data derived from T1 RESIDE questionnaire only; <sup>3</sup>The choice of interpersonal, intrapersonal and  
613 environmental variables included in recreational and transport-walking models based on our previous research (Giles-Corti & Donovan, 2002a; Giles-Corti & Donovan,  
614 2003; GR McCormack et al., 2008); and knowledge of the literature. <sup>4</sup>Data derived from both T1 and T2 Geographic Information System data; <sup>5</sup>This variable is a scale.

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619 Table 2: Factor analysis of factors that influenced purchase of home in new housing development

<b>Item</b>	<b>Pedestrian and cycling friendly streets</b>	<b>Accessible services for daily living</b>	<b>Child friendly</b>	<b>Proximate parks and recreation facilities</b>	<b>Safe, diverse and easy living community</b>
Streets designed safer for pedestrians/cyclists	0.803 <sup>1</sup>	0.017	-0.035	-0.029	0.153
Streets have footpaths	0.673 <sup>1</sup>	0.118	0.056	-0.010	0.137
Ease of cycling	0.632 <sup>1</sup>	0.045	-0.132	0.136	-0.138
Streets designed to minimize traffic	0.409 <sup>1</sup>	0.012	-0.012	0.024	0.320
Ease of walking	0.329 <sup>1</sup>	0.172	0.078	0.285	0.164
Closeness to public transport	0.120	0.589 <sup>2</sup>	-0.026	0.048	-0.064
Desire nearby shops/services	0.063	0.526 <sup>2</sup>	0.035	0.160	0.168
Access to freeway	0.109	0.395 <sup>2</sup>	0.176	0.079	0.100
Closeness to place study	0.177	0.379 <sup>2</sup>	-0.230	0.050	-0.090
Closeness to jobs	-0.030	0.309 <sup>2</sup>	-0.184	-0.038	0.019
Affordability/value	-0.141	0.221 <sup>2</sup>	-0.045	-0.018	0.188
Closeness to school	0.003	0.100	-0.727 <sup>3</sup>	0.099	-0.048
Designed safe for children	0.171	-0.077	-0.530 <sup>3</sup>	-0.007	0.432
Closeness to variety of parks	0.028	-0.144	-0.108	0.778 <sup>4</sup>	0.143
Closeness to parks	0.090	-0.107	-0.147	0.544 <sup>4</sup>	0.158
Closeness to recreational facilities	0.144	0.172	-0.072	0.422 <sup>4</sup>	0.132
Closeness to beach	-0.050	0.083	0.057	0.421 <sup>4</sup>	-0.085
Safety from crime	0.150	0.095	0.025	0.010	0.573 <sup>5</sup>
Sense of community	0.165	0.014	-0.060	0.172	0.448 <sup>5</sup>
Easy find way around neighbourhood	0.213	0.120	-0.139	0.026	0.427 <sup>5</sup>

Choice lot sizes and housing types	0.019	0.013	0.005	0.104	0.347 <sup>5</sup>
% Variance	28.2	4.2	3.7	3.4	2.7
Cronbach's alpha for scale <sup>a</sup>	0.82	0.63	0.67	0.68	0.67

620 <sup>a</sup> Scales<sup>1-5</sup> includes all items indicated with relevant superscript

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622 Table 3: Socio-demographic and behavioural characteristics of study participants at T1 by  
 623 whether they completed questionnaires at T2

Characteristic	Completed T1	Completed T1 & T2	p-value
	only (n=388)	(n=1,420)	
<b>Gender (Male)</b>	47.7	38.6	0.001
<b>Mean age (years)</b>	37.2 (11.8)	40.7 (11.8)	< 0.001
<b>Marital status</b>			
Married/defacto	76.3	83.0	< 0.001
Separated/divorced/widowed	6.7	8.1	
Single	17.0	8.9	
<b>Education</b>			
Secondary or less	40.6	39.4	0.732
Trade/apprentice/certificate	38.0	37.4	
Bachelor or higher	21.4	23.2	
<b>Work status</b>			
Work	88.4	81.4	0.005
No work	8.8	13.3	
Retired	2.8	5.3	
<b>Mean hours paid or unpaid work (SD)</b>	39.7 (14.8)	36.5 (14.3)	< 0.001
<b>Mean minutes spent travelling to and from work daily<sup>a</sup> (SD)</b>	55.5 (31.2)	56.1 (33.6)	0.798
<b>Children under 18 years at home</b>	54.9	70.4	< 0.001
<b>Access to motor vehicle for personal use (Always)</b>	90.7	93.2	0.103
<b>Mean weekly minutes of transport-related walking within neighbourhood</b>	26.0 (57.7)	26.5 (57.6)	0.877
<b>Mean weekly minutes of recreational walking within neighbourhood</b>	62.5 (92.4)	69.0 (99.5)	0.245

624 <sup>a</sup>Excludes those who work from home, in multiple locations or who were not in the workforce at T1

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Table 4: Univariate associations between changes ( $\Delta$ ) in built environment, interpersonal and intrapersonal characteristics (T1 to T2) and  $\Delta$  mean minutes of transport-related and recreational walking

Change in built environment characteristic	% (n=1420)	$\Delta$ Transport- related walking <sup>a</sup>	p-value	$\Delta$ Recreational walking <sup>a</sup>	p-value
		-8.5	<0.001	15.5	<0.001
<i>Built environment items and scales</i>					
Number of objectively measured transport-related destination types that increased <sup>b</sup>		7.0	0.014	-2.9	0.627
Number of objectively measured recreation-related destination types that increased <sup>c</sup>		-3.0	0.531	22.1	0.028
Perceived access mixed use and services			0.002		0.021
Decrease	61.9	-11.9		11.2	
No change	14.4	-4.8		12.5	
Increase	23.7	-2.0		28.5	
Perceived neighbourhood aesthetics			0.468		0.005
Decrease	30.5	-10.6		2.8	
No change	11.5	-5.8		21.6	
Increase	58.0	-7.9		21.3	
Perceive infrastructure and safety for walking			0.039		0.194
Decrease	40.0	-11.8		11.7	
No change	15.4	-10.0		10.2	
Increase	44.6	-5.1		20.7	
Perceived traffic safety			0.353		0.024
Decrease	22.5	-6.5		10.7	
No change	32.0	-11.1		7.9	
Increase	45.6	-7.9		23.2	
Perceived crime safety			0.955		0.081
Decrease	21.1	-8.2		4.8	
No change	16.0	-8.0		14.0	
Increase	63.0	-8.9		19.5	

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<b>Perceive streets in neighbourhood hilly making it difficult to walk</b>				0.741		0.180
	Decrease	19.6	-10.4			6.5
	No change	44.6	-7.8			15.7
	Increase	35.7	-8.5			20.1
<b>Perceive major barriers present</b>				0.785		0.024
	Decrease	28.6	-9.2			20.4
	No change	47.7	-7.7			18.9
	Increase	23.7	-9.6			2.8
<b>Perceive not many cul de sacs</b>				0.050		0.004
	Decrease	17.7	-8.7			2.1
	No change	33.9	-12.5			26.2
	Increase	48.5	-5.7			12.9
<b>Perceive intersection distance to be short</b>				0.872		0.069
	Decrease	22.9	-9.4			15.7
	No change	42.9	-8.8			9.3
	Increase	34.2	-7.7			23.1
<b>Perceive many alternative routes</b>				0.232		<0.001
	Decrease	18.5	-13.0			-3.4
	No change	53.7	-7.4			15.1
	Increase	27.8	-7.9			28.9
<b>Perceive traffic speeds slow</b>				0.572		0.009
	Decrease	17.4	-5.7			9.6
	No change	49.6	-9.2			10.0
	Increase	33.0	-9.2			26.9
<b>Perceive traffic slowing devices present</b>				0.417		0.138
	Decrease	26.1	-9.2			21.8
	No change	37.5	-10.2			9.1
	Increase	36.3	-6.5			17.6

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<b>Perceive local park or nature reserve easily accessible</b>				0.317		0.004
	Decrease	14.9	-13.0		-4.1	
	No change	54.3	-7.9		16.9	
	Increase	30.8	-7.5		22.6	
<b>Perceive footpaths on most streets in local area</b>				0.159		0.016
	Decrease	17.2	-12.8		3.8	
	No change	51.4	-6.5		13.4	
	Increase	31.4	-9.6		25.4	
<b>Number of transport-related neighbourhood perceptions that changed favourably<sup>d</sup></b>			3.5	0.002	6.1	0.010
<b>Number of recreation-related neighbourhood perceptions that changed favourably<sup>e</sup></b>			0.8	0.082	4.5	<0.001

<sup>a</sup>Adjusted for neighbourhood clustering, baseline age, gender, education level, marital status, having children at home and minutes of recreational and transport-related walking; <sup>b</sup>Number of types of transport-related destinations that increased (post offices, bus stops, delicatessens and supermarkets within 800m; and train stations, shopping centres, CD/DVD stores within 1.6km) (range 0-7); <sup>c</sup>Number of types of recreation-related destinations that increased (beaches within 800m; and parks, sports fields within 1.6km) (range 0-4); <sup>d</sup>Number of transport-related neighbourhood perceptions with  $p \leq 0.20$  that became more favourable (perceived access to mixed use services, fewer cul de sacs, having footpaths on most streets, infrastructure and safety for walking) (range 0-4); <sup>e</sup>Number of recreation-related neighbourhood perceptions with  $p \leq 0.20$  that became more favourable (perceived access to mixed use services, fewer cul de sacs, having footpaths on most streets, neighbourhood aesthetics, shorter intersection distances, many alternative routes, slower traffic speeds, traffic slowing devices, accessibility of local parks or nature reserves, traffic safety, crime safety, infrastructure and safety for walking, presence of hilly streets, presence of major barriers) (range 0-14).



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**Table 5:** Baseline self-selection factors (i.e., reasons for residential location choice, self-selection factors used in previous studies and housing development selected for relocation) by changes ( $\Delta$ ) in mean minutes of transport-related and recreational walking (T1 to T2)

	% (n=1420)	$\Delta$ Transport- related walking <sup>a</sup>	p-value	$\Delta$ Recreational walking <sup>a</sup>	p-value
<b>Reason for residential location choice</b>					
<b>Streets are pedestrian and cycling friendly</b>			0.019		0.088
Not important or not important at all	25.3	-14.6		14.5	
Somewhat important	7.8	-6.7		-3.6	
Important	66.9	-6.5		18.1	
<b>Access to services/jobs/place study</b>			0.188		0.279
Not important or not important at all	40.1	-10.7		20.6	
Somewhat important	11.7	-3.4		13.9	
Important	48.2	-8.0		11.7	
<b>Access to school</b>			0.429		0.346
Not important or not important at all	27.0	-11.3		19.5	
Somewhat important	13.0	-9.7		23.0	
Important	60.0	-7.1		12.1	
<b>Close to parks and recreational facilities</b>			0.036		0.460
Not important or not important at all	22.7	-12.1		9.5	
Somewhat important	11.4	-14.4		17.1	
Important	65.9	-6.3		17.3	
<b>Safe, diverse, easy living community</b>			0.182		0.957
Not important or not important at all	11.3	-14.3		13.5	
Somewhat important	6.4	-11.8		17.0	
Important	82.3	-7.5		15.7	

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<b>Self selection scale used in previous studies<sup>11</sup></b>			0.277		0.190
Not important or somewhat important	59.6	-9.7		18.4	
Important	40.4	-6.9		11.2	
<b>Type of housing development selected<sup>b</sup></b>			0.988		0.928
Liveable	29.2	-8.5		14.9	
Hybrid	20.3	-9.0		14.0	
Conventional	50.5	-8.5		16.4	

<sup>a</sup>Adjusted for neighbourhood clustering and baseline age, gender, education level, marital status, having children at home, and minutes of walking; <sup>b</sup> The State Government assessed each of the housing development structure plans against the Liveable Neighbourhood Guidelines as one of the following: Liveable i.e., complying with most of the guidelines; Hybrid i.e., complying with many but not all of guidelines; Conventional i.e., a conventional development not consistent with guidelines.

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658 Table 6: Adjusted associations between changes ( $\Delta$ ) in built environment characteristics (T1  
 659 to T2) and  $\Delta$  in mean minutes of transport and recreational walking

Change in built environment characteristics	Un-adjusted	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 4 + self selection
<b>TRANSPORT-RELATED WALKING</b>						
Number of objectively measured transport-related destination types that increased	7.0 <sup>1</sup> 0.014	6.7 <sup>2</sup> 0.018	5.8 <sup>3</sup> 0.042	6.0 <sup>4</sup> 0.038	6.1 <sup>5</sup> 0.035	5.8 <sup>6</sup> 0.045
Number of transport-related neighbourhood perceptions that changed favourably	3.5 <sup>1</sup> 0.002		3.1 <sup>3</sup> 0.006	3.0 <sup>4</sup> 0.008	3.1 <sup>5</sup> 0.008	3.0 <sup>6</sup> 0.011
<b>RECREATIONAL WALKING</b>						
Number of objectively measured recreational destination types that increased	22.1 <sup>1</sup> 0.028	21.7 <sup>7</sup> 0.031	19.4 <sup>8</sup> 0.053	21.1 <sup>9</sup> 0.034	17.2 <sup>10</sup> 0.078	17.6 <sup>11</sup> 0.070
Number of recreation-related neighbourhood perceptions that changed favourably	4.5 <sup>1</sup> <0.001		4.4 <sup>8</sup> <0.001	3.8 <sup>9</sup> <0.001	2.3 <sup>10</sup> 0.024	2.2 <sup>11</sup> 0.033

<sup>1</sup>Adjusted for neighbourhood clustering, and baseline age, gender, education level, marital status, having children at home and minutes of walking

<sup>2</sup>Adjusted for neighbourhood clustering, and baseline age, gender, education level, marital status, having children at home, change in work status, change in the number of hours worked, change in time to travel to work and minutes of walking; <sup>3</sup>Model 1 plus further adjustment for increased number of favorable transport-related neighbourhood perceptions; <sup>4</sup>Model 2 plus further adjustment for encouragement to go walking; <sup>5</sup>Model 3 plus further adjustment for behavioural intention, enjoyment and attitude towards trying to walk and perceived behavioural control; <sup>6</sup>Model 4 plus further adjustment for self-selection factors; <sup>7</sup>Adjusted for neighbourhood clustering, and baseline age, gender, education level, marital status, having children at home, change in level of education and minutes of walking; <sup>8</sup>Model 1 plus further adjustment for increased number of favorable recreation-related neighbourhood perceptions; <sup>9</sup>Model 2 plus further adjustment for encouragement to go walking, offering to go walking, walking with study participant and dog ownership; <sup>10</sup>Model 3 plus further adjustment for behavioural intention, enjoyment and attitude towards trying to walk, perceived behavioural control and behavioural skills for walking; <sup>11</sup>Model 4 plus further adjustment for self-selection factors.

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**Research highlights:**

- The built environment determined recreational (RW) and transport walking (TW).
- Following relocation, TW declined, as did access to transport-related destinations.
- Yet for each type of TW destination gained, TW increased 5.8 minutes/week.
- Following relocation, RW increased, as did access to recreational destinations.
- For each type of recreational destination gained, RW increased 17.6 minutes/week.



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