Who You Know and How You Are Known: Children's Perceptions of Neighbourhood

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Abstract

Neighbourhoods have long been investigated as sources of influence in the lives of children. Exploring the way that children experience their neighbourhood is a vital component in understanding these influences and requires investigation of children's own perceptions. Despite this, little research has been done in Aotearoa New Zealand to understand the way that children perceive their own neighbourhood and how these perceptions are formed and affect them. This study sought to better understand children's perceptions of neighbourhood as one of the myriad influences on a child's life in Aotearoa New Zealand. Semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted with thirteen children between 10-13 years old living within one high deprivation neighbourhood of Christchurch. In these interviews the children discussed their experiences, thoughts and feelings about their neighbourhood. Children were also given the opportunity to use drawing as a way to express the perceptions they had of their neighbourhood. Working with the children in this study has shaped the thesis to reflect neighbourhood through children's eyes, identifying their interaction with it as a physical and social space, as well as a place that represents identity and belonging.

The data collected from interviews with the children was analysed using critical thematic analysis. The analysis shows that the children had complex perceptions of their neighbourhood which incorporated both the social and physical realms and that children in this study specifically focused upon two aspects of their neighbourhood experience. The first was the disrespectful attitudes expressed by outsiders toward their neighbourhood. Children's accounts of attitudes and behaviours toward their neighbourhood reflected the presence of spatial stigma. They also discussed the nuanced ways that this stigma affected their sense of

place and identity. The second aspect of their experience that the children focused on in their interviews was the social networks with which they were familiar. These social networks functioned as a fundamental theme that was woven throughout their dialogues. Viable and tight-knit social networks were important to their perceptions of place, as well as to how they wished to present their place to outsiders. Social networks provided the children in this study with social capital which met emotional needs and, to a lesser extent, physical needs. These networks also acted as an invaluable source of reassurance of the value of their place. In future research, these concepts should be considered and further investigated to uncover the relationship between spatial stigma and children's tight social networks in more detail.

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I know we've come a long way,

We're changing day to day,

But tell me, where do the children play?

-Cat Stevens

Introduction

There are endless memories and emotions, stories and experiences which are evoked by the concept of neighbourhood. From recollections between friends, to the images of Sesame Street[1] and *Hairy Maclary From Donaldson's Dairy*[2], the lives of people and characters alike are expressed within a local context.

The formalisation of the concept of neighbourhood occurred in the early 1900s as a means by which city planners could address the growing populations of large cities. Neighbourhoods were designed to bring amenities into these areas to improve the living conditions of the population. Neighbourhoods therefore originated as self-contained zones with defined margins, effectively creating smaller villages or towns within the greater city limits (Johnson,

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[1] © Sesame Street
[2] A children's book by New Zealand author Lynley Dodd. See full citation in Bibliography.

2002). Despite the original intentions of developing the city in this way, neighbourhood boundaries have become defined by more than geographical limits; cities all over the globe have neighbourhoods which have become defined by the groups which populate them, ethnically or socioeconomically (Wacquant, 2007). The growing distinction between neighbourhoods on the basis of socioeconomic status and ethnicity represents a wider narrative of the marginalisation that occurs within cities (Wacquant, 2007; Wacquant, 2010). By dividing the city thus, the potential for isolation and segregation is created (Mumford, 1954), a phenomenon which has been seen repeatedly around the world (Wacquant, 2007). The same process can be observed in Christchurch, New Zealand where discrepancies in deprivation between neighbourhoods is acknowledged in the media (Stewart & Gates, 2014), and well documented in national statistics (see Statistics New Zealand Neighbourhood Quick Stats, Statistics New Zealand, 2013).

Neighbourhood plays an important role for children, who have a predominantly local understanding of environment (Tranter & Pawson, 2001). This thesis attempts to better understand neighbourhood as one of the many influences on a child's life in Aotearoa New Zealand. At the centre of this thesis are the interview-elicited perceptions of thirteen children between ten and thirteen years of age living within the high deprivation neighbourhood of Anhurst[3], Christchurch. The children in this study discussed their experiences, thoughts and feelings about their neighbourhood. This chapter sets the scene for the study by exploring the wider research context. The first section highlights the position of vulnerable children in Aotearoa New Zealand, followed by an exploration of the relevance of neighbourhood deprivation to these vulnerable children. The third section explores some of the initiatives which have attempted to address inequalities at a neighbourhood level. The chapter concludes with an overview of the aims and structure of the thesis.

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[3] In order to protect the identity of the participants, the pseudonym 'Anhurst' will be used in replacement of the name of the neighbourhood in this study.

Child Wellbeing in Aotearoa – Don't Forget the Children

'The true measure of a nation's standing is how well it attends to its children – their health and safety, their material security, their education and socialization, and their sense of being loved, valued, and included in the families and societies into which they were born.'

(UNICEF, 2007)

As the above statement by UNICEF indicates, the ability of a country to provide children with an environment conducive to their development and wellbeing is vital. It is this very ability which has become a central question for New Zealanders- is our country providing our children with the resources and environment they require to thrive? This question fuelled contentious and topical discussions about child poverty and wellbeing within Aotearoa New Zealand during the elections of 2014, and continues to do so as citizens assess the competence of our government.

The rights of children within Aotearoa New Zealand are clearly defined by the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC). Ratified by New Zealand in 1993, this piece of legislation has two Articles which are particularly pertinent for this thesis. Article 12 of the UNCRC outlines children's rights to express their views regarding issues that affect them, and further, to be provided with the opportunity to do so. This is the foundation for the mandate that children's perspectives about things which affect them should be sought. Article 19 of the convention also says that children should receive all help required to prevent them from violence of any kind, from neglect, or from any other form of maltreatment. Again, these measures are not only used when children are found to be in

danger, but are active provisions to prevent maltreatment and to enable children to receive the best chances for their lives (United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989).

It is evident that New Zealand's legislative commitments to the health and wellbeing of children are well defined, but the execution of these commitments has been less effectual. The statistics for child wellbeing in Aotearoa New Zealand reflect the way that children have been overlooked. Almost one quarter of children in Aotearoa New Zealand live in poverty[4] (New Zealand Government, 2015). Many of the health problems children face are more prevalent among Māori and Pacific children and for those living in the most deprived areas (Ministry of Health, 2012).

In the 2011 Green Paper for Vulnerable Children, child vulnerability is defined as the experience of multiple factors which affect the child and their environment (New Zealand Government, 2011). This is also reflected in work by Evans (2004) who identified that it is the compounded effect of multiple stressors which can generate the damaging environment for children who are living in poverty. Whilst low income itself, or any other factor in the child's life, does not decide a child's life course, it can contribute as a part of a conglomerate of stresses in the life of that child (New Zealand Government, 2011). Understanding that vulnerability, and the inequalities of health and wellness associated with it, can arise from compounded stresses - both economic and social – and demands attention in order to provide children with a more hopeful future (Dale, O'Brien, & StJohn, 2011).

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[4] Defined by 60% of the average income of New Zealand after housing costs.

The New Zealand Context

Amidst the debate about the welfare of Aotearoa New Zealand's children, it is impossible to ignore the increasing interest within international literature regarding the place-based influences upon child health (Stevenson, Pearce, Blakely, Ivory, & Witten, 2009). The significance of neighbourhood for children is acknowledged in Aotearoa New Zealand; Statistics New Zealand has determined that high level deprivation (deprivation level 9 or 10) is one of eleven factors that have been shown to contribute to the vulnerability of children. Neighbourhood deprivation consequently represents a sizeable risk to children as 20% of all houses with children are found in neighbourhoods that have a deprivation index of 9 or 10, according to the latest New Zealand General Social Survey in 2012 (Statistics New Zealand, 2012). The scale divides New Zealand into tenths so that level 10 on the deprivation scale indicates the most deprived 10 percent of areas in New Zealand. Conversely, 1 on the deprivation scale indicates the least deprived 10 percent of areas. The neighbourhood of Anhurst in which this research is conducted has a high level of deprivation according to this measure.

The level of deprivation of an area is derived from nine 'dimensions of deprivation' or variables of different weighting (Atkinson, Salmond, & Crampton, 2014). The dimensions included are shown in the table below:

Dimensions of deprivation title	Description
Communication	People aged <65 with no access to the internet at home
Income	People aged 18-64 receiving a means tested benefit
Income	People living in equivalised households with income below an income threshold
Employment	People aged 18-64 unemployed
Qualifications	People aged 18-64 without any qualifications
Owned home	People not living in own home
Support	People aged <65 living in a single parent family
Living space	People living in equivalised households below a bedroom occupancy threshold
Transport	People with no access to a car

Figure 1: (Atkinson, Salmond, & Crampton, 2014)

While the use of NZDep2013 Index of Deprivation provides information on the makeup of

Anhurst according to the above dimensions, there is no account taken of the subjective

experiences of the residents - it cannot fully capture the perceptions children have of

neighbourhood, and how they experience their neighbourhoods as a result of these

perceptions. Children's perceptions of their neighbourhood influence the effects that

neighbourhood has on them (Visscher & Bie, 2008).

Neighbourhood – Local and National Initiatives

The acknowledged role that neighbourhood plays in the lives of residents, especially in the lives of children, has been a catalyst for neighbourhood-based initiatives in New Zealand over the last twenty years. Community renewal projects have been undertaken by central government, as well as independent incorporated societies, many of which have focused on housing (House of Representatives, 2003). These projects are in response to the research and publicity regarding cold and damp homes (Howden-Chapman, et al., 2009; Howden-Chapman, Crane, Chapman, & Fougere, 2011; Howden-Chapman, Baker, & Bierre, 2013) and their relation to health and neighbourhood (Mackenbach & Howden-Chapman, 2002). The highly politicised child poverty campaigns have also highlighted the importance of the neighbourhood context as the income gap continues to disadvantage children in areas of New Zealand (Child Poverty Action Group , 2008).

There have been a number of initiatives within the neighbourhood of Anhurst since the turn of the 21st century. These initiatives have been varied in nature and success rate, and have included initiatives run by both government and non-governmental organisations targeting both physical and social conditions of the neighbourhood. Collaborations between the Canterbury District Health Board and the University of Otago Medical School Christchurch resulted in the introduction of a health worker based within the neighbourhood setting, working within the community alongside residents in a trusted and inclusive way[5]. Despite positive evaluations, this role was not continued by the District Health Board.

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[5] References have been removed in keeping with ethical recommendations of privacy and identity protection of participants.

Community events have also been implemented as part of an aim to revitalise areas which are associated with poverty, driven by dominant community groups within the neighbourhood. In particular, one neighbourhood community event which has had success was instigated with the explicit intention of developing neighbourhood pride, celebrating the diversity of the area, engaging residents, building capacity and promoting wellbeing as well as providing opportunities for residents to access training and employment. This event is also seen to actively present the neighbourhood as a positive place to the wider city of Christchurch[6].

There have been attempts at understanding the perceptions of residents in order to address their concerns and desires for the neighbourhood and to implement neighbourhood-based interventions, however, many of these coordinated efforts to understand and incorporate residents' perspectives remain focused on either adult or high school aged participants. Youth forums have been particularly well documented in this neighbourhood. These forums and reports have been conducted in the spirit of neighbourhood revival, but there has been little consideration and few coordinated efforts to understand children's experiences of Anhurst before or after these initiatives, and to address the needs that they identify.

Thesis Aims and Outline

This thesis aims to explore children's understanding of their neighbourhood in a high deprivation area. In particular, this thesis attempts to understand these questions:

- How do children from a low decile school in Christchurch perceive their neighbourhood?

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[6] See footnote 5.

- How are children's perceptions of their neighbourhood reflected in their interaction with their neighbourhood?

- How does a child's interpretation of their neighbourhood impact on other aspects of their lived experience?

These questions are addressed in the ensuing chapters. Chapter Two discusses the current literature about children's perceptions of their neighbourhood. The first section examines the transactional model of children's relationship with neighbourhood. This is followed by a section which discusses both the physical and social features which contribute to children's perceptions of their neighbourhood, drawing on the considerable amount of literature available. Finally, this chapter identifies two important areas that are affected by children's perceptions of their neighbourhood and their construction of a sense of place and identity.

Chapter Three presents the theoretical and methodological frameworks which underpin this research. The constructionist approach taken in this research is discussed including the strengths of this approach in seeking children's perceptions of neighbourhood.

Chapters Four and Five explore the findings of this research. Chapter 4 analyses the burden that reputation and outsider opinions of the neighbourhood places upon children as they construct identity and a sense of place. This chapter examines the interconnectedness of place and identity for these children and discusses the way that they experience spatial stigma in their neighbourhood setting. Their experience of spatial stigma is explored in order to identify how these experiences affect their process of constructing a sense of place. The chapter draws upon theories of spatial stigma, identity, respect and construction of a sense of place.

The second findings chapter explores and examines the concept of social capital for children, ~~and means by which social capital~~ can be used to understand children's descriptions of their

neighbourhood and what they value about their neighbourhood. Theories of social capital as discussed by Bourdieu, Putnam and Coleman are drawn on. The final chapter, Chapter Six, draws together the significant findings in the thesis to consider the key implications of the research as a whole. This chapter considers children's use of their tight social networks as a method to mitigate the influences of spatial stigma.

Chapter Two: The Literature of Neighbourhood Effects, Perceptions and Children

Introduction

The Oxford English Dictionary defines neighbourhood as 'A district or community within a town or city. The area surrounding a particular place, person, or object.' It is easy for us, when asked what a neighbourhood is, to align quite quickly with a description of a geographical location, an area in which people reside, a context in which individuals live. Ideally we may use language such as 'community' or 'suburb'. These descriptions provide an image of a definite or circumscribed location. The ways in which children may both perceive and experience their neighbourhood, however, extend beyond these definitions.

Research into the manner in which neighbourhoods affect children has been broad and varied, reflecting the complex influences upon child development. Some commentators have continued to debate whether neighbourhood is a significant influence in its own right, arguing that neighbourhood effects are mediated by other factors such as family characteristics (Leventhal & Brooks-Gunn, 2000; Ochieng, 2011). Despite the debate, the overarching agreement is that context is vitally important in shaping children. Rigorous research has quantitatively shown that neighbourhood does exert some effect upon child outcomes, independent of other factors such as family (Leventhal & Brooks-Gunn, 2000; Edwards & Bromfield, 2009). Not only does neighbourhood have the potential to affect child health (Chen, Matthews, & Boyce, 2002; Bartlett, 1999), but it has repeatedly been shown to play a crucial role in many aspects of children's lives, impacting upon social and learning dimensions, as well as upon their perceptions of self (Tranter & Pawson, 2001; Visscher &

Bie, 2008). In particular, neighbourhood has been shown to have a significant bearing on the lives of children living in low-socioeconomic areas (Castonguay & Jutras, 2009).

The interactions between neighbourhoods and children have been shown to be highly complex. This chapter will examine the contribution that international literature has made to the understanding of children's experience and perceptions of neighbourhood. The first section will examine the available literature investigating the transactional model of children's relationship with their local context. This will be followed by a section which discusses children's experiences of both the physical and social features of neighbourhood which contribute to their perceptions. Finally, this chapter will consider how children's identities and the process of constructing a sense of place are interconnected and may be impacted by spatial stigma, as well as the importance of social networks as a source of social capital.

Children 'Making' Sense of Their Neighbourhood: Transactional Relationships

Children's ability to understand and to form an opinion of their neighbourhood has been well documented (Badland, et al., 2009; Corbishley, 1995; Oliver, et al., 2011; Schaefer-McDaniel, 2007; Usta & Farver, 2005), as has their aptitude for identifying and critiquing the effects of their neighbourhoods upon themselves (Ferguson, Cassels, MacAllister, & Evans, 2013; Kruger & Chawla, 2002; Schaefer-McDaniel, 2007). It is this ability which underpins the significance of seeking children's voices and perspectives.

Perceptions held by children about their neighbourhoods represent a specific phenomenon that has far-reaching effects in their lives, from how much time they spend outdoors, to how they view themselves. Children's perspectives and perceptions of community are dependent on the

conditions of their family, and their social and material existence (Morrow, 2000). Listening to children's voices is vital to understand the way they perceive their neighbourhood and which features of neighbourhood contribute to these perceptions. Viewpoints held by children have the potential to guide area developments by revealing features or particular phenomena that are relevant to children's wellbeing as the immediate environment shapes their everyday life (Bernard, et al., 2007; Breslow, 1999).

Parental influence on children is a recurring topic in the academic literature. There are conflicting reports on parental involvement in the development of children's neighbourhood perception, but parental perceptions of neighbourhood are widely acknowledged as a determinant in children's interactions with their neighbourhood, and these parental perceptions are influenced by neighbourhood characteristics (Kimbro & Schachter, 2011). In the ethnographic study conducted by Irwin et al (2006), it was found that parents' perspectives of the safety or accessibility of the neighbourhood for their children affected how much time the children spent out in the neighbourhood and concomitantly impacted on their physical activity. This same result has been demonstrated in other studies (see Datar, Nicosia, & Shier, 2013). Children's perceptions have also been shown to mirror parental perceptions and resultant behaviours. However, explicitly seeking children's voices remains important as children can develop perceptions of their neighbourhood which are different from their adult counterparts (Castonguay & Jutras, 2009; Rogers, 2011; Spilsbury, Korbin, & Coulton, 2009). Additionally, their methods of expression and the features they identify as significant in their neighbourhood may be quite different from adults and represent their own subjective experiences (Nordstrom, 2009).

Although it is important to recognise that children develop perceptions of their neighbourhood through experiences, the interaction between children and surroundings is not limited to a unidirectional relationship. Children develop an intimate understanding of neighbourhood

through their interaction with it each day, but occurs simultaneously with their active involvement in shaping neighbourhood through their behaviours (Cope, 2008; Ergler, 2011; Loebach & Gilliland, 2010; Visscher & Bie, 2008). This is particularly well captured in the statement by Roosa et al; "decisions and actions by individual families influence neighborhood processes" (2003, p. 61). This is taken a step further, identifying that "In turn, neighborhood processes or families' perceptions of them influence families' decisions and actions" (Roosa et al pg. 61). In this statement, the researchers are reflecting on what is termed the 'transactional model'. This model explicitly acknowledges that children are able to do more than absorb neighbourhood influences, but also play an active role in their construction (Roosa et al., 2003).

The relationship between children and their neighbourhood is an interaction by which they are 'making' sense of their context in the most literal sense. Each interaction and encounter is a situation in which the child interprets the event or experience to formulate their perception of the situation. Neighbourhood in all its many facets is understood by children in the same way; by interaction and analysis in a transactional process (Roosa et al., 2003). Children, no matter their background, have a local understanding of environment (Tranter & Pawson, 2001).

Children's neighbourhood perceptions affect them in two ways - the first is identified within Castonguay and Jutras' work wherein they state that, "[c]hildren's feelings, attitudes, preferences, and other cognitions about their day-to-day environment contribute to their place identity, which forms part of their self-identity" (2009, p. 107). The second aspect of the influence of neighbourhood on children focuses upon how perceptions of neighbourhood shape the way individuals (including children) interact with their neighbourhood, such as levels of physical activity, freedom, and social interactions with neighbours (Rogers, 2012) . Both of these categories highlight the importance of how children view neighbourhood, but it

also indirectly raises concerns for children living in disadvantaged areas where a poor perception of their context could have an impact on their wellbeing.

Characteristics and Experiences – The Neighbourhood

Particular aspects of neighbourhood have been identified as important to children, and play a part in the transactional relationship as children 'make' sense of their context. In the literature, the perceptions children have of their neighbourhood are predominantly captured through discussions of things they do or do not like, and what is important to them in their neighbourhood. These views are presented by commentators in two ways- the characteristics of children's neighbourhoods and children's experiences of their neighbourhood.

Firstly, however, we must acknowledge that the influences upon children vary on a neighbourhood by neighbourhood basis (Avan & Kirkwood, 2010). In Tranter and Pawson's (2001) analysis of children from four schools in Christchurch, comparison is made between experiences of children in each suburb, as well as internationally. Cultural differences were identified, such as the lack of collective responsibility for children in Christchurch compared to Germany, or the different attitudes toward neighbourhood safety even between suburbs of Christchurch (Tranter & Pawson, 2001). In another study, Nordstrom (2010) identifies three areas which were important from children's perspectives in Finland and Italy; basic services, safety and security, and urban and environmental qualities. The emphasis children place on these three areas differs on the basis of the neighbourhoods they live in and their culture (Nordstrom, 2010). Although this is a small study, it is helpful in recognising that children do have important responses to their neighbourhood at both the physical and social level. Perceptions that children develop are variable just as the neighbourhoods they live in are

variable. However, despite this variability in location, the consequential nature of the interaction between children and their environment remains consistent.

Quality and Physical Features of Neighbourhood

Quality is one feature of neighbourhood which has been identified as important in children's neighbourhood perceptions; however it is not a concept which is used consistently across the literature. In some cases, neighbourhood quality has been measured as a composite of poverty, crime, single parenting and unemployment within the specified area (see Ferguson, Cassels, MacAllister, & Evans, 2013; Roosa et al., 2003), whilst other studies are less specific in their application of the term, utilising it synonymously with 'poor' or 'low- income' (see Evans, 2004).

Low-quality neighbourhoods, as they are defined above, have been repeatedly shown to disadvantage children both during childhood, and into later life (Curtis, Dooley, & Phipps, 2004; Homel & Burns, 1989; Wickrama & Noh, 2010). One of the few commentators who has attempted to capture the importance of neighbourhood quality for children and its contribution to their place perception is Schaefer-McDaniel (2007). For children in particular, neighbourhood quality was found to be associated with the proximity of friends, family and child-friendly or safe spaces (Schaefer-McDaniel, 2007). A child's opinion of their neighbourhood quality affects the way that their wider perception of neighbourhood develops. Aspects of neighbourhood quality that are important to children, such as parks, have been repeatedly associated with children's perceptions of peacefulness. Children associate such places with the presence of friends, and as a space removed from roads and noise (Schaefer-McDaniel, 2007). This has been particularly evident in the way that children

discuss the parks in their neighbourhood. Limited appropriate spaces for children can result in a decreased capacity for encouraging social interaction (Galster, Marcotte, Mandell, Wolman, & Augustine, 2007).

The importance of appropriate and safe spaces for children is well reported in the literature in relation to the way it influences children's physical activity and mobility (see Alton, Adab, Roberts, & Barrett, 2007; Papas, et al., 2007). In studies which have reported children's perceptions of the ease of access to parks, children have been found to access such places more if their perception is that they are easy to get to (Timperio, Salmon, Telford, & Crawford, 2005). In a similar fashion, the amount of time children spend outside, and their likelihood of walking the neighbourhood, can in part be affected by perceived distance to locations of play (Blackman, Harvey, Lawrence, & Simon, 2001; Hume, Salmon, & Ball, 2007).

The important relationship between features of neighbourhood and perceptions of neighbourhood have been illustrated in studies in which alterations to the neighbourhood correspondingly changed people's perceptions and were found to decrease mental health problems (e.g. Blackman, Harvey, Lawrence, & Simon, 2001). This is also reflected in the analysis undertaken by Aneshensel and Sucoff (1996) in which they link the mental health of adolescents with the perceptions of neighbourhood that they develop as a result of neighbourhood quality, particularly its socioeconomic status. Neighbourhood quality and conditions have been shown to result in social, emotional, and behavioural difficulties, as well as constricted opportunities which manifest in many forms, from poor educational outcomes to delinquency (Roosa et al., 2003).

In studying the physical features of neighbourhood, the concept of physical disorder used by Schaefer-McDaniel (2007) in relation to physical characteristics important to children can be

most helpful. Physical disorder is useful nomenclature as it alludes to the composite nature of the physical features of neighbourhood; all the physical features of neighbourhood identified by children such as traffic, cleanliness, litter, condition of homes, noise from cars and music and graffiti contribute to the overall level of disorder (Ferguson, Cassels, MacAllister, & Evans, 2013; Schaefer-McDaniel, 2007). Children in Schaefer-McDaniel's study (2007), conducted in Manhattan and the Bronx, were found to recognise physical disorder of their neighbourhood during the child-led tours as they walked through the areas with which they were familiar. Studies in Finland and Italy also found that children had an awareness of the physical condition of their neighbourhood and this impacted on other aspects of their experiences. Perceived 'safety and security' and 'urban and environmental qualities', both of which children identified as important, were impacted by their perceptions of the physical conditions or disorder of their neighbourhood (Nordstrom, 2010).

Accessibility is also an important variable in evaluating physical neighbourhood characteristics. Residents have been shown to be more likely to interact with people within what is termed their 'tertiary' neighbourhood or the area they demarcate as safe or easily accessible. This means individuals' interactions with and use of services and public space, and knowledge of other residents, can be shaped by the geographic form of their neighbourhood (Sampson, Morenoff, & Gannon-Rowley, 2002). As individuals can determine accessibility by proximity, areas of lower socioeconomic status which have fewer or lower-quality public schools, health clinics, recreational areas, and family support services can disadvantage residents simply through their distance from the neighbourhood. Limited access to such resources has been associated with constriction of opportunities for skill- building and decreased high school completion. Children are also afforded fewer opportunities to draw upon resources from other neighbourhoods due to isolation. This has downstream effects upon both further education and future wages (Galster, Marcotte,

Mandell, Wolman, & Augustine, 2007). Additionally, absence of health care facilities can increase the presence of poor health among children in these neighbourhoods (Ellen & Turner, 1997; Jencks & Mayer, 1990).

Social Disorder in Neighbourhood

Even though the physical features of neighbourhood are important, the attitudes within a deprived area can be equally, or sometimes more, detrimental to the interactions which occur within the neighbourhood (Aneshensel & Sucoff, 1996). Deprivation is associated with less support for education, employment and pregnancy prevention, increased acceptability of illegal incomes, fewer outside resources, and negative attitudes toward the neighbourhood from outsiders. It is also related to attitudes that are formed within neighbourhoods as a result of its influence upon family characteristics. It has been found to contribute to 'mood spillover', or the way in which neighbourhood context becomes characterised by the stress and 'disorganisation' experienced by its residents (Wickrama & Noh, 2010).

The necessity of interpersonal contact between neighbours has been shown repeatedly, particularly by its ability to decrease the stress-driven social processes which can affect families in deprived neighbourhoods. Varying levels of social cohesion which develop through this kind of interpersonal support have been found to play a role in the prevalence of child maltreatment in deprived neighbourhoods. Interpersonal exchange can provide support for adults and result in decreased detrimental outcomes for children (Caughy, Nettles, & O'Campo, 2008). Social processes can also affect children's learning. The conglomeration of burdens in deprived neighbourhoods can diminish the neighbourhood itself as a pedagogical environment - socialisation by adults is vitally important to provide models for behaviour and

discipline development in children, but is constrained in places that are perceived as unsafe or have characteristic 'mood spillover' (Ellen & Turner, 1997; Jencks & Mayer, 1990; Visscher & Bie, 2008).

Opportunities for children to socialise are important for wellbeing, but deprived areas can limit positive interactions through decreased social cohesion (Homel & Burns, 1989; Rogers, 2011; Rogers, 2012; Wickrama & Noh, 2010). Neighbourhood crime and violence are further factors in the development of social cohesion and can prevent socialisation and cause isolation. Discontent and feelings of fear within a neighbourhood which stem from the social makeup of the area can be as influential in preventing children from utilising their outdoor neighbourhood as the quality of those facilities (Bartlett, 1999; Fabiansson, 2007). Exposure to negative behaviour can also result in the child adopting similar negative patterns of behaviour because it becomes normalised (Ellen & Turner, 1997; Jencks & Mayer, 1990).

Children's social interactions in the neighbourhood are used to understand their experience and perceptions of neighbourhood in multiple ways in the literature, from how children access friends and play, to their socialisation and exposure to illicit activity. Social interaction in all its forms is an evident influence on the views children develop about their neighbourhood. Children identify positive social interactions as something they desire, and are acutely aware of the implications of negative social interactions. Research has established that good neighbourhoods for children include access to friendships, and that the ability to build and develop their own social lives is important to their 'sense of well-being, optimism, and a hopeful view of their neighbourhood' (Rogers, 2011; Rogers, 2012). There is extensive evidence as to the importance of neighbourhood as a place to meet other children - some commentators go as far as to present this as the central function of neighbourhood for children (Visscher & Bie, 2008). However, like many other aspects of neighbourhood accessibility, individual's freedom to establish friendships can be restricted by fear of the

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context (Bartlett, 1999). The outcome of constraining children's freedom and ability to play, particularly in limiting their social interaction and pedagogical encounters, is detrimental for them on all levels of development – social, emotional, cognitive, and physical (Oliver, et al., 2011). Research by Fattore et al (2009) associates child well-being with freedom, agency, and exercise. As previously mentioned, a number of studies have shown less use of parks in low socioeconomic areas (Loptson, Muhajarine, Ridalls, & Smart Cities, 2012; Veitch, Salmon, & Ball, 2008), but this phenomenon was only incompletely explained by the distance of parks from the children's homes (Veitch, Salmon, & Ball, 2008). Use of such spaces can also be associated with views held by the individuals who live there. In low socioeconomic areas, parks or neighbourhood greens are not always perceived as areas that should be used by families and children as they are seen as places used for criminal activity (Loptson, Muhajarine, Ridalls, & Smart Cities, 2012). Restriction of these areas of life can result in children utilising space differently, and can influence decisions to turn to other spaces within the neighbourhood to use as play spaces such as alleys, roads, empty lots and sidewalks (Bartlett, 1999; Platt, 2012).

 Use of parks and other public space in low-socioeconomic areas is a topic of some disagreement within the literature. Some research has shown that parks are areas associated with illicit activity, whilst other research has identified that these spaces are important for children as they feel peaceful or safe (Schaefer-McDaniel, 2007). Despite the apparent dissonance between these reports, what is evident in the research available is that perceptions of accessibility, of safety and of deprivation influences the responses of children, which is evident in the individuality of responses to this question of park use in low-socioeconomic areas. Studies which have reflected no link between subjective wellbeing (particularly mental health) and children's perceptions of neighbourhood safety have been quantitative in nature and limited in their methods of working with child participants. Despite the limitations, this

quantitative research is helpful in highlighting the importance of individual characteristics in determining neighbourhood perceptions (Fagg, Curtis, Clark, Congdon, & Stansfield, 2008).

Within New Zealand, the literature is consistent with similar studies that have been conducted overseas, revealing that less positive perceptions arise in areas of greater deprivation (Witten, Exeter, & Field, 2003). In Auckland, studies showed that children's outdoor play is determined by more than availability of outdoor spaces, but includes a wider range of factors including socioeconomic factors (Ergler, Kearns & Witten, 2013), and that factors of their neighbourhood context can determine the methods by which they reach school (Mitchell, Kearns & Collins, 2006). A large body of research within New Zealand also focuses upon utilising children's and parents' perspectives to elucidate the role their perceptions play in limiting physical mobility and activity (Oliver, et al., 2011; Witten, Kearns, Carroll, Asiasiga & Tava'e, 2013).

Implications for Children

Visscher & Bie (2008) demonstrated that the manner in which children construe their neighbourhood defines the way that they understand and interact with it, and the way that they construct a sense of place and identity (Visscher & Bie, 2008). The international literature goes into great depth regarding the interconnectedness of place and identity. To fully understand this interconnectedness, this section draws upon constructs of place and place-identity. In addition to this, the literature deals with the importance of stigma and social networks for children living in socioeconomically deprived areas.

Sense of Place and Place-Identity

The ability to identify oneself with a certain geographical locality is more important than simply giving a postal address. Knowing where an individual is from is an important part of formulating identity – both formulating a perception of identity for oneself and also about others (Hall, Coffey, & Williamson, 1999). Children develop their own identity alongside

their perceptions of neighbourhood and construction of a sense of place (Keene & Padilla, 2014; van der Burgt, 2008). Place is important for identity construction for young people as one's residence or place of origin allows an individual to be placed in more than a geographical location, but in a place which is imbued with associations and meaning (Hall, Coffey, & Williamson, 1999). This section will analyse the international literature which deals with these aspects of children's perceptions of their neighbourhood, and examine the importance of the interconnectedness of place and identity in children's neighbourhood setting.

Where a person is from has meaning. As is described by Hall et al (1999, p. 509), "To be from somewhere is to be implicated in a certain indexicality – a body of shared understandings and assumptions premised on a sharing of the same (cultural and physical) space". This phenomenon has been described as 'place-identity' (Proshansky et al., 1983. p. 57). Place identity is not simply based upon a physical setting; it is also made up of the social interactions and processes that occur within that space (Stedman, 2002). Due to the various facets of the social world which take shape within geographical contexts, these physical places become a source of meaning. The specific meanings with which places become associated then contribute to the identities of those who belong to that place (Sampson & Goodrich, 2009).

A central component in understanding the development of a sense of place is the concept of place attachment (Sampson & Goodrich, 2009). Place attachment is the emotional component which underlies the way in which one relates to a certain context (Eisenhauer, Krannich, & Blahna, 2000). These emotions can relate to longevity or having a particular claim to that place such as one's origin, as well as narratives that people share about their context (Sampson & Goodrich, 2009). Place attachment involves feelings of belonging (Scannell & Gifford, 2010) and has been found to have particular implications for the development of

children's friendships (Chatterjee, 2005). As has been established, the qualities of the neighbourhood, its physical condition and its social makeup have all been shown to have a possible affect upon perceptions of neighbourhood. Diminished place attachment has been shown to be related to aspects of neighbourhood which are also associated with poor neighbourhood perceptions and interactions, such as perceptions of crime and low income levels (Livingston, Bailey, & Kearns, 2010).

In research looking at deprived neighbourhoods, children and young people develop ways of discussing neighbourhood which reveal their identification with it. In a study in Buffalo, New York, children were found to accept and identify with aspects of their neighbourhood whilst rejecting others, often identifying themselves as being "'of the community' but not 'of the space'" (Cope, 2008, p. 2860). Not only does this reiterate just how defined a child's conceptualisation of neighbourhood can be, but these types of statements show that children's perceptions of their neighbourhood influence the way they relate to it, and how they construct identity. Perceptions of their neighbourhood can influence what they believe it means to be associated with a neighbourhood both socially and physically.

Stigma

How people understand and identify with place is also influenced by how others interpret it (Proshansky, Fabian, & Kaminoff, 1983). Stigmatisation is a pertinent example of the way that outsider opinion contributes to the understanding one has of oneself. It is a process which relies upon the identification and labelling of difference (Link & Phelan, 2006). Being different does not innately create stigmatisation; rather, stigmatisation arises from the process by which certain traits or characteristics are labelled and are deemed normal or abnormal,

positive or negative. The prescription of what is or is not normal results in a label of 'other' or 'them' and this process of stigmatisation can result in a shameful or 'spoiled identity' (Goffman, 1963).

Stigma is also an important concept for children's perceptions of neighbourhood. Wacquant (2007) first introduced the concept 'territorial stigmatisation' to describe stigma which is held toward specific places, and this concept has been discussed by other commentators under the title 'spatial stigma' (see Keene & Padilla, 2014). Spatial stigma is formed through 'discourses of vilification' in which different parties develop a way of speaking and portraying a place in a denigrating fashion (Wacquant, 2007, p. 67). This discourse is formed out of the contributions of various sources – from the commonplace experiences of those who live there, as well as the more public avenues of academia, journalism and politics. The discourse creates socially constructed boundaries around deprived areas, disempowers and reinforces the neighbourhoods as 'blemished' (Wacquant, 2007)**.**

Permentier, Van Ham & Bolt (2008) argue that spatial stigma is often presented as an outcome of characteristics inherent to the neighbourhood being studied; its physical conditions, ethnic makeup and social structure. There is a lack of emphasis upon the contribution of wider contextual influences - spatial stigma cannot be analysed solely from the point of view of characteristics of neighbourhood; attention must also be given to socio-cultural interpretation of these characteristics (Permentier, Van Ham & Bolt 2008, p. 837 referencing Teijmant, 1979). Bourdieu's concept of symbolic violence or symbolic power also highlights the need to consider the wider pressures in the process of stigmatisation. Symbolic power is an active force in social interactions, particularly in the process of stigmatisation (Bourdieu, 1989). Symbolic power is the power to define and divide between groups, determining what is unifying and what is differentiating. It is this type of power which is held by groups who have symbolic capital and defines 'good' and 'bad places'

(Bourdieu, 1984). Spatial stigmatisation may not be entirely divorced from the characteristics of that place, but it is the socio-cultural interpretation and imbalance of power which contributes to the process of labelling and marginalisation.

Spatial stigma is not explored in depth in public health, particularly in the case of children's experiences (Keene & Padilla, 2014). However, there have been a number of observed reactions demonstrated by individuals in response to stigmatisation of place (Castro & Lindbladh, 2004; Keene & Padilla, 2014; Popay, et al., 2003; Warr, 2005). A number of studies examined the way that individuals perceive their neighbourhood reputation, and the resultant responses of the residents. Castro and Lindbladh (2004) undertook an interesting analysis of young people's discourse of an urban poverty zone in Switzerland. Four discourses were identified: identification discourse in which the speaker claims the area as home either presently or reminiscently; glorification discourse in which the speaker owns the stigma and often relates stigmatisations with being 'cool'; normalisation discourse in which the speaker presents the problems as existing everywhere rather than specifically in their neighbourhood; and detachment discourse in which one sees the problem and deals with it by 'I just live there' attitudes. These ways of speaking about the neighbourhood, and therefore how one perceives the neighbourhood, has implications for the way in which the individual interacts and functions within the neighbourhood context. Individuals may withdraw from social interaction in that neighbourhood or, conversely, distance themselves from mainstream society (Castro & Lindbladh, 2004). This battle to reconcile one's construction of a sense of place with outsider opinion has implications for children's everyday experiences within the neighbourhood setting, as well as their health and wellbeing. Stigma has been found to relate to decreased wellness, including mental health (Hatzenbuehler, Phelan, & Link, 2013; Tabuchi, Fukuhara, & Iso, 2012). In addition, the literature repeatedly associates stigma with stress (Keene & Padilla, 2014; Pascoe & Richman, 2009; Warr, 2005). This stress arises from

the continued challenge to identity as individuals attempt to construct a sense of place. In particular, residents of stigmatised places are constrained in sharing where they are from with outsiders because disclosing this information may elicit a negative reaction (Keene & Padilla, 2014; van der Burgt, 2008).

Social Capital

The interaction of place and identity has a large social component – a place of residence includes people as well as physical boundaries, and this means that there is a collective identification with place in addition to an individual one (Hall, Coffey, & Williamson, 1999). Social networks are therefore an integral component in discussions of perceptions of neighbourhood. Networks have a particular emphasis in perceptions held by children, and the prominence of these networks in children's discussions of their neighbourhood will be explored in this section.

Although, once again, children are underrepresented in research in this area, there is agreement in the literature that networks are vitally important to children in their neighbourhood (Schaefer-McDaniel, 2007; Visscher & Bie, 2008). Research by Visscher & Bie (2008) illustrated that children do indeed place value on physical places within their neighbourhood, but that the value assigned to these places was due to the relationships they could access there more than it was due to the physical conditions of those places. In a similar vein, Schaefer-McDaniel (2004) has identified that social networks may look quite different for children in comparison to adults, with more value placed on their peers (Schaefer- McDaniel, 2004). Rogers (2011, 2012) emphasises that these peer networks are vital, as children's friendships are important for their well-being. Children in these studies readily expressed the vitality of friendships in the neighbourhood context. Van der Burgt (2008)

further reported that when children knew people and had friends within their neighbourhood they felt safe.

In neighbourhood research, social networks are described in terms of their social capital. Social capital is a concept which has been discussed in various forms in the literature (see Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 2000), but it has become widely interpreted as the resources available through social networks (Granovetter, 1973). There are three types of social capital which are used when discussing social networks in neighbourhood settings. These are bonding social capital, bridging social capital and linking social capital. Bonding social capital relies on tight social networks which are often associated with high levels of social cohesion. Individuals within these networks share a number of socioeconomic characteristics which makes these networks more homogenous in nature (Weller & Bruegel, 2009). Bridging networks, on the other hand, are 'weak' ties which extend beyond one's close network and access external relationships. Bonding and bridging networks therefore access different resources (Putnam, 2000). Linking ties are formed by relationships which connect in a 'vertical' manner, building connections between individuals with differing levels of power (Warr, 2005).

Much of the literature which discusses social capital in neighbourhoods focuses upon socioeconomically deprived areas, and upon the social capital of adults, leaving social capital from children's points of view under researched. Prominent discussions of social capital which have considered children have represented them as passive recipients of social capital (James & Prout, 1997; Morrow, 1999) and as reliant upon parents or other adults to provide them with active networks (Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 2000). A notable exception to this is a study by Schaefer-McDaniel (2004) in which she developed a social capital framework for

children. There are three areas identified as dimensions of social capital for children. The first, social networks and sociability, condenses two dimensions of Bourdieu's conceptualisation of social capital (1986). Bourdieu states that social capital is available through the presence of networks, thus the inclusion of social networks into Schaefer-McDaniel's framework. However, in addition to the existence of such networks, Bourdieu adds that an ability to maintain and utilise these networks is needed. This he described as sociability, or the ability to build and nurture and ultimately take advantage of networks of social relationships (Bourdieu, 1986). A focus on networks of friendships is particularly important (Schaefer-McDaniel, 2004). Trust and reciprocity is also included in the framework, drawing upon Putnam's conceptualisation of social capital in which there are norms and expectations that guide the way that networks function (Putnam, 2000).Finally, the third dimension addresses the sense of belonging and place attachment in children's social capital. This final component of social capital for young people and children draws attention to the relationship between children's construction of a sense of place and their social networks. However, little research has contributed to understanding this link.

A growing number of commentators emphasise children's agency, as well as their ability to develop their own networks to address their needs (Bassani, 2003; Leonard, 2005; Morrow, 1999; Schaefer-McDaniel, 2004; Weller, 2006; Weller & Bruegel, 2009). These commentators support the need to emphasise children's perspectives of their social networks as they may differ from their adult counterparts. Discussion within the literature focuses upon the different roles that the types of social capital play in contributing to the wellbeing of both individuals and communities. What remains unclear is the way that children build and utilise these social networks.

Conclusion

Although valuable additions have been made to the body of knowledge regarding children and neighbourhood, more research is needed to understand children's perceptions of neighbourhood as both a physical and social space. Research conducted in New Zealand has been limited to children's perceptions and experiences of neighbourhood as regards their transport to school, perceptions of safety, neighbourhood effects upon obesity and 'liked' and 'disliked' spaces. There is still a great deal of opportunity to identify what children's perceptions of neighbourhood are regarding their networks and sense of place in a low socioeconomic neighbourhood of New Zealand. The next chapter will discuss the constructionist approach taken in the current research as well as the methods used to address the research questions.

Chapter Three: Methodology and Methods

Introduction

The focus of my research was upon gaining an insight into the perceptions that children have of their neighbourhood in the socioeconomically deprived area of Anhurst, Christchurch. I wanted to understand what children think of their neighbourhood, and how these perceptions impact upon their lived experience.The previous chapter identified the importance of seeking children's perceptions of neighbourhood as individuals who interact with their context and form unique perceptions. Intense interest in pursuing children's voices in matters which affect them has also arisen as a result of the 1989 UN Convention on the Rights of Children and a growing presence of children's geographers who focus on children's perspectives. Prior to this, children's perspectives of neighbourhood in quantitative studies resulted in a lack of depth, identifying needs through objective measures rather than consulting and involving children (Morrow, 2000).

In this chapter, I describe the qualitative research paradigm for this study and present the rationale for utilising this methodological approach in a low decile school in Christchurch, New Zealand. Explanation of the assumptions and philosophical ideologies underpinning this research are discussed, together with the significance of contextual influences. The methods used throughout the research process, including a description of the participants, selection methods, and my epistemological standpoint are outlined in detail. This chapter also includes explanations of the data collection and analysis, and how information was disseminated to relevant parties.

A Constructionist Approach

Qualitative research methods were employed for this investigation of children's perceptions of neighbourhood. Qualitative research provides a rich, in-depth knowledge of the phenomena being studied, addressing questions of 'what', 'how' and 'why' rather than 'how much' or 'how many'. This research approach seeks to access in detail the views of the participants, and to understand the meaning people give to their behaviour (Davidson and Tolich, 2003). Flexibility of methodology is important in order to follow the unexpected directions that arise in the data collection process (Green & Thorogood, 2004). Denzin & Lincoln (2011) emphasise this need for flexibility in the qualitative research process through their description of a qualitative researcher as a 'bricoleur', a practitioner who is capable of adapting to the unpredictable nature of the data, and selecting appropriate methods. Consequently, I too needed to be responsive to new and multiple interpretations of phenomena as they arose.

This research is located within a constructionist paradigm. Constructionism holds that "all knowledge, and therefore all meaningful reality as such, is contingent upon human practices, being constructed in and out of interaction between human beings and their world, and developed and transmitted within an essentially social context" (Crotty, 1998, p.42). Human beings construct meaning as they encounter and interact with their context. This is neither objectivity - which views objects as imbued with meaning, nor is it subjectivity - in which meaning is simply imposed over the context. Rather, constructionism maintains a tension between objectivity and subjectivity in a process of encounter and interpretation; meaning is not something to be discovered, but constructed (Crotty, 1998).

Constructionism is related to constructivism which views knowledge and the understanding of the world as the product of the individual's interpretation (O'Brien & Kollock, 1997) and

that human phenomena are not objective truths, but rather are formed out of the multitude of influences in individuals' lives (Creswell, 2007; Padgett, 2012). While there are similarities, constructivism emphasises the legitimacy of individual meaning and truth to the detriment of critical examination or inquiry into underlying assumptions (Crotty, 1998). Constructionism on the other hand is resistant to this 'anything goes' approach, emphasising that knowledge is inextricable from its context and is therefore part of a collective understanding influenced by culture (Crotty, 1998).

Roosa et al, as discussed in the previous chapter, place children's interactions with neighbourhood squarely within the constructionist camp by identifying that there is a 'transactional' model of children's interaction with neighbourhood in which both the observer and the objects are involved in the construction of meaning (Roosa et al., 2003). Constructionist approaches support the underlying assumptions in this study- that children are intimately involved in the creation of their own personhood, and subsequently are holders of expert knowledge of their own experiences and perspectives (Rogers, 2011). Because of this expertise, children's voices must be sought in order to gain an in-depth understanding of their lived experiences. Within the constructionist paradigm, this research does not identify objective truth, but interpretations constructed by both the researcher and the participants and sculpted by the research context (Crotty, 1998).

Methods

Prior to beginning the process of participant recruitment, I undertook informal discussions with a number of principals and social workers from low-decile schools around Christchurch.

This time of preliminary discussion was helpful in selecting a location for the study, and developing a rapport that would later be helpful.

 The diagram below outlines the research process subsequent to this preliminary field work.

Participant Recruitment
- Selection of study locality
- School principal consent and discussion with cultural advisors
- Class visit, explaining the study to the children, purposive sampling, information sheets and consent forms
- Retrieval of consent forms

Qualitative Data Collection And Analysis
- Interviews with children
- Transcription of interviews
- Critical Thematic Analysis

Information Dissemination
- Discussion with classes
- Presentation of information by students
- School Assembly

The Study Locality

School decile ratings were used to identify relevant neighbourhoods in which the study could possibly be carried out. The school system within New Zealand allocates deciles to all schools. Deciles are determined by the socioeconomic areas from which the school draws its students (Ministry of Education, 2009). Low decile schools were selected and contacted in order to choose schools with a large proportion of their population living in low socioeconomic communities (Ministry of Education, 2009).

I emailed all school principals in low decile schools, not including alternative education schools, and had a meeting with several of the school principals. This provided opportunity for discussion of the local environment, attendance of children from the neighbourhood, and laid the foundations for developing a relationship with the school. One of the principals agreed to allow the research to be carried out with his students. Contact was also made with cultural advisors both within the school, and through Māori Consultation at the University of Otago, Christchurch. Prior to commencement of the research, I applied for and received ethics approval from the University of Otago Ethics Committee. In keeping with their guidelines, consent forms were provided for parents/guardians of the participants, as well as child-friendly consent forms for the participants themselves.

The 2013 Census found that the unemployment rate in the selected neighbourhood was 10.8 percent compared to 5.1 percent for all of Christchurch City. Income also appeared lower, sitting at a median of $ 19,800 in contrast to a median of $ 29,800 for all of Christchurch City. In the same census year, this neighbourhood had a higher proportion of youth and children under the age of 15 compared with all of Christchurch City; 23.2 percent and 17.8 percent respectively (Statistics New Zealand, 2014). Recent reports by the Christchurch City Council note that the large number of community-development services found in the neighbourhood is in keeping with the needs that are seen to exist there, both prior to and following the Christchurch earthquakes in 2010 and 2011 (Christchurch City Council, 2012). The longstanding demographic makeup of the selected neighbourhood, along with anecdotal accounts of concerns about the neighbourhood and changes due to earthquake damage, contributes to establishing this neighbourhood as an area of great interest for research into children's perceptions of their neighbourhood in a low socioeconomic area.

The Participants

Age was an important consideration when choosing participants for the proposed research. Children aged 10 to 13 are found to be capable of both accessing and developing thoughts about their environment at a neighbourhood level (Elsley, 2004; Nordstrom, 2010; Castonguay & Jutras, 2009; Ergler, 2011). I limited participants to those who could speak English because I cannot speak Māori or Pacific Island languages, and the budget for this research was insufficient to hire a translator. Although this is an acknowledged weakness of the selection process, I did not encounter any students who I could not select due to this criterion.

Thirteen participants were selected using purposive sampling, or selection of participants who are likely 'to generate appropriate data' (Green & Thorogood, 2004, p. 102). It is assumed that data saturation, or the point at which no more new data is being found, will occur with this number of students (Guest, Bunce, & Johnson, 2006). I visited two classes: in one class children were aged 9 and 10, and in the other they were aged 10 to almost 13. Purposive sampling was conducted in cooperation with the teachers in the classrooms who provided information on whether the children were residents of the local community, and who were able to inform me of the children's ages. From within the pool of children who had lived in the neighbourhood for a year or more, participants were selected on the basis of age, gender, English language status, and ethnicity, as well as their willingness to participate in the research. Children were then selected, five children from the first classroom and nine from the second. Fewer were selected from the first classroom as there were no females who identified as Māori or Pacific Islander who were already aged 10, nor any boys aged 10 who identified as Pacific Islander. The second classroom had a higher percentage of children who

identified as either Māori or Pacific Islander. There were no children selected who were yet 13, although a number of them turned 13 before the conclusion of the research.

The use of classroom teachers to assist in the selection of participants proved to have both positive and negative outcomes. Children in the neighbourhood of Anhurst were most easily accessed through their local school, and teachers provided the means by which to utilise the school as a pool from which to select participants. They also reduced what may have proved an arduous process of finding out every child's age, ethnicity and local residency status. Teachers were also invaluable at pointing out the existing 'cliques' of children in each classroom and helped me to select children from the various 'groups' that they had naturally formed. A distinct example of this was in the second classroom in which there were two particularly dominant groups, one a group of boys aged ten to eleven, and the other a group of girls aged eleven and twelve. Both groups were ethnically homogenous.

Information sheets (see Appendix A) and parental consent forms (see Appendix B) were provided for parents of prospective participants, giving information about the study. After the return of consent forms, the participating children were consulted to arrange a time suitable to commence interviews. Consent by children was also required before each interview session (see Appendix C).

Data collection

During the selection and interviewing process, I was aware of my status as an outsider to the school and the neighbourhood, as well as to the lives of the children with whom I was interacting. As such, and in recognition of the vulnerability of children as participants, I considered it important to approach each student with some guidance from the teachers and

those who held both personal and cultural knowledge of the students. The teachers and principal, and the school as an entity, acted as informal gatekeepers through whom both parents and children could trust me as the researcher.

At the beginning of the interviews, children were asked for their consent and were reminded that they could choose to discontinue their involvement in the study at any time. They were also reminded that there are no wrong answers and to feel free to ask questions. Participants were also asked to supply ethnicity data, age and the suburb in which they reside and were assured that what they spoke about would be kept confidential.

In order to access children's perceptions, attempts were made to place the children at ease. Participants were told they could select the location for their interview in order that they might choose the place they would feel most comfortable. Interestingly, the interviews took place at a range of locations, from a single interview at a basketball court, to the regularly requested location of their school or local library.

Children's perceptions and perspectives were sought through a combination of methods successfully utilised for similar studies. Each child was asked to draw a picture of things that they think about when they think about their own neighbourhood. Drawing has been found to help children express themselves without the pressure of direct questions, and encourages interest (Morgan, Gibbs, Maxwell, & Britten, 2002). They were provided with an A4 piece of paper and a variety of drawing tools including pens, pencils, crayons and felt tip markers. The language used to encourage them in their drawing included "draw whatever you think of that reminds you of your neighbourhood", "draw whatever you think of that represents your neighbourhood for you", "draw whatever you think of when you think about your neighbourhood".

Children were given as much time as required to complete their drawings. A visual component when researching children's perceptions has been found to achieve three particular outcomes. Firstly, it provides a method for guiding the interview. A visual method such as photography or drawing allows children to specifically identify their own experiences and thoughts which can then be used to develop conversation between the researcher and the participant (Day & Wagner, 2010; Visscher & Bie, 2008). Secondly, in a similar way to the previous point, the visual/ creative methods in themselves are viewed as methods which recognise children as being experts of their own lives and provide the means for children to truly engage in the research, rather than remain subjects of it (Rogers, 2012). Additionally, drawing as a method in research is considered helpful in providing a non-threatening and fun method of communication (Merriman & Guerin, 2006).

Despite the intentions for these methods, not every child saw drawing in a positive light. One child was clear that they were "not comfortable with drawing" and refused on this basis. Incidents such as these indicated that a re-examination of what adults consider and often assume to be child-friendly methods may be required. On reflection, the individuality of each child must be accommodated. In this way, the drawing method became more similar to that described by Punch (2002) who was more conservative in its praise. Drawing became a way for children, if they wished, to establish their broad ideas prior to questioning, and then to determine detail from extensive discussion (Punch, 2002). In keeping with this, I utilised the drawing to begin and guide the semi-structured interview with those children who wished to draw. The children were asked to include their name at the bottom of their drawing, but were assured that their drawing would not be shared with anyone outside of the research team unless they were consulted first. Those children who did not wish to draw were able to continue the interview without this component.

In initial recruitment, I addressed the students informally, although an air of authority was given to me by the way I was treated by the teachers. This resulted in students addressing me as 'Miss'. In approaching the interviews, this formalisation presented a barrier with some of the students, but was mitigated, as with other studies, by encouraging them to ask questions at any time and to influence the direction of the conversation (see Ergler, 2011). The children's drawings were discussed with them during the interview allowing them to guide the conversation, and provide their own analysis of what they had produced in the drawings.

Semi- structured interviews were developed from the research aims. The way in which the interviews were conducted was equally important to the incorporation of visual and creative methods of engagement with children. A semi-structured format allows the interviews to be led by the interviewee's responses, rather than by strictly following predetermined questions (Green & Thorogood, 2004). Conducting interviews in this way has been shown to be a central component in successful research into children's perceptions (see Ergler, 2011).

The value of using the semi-structured interview approach with children was confirmed in this study. In particular, the interviews were adaptable to the direction that children took in their discussions. Children often led the interview in a wide variety of directions. It is important to note here that the success of these semi-structured interviews did not necessarily correspond with a large quantity of raw data from the children. Whereas the raw data resulting from semi-structured interviews with adult participants often results in ample conversation as adults lead the conversation, semi-structured interviews with children did not necessarily have the same effect. Rather, semi-structured interviewing in this study allowed children time and space to think about their own opinions and perspectives, often resulting in fewer words as they sought to articulate them. This contrasted with aspects of the interview which had evidently been discussed in the classroom or at home with teachers and parents.

The use of the semi-structured interviewing required that I was attentive to two things during the data collection process. Firstly, recognising when a child is leading toward a new area of discussion is not necessarily obvious. They may be unsure about what they are saying for a variety of reasons. This requires extremely attentive listening to follow up on the direction that the child was taking the conversation. Also I had to ensure that I did not fill the silences. Silent moments were important in the interviews for two reasons; the interviews required considered responses from me, and the children often required time to think about what they were going to say. It was important to give the child time to respond, rather than asking a new question too quickly. Building into the interview a sense of conversation rather than interrogation was important to allow children to express their own perceptions at their own pace, rather than to hurriedly present to me what they considered to be the 'right' answer.

At the commencement of the interview, the participants were presented with a $20 movie voucher in recognition of their participation. The interview was recorded and transcribed, but all information was anonymised and kept in a secure, password-protected electronic format.

Data Analysis

After each interview was transcribed, a critical thematic analysis was carried out. I used this method of analysis as it provided an in-depth investigation of meaning within the data. The initial stage of this analysis was active immersion in the data set. I treated transcription as a valid part of immersion and as an early stage of analysis (see Reissman, 1993 as cited in Braun & Clarke, 2006), recognising that the way that I transcribed the spoken sounds was itself an interpretation. Further immersion in the data was achieved by actively and repeatedly reading the transcripts. I then reread and annotated the transcripts to create codes, identifying

aspects of the raw data which were interesting for the research. These codes were then grouped and collapsed into themes within which I grouped data extracts. These themes were used to create a thematic map by which the data set was re-examined. The themes were then defined, refined and named (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

I undertook codification and theme development in a 'data-driven' or inductive manner as defined by Braun and Clarke (2006). To do so, I looked for patterns in the data, rather than seeking data which fitted into my preconceived theories or expectations – a 'bottom-up' approach (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This inductive method encouraged me to look at all possibilities within the data.

Despite the value of 'inductive' methods for coding and theming the transcripts, the very nature of a constructionist paradigm acknowledges that meaning is constructed in the interaction of a person and their context. In analysis, therefore, I had to look deeper than just 'what the data is saying', to the contextual influences. I therefore used latent thematic analysis to identify the way in which the socio-cultural context was reflected in the transcripts (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The latent approach does not identify explicit meanings within the data, but rather the ideologies that could be beneath the surface and reflect the sociocultural context. Identifying themes within the data became an interpretive process as I was required to identify underlying currents, rather than overt topics within the transcripts (see Burr, 1995 cited in Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Dissemination of Information

In keeping with the aims of this research, I conducted the study into children's perceptions of neighbourhood in as child-centric a manner as possible to both recognise that they construct

their own realities in context, and that our understanding of their perceptions must therefore come from the children themselves. Methods reflected this same goal, and it is a suitable continuation of this commitment to ensure that dissemination of the data is also done, at least in part, in a manner suitable to children. The means by which the findings will be disseminated was communicated to the participants prior to the interview process. They were also made aware that dissemination will occur after the examination process for this study is complete; children will be invited to deliver a presentation of the research to their classmates at a school assembly or within their own classroom. Parents will be invited and children will be given the opportunity to share what they drew during their interview. As the researcher, I will also deliver a summary of the research with the help of a number of the participating children. Parents will also be provided with a brief report of the findings. I will also make the research available to the local Community Trust Incorporated Society[7] which is an active force for community development within the local neighbourhood.

Conclusion

Investigation into children's perceptions of neighbourhood continues to gain momentum as children are increasingly accepted as capable participants in rigorous qualitative research. Where quantitative studies fall short of delivering a deep understanding of children's perceptions, qualitative studies have grown in creativity and child-centred methods. Despite this potential, however, there is still continued debate over the best ways to achieve effective research with children. In order to construct the most child-centric and effective methods possible, I have drawn on two of the most successful aspects of research involving children's

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[7] The full name of this community group is withheld for privacy and confidentiality purposes.

perceptions and neighbourhood; visual and creative methods, and individual interviews. The

analysis of the interviews is presented in the following chapters.

Chapter 4: Fighting for a Place - Children's Battle with Spatial Stigma in Their Construction of a Sense of Place

Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss the burden that reputation and outsider opinions of the neighbourhood places upon children as they construct identity and a sense of place. I examine the interconnectedness of place and identity for the children of Anhurst, and discuss their experiences of spatial stigma in their neighbourhood setting. These experiences are then analysed to identify the effects of spatial stigma upon their process of constructing a sense of place. The children in this study exhibited a complex struggle in response to the discrepancy between their understandings of what makes a 'good neighbourhood' and the external attitudes toward their neighbourhood. This battle to reconcile their construction of a sense of

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[8] The original meme appeared on social media with the name of the neighbourhood being studied, but this meme was not able to be located again. For this reason, I recreated this meme on http://memegenerator.net/Lion-King-Shadowy-Place

place with outsider opinions has implications for their everyday experiences within the neighbourhood setting as well as their health and wellbeing. A major component of this battle is the concern for maintaining respect in the face of spatial stigma, and the centrality of respect for the functioning of their neighbourhood. The children repeatedly referred to the respect they have for themselves and others, which they demonstrate in the way they interact with those in the neighbourhood, the way they approach their neighbourhood environment, and the way they describe their relations with outsiders. The tension between spatial stigma and respect required the children in this study to develop protective mechanisms to defend their sense of place and identity.

Place, Identity and Stigma

The impact of spatial stigma on children's construction of a sense of place is a key theme which was identified in the interviews with children in this study. The children perceived spatial stigma in the negative attitudes toward their neighbourhood, and repeatedly related these attitudes to a sense of disrespect which poses a threat to their sense of place and identity. As explored further in the following chapter, children have insider knowledge about 'the way things work' in the neighbourhood in which they reside, both recognising and utilising available resources and understanding the expectations and norms which influence the everyday lives of the residents. Children refer repeatedly to the norm of respect for persons; a Kantian conceptualisation that emphasises that an individual must be afforded respect on the basis of their personhood (Kant, 1964). Respect between individuals within the neighbourhood, as well as respect for their neighbourhood as the wider community who reside there is important to the children who have expectations of the kind of attitudes and behaviours they should expect from others. Disrespect from others is incompatible with

children's expectations, and can also affect the establishment of their own self-respect, as respect from others and self-respect are mutually reinforcing (Benditt, 2008). The way that children perceive their neighbourhoods is part of their construction of a sense of place, their formation of thoughts, beliefs and attachments to their location. Alongside this construction of a sense of place occurs a construction of the children's own identity, a process which is inextricably linked to place (van der Burgt, 2008; Keene & Padilla, 2014). The intertwining of physical place and identity for the children in this study was clear in the way that they spoke about their neighbourhood:

Arthur: Um, [Anhurst] makes me who I am because I spent most of my life growing up in [Anhurst]… cuz I've lived in [Anhurst] for twelve years which is basically my whole life.

Kara: Cuz I was like born in [Anhurst], so that's like, my life.

Arthur and Kara associate living in the same neighbourhood for their 'whole life' with a sense of attachment that goes as deep as to make them who they are. Arthur's perception of the neighbourhood 'making me who I am' is indicative of the interlacing of place and identity.

The interconnectedness of place and identity results in reinforcing the implications of reputation and stigma associated with a place of residence. This place-associated stigma, referred to as spatial stigma by some commentators (Keene & Padilla, 2014), has been incompletely researched with regards to children's experiences. Stigma is a phenomenon

which relies upon the identification of difference (Link & Phelan, 2006). However, being different does not immediately mean that one is stigmatised. Stigmatisation also relies on social processes in which characteristics are set apart from 'normal'. Stereotyping takes place by associating the object of stigmatisation with the negative characteristic, creating an 'otherness' or a 'them'. The labelling of difference, making 'them' different from 'us', is part of that process of stigmatisation. This separation of the stigmatised group results in a label which creates discrimination or exclusion and an imbalance of power in which stigmatisation of a group is used to provide a source of power or control for the dominant group (Link & Phelan, 2006).

If an individual fails to meet norms, this can impact their ability to function in social situations. Labels of difference are often accompanied by shame. The resulting shame creates a 'spoiled identity' causing the individual to be devalued by society (Goffman, 1963). Spatial stigma is created in a similar way to the stigmatisation of an individual; creation of stigma is not a process reliant solely upon attributes, but rather on relationships which create 'otherness' (Goffman, 1963). The devaluation of an individual or group due to stigmatisation relates strongly with the concept of respect as it reflects the way a person is considered and the extent to which they are valued by others, and can also affect the respect they hold for themselves (Benditt, 2008).

In addition to Goffman's individualised description of stigma, it is imperative to consider the structural inequalities of the wider context which contribute to the production of spatial stigma, including social, economic and political systems (Keene & Padilla, 2014). In particular, this study reflects the perpetuation of stigma through the articulation of differences, or 'discourses of vilification' (Wacquant, 2007) which can arise from the residents' everyday experiences, and also from the external fields of journalism, politics and academia. The discourse creates socially constructed boundaries for deprived areas, and

disempowers and reinforces the neighbourhoods as 'blemished' (Wacquant, 2007). The reputation which is established can falsely represent an area or those who reside within it, and can result in perpetuation of inequalities (Keene & Padilla, 2014; Warr, 2006).

This chapter approaches the problem of spatial stigma for the children in this study, utilising an integrated approach. Rather than exclusively focusing upon conditions within the neighbourhood which could be contributing to the stigmatisation of the area, the concept of spatial stigma includes both the local setting, as well as the wider societal processes (Keene & Padilla, 2014). Massey and other commentators have described this complexity of the local setting in terms of the many social relations which contribute to the composition of place (Massey, 1991; Massey, 1993). These social relations contribute to the formation of neighbourhood boundaries. Spatial stigma can have various impacts, including consequences for individuals' experiences of stress and coping, identity formation and management (Keene & Padilla, 2014) and the respect that an individual perceives from others and develops for oneself (Benditt, 2008).

Quantitative studies have established the link between stigmatisation and health outcomes, but little research has been done on the specific area of spatial stigma. An exception to this dearth of research is the study by Tabuchi, Fukuhara and Iso (2012) who identified that geographical stigma also reflects an independent link between perceived place stigma and mental health in two areas of Japan. This study, however, did not capture the residents' experiences of spatial stigma in order to further understand the link between spatial stigma and the outcomes they were measuring. However, many commentators identify stress as a common factor in the literature in the relationship between stigma and health (Hatzenbuehler, Phelan, & Link, 2013; Keene & Padilla, 2014). I reflect in this chapter on the children's experiences in order to understand how they perceive and react to spatial stigma.

Hori, Bundy, Bad – Children's Perceptions of Spatial Stigma

Many of the children in this study were aware of the existence of external attitudes toward their neighbourhood. The excerpts below from interviews with both Sally and Jeremy show the way in which children extend the comments that they say are made about their neighbourhood and interpret them as judgements upon the people who live within the neighbourhood. The identities of these children are closely associated with their neighbourhood which means that attitudes that show a lack of respect toward Anhurst are considered to be the same attitudes held toward them:

Jeremy: They can't go in [Anhurst], it's full of [Anhurst] people and […] we can't ruin our reputation you know. That's what I think.

Sally: Yeah, if like I talk to my cousin cuz they like live in other, [Meadowlea][9] and stuff. They call it bundy, but I don't really listen to them.

Rosee: What does bundy mean?

Sally: I don't know. Hori [cheap, New Zealand term for trailer trash, can be a derogatory reference to Māori] and stuff like that.

Rosee: Do you know what they kinda mean by that?

Sally: Um, they're probably talking about the people. They always do that.

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[9] Neighbourhood name has been changed to protect participant identity.

Jeremy is voicing what he believes to be the opinion of people from a nearby suburb. His perception is that they do not wish to enter his neighbourhood because of its reputation. The excerpt from Sally's interview uses colloquial language which indicates that she has encountered other children (young cousins) who express these attitudes toward the area. This type of language occurs repeatedly in the interviews.

Philip: […] they think it's dumb here. They say it's hori.

The language used to describe the views of outsiders toward the children's neighbourhood was unspecific, but children went on to describe further how they perceived these negative attitudes to apply to specific features of Anhurst. Local children identified three aspects of their neighbourhood that they believed were observed by outsiders- social, physical and racial differences.

In considering the ways that outsiders perceive the social makeup of Anhurst, children reflected on what people have heard about social behaviours in their neighbourhood.

Rosee: What do people think it is?

Joseph: Like a place where people just walk around at night, drinks a lot.

Sally and Andy reflected on the way that people have developed these views of their neighbourhood through discourse.

Sally: Oh cuz they hear stuff about [Anhurst]. And then, and then they believe it.

Andy: Because they probably see the downside of [Anhurst] or places wherever they've been or the stories that they've heard about [Anhurst].

Rosee: Yeah, cuz what downsides and what stories are told about [Anhurst] that you think are untrue?

Andy: Say that like people get stabbed up at school, people get shot on the block. It's all lies. Like most of it are lies. Like, people just say that so nobody like [Anhurst], well more people like it than people actually think.

The comments by Sally and Andy both reflect a comparison of what outsiders hear and think, versus what they think they should believe about Anhurst. These discourses and resulting attitudes can create a false picture of what life is like for individuals living in this neighbourhood. However, whether the perceptions of disorder and danger are true or not, the beliefs and stigma have important effects upon the residents (Warr, 2006).

Rosee: How does it affect [Anhurst] if people say that stuff?

Andy: Just destroys, just destroys it really […] Nobody comes here, everybody just speeds through if they're in cars. Nobody wants to get off at the bus stops cuz they think they're gunna get jumped.

Some of the children reflected on comparisons of physical features of their neighbourhood, relating the different features with the way that they may be perceived.

Joseph: Their libraries are smaller, their fields are bigger and their streets are longer [….] like, their streets are longer, say so uh, we're going up [street name], there'd be twenty metres if they were gunna go up [street name], but theirs are probably like forty [….] Um, the houses… uh, like, taller. Cuz they're richer. They made their house themselves.

In Joseph's case, the specifics of the neighbourhood differences were underlined by his perception of other places being wealthier. His perceptions of physical features of his neighbourhood were attached to his idea of wealthier living. These perceptions are made in the act of comparison with those outside of Anhurst. In defining the differences between his own neighbourhood and an outside one, Joseph identified markers of social status through wealth. Differentiating place on the basis of socioeconomic status is one of the factors which underlie the construction of spatial stigma (Keene & Padilla, 2014). Joseph's assertion regarding the size of the libraries may be a reflection of pride in a recent and much loved addition to Anhurst and one which, in Joseph's conceptualisation, can compete with other neighbourhoods.

A smaller number of children referred to potential ethnic-related stigmatisation. Spatial stigma often relates to the presence of minority groups (Keene & Padilla, 2014). Several children who were interviewed related their experiences of stigma to the attitudes toward Māori.

> Philip: […]They say it's not cool, I mean they , I mean I mean I think it's not, I think that the style of the Māori people and that, and the gangster, I don't like that you know.

> Kara: That like, they don't want their kids to go in [Anhurst] cuz like, cuz they think all the Māoris are like gunna, just pop out of nowhere […] like, cuz they don't want all the Māoris to like bully them and that.

Both Philip and Kara express a belief that there is an ethnically driven component to the stigma that is related to the area. Philip particularly focuses upon the stereotypical 'gangster' label that can perpetuate stigma, whilst Kara refers to the already established stereotypical attitude toward a minority group. Kara clearly does not agree with the idea of Māori being a problem for children in the area. Using the phrase 'just pop out of nowhere' indicates her sense of ridiculing such sources of stigma.

The excerpts above reflect the features that local children believe could cause outsiders to have a poor view of their neighbourhood. These perceptions arise from children's knowledge

of what makes a neighbourhood appear good or bad. The children were reflecting experiences of vilification through discourse which is discussed by Wacquant (2007). In the same way, children construct a sense of place through discourse about social process (Webb, Schirato, & Danaher, 2002). The stories told about a place can create and recreate a narrative for the lives of those who live there, whether this reflects their realities or not (Warr, 2006). In this study, children appear to experience the presence of a discourse of vilification through individuals including children their own age and relatives. Although no conclusions can be drawn regarding parental influence on children's attitudes toward Anhurst, the conduit of information to the local children is quite clear.

A number of commentators draw upon Goffman's theories of stigma, overlaid with the stigma of place that Wacquant (2007) discusses (van der Burgt, 2008; Keene & Padilla, 2014). The vague references to the overall 'horiness' of the area reflects that the attitudes of stigma are directed toward a specific geographical place - spatial stigma. Children in this study who raised the potential discrimination toward Māori reflected this as a perceived reason for spatial stigmatisation of their neighbourhood. The literature does reflect that racial prejudice is a known factor in the perceptions of neighbourhood disorder (Sampson & Raudenbush, 2004). In fact, association of geographical places with specific ethnic groups is one of the factors which can contribute to the production of spatial stigma, along with socioeconomic deprivation which is often seen alongside ethnicity. Māori are disproportionately represented in the population of Anhurst, and children in this study reflect on the stigmatisation of their neighbourhood which is related to ethnic stereotyping.

 What children draw out of this, however, are the specifics which they associate with 'bad places', the measures by which outsiders develop views of the neighbourhood. This denigrating discourse about their own neighbourhood to which children have been exposed is an instance in which Bourdieu's concept of symbolic violence or symbolic power is active

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(Bourdieu, 1989). Symbolic power is an active force in social interactions, and particularly in the process of stigmatisation defining 'good' and 'bad places'. This form of power is disproportionately held by certain social groups, resulting in an imbalance of power (Bourdieu, 1984). The children in this study reflect the way in which neighbourhood features are defined by symbolic power. Power held by outsiders has defined what constitutes an acceptable neighbourhood and these measures are used to define Anhurst.

Children's Reactions to Spatial Stigma

During the interviews, a number of the children displayed the most discomfort when dealing with the topic of external attitudes toward Anhurst. Patterns of responses to neighbourhood reputation arose, reflecting ways that children had learnt to deal with those who were expressing negative views of Anhurst. They had strategies to attempt to prevent further stigmatisation.

It is important to realise that the children in this study have a vested interest in the way that their neighbourhood is portrayed. Describing neighbourhood as 'family' or 'kind' as children in this study chose to, and focusing on the positive sense of place they have toward Anhurst reflects the way in which they wish to have their place perceived and their attempts to foster attitudes of respect and value for their place.

> Mandy: I think like, that they actually know that they would want to move here. Cuz it's more like, vibrant and like, more um responsible like picking up rubbish or something [....]Yeah I always go to the mall and you could hear like, oh I want to sell my house and then go to [Anhurst].

Mandy's statement above reflects her own desire to live in a place that is sought-after by others and her words may reflect what she wishes to be the case. In the previous chapter, both Mandy and her peers spoke of positive social interactions which they believe make it a desirable place to live. This too is a part of that need to establish this place as positive, worthy of respect and valued. When children are faced with people who do not share a positive view of their neighbourhood, the challenge to their sense of place and identity is profound.

The way in which children manage and defend themselves against stigmatisation in relation to their sense of place and identity is not well described in international literature. The literature describes three particular behaviours seen in adults. 'Symbolic distancing' refers to the way in which individuals distance themselves from the neighbourhood in order to also distance themselves from the stigma associated with it (Castro & Lindbladh, 2004; Popay, et al., 2003; Keene & Padilla, 2014). Individuals also create definitions between 'us' and 'them' within a neighbourhood setting, associating themselves with the good part of a stigmatised place. This was also seen in children in the study by van der Burgt (2008) in which children associate themselves with areas within the neighbourhood which are 'better' than other areas within that same neighbourhood. Essentially, this way of managing stigma draws geographical lines within the neighbourhood. The final method of managing stigma that is discussed in the literature is 'lateral denigration' in which the individual joins with the dominant discourse in vilifying their surroundings in a process of concurrently distancing themselves (Wacquant, 2010). In other words, an individual can claim a position of being in the stigmatised place, but not of it. Young people also show some overlapping strategies to deal with stigma, but also have additional methods which make stigmatisation 'cool' (Castro & Lindbladh, 2004). Interestingly, many of the adult approaches toward dealing with spatial stigma can be seen in the children in this study, along with some different methods. The

following sections will examine how children deal with the challenge to their sense of place and identity.

"They don't know"

Children's first line of defence against the negative views of Anhurst was to disregard the comments by pointing out that the critic has limited knowledge of the neighbourhood.

> Sally: I told her that she hasn't even been to this part of the, to this part of Christchurch. Yeah.

> Jeremy: Because you should live here for a day. It's a great place. You know?

> Joseph: Wrong idea. Cuz he hasn't lived here long enough. He hasn't, he doesn't live here so he doesn't know what it's about.

Children in these cases are attempting to take any validity out of the accusation by pointing out the individual's lack of expertise. Jeremy's method follows a similar logic.

> Jeremy: Well, uh, um, … I just don't really say anything. I just have a habit of ignore, Oh I don't have a habit but it's just good thing to ignore people.

Andy: This neighbourhood, there's like tagging, rubbish on the floor, rubbish on the concrete, chewing gum stuck everywhere, spit, but it's actually like people say Anhurst is like the worst place to go, but they're probably barely ever been here so they can't say much. Like they don't know what it's like to live around here. It's not even that bad to live around here. Like, it's a pretty good neighbourhood. Tops, and like nothing bad really happens, like people break abandoned houses but that's about it. Like, people tell me that Anhurst Primary School and Anhurst High School and Anhurst in general is really crap school but like, or, bad places to be, or like how would they know if they've never been here?

Ignoring people's negative views of his neighbourhood is another way of attempting to delegitimise their comments. However, it should also be noted that a number of the children who used the technique of ignoring or of brushing aside comments on the basis of them not knowing the place also reflected at one point during the interview that they have felt, or do feel, angry about the assumptions made about their neighbourhood. Both Jeremy and Andy express these feelings.

Jeremy: It's like, shut the fudge cake up, you're just as bad you know.

Andy: Like I just kinda get angry because like cuz I live there and it's kinda my my part of town that I've really liked since I've come here and then people just go and diss it so kinda get angry and just leave.

This reflects a process for these children which could have damaging consequences as they attempt to discredit the accusations. Having to do this consistently can create stress for the children who are placed in that position. This stress arises from the continued challenge to identity as they construct a sense of place, the experiences of disclosing where they are from only to be faced with a negative reaction (Keene & Padilla, 2014; van der Burgt, 2008). Discrediting of the children's place, and concomitantly of themselves, is perceived in this way as due to the lack of acknowledgement and value for their neighbourhood; it does not receive a positive evaluation. This is a disrespectful attitude which carries with it effects upon the way that people behave toward the neighbourhood (Benditt, 2008).

The continuous defence of their place that is displayed by the children in this study is consistent with studies which have used Foucault to investigate children's responses to stigmatisation and negative discourses which result in a regime of truth about their neighbourhood (van der Burgt, 2008). Foucault's 'regime of truth' discusses the way in which truth is created and perpetuated by social and political actors which define the field in which truth is produced. In the study by van der Burgt (2008), children experienced a negative regime of truth toward their neighbourhood which resulted from a dominant discourse about the danger of their neighbourhood. This negative regime of truth presented a challenge to the children's sense of place and identity which meant that they were adamant and creative in their defence of it. It was made clear that a positive image for their neighbourhood was an important feature for the children.

Developing Distinctive Identities - Distancing Themselves from Stigma

A second level of defence children used against the attitudes of outsiders toward Anhurst is in the process of distancing themselves from what is negative, a strategy which is in line with the defensive strategies seen in the literature. Children in this study define their sense of place by distancing themselves from bad behaviours, and elevating their neighbourhood by contrasting it with areas that they believe have the presence of undesirable traits.

> Joseph: Cuz uh, it's calm, um, it's not it's not like, one of those bad neighbourhoods, with cars getting stolen.
>
> Rosee: What do you mean by calm?
>
> Joseph: Um, like there's not heaps of riling the streets [….] um like, people, drunken people from the bars walking home. Like uh, smashing car windows. Yeah.

Joseph has a very clear picture of what he believes is an image of an undesirable neighbourhood- one that is not calm. Defining his place as 'calm' and 'not like one of those bad neighbourhoods' points out the way in which children attempt to draw lines between their place and 'other' places which are less desirable. Joseph describes Anhurst as being 'calm' as a way to differentiate his neighbourhood from a 'bad' one. This language was similar to the way that children described good neighbourhoods as 'quiet' in a study by van der Burgt (2008). Both 'calm' and 'quiet', as well as the specifics of swearing and other behaviours, illustrate that these children have perceptions of normative guidelines about what

makes their neighbourhood acceptable (Popay, et al., 2003). Pointing out the ways that their neighbourhood adheres to normative contours situates Anhurst as a 'proper' place, as is shown by adults in the study by Popay et al. (2003). People are a vital component of establishing their neighbourhood as a 'proper' place as their behaviours are influential to the perception of the area, as is clear in Joseph's descriptions.

Joseph is quite detailed in his description, associating the presence of crime such as vandalism, loitering and theft with places of disrepute. 'Riling the streets' is also a phrase he used to describe the presence of people who spend a lot of time on the roads engaging in disorderly behaviour. In addition to providing specific examples of what constitutes good and bad neighbourhoods, children constructed a sense of place by drawing comparisons between themselves and others. These contrasts are another way that they established how they perceived themselves and wish to be perceived (van der Burgt, 2008). Sally identifies that swearing and fighting and 'stuff like that' is not part of a 'good' neighbourhood, and she distances herself from it.

> Sally: And, in Auckland I didn't even know anyone. They just, they weren't nice. There were like a lot of fights down the road and stuff like that […] I don't know, [Anhurst's] just better. Cuz, um, Auckland, they used, they just come around the road and they start swearing at you for no reason, so. Yeah.

Several of the other children also attempted to contrast their own neighbourhood with bad experiences of other neighbourhoods. Place identity is inevitably constructed with reference to the outside world as borders between the local and the wider context are easily crossed in

this day and age (Massey, 1991; 1993). In a context of globalisation, children inevitably delineate a 'good neighbourhood' in relation to the outside world. Sally's ability to contrast her neighbourhood with her knowledge of other places is evidence of this in her life.

The comparisons that children develop are complex. Just as children perceived social and physical features of Anhurst which they believed could attract negative attitudes, the children compared between neighbourhoods by focusing upon social and physical features. The social features had many common themes such as associating noise and parties with undesirable neighbourhoods. Sally places importance upon physical features of her neighbourhood.

> Sally: [My mum] wanted to move all the way in Townsville. But I don't want to go there. It's too busy.
>
> Rosee: Yeah. So you don't think [Anhurst] too busy?
>
> Sally: No, it's never busy […] oh, cuz it, there's less, like, car noises and stuff. And less parties.

In addition to comparing Anhurst with other neighbourhoods, the children also utilised their ability to distance themselves from undesirable behaviours or experiences. Contrasting themselves throws a more favourable light on their own context.

> Rosee: Are those people a part of your neighbourhood? The noisy people?

> Mandy: Uh, no. Uh, sometimes they come from [Manbrey][10], or like other places. Yeah.

People who cause noise or disorder in the community she associates with being from outside her neighbourhood, rather than from inside it. A similar process of distancing from undesirable conditions in Anhurst is expressed by Arthur.

> Arthur: Um, well, violence is also another big part of [Anhurst]. This is a quite a bit of violence happens around our neighbourhood […] this is because of new people who have moved here. People who have been here for years don't want them here.

Arthur blames new people for the violence in Anhurst. He blames outsiders in order to distance his home and identity from things that are inconsistent with his perception of what makes a place 'good'.

In one instance the desire to create distance from undesirable reputations results in a desire to be distanced from Anhurst itself.

> Jeremy: [I don't go into Anhurst] especially at night. Cuz there's people wandering uh, aw, I don't I don't really go to [Anhurst] on my own will. Sometimes I go in there, if I have like something new and I wanna test it out at the skate park.

Jeremy displayed a process of swinging back and forth between identifying with and distancing himself from his neighbourhood. Earlier in his conversation he states that he lives right on the edge of Anhurst, so that he was not entirely associated with the neighbourhood himself. Saying that he does not enter Anhurst 'on my own will' also reflects that he is attempting to distance himself. In his position of being not-quite a part of the neighbourhood,

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[10] Neighbourhood name has been changed to protect participant identity.

Jeremy is able to stand back and describe the negative aspects of Anhurst with less threat to his own identity.

Massey (1991, 1993) extensively examines the way in which the local environment is inextricable from the wider context, and it is this globalisation of place which highlights the full effects of negative connotations of the local environment. The wider context is important to the children in this study as they actively define their own neighbourhood. It is evident in the children's discussion that they 'identify against' places, distancing their identities from undesirable associations with places (van der Burgt, 2008), or drawing boundaries to distinguish themselves from places with undesirable connotations (Sibley, 1995). Where an individual comes from or lives allows them to be placed and associated with somewhere (Hall, Coffey, & Williamson, 1999). The children in this study were aware of this and wished to be associated with a place that is valued and highly regarded as both identity and respect are in part contingent on this. Their construction of their neighbourhood as a 'good' place is in light of this desire to be associated with a positive locale. Spatial stigma creates work for children in their attempts to construct a sense of place and identity. When the children are made aware of the negative reputation of their place, the work that they must do to construct a positive sense of place requires energy and methods of defence. This method of symbolically distancing themselves may also have impacts upon interactions within the community as individuals remove themselves from the perceived source of stigma and thus impact upon social cohesion (Castro & Lindbladh, 2004; Warr, 2005).

Importance of Appearance and Behaviour

One of the most pronounced influences which spatial stigma had on the children in this study was in the way that they felt a concern with the appearance of Anhurst. In their process of

constructing a sense of place the children in this study were in a constant state of defence. This is evident in the above discussions of 'identifying with' and 'identifying against' places (van der Burgt, 2008), a process of drawing lines to create a definition of a place that they desire. As they drew these lines, the children were concerned with both the appearance of the people, and the appearance of the physical neighbourhood.

Joseph believes that swearing can contribute to perpetuating negative views of his neighbourhood.

> Joseph: (Swearing) just makes them look like bunch of hoodrats.
>
> Rosee: So why is it bad to look like a bunch of hoodrats? Who minds? What a, how does that affect people who look like a bunch of hoodrats?
>
> Joseph: It just makes the, us, um the community look like they're just a bunch of people who walk around beating up and blowing up their cars.
>
> Rosee: No. And so, why is it important to not act in those ways?
>
> Joseph: So ah [Anhurst] ah, everyone knows [Anhurst] isn't just what they think it is.

Swearing is part of the image and makes a neighbourhood look like the kind of place that would do those 'bad neighbourhood' things. More specifically, it is important to behave well to prevent people from thinking his neighbourhood is 'what they think it is'. The underlying motivation in the discussion arises from Joseph's perception of external pressure to look a certain way in order to combat stigma.

The physical environment of Anhurst is also considered very important by the children in this study, both as an end in itself and for its visibility to outsiders who are evaluating their neighbourhood and forming opinions.

Joseph: [Having a clean neighbourhood would be good…] Um, so, um you look like a nice tidy, clean environment. So you don't look just like dirty people.

Rosee: And why is it important for other people not to think it's a dirty place?

Joseph: Because they won't want to come here.

Joseph uses exactly the same kind of language for physical tidiness as he did for behaviour. Jeremy and Sally place similar value on the physical appearance of Anhurst. The physical environment is also a part of a normative process, where 'good' places have well taken care of environments and accessible amenities (Popay, et al., 2003). This normative feature of neighbourhood is important to children once again for its ability to position their place as a 'proper' or positive one.

Rosee: And how come it's bad for a place to look untidy you reckon.

Jeremy: Cuz otherwise if people go in there first, it get a bad reputation instantly.

Rosee: Um, so the other thing, about it being a bit messy in [Anhurst], how big a deal do you think that is?

Sally: I think it's like massive.

Rosee: Yeah? How come?

Sally: Cuz it just, makes us look untidy and they think that, that just adds on to what they're gunna say about us.

The management of the neighbourhood environment is associated with children's perceptions of the way that others view Anhurst, and is also interwoven with the concepts of respect that come with the way that one considers oneself and the way that one is considered by others. The children interviewed in this study also reflected a sense of genuine care for the natural environment in their neighbourhood.

Kara: [I don't like the littering I see in Anhurst] cuz it goes into the ocean and like kills animals and that.

Rosee: And do you think it's important to keep your neighbourhood clean? Why is it important?

Emily: Like, cuz sometimes you know how animals are hungry? Like, if you have something too big there to eat, they could like choke. It's really good because, like, to keep um our air clean because uh, there not long ago I seen a seagull and it had a hook in its mouth because it got stuck in its mouth and it was really sad.

Kara and Emily are aware of how littering affects the natural environment, hurting things such as animals. This is an apparent example of something they may have learned at school

or at home, but the concern is also their own as the natural environment is one of the aspects of neighbourhood Kara values most, and Emily has first-hand experience of damage to wildlife due to litter. As was discussed in the previous chapter, trust and respect and an extension of this to respecting each other's and one's own property are reflected in the children's perceptions of good places, as well as in the literature (Popay, et al., 2003).

Jeremy takes the behaviour of littering or making the neighbourhood 'whoopy' or 'messy' a step further, relating the disrespect it represents directly to the perpetrators:

Jeremy: [Anhurst is] ok. It's um, it's a bit, it's a bit 'whoopy'. But overall it's a good place.

Rosee: What do you, what was that word sorry? Whoopy?

Jeremy: Yeah like a bit, funny.

Rosee: In what way?

Jeremy: Like cuz it is it is messy and that's pretty much the whoopy part, like whoooo, everything's everywhere you know.

Rosee: Oh ok, and what do you think makes everything everywhere? Everything messy?

Jeremy: People.

Rosee: What kind of people?

Jeremy: People, who disrespect the environment.

In his understanding, people who are responsible for making the neighbourhood messy are classified as those who disrespect the environment. Philip emphasises the gravity of behaviours that affect the neighbourhood environment, reflecting a sense of respect for the natural environment. Additionally, the neighbourhood environment is visible to outsiders; not only does he identify that a 'clean community' helps the environment, but it helps those in the neighbourhood and a cleanly neighbourhood looks good to onlookers.

> Philip: Yeah, we're trying to do our best to keep this community clean and tidy.
>
> Rosee: Why is that important to keep it clean and tidy?
>
> Philip: So other communities will see it and they're like, aw that's a really clean community. Hey guys, we should do that! Then they start doing it. It's helping the environment, you know, and helping others and you know. Stuff.

The respect for the natural environment merges quite subtly into the treatment of property in Philip's discussion below.

> Rosee: Ok, so, in terms of keeping a place clean and tidy, why is that important for other communities to see that though?
>
> Philip: So uh, earth could uh, be beautiful. So you know, the sceneries could be finally beautiful. Say oooh, I think, you know, if they cleaned their stuff that means they love this community. And you know, they love us and they follow us and say ah,

you know, that' s what we done, maybe they're following us, hey guys, good job, you

know, good on you. You keep going, keep going.

Philip refers to the beauty of the earth and scenery, then transitions quite easily into his opinion

that if people 'cleaned their stuff' this represents a love of the community. Such respectful

behaviour toward one's own property is visible to outsiders, and this, Philip suggests, would

encourage others to follow those setting the example. The adherence of individuals to

respecting the natural environment or 'their stuff' is important as children know that it is a

visible sign, and one that is not irregularly associated with self-respect (Schmidtz,

2011).

Respect for the environment is reflected in the children's dialogue as a measure of respect in

the individuals of their community. Children are aware of expectations of what they should

do, that is not harm the natural environment, and the effects that litter can have on creatures

in the natural world.

This concept of environmental respect is similar to Dillon's 'Care Respect' (Dillon, 1992).

This type of respect arises from feminist views of respect which considers an individual as

worthy of respect simply due to their status as unique and individual. Respect in this case is a

type of acceptance and acknowledgement of the value of difference (Dillon, 1992). This

sense of care respect is apparent in the way that children refer to the 'beauty' of nature and

the individuality of the animals within it, identifying its particulars as worthy of a form of

respect that will provide for its needs.

The concern that children have for the appearance of their neighbourhood is reflected in a

similar way in their discussion of the continuing impacts of the earthquake. It is made

apparent that children have concerns about the environment of their neighbourhood due to damage from the Christchurch earthquakes. In Jeremy's case he speaks about a general lack of being 'tidy' in Anhurst, but this language is also applied to the after effects of the earthquake.

Jeremy: People don't treat it properly. And they don't pick up, they don't just, they just throw everything around you know and like there's this there's this … there's more than just glass, broken glass, there's litter and there's just, I think there's sometimes petrol and poo and stuff. And, cuz during the earthquake they had this big drum thing and you have like these Porta Loos and you have them in the bathroom and you gotta do your dirt out every night. And you gotta (farting sound effect) in the toilet so there's (farting sound effect) in the street. And also there's lots of broken mains and stuff. Needs to be made a bit more, you know like tidy.

Here Jeremy is describing a fairly typical experience of post-earthquake toilet facilities for many residents of his neighbourhood. In his estimation, these conditions contribute to the untidiness of the neighbourhood. He is not the only child to identify these kinds of problems; Emily does so on multiple occasions.

Emily: Yeah, like, some of the roads are like really hard and bumpy. Yeah. And like, sometimes, uh there's like lots of flooding around. Since the earthquake. And it's still happening now. Cuz my house is, outside it there is all these dents from like the

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earthquakes and there's like this massive puddle that gets there. And when mum picks us up its always hard not to step in a puddle and it's all slippery and stuff.

And later she remarks:

> Emily: Because some of the things are nice [in Anhurst], but the roads just make it look a bit depressing and yeah.
>
> Rosee: Why do you think roads and stuff make it look depressing?
>
> Emily: Cuz it's just like, broken and stuff. It just doesn't look very nice. It looks, it reminds you of the earthquakes.
>
> Rosee: Yeah true. And why do you think it's bad to be reminded of the earthquakes?
>
> Emily: Because like, people freak out that there could be another one and that could happen again cuz down my neighbourhood, just um at the near the park there was somebody driving and then all the sudden the road it went in and then it was stuck, the car was like that, the boot was up like that and the car was like that and then there was concrete on top of it. Yeah. That was. That's what scares me if I'm in a car whenever I go.

It is apparent that the neighbourhood damage has a number of affects upon the children. Both Jeremy and Emily find the damage to be bothersome for themselves, either in causing inconvenience, or that its presence reminds them of the earthquakes themselves. The earthquake damage is also a factor which they dislike on the basis of its contribution to the

overall appearance of the area. The earthquake damage as a factor contributing to the children's perceptions of their neighbourhood's appearance to outsiders is apparent in Emily's interview.

> Emily: Mainly the people I hear on the TV are saying like how it's [Anhurst] wrecked and stuff. That's mainly all I hear.
>
> Rosee: Wrecked from?
>
> Emily: Earthquake.

While the earthquake damage to Anhurst does not vilify the residents in the same way that litter does, the damage does contribute to a deterioration of the neighbourhood appearance as well as to the prevalent discourse about the neighbourhood. While this may have initially inspired sympathy, four years on from the earthquake the unattended damage has become another way in which Anhurst is symbolically distanced from the rest of Christchurch. The term 'wrecked' that Emily uses to describe the way that the media discusses her neighbourhood does not have positive or hopeful connotations. Her perception of the earthquake damage in Anhurst has considerable impact upon both her experience of her place, as well as her understanding of how Anhurst is seen and portrayed by outsiders.

It is clear that all of the children are concerned with a perpetuation of an already existent stigma. This has wide-reaching connotations. The children's preoccupation with appearance is due to fear of reinforcing what is said about them and perpetuating disrespect for their

place. Goffman (1963) addresses this issue of the response of a stigmatised person. Attempting to correct the source of stigma is difficult in itself, but stigma is due to power relations in which the more powerful player defines what is acceptable and what is 'otherness'. This is evident in children's attempts to appear to fit within what they perceive as acceptable to others.

The children in this study also reflected upon the imperfections of their neighbourhood which can contribute to stigmatisation, or to their own discomfort. Normative dissonance is an important feature for children as they construct a sense of place. The dissonance between what the children know to be the normative guidelines for a 'good' neighbourhood and what they experience can be a complex issue for these children who already experience spatial stigma. In Arthur's words, he likes his neighbourhood "Despite some of the violence". This seems like a strange statement, except when seen in the light of his journey of constructing a sense of place and identity in relation to outsider opinion.

A further contribution to the appearance of Anhurst to outsiders is the earthquake damage to the area and the continuing presence of signs of this damage and its clean-up process. While the children did not identify the presence of earthquake damage as a behavioural issue in the same way that litter is, there remains the contribution that this damage makes to the appearance of the neighbourhood in and of itself. This contribution should not be overlooked quickly as the children made clear links between the damage and their own dissatisfaction with the neighbourhood conditions, as well as identifying its potential appearance to outsiders. In the process of constructing a sense of place, a natural disaster such as this simply consolidates the children's concerns about neighbourhood appearance.

The Importance of Respect in Constructing a Sense of Place and Identity

Children in this study stressed the importance of respect within their neighbourhood, and respect toward it from outsiders as an element of their construction of a sense of place. However, the importance of respect in the children's accounts of caring for the environment is not the only situation in which they discuss respect. It has appeared in the way in which they have interacted with other people in the neighbourhood, and in the way that they describe their relations with outsiders. In their accounts of interpersonal respect, it is evident that stigmatisation has considerable potential for undermining children's experience of respect.

Respect as an Expectation of Oneself

Children's discussions in this study reflected the discourse about respect that is prevalent in current society. The influence of respect as a value or worldview was apparent in the shared language that several of them used, and also in the sources by which the children are educated about its importance. Respect as an idea and a behaviour was expressed as a way the children understand themselves, their neighbourhood, and outsiders.

> Mandy: It's like, if you're not going to have respect for other people, you don't have respect for yourself.

Mandy's assertion that respect toward others is a condition for having respect for yourself is an influential message, as it constrains behaviours; an individual's behaviour reflects the attitudes they hold toward themselves. Other children also used similar language that illustrated this same understanding that respect was an expected practice in their interactions with others.

The message that Kara highlighted in her interview was also underpinned by the importance of maintaining respect for oneself. In this case, respect from others toward oneself also relied on the respect you show in turn.

> Kara: So if you like respect other people, they'll respect you the same way back.

The concept of respect and its application appears to be introduced into the children's discussion and everyday lives through various influential forms. In Mandy's case, she reflects how her parents have taught her to give respect in order to receive it.

> Mandy: The influence is, like, my parents and stuff. Cuz they said if you want respect, you have to give respect.

Darwall (1977) defines Mandy's attitude as recognition respect as it describes respect due simply in recognition of being human. This concept both requires respect for an individual, but also for the individual to respect themselves on the basis of their own humanity. Emily

illustrates the way that this discourse of respect is also seen in a school setting. Items within classrooms are, as Emily mentions, used to promote respectful behaviour.

> Emily: … And like, things like artwork around our neighbourhood, like you know how there's those green box things around and somebody will just tag on them, that's like disrespectful but, the other day somebody painted a cat on it and it was really like artistic. Things like that around the neighbourhood on there and like, inside Room 4 there's this thing and it says 'never disrespect but respect'.

It is apparent that parents and teachers promote the value of respect in the children of Anhurst. Parents and teachers represent highly influential figures in children's lives, and the messages that children pick up from these figures become apparent in the way they speak. The way that the children have internalised this message of respect is evident in the way in which they refer to people and behaviours as either respectful or disrespectful.

> Arthur: Well, there's certain people make [Anhurst] happy.
>
> Rosee: How do you tell the difference between people who make it happy and people who make it not happy?
>
> Arthur: Well, you can tell them instantly because people are being disrespectful towards others, and the people who are respectful.

Here Arthur is describing the difference between people who contribute to a happy neighbourhood, and those who do not. In his estimation, these people are easily distinguished as those who are respectful and disrespectful. Children's common use of respect as a distinguishing factor is quite interesting. It reflects the dominant discourse of respect, and how they have internalised this discourse in a way that penetrates their expectations of themselves, and of others. Additionally, respect or lack thereof has taken on a meaning for the children that defines whether someone is a desirable or acceptable person.

Care respect also incorporates persons. It takes the respect which is owed all individuals on the basis of being persons, and it applies it to the individual's specific traits and characteristics. Several of the children referenced this type of respect when they described the treatment of those in their neighbourhood.

> Andy: Like, the people that are really nice, like the neighbours, like they're really respectful, like when the earthquake happened, they really helped out a lot for people. And like they respect whatever you do, like no matter how your family is, how loud they are they kinda just ignore that.

Andy reflects on respect twice in this excerpt. The second reference clarifies his use of the word, associating the word respect with the way that neighbours respect 'whatever you do', 'no matter how your family is'. This reflects care respect which, as Dillon put it "regards our very human selves as having worth in our everyday ordinariness – in the monotony, dinginess, inadequacy, and despair of banal existences …[and] also comprises acceptance of frailty" (1992, p. 121). In other words, the neighbours extend to Andy (and others) the respect

which encompasses each person's peculiarities and particulars. Accepting the loudness of a family which is something of the everyday sort, though not desirable, Andy sees the people in his community as extending respect for each other's individuality. It is a form of respect which shows acceptance of individuality and personhood to those who receive it. Dillon again sums this up eloquently, "We are, on the care respect approach, to pay attention not only to the fact that someone is a 'me' but also to which particular 'me' she is" (Dillon, 1992, p. 118).

Respect as an Expectation of Others

The previous section showed that children are aware of the need to show respect to others, but they are also aware of their own claim to respect on the basis of being respectful and as deserving a level of respect simply due to their equal status with others of the human race. Behaviours and attitudes toward the area, however, appear to present concerns for the children who feel disrespected. Emily describes Anhurst as being a respectful place, and expressed a dislike of outsiders behaving in a way she considered disrespectful of her neighbourhood.

> Emily: [I have seen disrespectful behaviour from] people who don't really live here. Cuz some people always walk there but don't actually live there. And sometimes they're really disrespectful. And there's lots of high schoolers who don't live here but they go to Anhurst High School and they're really disrespectful, you can see them like drinking and smoking around and it's like really disrespecting to our neighbourhood.
>
> Rosee: How does that show disrespect to your neighbourhood do you think?

Emily: Because, like, they just leave bottles on the ground and smash them and all that. Cuz like, the other day I was walking to school and then, like they were, they were just blocking up the whole path and you couldn't , they couldn't like, they weren't letting us through and it's like, what disrespecting.

Emily describes disrespectful behaviour toward her neighbourhood by outsiders in terms of both behaviour toward herself and other residents by blocking their paths, and also in their treatment of the physical neighbourhood by littering. While litter and inconveniencing others were the particulars of Emily's description of disrespectful behaviour, she identified that a great concern to her was that she would be respectful if the roles were reversed.

Rosee: Yeah, cuz why is it important for someone to respect your neighbourhood?

Emily: Because, if I went to anybody else's neighbourhood, I would actually respect their neighbourhood, I wouldn't actually do anything bad.

Emily's expectations are that she would treat another neighbourhood with respect. This claim that she would not treat another neighbourhood the way that these outsiders treat Anhurst is not only a claim of righteousness on her own part, but also an expression of confusion as to why she would experience those disrespectful behaviours when she is respectful herself. This hearkens back to the belief that many of the children had regarding giving and getting respect.

Treatment of the neighbourhood is not the only way that the children of Anhurst recognised a respectful or disrespectful attitude by outsiders. Many of the children also considered negative views and opinions of Anhurst expressed by outsiders to be disrespectful. Again, a major critique of the negative opinions of Anhurst that the children were privy to was that the children believed that they themselves would never say such things or 'judge' other people's neighbourhoods in such a way.

Philip: […] And heaps of other people judge, I'm like ok, do I talk about your neighbourhood? Do I talk about your community? Do I talk about you know where you live or no? Or not? No I don't. You know why? Because that's a not a very nice thing. And what you're doing right now is totally not a very nice thing. So, do you know, thinking about it. I mean, I'm not gunna say that you're doing something bad or something, just you know, make something better out, out of that.

For the children who are quoted above, the respect they expect from others falls within the category of recognition respect. The children recognise themselves as deserving of respect on the basis of being persons. Being a person demands respect from oneself, for oneself. Importantly, this self-respect constrains the actions of the individual, demanding behaviour that is consistent with the dignity that comes with being a person. In a context that experiences spatial stigma which marginalises the individuals within the neighbourhood, the respect that the children believe they are due is immediately challenged.

Recognition respect due to being a person, as the children clearly express, first is defined by respect for oneself due to being a 'person among persons' (Dillon, 2014). More simply, being

a 'person' means that these children can claim to be 'like everybody else' as they do in their descriptions of their community and, in being one person in a group of other persons, the children recognise their right to equal respect. Recognition self-respect is respect that one has for oneself because of their status, whether as a person or belonging to a group, or a position (Darwall, 1977). It is defined in contrast to Darwall's (1977) appraisal respect or Kant's evaluative respect, which describe the self-respect obtained through the weighing up of whether one has subjectively attained one's own prescribed level of moral purity, personal expectation or other form of achievement.

A number of commentators discuss the importance of experiencing the respect of others as important for the development and maintenance of self-respect (Bird, 2008; Dillon, 1992; Honneth, 1992). Bird in particular presents an argument for the Dependency Thesis, which proposes that self-respect is not only dependent upon the social condition one is raised in, but also upon the attitudes and treatment we experience from others (Bird, 2008). Honneth (1992) also refers to a continued process of support for our self-respect. Such reliance on a continued context conducive to maintaining one's self-respect places self-respect at risk. The implications of "that particular human vulnerability signified by the concept of "disrespect" arises from this interlocking of individuation and recognition" (Honneth, 1992, p. 189) which Honneth refers to means that disrespect can endanger the very identity of a person. The power relations that are present in the production of spatial stigma are also active in the relationship of respect. Respect, although warranted, may be withheld, and this can establish control over the self-respect of another person (Dillon, 1992). Stigma, therefore, holds this same control over respect; spatial stigma exercises the power of defining what is acceptable in the neighbourhood context, and evaluates the neighbourhood in keeping with these guidelines. Finding Anhurst lacking undermines the respect that is held for that place.

The prevalence of respect throughout the children's dialogues was also paralleled by the concept of *mana.* The Māori word '*mana'* was utilised by only one child in this study, although many of the children did identify themselves as Māori. Mana is traditionally described as 'authority, influence, prestige, power, psychic force' (Orbell, 1995, p. 99), an inherent power possessed by an individual or a group (Mead, 2003; Orbell, 1995). Despite the use of the word mana only appearing once, its importance to the understanding of a construction of sense of place for the children in this study is still tenable for two reasons. Firstly, use of Māori language and references to Māoritanga may have been diminished in the children's interviews due to the interviewer being identified as non-Māori. If a Māori interviewer had been present, the vocabulary used may have been significantly different. Secondly, the concept of mana seemed to appear in many of the children's interviews, without them referring to it explicitly in its original language.

It is also important to acknowledge that the way that children in this study understand the concept of mana is not necessarily the full or exhaustive definition. Mana can be enhanced by the reception of gifts (Patterson, 2000), but in the excerpt below, Arthur's use of the concept of mana was also closely related to different facets of respect.

> Arthur: Like someone, someone has actually given our community, we're just, we're a small community, and someone's given us something. Like we've been, a couple, I think it was last year we were given these two massive carvings that got put in the park. Still there.
>
> Rosee: And so, what did you like about those?

Arthur: Um, well, just showed how much people care about our community.

Rosee: Yeah, cool and why is that important do you think?

Arthur: Well because it shows that, shows the mana that our community brings.

Rosee: So can you, like tell how do you think neighbourhood really shows mana? How do you think it reflects mana?

Arthur: Well because we got people who are very disciplined and people who aren't, like, people who are disciplined help out, people who aren't go round bashing people, tagging but they eventually get caught.

Arthur makes a number of interesting statements. First he refers to his community being 'small', followed by identifying that they had been given gifts of carvings despite this. Second he related the giving of the gift as signifying two consecutive things – the extent that people care for his community, and that this care shows the mana that his 'community brings'. Lastly, Arthur draws a link between mana of his community and the individuals within it.

The first point, the acknowledgment of Anhurst as being small, seems significant to Arthur. He mentions this fact several times throughout his interview. Many of the times that he mentions the smallness of Anhurst, it is in a context of discussing what it has to offer, despite this apparently diminutive size.

Rosee: Can you like, so why the [Anhurst Bears] [rugby team], why do the [Anhurst Bears] make you happy?

Arthur: Because I like it when we win. And, so that you know a little community can bring something big to massive suburbs.

In a similar way, Arthur uses the fact that different famous people have come from this neighbourhood to exemplify the ability of Anhurst to 'do big things'.

Arthur: Uh because we had quite a few big names from our school like Ben Frakes, Ian Smith, um John Key.

Rosee: Mean and so why is that important for a neighbourhood to know that we have big people from here?

Arthur: Um because they can show what a little suburb can produce.

Rosee: How does seeing that and seeing what a little suburb can produce, how does that make you feel?

Arthur: Um it makes special because we cuz, we're a neighbourhood that can make, that can do big things.

Mana applies both to individuals and communities (Orbell, 1995; Mead, 2003), and it is used in both of these senses in Arthur's discussion. Evaluating aspects of Anhurst in such a way echoes the concept of 'appraisal respect' introduced by Darwall (1977). Mana has its own parallel concept of 'achieved mana' which is mentioned by Patterson (2000). Achieved mana is, as it indicates, mana which is gained through behaviours or achievements. These theoretical and particular parallels between mana and respect in Arthur's interview and the

other children's interviews respectively indicates that care must be taken to understand that respect may have a Māori cultural component. Spatial stigma may require a bicultural understanding as it undermines the mana of a neighbourhood in a similar way to undermining respect.

To be respected is to be found to be of some worth, be that the inherent worth of the human being, or the worth that is gained by some feature or behaviour of the person (Benditt, 2008; Darwall, 1977). The children's desire for respect is not surprising as the respect which is given to themselves and their neighbourhood is directly associated with how they are considered and, importantly, how they are treated by others (Benditt, 2008). Respect has the potential, as an expectation that the children have regarding their neighbourhood, to cause children concern if they do not feel a sense of respect for their neighbourhood. As has been established, place and identity are intertwined, and we can see this again in the way that children perceive disrespect directed toward the community as a personal disrespect also.

Spatial stigma is a considerable threat to the children's sense of respect. At its very core, stigma is the marginalisation of an individual or group in response to a perceived or institutionalised 'difference' (Goffman, 1963). Stigma therefore is incompatible with respect at every turn and children in this study feel acutely that stigma toward Anhurst is disrespectful. As children in the home, at school and in the functioning of their social relationships they are bestowed with a fundamental understanding that their own and other individual's value as persons denotes respect. However, spatial stigma at its core ignores the inherent respect that the children in this study expect, the respect which is given and received reciprocally and normatively. Evaluation or appraisal respect is also lacking, as spatial stigma vilifies Anhurst on the basis of reputation and traits which are considered undesirable. In this

way, spatial stigma undermines children's perceptions of the worth of their neighbourhood and of themselves, spurring them on to attempt to present themselves and Anhurst in a way which would gain value in the eyes of others and, concomitantly, gain respect.

Conclusion

Children's construction of a sense of place is a continuing process which draws not only on their own experiences of their neighbourhood, but also on beliefs about their neighbourhood held by outsiders. Spatial stigma is not an inconsequential matter for children in socioeconomically disadvantaged areas which are associated with 'problem' reputations, but rather it undermines the value that children have for their neighbourhood and, as a result, the way they feel about themselves as well. It was evident in the interviews with children in this study that spatial stigma was not easily ignored, but forced children to contend with a challenge to their construction of a sense of place and their identities which resulted in a perceived disrespect for both their place and self. This process of defence required that children develop coping mechanisms to manage the discomfort of the negative reputations, as well as develop methods to diminish the stigma as much as possible.

Chapter 5: "Everything You Need" - Neighbourhood Social Capital for Children

Introduction

In the previous chapter, spatial stigma was explored from the children's perspective as they construct a sense of place and identity in Anhurst. It was evident that they felt that their neighbourhood did suffer from negative opinions from outsiders, a fact that the children found to be unpleasant and threatened their perceptions of place, identity and respect for themselves. However, despite their reports of negative outsider opinions, children presented their own experiences of their neighbourhood in a largely positive light, with the vast majority of the children emphasising their affection for Anhurst as their home.

A great deal of what children identified as making their home a good place to live was about the people that they know in the neighbourhood. From their discussion, a key theme which arose from analysis was the connections between people in the neighbourhood, and the value children place on these connections. Children's awareness of neighbourhood relationships was apparent, firstly in their description of what a neighbourhood is- that is their definition or understanding of what constitutes a neighbourhood- was largely in reference to people and, importantly, the interactions between people. Secondly, the interactions between the residents of the neighbourhood made up what children like and think is important in the neighbourhood. Children interviewed in this study spoke extensively about the frequency and nature of their interactions with others within the community which is consistent with international literature.

In order to examine the theme of children's perceptions of neighbourhood networks more deeply, this chapter explores how the concept of social capital can be used to understand these descriptions of their neighbourhood and what they value about their neighbourhood. To understand social capital from a child's perspective, this chapter considers the three dominant ways social capital is described in the literature, and critically evaluates their application in neighbourhood research for public health.

Social Capital: Critical Evaluation of the Options

Social capital as a concept is complicated and broad, making it difficult to define and apply to research. Social capital has been conceptualised by three significant authors, Coleman, Putnam and Bourdieu, and each has met with critique. It is acknowledged by most commentators that children are not well represented in the discussion of social capital or in the application of social capital theories to research with children (Morrow, 1999).

Coleman (1988) states that "social capital exists in the *relations* among persons" (Coleman, 1988; p. 100) and "[t]he function identified by the concept of "social capital" is the value of these aspects of social structure to actors as resources that they can use to achieve their interests" (Coleman, 1988; p.101). Coleman defines social capital by situation, and particularly highlights the importance of three factors: trustworthiness for transactions (I do something for you and you do something for me later); sources of information that facilitate action; and norms which both facilitate and constrain actions. Morrow (1999) provides a critique of the work of each of the three large contributors to the social capital discussion. The most pertinent aspect of Morrow's critique of Coleman is his narrow view of children's interaction with social capital. Coleman maintains that children's access to social capital is

mediated through their parents. He argues that, firstly, a child's greatest and most available source of social capital is through his/her parents and, secondly, that parents are also the gateway through which external social capital is accessed; social capital outside of the family is available to children, but in the form of parental networks or connections (Coleman, 1988; Morrow, 1999). Coleman only deviates from this parent-dominant framework in his discussion of the social capital that children access in school. However, he describes this situation as consistently brokered through adults and does not account for the value of children's relationships with peers (Schaefer-McDaniel, 2004). This view of children's interaction with social capital is problematic in Coleman's theorising. The view that children access all social capital through parental gate-keeping is contradictory to the concept of children's agency and to the understanding of the reciprocal relationships between children and their external environment (Morrow, 1999; James & Prout, 1997). This argument advanced by Coleman does not correspond with the literature illustrating the interaction of children and neighbourhoods and it does not reflect the independent voices of the children interviewed in this study.

Putnam's explanation of social capital focuses upon the networks and the characteristics of those networks. He states that "[w]hereas physical capital refers to physical objects and human capital refers to properties of individuals, social capital refers to connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them" (Putnam, 2000, p. 19). Putnam's discussion of social capital expanded the social capital discourse from one about the affect upon individuals as Coleman had conceptualised it, to one of collective social capital of communities (Portes, 2000; Putnam, 2000). In addition to applying social capital to groups, Putnam places greater emphasis than Coleman upon the features that can have an affect on relationships within networks (Carpiano, 2006). He delineates social capital into four particular areas, the first being networks which exist in and

between 'voluntary, state and personal spheres'. Belonging to the community is the second feature within Putnam's conceptualisation, which he argues is important in order to establish 'solidarity and equality'. Solidarity and equality refer to the experience of relying upon one another and feeling valued. Thirdly, collective norms which affect 'cooperation, reciprocity and trust' establish control over the activities within that community, regulating behaviour through expectations. A final feature of Putnam's conceptualisation of social capital is that it is an individualised approach, recognising that individuals within the community must buy-in and participate, and develop positive attitudes toward their community structures (Morrow, 1999). Participation and attitudes toward established features of the neighbourhood are important for maintaining the structures through support and cooperation.

Bourdieu's writings are deeply rooted in Marxism (Webb, Schirato, & Danaher, 2002), situating his discussions of social capital within a wider dialogue about the perpetuation of social inequalities (Weller & Bruegel, 2009). Social capital contributes to the distinctions that are maintained between different levels of society. This appearance of divisions occurs through the mechanisms Bourdieu expresses below:

> social capital is the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or in other words, to membership in a group – which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectivity-owned capital, a 'credential' which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word. These relationships may exist only in the practical state, in material and/or symbolic exchanges which help to maintain them (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 246).

As the above deliniates, Bourdieu relates social standing with resources available through one's relationships. Bourdieu defines his theorization of social capital more clearly,

describing it as consisting of networks and connections as well as sociability (Bourdieu 1984 in Schaefer-McDaniel, 2004). Bourdieu explicitly identifies these two areas with the reasoning that both dimensions are required for social capital to exist. The existence of relationships (networks and connections) is essential, but so is the individual's ability to employ these relationships for their own needs (sociability). This requires the individual to understand what is available to them through these relationships, but also necessitates that the individuals who wish to utilise networks of relationships must have the ability to cultivate and sustain such relations (Schaefer-McDaniel, 2004). Although Bourdieu's discussion of social capital does not mention children, both Morrow (1999) and Leonard (2005) consider his theory the most relevant when looking at children's social capital as it is 'rooted in the processes and practices of everyday life' and is more complex and contexual than Coleman and Putnam (Morrow, 1999).

Despite the minimal presence in the literature of social capital specifically referring to children, there has been some attempt at developing an understanding of children's construction of social capital (see Bassani, 2003; Weller, 2006; Weller & Bruegel, 2009; Schaefer-McDaniel, 2004). Leonard (2005) identifies that current social capital discussions about children have specific conceptual flaws. Firstly, discussion in the literature presents children as constrained in the ways they construct social capital. This is exemplified by Coleman's argument that social capital for children focuses upon their responses to norms presented to them through adults (they internalise them or reject them) and their social capital is gained through parental relationships with others rather than their own relationships. This picture of children's access to social capital undervalues the possibility that children have the agency and capabilities to access neighbourhood resources, or in fact, that other children within the family or environment can be a source of social capital themselves. Secondly, the literature reflects an assumption that children draw on social capital and it benefits their

future lives, rather than benefitting them in the present (Leonard, 2005). It is an adult-centric view to consider that all benefits that children will experience through relationships will be consummated when they have reached adulthood, such as the effects of adult education on the life potentials of their children. Lastly, research on children and social capital largely focuses on how children lack social capital, rather than the many ways they have it (Leonard, 2005). This simple focus on what they lack again presents children as vulnerable recipients and undermines their validity as social actors.

Leonard and Morrow propose that the sociology of childhood can be applied in conjunction with Bourdieu's concept of social capital to create a "potent framework for understanding the significance of social capital in the everyday lives of children and its impact on childhood and adulthood" (Leonard, 2005; p. 620). The sociology of childhood, described by James and Prout (1997), addresses childhood's status and construction in society and therefore also the way in which researchers should approach their experience of social capital. They firstly acknowledge that childhood itself is a social construction, which means that it is not universal but rather a construct which exists as a result of social and structural processes. Secondly, childhood is not static but is variable in its appearance, having changed in definition throughout history. Thirdly, children's social relationships are important to investigate and understand from their own perspectives. Lastly, children should be seen and dealt with in a manner which reflects that they are active in the construction of their social lives, and are also active influences in others' lives and in society as a whole (James & Prout, 1997). This is in direct contradiction of the view that children are simply on the receiving end of their experiences and interactions. Applying Bourdieu's concept of social capital with reference to the sociology of childhood outlined by James and Prout (1997) allows his contextual and nuanced constructs to be fully utilised with respect to children, acknowledging that they are both active and influential in their social realm.

Knowing – The Nature of Children's Networks

This section explores the prominence of social networks in children's discussions of their neighbourhood, analysing how children perceive and construct these networks, and what they value about them. Schaefer-McDaniel (2004) identified that social networks may look quite different for children in comparison to adults, with more value placed upon their peers (Schaefer-McDaniel, 2004). Rogers (2011, 2012) looked at how important children's friendships are to their well-being, and found that children readily expressed this as well as the importance of these friendships in the neighbourhood context. The children interviewed in this study also readily discussed the people they knew and interacted with in their neighbourhoods, with the majority perceiving networks to be an important construct within the neighbourhood. It appeared that their neighbourhood networks were predominantly made up of other children. The significant exceptions to this mostly consisted of direct next-door-neighbours who were adults. Many children described neighbourhood in terms of people and relationships.

> Andy: Well, it's like kind of like a huge group of people that like respect each other's properties, help pretty much and but then there's the down side of it. Like there's those people who don't even do anything, they don't respect your property they don't respect your rights.

> Kara: Like [neighbourhood is] people that help you.

Andy and Kara highlighted three important points: that children are aware of networks within their neighbourhood; that talking about relationships and networks is the dominant way that children answer the question 'what is neighbourhood?'; and that children are aware of the value of networks in their neighbourhood. Most of the children interviewed illustrated an immediate awareness of the links between people in the neighbourhood and the importance of these links.

Neighbourhood as 'Family'

The children interviewed in this study valued social networks and viewed neighbourhood as a source of those networks. They described their social networks, including friends, people they meet on the street, their acquaintances and teachers in terms of who they 'know'. Statements such as 'everyone knows each other' indicate a sense of perceived connection between individuals in the neighbourhood. The importance children place on being connected to other people is evident in the international literature (Rogers, 2012; Schaefer-McDaniel, 2004) as well as in the interviews conducted for this study. Mandy perceived this connectedness as a sense of reliance on each other, much like a family.

Rosee: So if you were to name the most important thing [Anhurst], about it being your neighbourhood, what would it be?

Mandy: Connectedness.

Rosee: That's really awesome aye. And how will connectedness influence you while you live here?

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Mandy: Um, so you like can connect with people so you could say, oh can you look

after this, or like when we're away.

The language that these children used both defines and helps them understand the way they

perceive the nature of these connections. In particular, children used the word 'family' when

describing their neighbourhood. This was a word representing a form of 'knowing' which is

associated with closeness.

Arthur: To me a neighbourhood is a get-together. It's like a family, a neighbourhood's

a family.

Sally: Um, (neighbourhood is) like a massive as family.

Rosee: Yeah, how do you see that? Like what, why do you think a neighbourhood is a

family?

Sally: Oh, cuz they're like really nice and stuff like that. Yeah and they act like, they

know us, really well.

Along with the notion of 'family' comes ways of interacting. You need to show consideration

for your 'family' and have pride in them. This is discussed in more detail in the following

section. Toby described the need to inform people in the neighbourhood when having a

barbecue to ensure they are aware that any smoke that is produced does not cause the

neighbours concern and result in an emergency service being called.

Toby: I reckon neighbourhood is, like, a family. And taking pride and what when they have those, when they have like barbecues stuff, you have to tell them that if you, if you, if you see ah like, when it gets fire that goes up. To the tell them to it's not even a fire, it's we're making something and yeah. Tell them that because if they might ring the, 111 thing. And yeah.

The clear metaphor of the neighbourhood being like, or simply being 'a family' is used repeatedly by the children in this study. The use of this word reflects children's experience of the neighbourhood being close, and there being a sense of intimacy in knowing one another. This is supported by the way that children responded when I queried the use of the word family, answering with variations of how 'nice' they are or how well they 'know each other'.

In his construct of social capital, Putnam distinguishes between types of social capital, separating them into 'bonding' and 'bridging' social capital. The former is describing connections between people of a homogenous group, whilst the latter describes connections between different groups (Weller & Bruegel, 2009). This concept is helpful in identifying the positive aspects that children are associating with the connections within their neighbourhood. Bonding social capital creates a sense of a tight-knit group, and may contribute to social cohesion due to the homogeneity of those who are included. Bridging networks, on the other hand, are 'weak' ties. This type of network links one individual to another individual who resides outside of their close network of relationships. Because of their external nature, the bridging relationship provides potential access to external resources (Putnam, 2000). The frequency of the description of children's neighbourhood in light of these types of networks raises the question of whether such an overwhelming presence of 'bonding' social capital could represent a lack of 'bridging' social capital. Morrow (2001)

reiterates the exclusive nature of bonding capital, a factor which can also lead to negative effects if such groups have a negative identity, such as gangs. In the case of these children's description, the closeness of the social networks is perceived as positive.

> Jeremy: Feel nice, purely, just there's nice things in [neighbourhood]. You know. Feels like they're …, I feel like ah it's like a community you know. One big family. (*Singing*) we are … that's it yeah, just had to.

> Jeremy: Is, like, every almost everybody knows everybody. And always hanging out all the time. You know. Like playing rugby together.

This concept that neighbourhood is like a family also relates to the ideas discussed by Granovetter (1973) regarding the strength of relational ties. In particular, Granovetter discusses the ways in which two individuals who share strong ties with the same person are likely to be similar to one another. The comment by Jeremy that, 'Everybody knows everybody' is a statement which reflects the potential that this kind of homogeneity exists, that people within a group would know one another via multiple connections. The implication of this, as Granovetter states, is that of the similarity between people. In terms of social capital, the homogeneity of the group may mean a lack of or a limited variation of resources available for those within this 'closed network'. Children's descriptions of what it is like to be a neighbourhood that is like a family also reflect the sense of tight and inward-facing connections.

> Mandy: When like we just help each other, if like then when there's an elderly and they need someone to mow their lawn, like we could just in- volunteer.

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The responses of the children reflected neighbourhood as a family serving one another. There are words like 'caring', and 'sharing' and 'respect'. Whilst these all reflect a sense of social cohesion it also reinforces the concerns raised by Bourdieu. His focus was on the ability of social capital to translate into economic capital. In an area of low socioeconomic status, such as the neighbourhood in this study, there are potential implications that arise due to the predominant 'bonding' social capital expressed by the children here (Putnam in Weller & Bruegel, 2009), or strong ties within their networks (Granovetter, 1973). Bourdieu, seeing social capital as a heuristic tool, would examine the networks described by the children on the basis of whether they have the potential to create access to economic capital (Morrow, 1999). In socioeconomically disadvantaged areas, such as the one in this study, such tight networks have the potential to perpetuate inequalities through lack of access to external resources – in Putnam's words, to 'get by' rather than 'get ahead' (Putnam in Weller & Bruegel, 2009).

Although the tight social networks reflected in the children's depiction of their neighbourhood as a family are dominant, they are not exclusive. Many children spoke about having members of their nuclear or extended family who lived in different suburbs or even countries, and others were involved in outside groups such as churches. Children did speak about their access to resources through their tight social networks much more than how their networks beyond the neighbourhood provide them with such resources, but this potentially reflects that close social networks are more easily accessible, and therefore more important, to children. In the analysis of the problems of 'bonding' social capital, my analysis was largely adult-centric. For children, the importance of bonding networks may play a more immediate role in their lives, and over-emphasising the value of external networks may

reflect a focus upon children's future-selves, rather than acknowledging the value of their social networks in the present.

Maintaining and Utilising Networks

When discussing social networks in their neighbourhood, the communication between individuals was often discussed. The nature of the interactions is apparently inconsequential, but the children associate such interactions with respect and care for one another.

> Kara: [People are nice to others] by respecting them and like greeting them.
>
> Rosee: Ok, cool yeah, how do people do that, when do you see that happening?
>
> Kara: When like people are just walking and they're just like "hi".

The communication of saying "hi" when people walk by each other on the street is echoed in other children's interviews and denotes the respect which is given in these casual encounters. Mandy also relates this kind of respect to how you make friends. She recognises that children gain the ability to 'act their respect' toward each other and that this appears in the form of asking how one another are. This type of respect is described as something that makes Mandy want to be someone's friend.

> Mandy: Um like, as the respect comes, they act their respect and they actually ask, like, how you are and then you, like, want to be their friend.

In addition to showing respect, children illustrate an awareness of the way that communication aids in the maintenance of social networks.

> Philip: (Talking about communication with neighbours) It's important thing? Um, well you don't, you know, if you're angry and then you haven't even talked to them in ages, that's not, you know, you should talk to them for a wee while and say sorry and apologise. Say ah you know I'm sorry, but these are the gift of flowers and they're like, aw wait I've got a gift for you too! Then they start communicating and become friends. So yeah, it is good to ah talk. And ah, yeah.

Philip associates the ability to talk with his neighbours as a process which can resolve difficulties. By talking and, in this case saying sorry, the network remains viable through open communication and actions which attempt to see another's point of view. Interestingly, in this study the majority of connections, friendships and knowledge of people that children brought up were of individuals their own age. The possibilities that children offer for resolving issues or strengthening networks appear to be observed from adult interactions; gifts of flowers such as the example used by Philip are more likely to be an adult way of showing care. Philip acknowledges these types of interactions as a valuable tool in the development and maintenance of social networks.

The way that the children talk about communicating with the neighbourhood residents shows skill in crafting their own behaviour to assist in the successful formation and continuation of

social relationships. Bourdieu highlighted 'sociability' or the skills to maintain social networks as a vital part of constructing social capital. Bourdieu considered the maintenance of successful and workable networks as requiring "an unceasing effort of sociability, a continuous series of exchanges in which recognition is endlessly affirmed and reaffirmed" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 90). This constant labour of sociability that Bourdieu states as a vital component of children's networks clarifies the types of interactions that the children in this study were describing. Where simple greetings are often relegated to an automatic behaviour of little consequence, these children identify that there is a value to being 'affirmed and reaffirmed'. The way in which Philip describes the need to resolve issues within the network again relates to the labour of sociability described by Bourdieu.

As well as the presence and maintenance of social networks, children repeatedly spoke about the advantages that they have through their social networks. Jeremy illustrated the way that children's sense of knowing one another in the neighbourhood translates into a feeling of security.

>   Jeremy: Cheerful people, friendly people, lots of laughing, lots of socialising lots of rugby.

>   Rosee: And why do you think those things are important for a community?

>   Jeremy: So then they can bond ha, it's like, see the community members in their natural habitat (*Jeremy makes sound effects*) it's like oh, he saw me (*Jeremy makes sound effects*) I've been spotted ha.

>   Rosee: And um, so what's good about bonding in the community?

>   Jeremy: It helps everybody get along better and they can, like the community will feel as one if you bond with each other you know what I mean?

Rosee: Yeah and what's good about the community feeling one?

Jeremy: Feels like a good place to be, like, you're loved, not loved but yeah, you, somebody knows you.

Rosee: Well what's good about that?

Jeremy: Ah, if you do go somewhere and the person, and you're lost, some someone will actually tell you how to get out, cuz I did get lost there one time. I was looking for my friend's house, unfortunately the friend left the school, he was real funny.

One of the greatest needs identified by children is their need to feel safe and secure (Nordstrom, 2010) and this is reflected by children in the way that they discuss the value of knowing people in their neighbourhood. Responses did involve the safety that children experience due to sheer numbers.

Toby: (I felt safer) when I was, when I was with my friend or my parents or my sister or brother. Yeah.

However, security is not the only aspect of having people around that children value. A study by van der Burgt (2008) found that children within the various neighbourhoods examined had similar discussions about safety and what made them feel safe. Van der Burgt (2008) reported that children felt safe when they knew people and had friends within their neighbourhood. This is clearly reflected in responses by the Christchurch children.

Rosee: So um do you usually feel safe or unsafe in [Anhurst]?

Toby: Safe.

Rosee: And what makes you feel safe here?

Toby: Because, I see like heaps of like people say hi to me, come and joined us cuz we going to the park and yeah.

Andy: Kinda like a home, like I feel safe here cuz I know more people than I think. Or at least, they know me so I feel safe, but yeah. It's about it, suppose.

Whilst this perception of safety may not immediately appear to fit within the definition of a resource which is made available through social capital, it can be understood with reference to Putnam's notion that social capital is constructed by people who are connected in trusting, reciprocal relationships. This is discussed in more detail later in the chapter. The ability of children to socialise with their peers, to access the outdoor environment and to exercise their agency is all made possible through a perception of safety. Children's access to social networks also aids them in dealing with emotional needs.

Sally: By like, like if I walked past them, they'd just tell me to come up to them and play with them and stuff. Yeah, so like if I'm lonely then they'll just come up and ask me to come hang out with them.

Kara: [Knowing people in the community is good] because if you don't, like, [they are there] when you're upset and you don't have anyone to go to.

Here Kara highlights that knowing somebody in the community gives you someone to go to if you are upset. This statement, along with others which use the words like 'lonely', reflect

that connections within the neighbourhood provide for needs beyond that of tangible resources. Knowing people in the neighbourhood provides a resource to have someone be there when you are upset or have nobody else to go to. In Sally's case, the access to networks results in dissipating feelings of loneliness.

As well as meeting children's need for a sense of safety and security, for a relief from loneliness, and for a friend to turn to, children also access their social networks for positive interactions. Toby talked about desiring someone to play with, and having the ability and confidence to seek out such a person.

> Toby: Oh, I usually go, go and get when I play by myself and ah I want someone to play with me, and if I see some people playing in the other court, so I just ask them can I join in. Yeah.

Accessing other children in friendships is vitally important for children's wellbeing (Rogers, 2012). Children in this study included friends in their discussion of who they turn to if they are upset or in trouble. In addition to this, discussion of friendship in the day to day lives of these children was important. Many of the children had daily routines which included one or more of their friends and access to friendships was pivotal in their enjoyment of their neighbourhood.

The prominence of social networks and their value in children's experience of neighbourhood is evident in this study. In Schaefer-McDaniel's construction of a social capital framework for children she made a valuable contribution to the understanding of children's experiences with social capital. There are three areas identified as dimensions of social capital for

children. The first, social networks and sociability, summarises the two aspects identified in Bourdieu's work that says that social capital is available through the presence of networks, and through the ability to maintain and utilise these networks. A focus on friendships is particularly important (Schaefer-McDaniel, 2004). These dimensions were clear in the interviews with children in this study. Children reflected on the presence of social networks, on their methods for maintaining them and the ways in which they utilised these networks. Consistent with other commentators, the networks that these children described were largely made up of their own age group who appeared to provide for the less tangible needs that the children were concerned about, such as people to be with when they felt lonely, or someone to go to if they were upset.

Trust and Expectations

There is a great deal of trust reflected in the way that children talk about their neighbourhood. This was clear in the previous section in which the social networks required a sense of knowing and maintaining relationships, and of belonging. Trust is vital in the networks that children discussed in this study as they are central to the ability for a child to access what they need. The trust that children build in their social networks is constructed through their experience and discourse about these experiences, and in the development of norms.

The trusting relationships required for successful networks are mirrored in the way that children discuss how people in their neighbourhood help one another. Helping in this neighbourhood is done in a way that means that no repayment is considered necessary. Philip illustrated this in his story about a family helping a man get his car out of a pothole during the 2011 earthquake. The family expected nothing in return from the man who they had helped.

Philip: When it was 2011, the earthquake. People were running, you know, they were screaming. Then this man's car got stuck, right? Then this, this you know, this family said do you need help? And then this man like, he was like, pardon me? Do you need help to pull your car out? And he was like, aww, thank you, please, my wife is, you know, at town, she's in danger, you know, buildings falling down (*sound effects*). He didn't know where his wife was, so the, you know, the family helped and I think it was over there. It was a big, you know, flood, you know (*sound effects*) people had their boots on some of them, and bare feet and they couldn't see under water. The muddy. So yeah they helped him and he said, aw please, thank you, how would I, you know, repay this. The family said, you don't need to pay us. God bless you. And ah good luck, you know, finding your wife.

Kara: [Someone cared for me] um, when I and, I was riding my scooter and there was this big rock and I ran over it and went flying. And then someone drove past and like took me home.

Children are aware of the ways that people help one another, even if repayment is not likely. There is, however, an expectation that such acts would be repaid in kind. Kara used the word 'respect' to describe what is being exchanged in such situations.

Kara: So if you like, respect other people, they'll respect you the same way back.

This expectation of 'giving respect and getting respect' underlies Philip's story about the earthquake. Neither child described situations of direct transaction in which, for example, one

person mows another person's lawn and the other person is expected to give specific and immediate repayment. Rather, there was a perception of trust that what is exchanged in such situations is underpinned by the knowledge that the help which is being given will be received when there is a need. This expectation is one that was constructed by the social networks in the neighbourhood. A series of stories that Philip also experienced himself was illustrative of this. In the first instance, Philip was helping to find another child's bicycle, and an adult in the neighbourhood recognised his caring behaviour and gave him a chocolate. The second story reflects on encouragement on his speech competition which he received from a neighbour. The third describes Philip encouraging that neighbour to stop smoking as it is bad for his health.

> Philip: [People at the café gave me a chocolate] cuz they said I've been helping this kid um looking for his scooter cuz someone stole it. Then I, then you know predicting this oh no someone broke it and I'm like what. So I went home cuz I didn't want my, you know, parents to be looking for me. So went home, you know, had a cup of tea and thought about it; aw how lovely these people are [….]. Yup and I had another I had another neighbour next door to the other one. He said aw congratulations on your speech cuz I was on the newspaper. And I was like aw thank you very much. Had another neighbour and gave us a loaf of bread and then gave us Easter eggs and things. Yeah. It was so kind. And I told them, you know what? Quit smoking. It's not good. Nearly all of my neighbours smoking except for my family.

Philip's experience of being given a chocolate was a part of his experience of building his perceptions of what expectations exist in his neighbourhood. Behaviours can be reinforced and determined by underlying expectations held by the community. The discussion of

reciprocal respect as a part of children's social networks is significant. The previous chapter examined the way that respect was undermined by spatial stigma toward Anhurst, and the way that children reflected some concern for this lack of respectful behaviour. It is clear that reciprocal respect is a normative guideline in Anhurst which children in this study have come to see as vital. Respect is perceived by these children as something which causes individuals in the neighbourhood to behave with care and trust toward one another. This respectful behaviour results in assistance during the earthquake or other hard times, and underlies the sense of reliance on one another that children perceive in Anhurst. The powerful nature of respect in these children's social networks further clarifies the damaging nature of stigma which has the ability to undermine respect.

Andy reflected the expectations of his neighbourhood in his discourse about the way that a neighbourhood is made 'good' by the actions of all its residents is also an important aspect of creating these norms in the neighbourhood.

> Andy: The schools. The playgrounds, basketball courts, shops, the shop keepers, everyone. Like everyone helps out to make this neighbourhood really good.

Andy was reinforcing expectations by stating that everyone participates in making the neighbourhood better. Nevertheless, his own interview contains discussions of the types of people who are disrespectful and do not make the neighbourhood 'good'. So his statement here that "everyone helps out" is more a reflection of expectations, as well as reinforcing his own belief that this is the way it works in his neighbourhood.

Toby and Mandy both spoke of an expectation which governs neighbourhood behaviour concerning parties, requiring that neighbours inform each other when there will be additional noise. Knowing each other and being familiar with neighbours produces a sense of responsibility. In Mandy's case, she easily reflected upon the inconvenience of noise for those who have babies who need to sleep. This kind of neighbourhood familiarity places responsibility on each other. Additionally, the expectations define the response, which maintain the stability of the networks.

> Rosee: So you were saying before that when somebody's gunna have a party and it's gunna be loud at night-time they come and tell you? How do you feel when there is a bit of loudness at night-time?

> Mandy: Um, like it makes me annoyed but they've actually told you so like you knew it was gunna be loud.

The second two aspects of Philip's earlier excerpt – about encouragement in his speech competition and about telling his neighbour to stop smoking - reflect another facet of the trusting relationships formed. The trustful relationships/networks which children construct at a neighbourhood level (neighbourhood expectations) also result in an environment in which individuals speak into one another's lives and encourage certain behaviours on an individual level. Joseph also experienced this when he talked about his appreciation of being told by a neighbour to wear a cycle helmet, classing the interaction as an encouraging gesture from his neighbour.

> Joseph: Ah, they just said ah you shouldn't be riding on the street without a helmet.
> Rosee: Oh cool, yeah. And did, what did you, did you like it that they said that?
> Joseph: Um, ah yeah. Didn't get a fine.

The children within this study articulate the types of interactions within the neighbourhood which rely on a sense of trust and expectations. Putnam and Coleman refer to the behaviours seen in the excerpts above as 'trust and norms of reciprocity'. The stories which these children told represent the process of learning that they undergo through experiences in their neighbourhood, but these stories also perpetuate the sense of trust and expectation through creating a dominant narrative.

Direct Benefits of Trustful Networks for Children

An important aspect of the underlying expectations in the neighbourhood is the way that they help children utilise their networks. The trust that develops in the social networks that children construct in their neighbourhood is, as Arthur illustrates, a key aspect of what enables him to approach others and ask for help.

> Arthur: I've learnt to do the right thing.
>
> Rosee: Cool, and how has your neighbourhood taught you that?
>
> Arthur: Aw, because you know the school the people at the shops yeah and just people on the streets help me.
>
> Rosee: That's cool so and by that you mean like is there a sense you see people on the street, and how do you learn that stuff from them?
>
> Arthur: Because say if I'm, I don't , for example, if I didn't know how to ride a skateboard and I saw someone who did, I'd go ask them if they could help me know how to ride one.

He also reflected on more direct outcomes of an environment in which there was an expectation of helping out where you can.

> Arthur: Like it makes living in a [caring] neighbourhood makes feel like, not one of those kids who feel like they live in poverty.

The implication is that a neighbourhood which has expectations such as the ones that have been discussed already will provide an environment in which people - in this case a child - can find alleviation from their own circumstances. The reality that Arthur perceives is one of a neighbourhood in which expectations of helping one another result in reducing pressures upon the individual, even to the extent of providing a way to alleviate the feeling of poverty. Such a claim reflects reliance on each other to the extent that one's own adversities are met through a network which cares for one another. Mandy also reflected this in a broader sense.

> Mandy: So people don't feel alone and people don't feel like they don't need to do everything themselves like people can just help them.

> Mandy: [Helping in the neighbourhood], it makes me feel happy and like, knowing that people actually do care about your needs.

This feeling of solidarity that was reflected in Mandy's first statement is seen to relieve the pressure from individuals by sharing the load or being able to access help from people who have different skills or abilities or resources. The second excerpt is simply the happiness which accompanies trustful relationships. This was a pattern throughout the children's discussions of networks. Knowing people, feeling close to people, feeling a sense of belonging, and feeling trust has all been related to a sense of happiness for children and the children themselves relate all these things to their wellbeing (Morrow, 1999; Rogers, 2012).

Trustful relationships, and the established neighbourhood expectations that children talk about in this study are similar to characteristics of networks described by Coleman and Putnam. The trust and expectations which are apparent in these children's discussions can be more fully understood by drawing on their discussions of social capital. Coleman and Putnam have slightly different ways of describing the phenomena seen in this study but both reflect on the importance of trust, norms and reciprocity to ensure that interactions and utilisation of available resources is smooth. Establishing trust and norms of reciprocity are ways in which networks are made functional. Trust and reciprocity determines one's ability or willingness to help someone else with no predetermined return of the favour, relying upon the norms or expectations that the same help would be offered if the need arose. The children's discussion of maintaining networks (see prior discussion) also reflected Coleman and Putnam's principles This is important, and is reflected in the narratives of children in this study and in the literature (Schaefer-McDaniel, 2004). Children's value of 'knowing' people and of 'connectedness' also results in strong 'norms', societal expectations which produce controls upon the behaviours of the neighbourhood residents (Weller & Bruegel, 2009).

Places of Importance – Where Children Network

An important part of children's extensive discussions about their connections in their neighbourhood included the places in which these interactions occurred. The places discussed performed the role of providing access to people (both new and existing connections), as well as being places to maintain these networks in a healthy manner.

Jeremy: Well they have a place to meet all the time which is the church and they also have a library, a big library that people like to sit down on the computers yelling over them and saying, like playing CS Portable, it's like a game that lots of people play at the library it's like a shooting game. Gotta take the zombies or go on team battles over the internet you know. And also, well, so most of the time when people walking down the street, someone will come up, yell out, someone will someone will probably yell out the window. Like, hey 'Dan'. Huh, you know.

Jeremy placed a great deal of importance on places within the neighbourhood which have either the ability for people to gather socially (such as churches), or facilitate accidental encounters (such as on the street, in the library). These places, as well as parks and playgrounds, were repeatedly identified by children as spaces where they spend a lot of their time and encounter a lot of other people, particularly those their own age. This is a commonality for many of the children. Important places to children are mostly considered so because they are the places that people frequent.

Arthur: [Those ones are the main shops] cuz they're the ones that get visited the most.

These 'main shops' became a place that he visited often, experiencing enjoyment, encountering friends and becoming part of a wider neighbourhood network which accessed these shops. Through familiarity, children developed a comfort in utilising these spaces. Accessing such places allowed children to spend time with their peers and engage in the things that they enjoyed.

Andy: Because like, I feel more comfortable playing basketball or hanging out with friends at a court like cuz I love playing basketball it's like favourite thing to do it's my favourite sport. Yeah, my, it's awesome. Like, if there was one thing still round here that is not boring, it's either come to the school play basketball or just go to the playground that …

In addition to engaging in what they enjoy, children also used spaces such as these to meet needs.

Mandy: Like sometimes the playground, so you could actually just hang out there and like, when you're lonely you'd go there by yourself and then people would be there to like play with you.

A number of children expressed the value of such spaces as a way to find those people in their networks who could provide what they need. Children's networks in this study have been shown to meet children's emotional needs, and such needs as loneliness or a desire for a playmate are solved through accessing networks that are made available by the shared spaces in Anhurst.

Sport was often talked about as important in the children's neighbourhood. Children valued sport itself, but they also valued what the sports field or practice field offered them above and beyond skills in their game.

Joseph: Probably my coach (is the biggest influence).

Rosee: And why is he such a big influence?

Joseph: Cuz he tells me to just keep on going and don't give up.

Joseph found encouragement by attending his local rugby practices, which gave him access to a coach who became influential in his life. Schools are valued in a similar fashion. For many of the children interviewed, school was a prominent factor in their networks, providing access to varied age groups. The most significant aspect of school the children discussed was the learning it provided for them, both academically and personally. Toby expressed his appreciation of teachers who helped him to learn cultural behaviours which were considered appropriate when he moved to New Zealand from Samoa.

Toby: [….] So then I come to Christchurch and I say like say, I sayed it to one person and they were like not really happy and so I looked at how they talked to each other and I think that is a good thing to do. Yeah I, so I stopped being like those sad people and stuff, tell them shut up and fight them. And be like nah, be nice to them.

Rosee: And who taught you to be nice to them?

Toby: Teachers. One of the teachers in [Anhurst]. Cuz this is my first school in New Zealand.

In Toby's case, misunderstanding cultural nuances was proving to be difficult in his communication with others when he first moved to New Zealand from Samoa. Access to a

teacher who could assist Toby in adjusting to cultural differences meant that he could communicate more appropriately in the New Zealand context. Gaining knowledge of suitable communication and behaviour is pivotal for children as they seek to build healthy networks, abilities which fall within Bourdieu's concept of sociability (Bourdieu, 1986).

Community events also provide important places for children to develop their networks. In particular events, such as those described by Arthur, provide children with an opportunity to access friendships. Friends are an important network for children, and take a prominent place in discussions by the children interviewed for this study.

> Arthur: [The community event is] the one time of the year you can go around looking for new friends, and make new friends.

It is also important to remember the complexity of the perceptions and interactions children have with their neighbourhoods. Just as Portes (1998, cited in Narayan & Cassidy, 2001) identified, the advantage that children are discussing in accessing these places is through people. The locations are vitally important for providing children with access to the relationships which make up their social networks. Portes describes social capital "[w]hereas economic capital is in people's bank accounts and human capital is inside their heads, social capital inheres in the structure of their relationships. To possess social capital, a person must be related to others, and it is these others, not himself, who are the actual source of his or her advantage" (2000, p. 7). This is how a social capital theory elucidates the importance of place - places providing access to people.

The point at which people and place are most obviously linked is in a sense of belonging and place attachment. Children's perception of belonging and place attachment, while centred on

the location, also appears to be related to their social networks. Children express what they feel about their neighbourhood as an outcome of their experiences of knowing people. Their description of neighbourhood being 'kinda like a home' and 'safe' relies on access to networks. Belonging or place attachment is also applicable at both a collective and an individual level. At a collective level, a sense of belonging has the potential to provide access to a collective social capital - being a member of a group might enable access to certain resources. Belonging or attachment can reflect acceptance to a sort of 'club' and access to privileges. Philip reflects this sense of belonging to a group by describing it as being 'inside' it. He relates this to the ability to access the people within this group. This illustrates that there is security in feeling like you belong which is derived from what is made available to you through membership. Philip reflects this sense of belonging through using words such as 'inside', as well as 'community'.

> Philip: I feel like I'm inside the community, I feel like that people are always there for each other, you know. Community.

It is important at this point to note that belonging and attachment to place are not invariably positive. Children in this study do identify the potential advantages of being connected to gangs in the area. These networks, although seen as negative, do have their own ways of providing an individual with support.

Belonging and place attachment as an element of children's construction of social capital is not widely discussed by commentators. Schaefer-McDaniel (along with Virginia Morrow) posits that the sense of belonging and attachment to a place is a part of the social capital that

children experience as it enables the networks that children develop in a similar way that trust and reciprocity contribute to this. Belonging is defined as an individual's feelings that relate to their attachment to symbolic meaning of their context. This includes one's membership and influence, sense of being a part of and belonging, and their importance to the place. For children too, the place attachment contributes to defining identity which has many effects on other aspects of their lives (Schaefer-McDaniel, 2004).

Conclusion

The dominant social capital discussions in the literature have largely ignored children as relevant, or positioned children as passive, inactive beneficiaries. In the interviews discussed here, however, children were clearly aware of the way in which neighbourhood relationships could provide resources and benefits to them in their lives, and showed both agency and aptitude in developing and maintaining their social networks.

In the discussion of children's construction of social capital in this study, I have attempted to draw upon Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam and also place children's experiences as social actors at the centre of the analysis through using the sociology of childhood proposed by James and Prout (1997). Schaefer-McDaniel (2004) is the only commentator who has also attempted to propose a social capital framework for children which draws upon all three of these theories. These three conceptualisations of social capital have provided the scope for analysing children's networks in order to understand how children construct social capital in a low income area.

By utilising the social capital theories in conjunction with the sociology of childhood, children's distinct patterns of constructing social networks, and therefore social capital, were

made more discernible. Although children do share a number of similarities with their adult counterparts, there are aspects of children's constructions of social capital that appear to challenge a framework that relies too heavily on the prescribed adult-centric constructs of social capital. Children around the age of the ones in this study have social networks that are largely made up of tight networks with other children. This immediately distinguishes them from adult networks. As would be expected, these networks are then utilised in different ways as well, with the children in this study focusing much more of their interest upon the emotional rather than physical needs that these networks meet. Tools for maintaining these networks, however, appeared to reflect accounts of the children's observations of adult behaviours. The implications that this has regarding what children learn from their parents about how to interact with their neighbourhood networks is an area that requires more research.

The places that children identified as important to their networks were also distinctive, including parks, schools and events as well as just 'around' as places that they would meet people. The importance of specific places to children was defined by their social networks whilst, concomitantly, social networks relied upon places to facilitate interaction. In this way, the interaction of networks and a place, such as a neighbourhood, were inextricably linked. Children's experiences of accessing their neighbourhood therefore requires greater acknowledgement in research as important in children's experiences of constructing social capital.

Overall, the construction of social capital by children in a socioeconomically disadvantaged area of Christchurch is a continuous labour which is at the heart of what these children experience in their neighbourhood setting. This experience is also central to their positive construction of their sense of place and identity in the face of spatial stigma. The overwhelmingly positive representation of their social networks illustrates that children are

narrating a dialogue about Anhurst that is in direct contradiction to the stigmatised reputation that prevails in outsider opinion. Understanding more about the implications of tight social networks compared to other suburban settings would help to identify the advantages and disadvantages in the way these children construct social capital for themselves, as well as how these social networks contribute to diminishing the effects of spatial stigma upon the children in Anhurst.

Chapter 6: Discussion and Conclusion

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to explore how children's perceptions of neighbourhood are formed and the effect these perceptions have on their wellbeing. From the early stages of interviewing, it became evident that the children had sophisticated and complex perceptions of their neighbourhood; each child described their neighbourhood in both social and physical terms and was able to assess and evaluate each with respect to their own lives. The evaluation of these social and physical aspects of neighbourhood arose from their personal experience of living in the neighbourhood, influenced by the way in which they interacted with their neighbourhood and those who they came into contact with.

All of the children were capable of expressing what was important and desirable to them in their neighbourhood. In particular, however, children in this study focused upon two larger areas of their neighbourhood experience. The first was their perceptions of disrespectful attitudes toward their neighbourhood from outsiders which reflected their cognisance of the presence of spatial stigma. They discussed the nuanced ways in which this stigma affected their sense of place and identity. The second key idea that the children discussed were their social networks. This was a theme that was woven throughout their dialogues. Viable and tight-knit social networks were important to both their own perceptions of place, as well as how they wished to present their place to outsiders. These social networks provided the children with social capital which met emotional needs and, to a lesser extent, physical needs. These networks also acted as an invaluable source of reassurance and confirmation of the value of their place.

It is in the juxtaposition of the themes of stigmatisation and social capital that we find the greatest insight into the development and impact of children's perceptions of neighbourhood. This chapter firstly considers the way in which the transactional nature of children's perceptions of their neighbourhood results in a cycle of experience and response, and how this transactional model particularly influences how they perceive their social networks. Secondly, this chapter discusses how the value of these tight social networks has been previously underestimated for children in areas of socioeconomic deprivation.

Children's Perceptions of Neighbourhood - Following the Transactional Model

How children felt about their neighbourhood was, first and foremost, important to them. Literature has established that the perception of neighbourhood is important for children due to their local understanding of environment (Tranter & Pawson, 2001), and that these perceptions have an impact not only upon what they think about their neighbourhood, but on how they think about themselves (Castonguay & Jutras, 2009). The interaction between children and their neighbourhood can be seen as a way of 'making' sense of their context in the most literal sense. Each interaction and encounter is a situation in which the child interprets the event or experience to formulate their perception of the situation. Neighbourhoods, in all their many facets, are understood by children in the same way- by interaction and analysis- in a transactional process. From the research conducted on children's perceptions and experiences of neighbourhood, particular aspects of neighbourhood have been identified which are important to children and play a part in this 'making sense' process (Roosa et al., 2003). This study has shown some consistency with the

transactional model of neighbourhood influences (Roosa et al., 2003). The children showed behaviours which indicated that their interactions with their neighbourhood did indeed change their perceptions of it. When behaviours in the neighbourhood were perceived as positive, they felt that they were cared for in community and spoke of diminished feelings of fear. Conversely, being exposed to undesirable behaviours made them feel negatively toward their neighbourhood.

The children's description of their transactional experiences in the neighbourhood on a daily basis was a crucial finding in this study. The children described their neighbourhood experience in a manner which was not based upon deficits or deprivation, or what they believed their neighbourhood lacked. The features and experiences they presented and what they held onto was a focus on features of their neighbourhood that promote their wellbeing. It was not that they were oblivious to any failing that their neighbourhood may have had, but rather, they were adept at utilising and drawing upon processes and resources that their neighbourhood had in abundance and which help to counteract negative processes. As such, tight social networks featured as a dominant theme in their descriptions of neighbourhood, counteracting the deleterious views of outsiders about their neighbourhood and constructing instead a picture of a place in which they are valued and that has a positive identity. The possible shortcomings of the children's neighbourhood were discussed very little in comparison to the vivid depictions they gave of their tight social networks. Their discussions showed they were both proud of and familiar with their social networks.

The children in this study constructed social networks in relation to adults, but not dependent upon them. The distinctive way that they described their networks was in direct contradiction to the discussion of children's access to social capital in the majority of the literature (Bourdieu, 1984; Bourdieu, 1986; Bourdieu, 1989; Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 2000). As has been mentioned previously, these dominant commentators on the subject of social capital

have either ignored children entirely, or have described them as dependent upon their parents for access to meaningful social networks. This trend has changed considerable since the writings of Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam, however, with many commentators attempting to examine childen's agency alongside their construction of social capital (Bassani, 2003; Leonard, 2005; Morrow, 1999; Schaefer-McDaniel, 2004).

The children in this study, aged 10 to 13, showed the ability to build, maintain and utilise networks of their own volition and for their own particular purposes, consistent with observations made by Morrow (1999). Such behaviours are reflective of children's autonomy and complexity as contributors to neighbourhood functions and norms. Children in this study were aware of the conditions in which they lived- both the advantages from which they could benefit, as well as the problems with which they must contend. But not only were they aware of these conditions, they demonstrated that they

were capable of responding with the intention of modifying these conditions. Children did not simply draw upon the tight social networks already existing in their neighbourhood, but they built them and nurtured them intentionally in response to their needs or the situation in which they found themselves. By doing so, children could modify the conditions of their neighbourhood experience and perceptions.

The concept of stigma and the concept of tight social networks were placed side by side in the children's depiction of their neighbourhood and formed the crux of the transactional relationship between these children and their neighbourhood experience. Perceived spatial stigmatisation of a neighbourhood was shown not only to be evident to the children in this study, but to represent a recognisable threat to their sense of place and identity. Children's responses included similar behaviours to those found in the current literature, incorporating methods of distancing themselves, and of constructing a narrative of their neighbourhood as a

'proper place' (Popay, et al., 2003). However, the strongest method by which they could confidently construct a positive sense of place was through their description and certainty of the value of their social networks. Marginalisation or stigma toward their place was considered a negative, but they countered this negativity by referring to their tight social networks. These networks were made up of people within their neighbourhood who valued

the neighbourhood, and were resident there. Social networks in the neighbourhood provided for the children a sense of security and value that stigmatisation challenges.

Social Networks, Use Value and Marginalisation

This study has shown the deep importance that tight social networks have in the perceptions of children, and the important role it plays in their perceived wellbeing. The literature divides social capital into bonding and bridging social capital as a means to explain aspects of the social networks which exist between individuals and within neighbourhoods. As has been discussed in a previous chapter, bonding social capital represents the resources available through tight networks, while bridging social capital draws from networks that reach beyond immediate connections through weak ties (Putnam, 2000). Bonding social capital has been shown to be more prevalent in socioeconomically deprived areas with concomitantly fewer bridging networks (e.g. Briggs, 1998; Putnam, 2000). Descriptions of social networks from the perspective of children in this study have been consistent with this.

Children in the current study described their tight social networks as sources of great pride and support. The literature, however, depicts bonding social capital in a less positive light. Although the prevalence of bonding capital in deprived areas is widely accepted, the value of this form of social capital for individuals in deprived areas has been inconsistently presented by various commentators. On one hand, bonding social capital has been associated with greater emotional support and has been shown to have positive effects on mental health through increased social support for individuals who are connected to the networks (Cobb, 1976; House et al., 1988). This support is integral for surviving the many stressful life events that an individual encounters over their lifetime (Cobb 1976).

On the other hand, this type of social capital is more commonly related to negative outcomes than bridging social capital. Portes (1998) identifies four ways in which bonding social capital can be detrimental which have also been observed by other commentators; exclusivity, demands on individuals, constrained individual freedom, and downward levelling norms which trap individuals and prevent them from leaving their current context. Exclusivity has been identified as a negative outcome of this type of capital due to the tight networks that exist in cases of bonding social capital. Tight bonds can result in exclusion of outsiders, challenging the concept that bonding social capital is always an inclusive force (Cobb, 1976; Portes, 1998; Vyncke, et al., 2013). The tight networks in bonding social capital are also a source of pressure - demands placed upon members of the network in the form of norms and controls which obligate members to help one another can contribute to stress levels (Portes, 1998).

In direct contradiction to the sense of support that some commentators associate with bonding social capital are reports that there is a sense of drain rather than support for those in bonding networks. This is most often seen in situations of poverty (Granovetter, 1973). It has even been found that mental health is negatively affected by bonding social capital (Mitchell & LaGory, 2002) because of this same burden of obligation to each other in poor communities. Individual freedom of the members of a network can also be restricted due to demands for conformity and can similarly result in downward levelling norms that can make it difficult for individuals to leave the networks and the socioeconomic conditions in which these networks are found (Cobb, 1976). This can prevent individuals from escaping deprivation.

Additionally, these same norms within a network have the potential to develop into strong influences over those in the tight networks, developing close social networks with strong cultures or shared behaviours. These cultures can be either valuable or detrimental,

contributing to commentators concern regarding the capacity of bonding social capital to perpetuating negative behaviours.

Related to this inconsistent depiction of social capital in the literature is the representation of bonding social capital as occupying a less significant role than bridging social capital for providing resources to assist those who suffer disadvantage. The literature depicts that bonding social capital provides individuals with social support in their situations here and now, but bridging social capital is presented as a solution for disadvantaged people, improving individual's futures. Commentators repeatedly use education and job acquisition through utilising weak ties as an example of the vitality of building bridging networks to escape the confines of deprivation (Putnam, 2000; Briggs, 1998). This overall attitude toward bonding social capital is summed up in the statement by Briggs (1998) who describes bonding social capital as a means of 'getting by' compared to that of bridging social capital which provides the opportunity for 'getting ahead'. The sense that bonding social capital is simply a temporary solution in the absence of bridging networks is again reflected by Briggs' observation that bonding social capital is a substitute for the needs that money would otherwise provide (Briggs, 1998). Even commentators who attempt to emphasise children's active participation in social networks also depict bonding and bridging social capital in this way, acknowledging that bonding social capital has value for social support and emotional wellbeing in the present, but emphasising the need for bridging social capital in order for children to have improved futures (Morrow, 2001).

At the heart of many of the discussions of the limitations of bonding social capital for children is the concept of 'convertibility' or the ability of one's social capital to be converted into human capital or economic capital (Leonard, 2005). Bonding social capital has less

exchange value – it has less potential to be converted into other forms of capital, which causes it to be considered of less value than bridging capital. Considering bonding social capital in this way once again reflects a shallow analysis of the intricacies of social capital as it relates to the lives of children. There are two aspects which are problematic when considering children's social networks in this way. The first is that of valuing children for their autonomy and value in the here and now, acknowledging that their childhood is important, and not simply a means to reach adulthood. This means releasing the focus upon the value of social capital for their future-selves, and considering the importance of social capital for their current-selves. Secondly, in acknowledging this, we must consider the value of bonding social capital in the present moment – its use value and not its exchange value. This study has identified the need to consider bonding social capital from the perspective of children. Children may be less concerned with their tight networks convertibility than with its current value, or use value (Leonard, 2005). As children are actively constructing a sense of place and identity, the emphasis on use value is a reflection of the important processes occurring in their current lives.

This study presents an interesting depiction of the nature of children's social networks, particularly in situations of marginalisation. The relative importance of resources that children access through their social networks may differ from adults. The resources that children value most highly are often accessible through bonding social capital, but this is not the only reason that bonding social capital may be valued by children in this study. The difficulty of spatial stigma in children's perceptions of their neighbourhood may contribute to the presence of bonding networks. As children are forced to contend with stigma, their response is to further emphasise their close networks. It has been shown in a recent ethnographic study that bonding social capital can play an insulating role against the effects

of spatial stigma (Wutich, Ruth, Brewis, & Boone, 2014). Portes (1998) identifies such solidarity in the face of adversity as a part of the 'downward levelling norms' which cause a tight social network to become averse to mainstream society. In his conceptualisation, any success experienced by individuals within these tight networks is seen as challenging the identity of the network which is based on shared adversity. However, the use value that children draw on from their bonding networks is focused upon the ability of their tight networks to reduce the sense of distance between themselves and mainstream society, rather than using the networks to heighten that distance. While there has been limited investigation into how bonding social capital can dissipate the effects of stigma on residents of stigmatised neighbourhoods, this study has shown that children are able to refer to the closeness and respect within these networks as a way to contradict the negative assumptions made about their neighbourhood. Additionally, the children utilise the sense of solidarity in their networks to combat stigma by being able to claim that those who live in their neighbourhood enjoy doing so. In this way, the children utilise these tight networks as a source of support for their own opinions – they can strengthen their own opinions of the value of their neighbourhood by referring to all those people with whom they have contact who feel the same way. The use value of bonding social capital is found in children's perception that their place is acceptable to the outside world because of this narrative of tight networks.

For children in places that are marginalised or are affected by spatial stigma, tight social networks which result in bonding social capital may offer a great deal more to children than can be described by the limited and adult-centric concept of exchange value. Use value may be more applicable to children's lives on the whole and, additionally, may play an important role in the lives of children who are exposed to spatial stigma. Tight networks in stigmatised and deprived areas do not simply enable children to survive, but they allow children to

perceive that their own identity is safe, and that the distance between themselves and the outside world is bridged by bonding.

Conclusion

One of the aims of this study was to provide a basis for further examination of the importance of neighbourhood context for children in other areas and situations. While the study itself was specific to Anhurst, it is important to consider how the conclusion of this study might apply to other neighbourhoods in New Zealand of similar socioeconomic status and with a disproportionate presence of minority groups. This study has illuminated that the children's construction of social networks within a socioeconomically deprived neighbourhood may be important for dealing with the stresses to which they are exposed. These stresses may lie beyond our assumptions regarding poverty and constricted opportunities, and may relate to children's concerns regarding the effects of spatial stigma. In future research, these concepts should be considered and further investigated to uncover the relationship between spatial stigma and children's tight social networks in more detail.

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Appendices

Appendix A

UNIVERSITY of OTAGO

Te Whare Wānanga o Otāgo

NEW ZEALAND

CHILDREN'S PERCEPTIONS OF NEIGHBOURHOOD IN A DECILE 1 SCHOOL
INFORMATION SHEET FOR
PARENTS / GUARDIANS

Thank you for showing an interest in this project. Please read this information sheet carefully before deciding whether or not to participate. If you decide to participate we thank you. If you decide not to take part there will be no disadvantage to you and we thank you for considering our request.

What is the Aim of the Project?

The purpose of this study is to understand what children think about their neighbourhoods. This research is being done towards a Masters of Public Health. Finding out what children think about their neighbourhood and why they think the way they do will help us to better understand what they think is valuable to them and may also help us to think about how neighbourhoods can be improved.

What Type of Participants are being sought?

We want to interview twelve to fifteen English-speaking children who are between the ages of 10 and 13, and who attend Aranui Primary School. All children who participate will be given a $20 movie voucher for Readings Cinema the Palms.

What will Participants be Asked to Do?

Should your child agree to take part in this project, they will have an interview with Rosee Neville. This interview would last about 1 hour . In this interview, your child will be asked to draw and discuss with Rosee what they think about their neighbourhood.

Please be aware that you may decide not to allow your child to take part in the project and this will not disadvantage you or your child in any way.

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What Data or Information will be Collected and What Use will be Made of it?

In the interview, children will be asked questions about their drawings, as well as other questions about their neighbourhood. This interview will be audio-recorded. In order to keep track of the interviews, your child's name and age will be recorded, but will be known only to the researcher. This information will be stored securely and only used to keep track of who came to each interview. Your child will also be asked what suburb they live in. All this information will be kept in a secure, password-protected electronic format along with the transcribed interviews.

Only the researchers whose names are listed below will have access to the data and information found in the interview with your child and all data and information will be stored in a secure, password-protected electronic format within the Department of Population Health.

Researchers with access to data and information:

- Associate Professor Gillian Abel (primary supervisor)
- Dr Lee Thompson (secondary supervisor)
- Rosee Neville (student researcher, Masters student)

The data collected will be securely stored in such a way that only those mentioned above will be able to gain access to it. Data obtained as a result of the research will be kept for **10 years** in secure storage. Any personal information held on the participants such as contact details and audio tapes may be destroyed at the completion of the research even though the data derived from the research will, in most cases, be kept for 10 years. The results of the project may be published and will be available in the University of Otago Library (Dunedin, New Zealand) but every attempt will be made to preserve your child's anonymity.

At any time, participating children or their parents may ask to correct or withdraw the data or information supplied to the researcher. When the project is completed in February 2015, participating children or their parents will be informed of its completion and may request a report of the findings.

This project involves an open-questioning technique. The general line of questioning includes what the child has drawn and why they have drawn it, what the child thinks about their neighbourhood, why they think the way they do about their neighbourhood, the places the child spends time in the neighbourhood, what the child likes and dislikes about the neighbourhood, and how they think their neighbourhood influences their lives. The precise nature of the questions which will be asked have not been determined in advance, but will depend on the way in which the interview develops. Consequently, although the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee is aware of the general areas to be explored in the interview, the Committee has not been able to review the precise questions to be used.

In the event that the line of questioning does develop in such a way that you or your child feel hesitant or uncomfortable, you are reminded of your child's right to decline to answer any particular question(s) and also that your child may withdraw and/or you may withdraw your child from the project at any stage without any disadvantage to your child or yourself of any kind.

Can Participants Change their Mind and Withdraw from the Project?

Your child may withdraw and/or you may withdraw your child from participation in the project at any time before completion of the project on February 19th 2015. Withdrawal may be chosen without disadvantage of any kind to your child or yourself.

What if Participants have any Questions?

If you have any questions about our project, either now or in the future, please feel free to contact either:-

Rosee Neville   and   Dr Gillian Abel

Department of Population Health   Department of Population Health

University Telephone Number: 03 3643602   University Telephone Number: 03 3643619

Email Address: rneville62@windowslive.com   Email Address: gillian.abel@otago.ac.nz

This study has been approved by the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee. If you have any concerns about the ethical conduct of the research you may contact the Committee through the Human Ethics Committee Administrator (ph 03 479 8256 or email gary.witte@otago.ac.nz). Any issues you raise will be treated in confidence and investigated and you will be informed of the outcome.

Appendix B

[*CHILDREN'S PERCEPTIONS OF NEIGHBOURHOOD IN A DECILE 1 SCHOOL*]

CONSENT FORM FOR **PARENTS/GUARDIANS**

I have read the Information Sheet concerning this project and understand what it is about. All my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I am free to request further information at any stage.

I know that:-

1. My child's participation in the project is entirely voluntary;

2. I am free to withdraw my child from the project prior to its completion (February 19th 2015) without any disadvantage;

3.   Personal identifying information including name, age, address and interview audio recordings will be destroyed at the conclusion of the project but any raw data on which the results of the project depend will be retained in secure storage for ten years.

4. This project involves an open-questioning technique. The general line of questioning includes what the child has drawn and why they have drawn it, what the child thinks about their neighbourhood, why they think the way they do about their neighbourhood, the places the child spends time in the neighbourhood, what the child likes and dislikes about the neighbourhood, and how they think their neighbourhood influences their lives. The precise nature of the questions which will be asked have not been determined in advance, but will depend on the way in which the interview develops and that in the event that the line of questioning develops in such a way that my child feels hesitant or uncomfortable he/she may decline to answer any particular question(s) and/or may withdraw from the project without any disadvantage of any kind.

5. It is not likely that my child will be at all upset by the interview as the questions are to get a general view about their neighbourhood and are not sensitive in any way.

6. I am aware that my child will be given a $20 movie voucher for Readings Cinema at The Palms Mall in recognition of participation.

7.   The results of the project may be published and will be available in the University of Otago Library (Dunedin, New Zealand) but every attempt will be made to preserve my child's anonymity.

I agree for my child to take part in this project.

....

....

(Signature of parent/guardian)   (Date)

....

(Name of child)

This study has been approved by the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee. If you have any concerns about the ethical conduct of the research you may contact the Committee through the Human Ethics Committee Administrator (ph 03 479 8256 or email gary.witte@otago.ac.nz). Any issues you raise will be treated in confidence and investigated and you will be informed of the outcome.

Appendix C

[*CHILDREN'S PERCEPTIONS OF NEIGHBOURHOOD IN A DECILE 1 SCHOOL*]

CONSENT FORM FOR CHILD PARTICIPANTS

I have been told about this study and understand what it is about. All my questions have been answered in a way that makes sense.

I know that:

1. Participation in this study is voluntary, which means that I do not have to take part if I don't want to and nothing will happen to me. I can also stop taking part at any time and don't have to give a reason.

2. Anytime I want to stop, that's okay.

3. Rosee, the researcher, will audio record me so that she can remember what I say, but the recording will be erased after the study has ended.

4. If I don't want to answer some of the questions, that's fine.

5. If I have any worries or if I have any other questions, then I can talk about these with Rosee or one of my teachers.

6. The paper and computer file with my answers will only be seen by Rosee and the people she is working with. They will keep whatever I say private.

7. I will receive a $20 movie voucher as thanks for helping with this study.

8. Rosee will write up the results from this study for her University work. The results may also be written up in journals and talked about at conferences. My name will not be on anything Rosee writes up about this study.

I agree to take part in the study.

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       Signed   Date