Child-Friendly Environment



This lecture will be about environmental childfriendliness – the theme that has been studied quite a lot in environmental psychology.



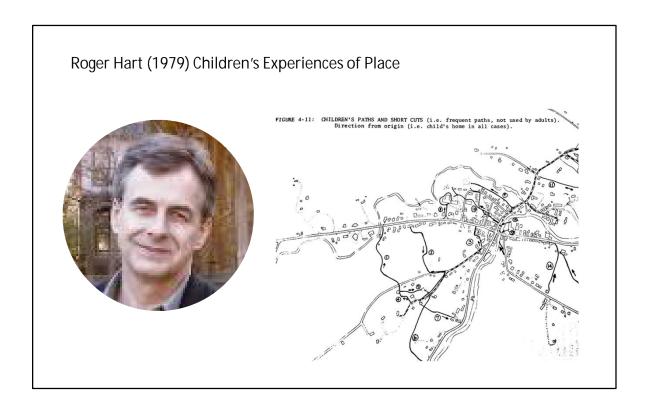
First, think about your own childhood environments: What kind of memories from various places do you have?

In this course we will concentrate on outdoor environments so, please take a moment to think about the outdoor places where you played as a child. What was your favourite place like? What did you do there? Who did you play with? How long time did you spend there? What places were the ones that you did not like? Why?

I am sure that your childhood place experiences differ a lot from my memories that are from the 1960's. But perhaps there are also similarities. I used to love playing home indoors and outdoors. We even had a whole doll house village with my sister. I do not have memories of urban childhood because I lived in a small village. Perhaps you do!

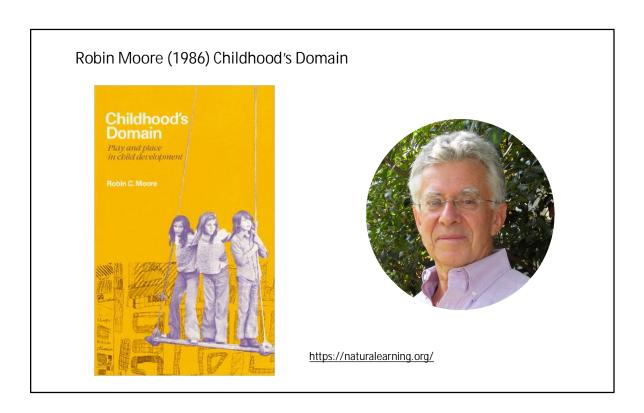
Classic studies about environmental childfriendliness

There are a few classic studies about the characteristics of child-friendly environments. Let's take a closer look at them...

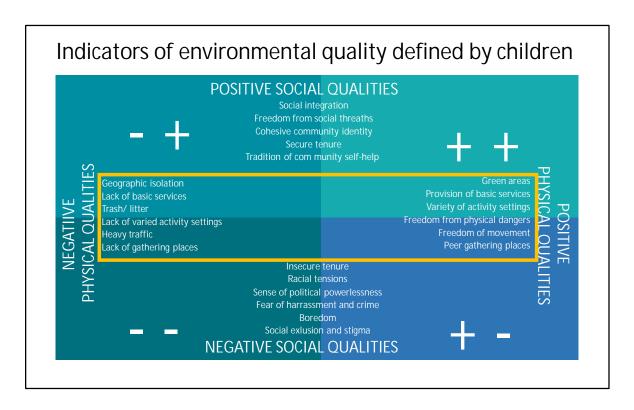


Among them are the famous studies by Roger Hart and Robin Moore, who both did observational studies among children and young people. Both spent a lot of time living with children and using a variety of methodologies like cognitive maps, drawings and interviews. For both, observing children's play and use of space, was the main method to study environmental childfriendliness.

Roger Hart mapped, among other things, the routes that children used in the study site, New England US. Roger Hart works nowadays as a professor at the City University of New York and has also worked for UNISEF. Later his work has concentrated on children's participation, agengy and rights.



Robin Moore classic study "Childhood's Domain" was realized in three different urban settings in Britain. He systematically listed for example children's favourite places and noticed that open spaces like parks, playgrounds and sport fields were the most often mentioned as favourite places by children. So, not surprisingly, Robin Moore's later work focused on the study of children's relationship with natural environment. He has established a network called "Natural Learning". Please visit their web pages if you are interested.



When trying to define child-friendly environments, it may be best to ask the opinion of the true experts. Children themselves!

This was done in an UNESCO study in 2002 by Louise Chawla. She and her colleagues studied children in all continents, in 8 countries and asked children themselves to name the essential social and physical qualities of ideal environment. This study replicated a well-known study of Kevin Lynch from 70s.

The major finding of this study was that the criteria for environmental quality for children were surprisingly similar all around the world, in all counties and all continents. They had also remained about the same for 25 years. For us in this course, perhaps the most interesting are the criteria related to physical qualities that promote child-friendly settings, like green areas and peer gathering places.



I also started to be concerned about the essential characteristics of childfriendly settings by the end of 90's.

I was wondering whether the children in the modern society are becoming a generation of safety-seat children, who get to know the outside world mainly by observing the changing scenery thought the car window. Perhaps we tend to fence children off from everyday life when we try to protect them.

If they lack the possibility to independently move around and learn about environment, would they then miss to learn something essential about the physical environment? Can they ever become streetwise?

PROBLEMS CONNECTED TO CHILDREN'S MOBILITY RESTRICTIONS

IDIVIDUAL

Physical development (Hüttenmoser 1995; Amstrong 1993; Davis & Jones 1996) Social development (Prezza et al 2001)

Cognitive development (Biel & Torell 1977; Blades 1989; Rissotto & Tonucci 2002) Emotional development (Kong 2000; Corbishley 1995)

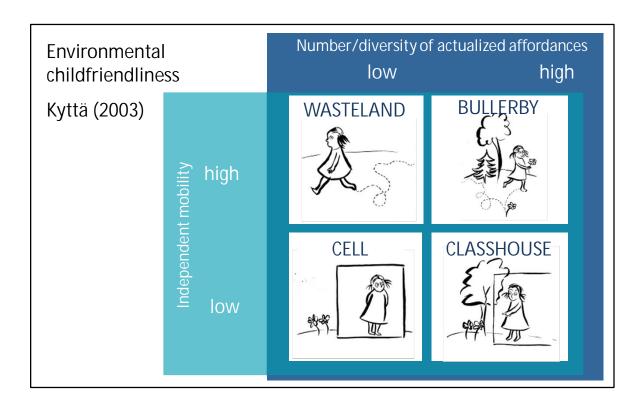
OCIETAL

Time used for chauffering (Tillberg Mattson 2000) Mothers' working (Gershuny 1993)

Traffic jams (Bradshaw 1999)

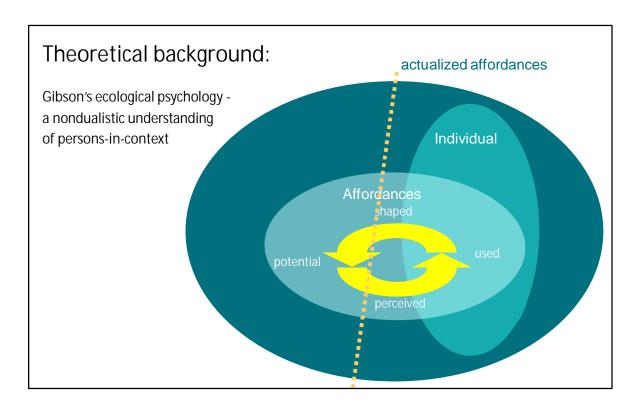
I knew from the research literature that when the independent mobility of children is very restricted, severe problems both in individual and societal levels can appear. These include problems in physical, social, cognitive and emotional development of children as well as societal problems like the increasing time and energy used for chauffeuring children by car.

Recently, the connections between physical health and environment, that promotes physical activity has raised a lot of research interest. The increasing numbers of obese children and problems connected to sprawl are common problems in many parts of the world.



In my dissertation in 2013, I developed my own model for environmental childfriendliness. The degree of children's independent mobility and the number of actualized affordances were the basis of my model and in my mind the two central criteria of child-friendly environment.

The combination of these two levels produce four different, HYPOTHETICAL types of environment: I named them WASTELAND; BULLERBY; CELL and CLASSHOUSE.

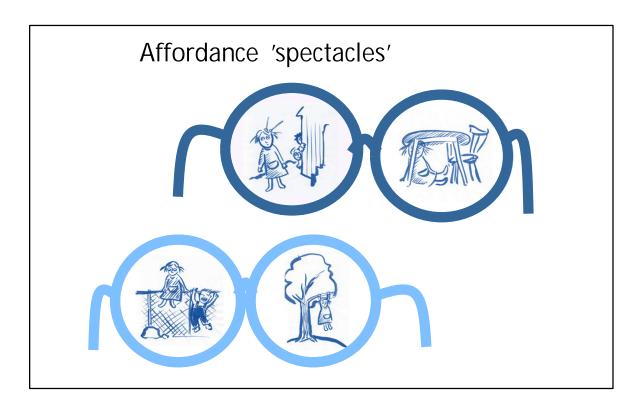


Before telling a bit more about this typology let me comment about the dimension that you might wonder and the new word affordances.

To study children's relationship with everyday environment I needed a proper theory. James Gibson's ecological perceptual psychology and it's key concept 'affordances was a good candidate for such a theory.

Affordances refer to the possibilities of the environment that is revealed by an acting individual with unique physical, mental and social qualities. I with my unique physical capabilities and dimensions perceive environment relative to my corporality. I perceive environmental possibilities in a unique ways, utilize some of those possibilities and perhaps even shape environment and create new affordances.

The seemingly paradox that affordances are on the one hand properties of the actual environment with physical existence and on the other hand they belong to the subjective reality of individuals can be solved if the POTENTIAL affordances are distinguished from ACTUALIZED ones.



Each of us perceive the affordances of the environment in a unique way and in each situation differently.

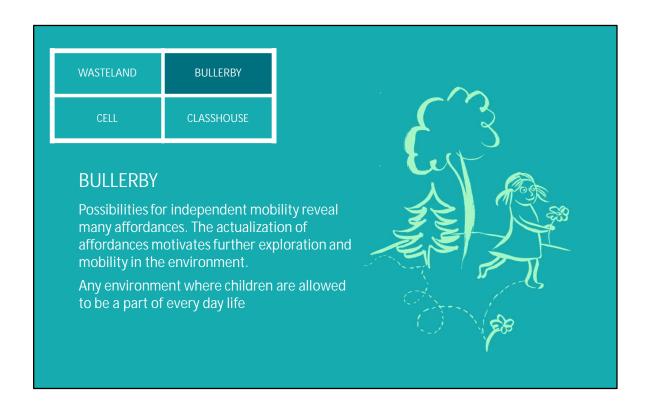
Where environment affords running, climbing or skiing or which places allow war play, being noisy or being in peace and quiet is always defined differently for each individual in each situation.

So, we all wear our individual affordance spectacles that depend on our physical characteristics, experiences and ongoing intentions.



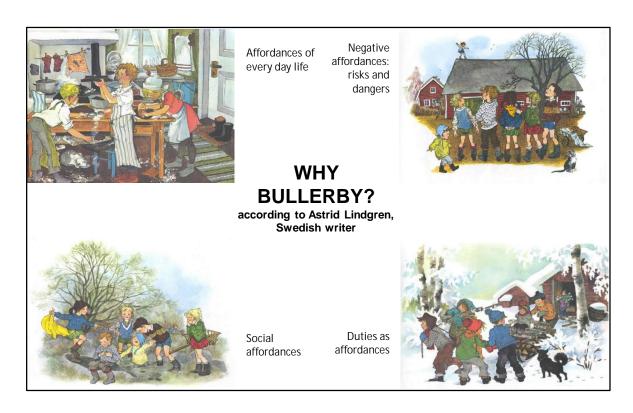
Here, for example, my colleagues child explores the affordances of the city of Melbourne. For the two-year-old Aarni the urban environment is full of affordances, possibilities for action that open up for this size of an individual with the kind of physical abilities and interests of a two-year-old boy. For me, an adult with different corporal dimensions, former experiences and different interests, the city would open up as a very different set of possibilities.

Please notice that the affordances of urban environment for children are not restricted to the settings designed spesifically for children. Children are very creative findings possibilities for activities. Nearly all elements of urban settings can be used for play if we do not restrict the actualization of all these possibilities.



In the ideal case that I call BULLERBY, possibilities for independent mobility reveal many affordances, which motivates the child for further exploration. So, a positive circle appears: the more freedom the children have to explore the environment, the more often they find interesting affordances.

Any living environment can be of this type, if children are not fenced outside the everyday life.



Let me briefly explain why I chose this funny name 'Bullerby' to represent the ideal situation.

Bullerby is Swedish and can be literally translated as a 'noisy village'. Swedish writer Astrid Lindgren, who is very popular in Scandinavia and a mother of Pippi Longstocking and other loved characters, also wrote about BULLERBY.

In the noisy village children are an elementary part of everyday life, they have important roles in the community, tasks to do and can freely enjoy the possibilities of the village. They can also gradually get familiar with the negative affordances, dangers. Taking risks and testing one's skills is an essential part of children's activities. To become streetwise, the children cannot be overly protected.

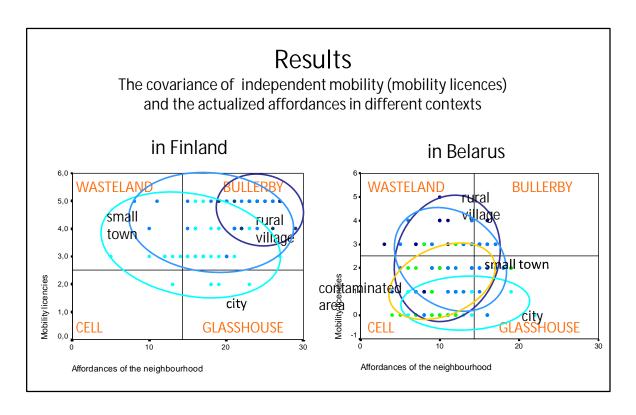
With labeling the ideal situation BULLERBY, I do not want to claim that only a traditional rural village can be child-friendly. Urban environment can also include children as active actors. I just did not find a better name.



CLASSHOUSE can be the most common type of children's environment at least in the future, I am afraid.

Despite the mobility restrictions, children are able to perceive environment as a rich source of affordances, BUT they cannot reach them independently.

The awareness of affordances can be based on the view from the safety seat or be based on second hand information. Television and internet can be more important source of environmental information than personal experience.



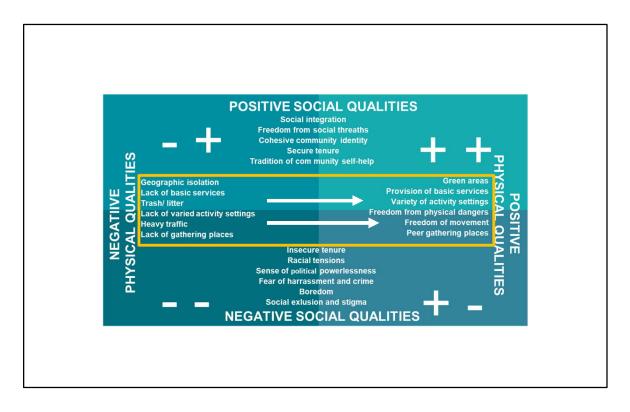
NOW: let's look what happens if we test my model empirically. I collected data in Finland and Belarus and used various methods like interviews, Questionnaires and diaries.

I expected that BULLERBY and Cell types of environment would dominate in the data. This was because my theoretical approach combined the perception and action tightly together.

That did happen!

I found that Finnish children were living most often in Bullerby environments - actually in 79 % of the cases. In rural village all children were living in Bullerby setting but also in the city Bullerby was a very common type of the environment.

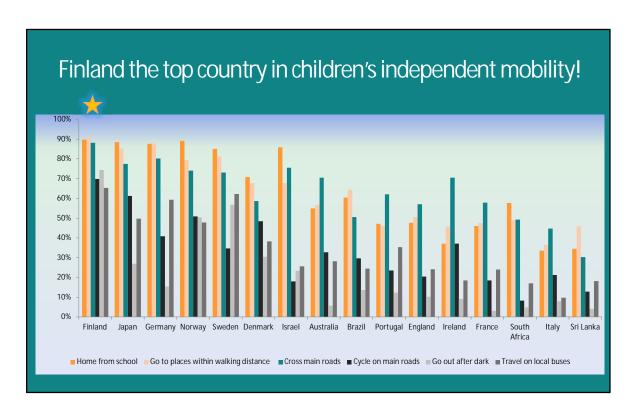
I Belarus, Bullerby represents only 8 % of the children's environments. Desert, Cell and Classhouse dominated there. Closet to the Cell environment was the area in Belarus that was contaminated by the Tsernobyl nuclear power station accident.



My model concerning child-friendly environment may appear as a rosy picture from Scandinavia. Freedom of movement and variety of activity settings were, however, among the central criteria also in Chawla's model. I think these two aspects are among the most fundamental when defining child-friendly environments.

You remember that Chawla's study concluded that the criteria for child-friendly settings are surprisingly similar everywhere in the world. I interpret this to be a result of children's corporality that is not different anywhere: children are same flesh and blood everywhere and even now in the modern world.

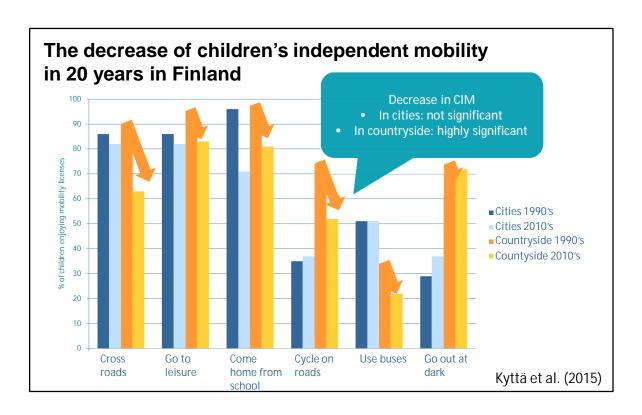
Please think about the aspects that you remembered about your own childhood. Are they among the criteria mentioned in this table?



After my dissertation we have continued to study environmental childfriendliness in several research projects.

Among them is an international comparative study among 16 countries. This study compared children's independent mobility in different countries around the world. Independent mobility was here studies as a set of permissions for mobility by parents. These are called mobility licenses.

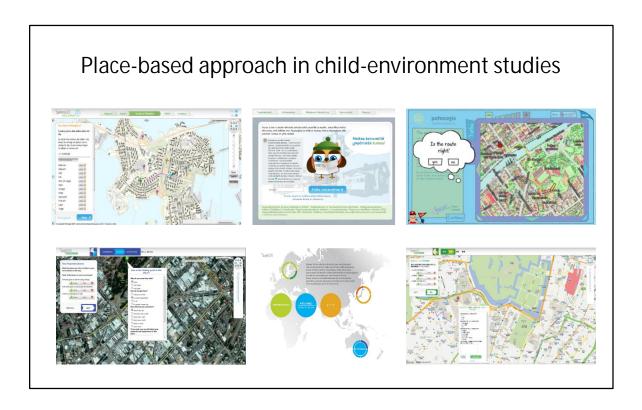
According to this study Finnish children enjoyed highest independent mobility of all 16 countries.



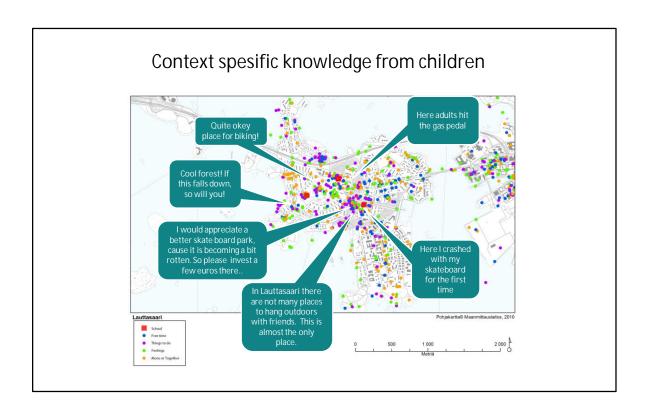
However, children's independent mobility has decreased also in Finland during the last two decades. This I was able to verify when I compared the current situation with data that I had collected for my dissertation in 1990's. The comparison revealed that in city settings the decrease in children's independent mobility was not significant – in some dimensions it instead improved. In contrast, the decrease in children's independent mobility was highly significant in the countryside.

I can think of at least two reasons for this finding: the school network has been cut down. For this reason more and more children in countryside are transported to school by car. If children learn to use car during their daily school journeys, their skills for independent mobility may not develop.

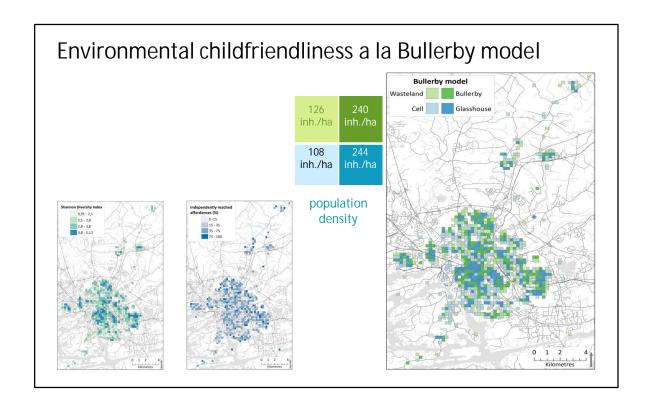
Another potential explanation is that urban lifestyle dominates even in rural settings. Among families with children this can mean that organized activities become an important part of daily life. Families end up spending a lot of time transporting children to judo and balett lessons although they locate far away. At the same time children's eyes do not open the possibilities of immediate surrounding, the affordances of the forest in the back yard. This can be paradoxical if the families have moved to countryside because of closeness to nature and childfriendly environment.



We have also had many research projects where childrens affordances have been mapped. Here we have used the softGIS methodology, that we have developed.



Similar context-spesific knowledge from children has been gathered here in Helsinki. According to our studies, children aged from 10 upwards have little difficulties mapping places that are meaningful for them. Here you can see how the children living in Lauttasaari have commented their surroundings.

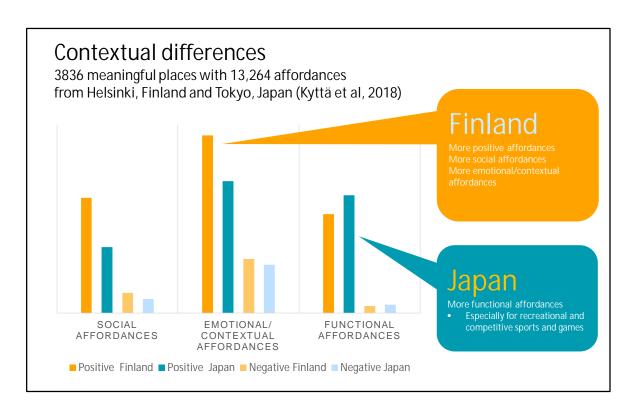


If we have come back to the Bullerby model – now with using a bit more elegant methodology. With the place-based approach we were able to study the various levels of environmental chilfriendliness in different parts of Turku. When we analyzed the various types of setting of the Bullerby-model, we noticed that the grid cells that represented Bullerby-type were rather densely built urban areas.

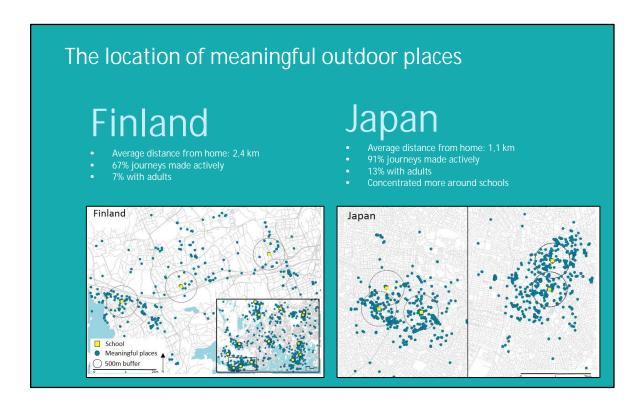


As the last case, let me explain briefly how children use urban space in contexts where children's independent mobility (CIM) is still rather high. Because Finland and Japan are among the countries where CIM is on the highest level in the world, it makes sense to study cities in these countries, in this case Helsinki and Tokyo. Naturally we are also interested in the possible contextual differences!

Because families and children reside increasingly in urban environments this theme is topical. There is also evidence that children's spaces have become more institutionalized, thus it is interesting to know, what are the spaces children spontaneously use when given the possibility to choose themselves. Surprisingly little is known about how children use urban amenities if/when spontaneous use of urban space is possible.

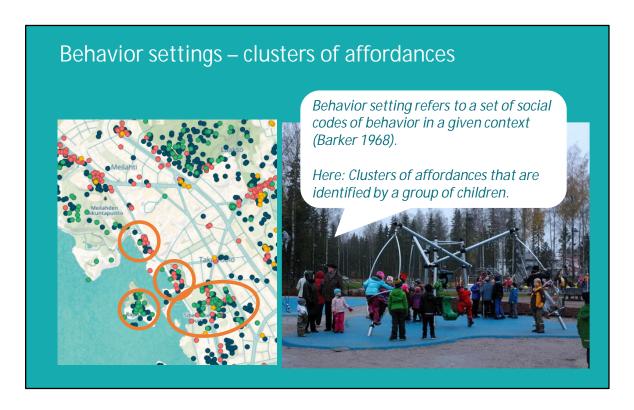


The subjects of the study where 1341 5th and 8th graders (11 and 14 year-old children) from elementary and secondary schools in Helsinki and Tokyo. The Finnish children mapped on average more positive affordances. They also mapped more social affordances and emotional/contextual affordances. Japanese children, on the other hand, located more more functional affordances, especially places that afford recreational and competitive sports and games.

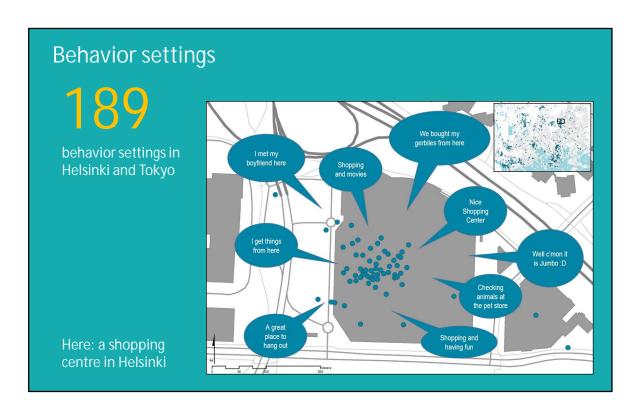


The distance from children's home to meaningful places was longer in Finland compared to Japan. In Japan, 75% of meaningful places were within 1 km from home, while in Finland this was significantly less (53%). The figure shows the higher concentration of meaningful places around schools in Japan compared with Finland.

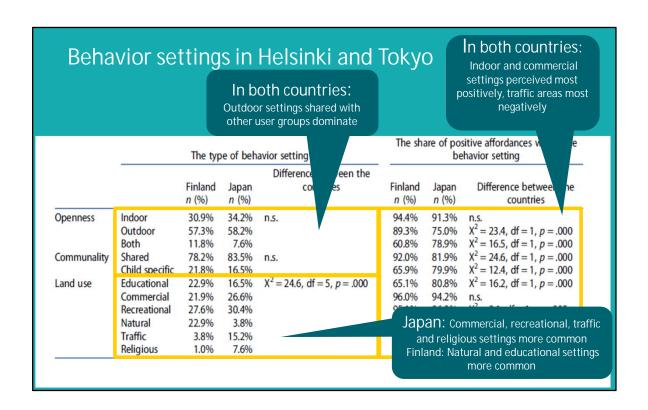
To further study how accessible meaningful places were for children in Japan and Finland, we compared the travel modes that children use to reach these places. The tendency to use motorized travel modes was higher in Finland, where 33.1% of journeys were made inactively compared to Japan, where only 9.3% of journeys were made with motorized travel modes and the vast majority (90.7%) of affordances were reached using active travel modes (walking, cycling). We also studied how often Japanese and Finnish children accessed their affordances alone, with friends, and with an adult. The share of affordances that were reached accompanied by adults was higher in Japan compared to Finland. Finally, considering the frequency of visitation of affordances, Finnish children had significantly more daily or weekly visits than their Japanese counterparts.



Shared affordances were considered in this study behavior settings, and they were audited on-site by trained experts for their main function, land use, openness, and communality. Although differences in behavior settings were observed between countries, a number of patterns emerged: outdoor settings and those with shared communality were the most prevalent behavior settings, traffic settings were predominantly evaluated negatively and commercial and indoor settings most positively.



There were altogether 189 behavior settings. One example of a behavior setting is a shopping centre. Commercial settings were more frequently reported by secondary school pupils and more often by girls than boys.



An analysis of positive and negative affordances within the behavior settings revealed that outdoor places were significantly more positively perceived in Finland while hybrid places received more positive commenting in Japan. Shared places were perceived more positively in Finland while child-specific places were more positively rated in Japan. Finally, in relation to the various land-use categories, recreational and natural settings were experienced more positively in Finland while in Japan the educational and religious settings were perceived more positively. Indoor and commercial settings were perceived very positively in both countries and traffic environments least positively compared to all other categories.



Researchers studying the characteristics of child-friendly settings argue often that these criteria can be used as a touchstone for a human friendly environment more generally. What is good for children is good for us all. Do you think this make sense?

Well, I do think so, at least partly. If you think about the basic aspects of child-friendly settings presented in my Bullerby model, for example, can you think that environment that provides a lot of diverse opportunities for inhabitants and these resourses are equally accessible for all, this kind of setting is human friendly? If so, then we could, at least in principle, compare the humanfriendliness of various urban settings based on this simple two-axis format. This idea we can talk more during our later sessions.

Thank you!

Selected publications:

Broberg, A. Salminen, S. & Kyttä, M. (2013) Physical environmental characteristics promoting independent and active transport to children's meaningful places. Applied Geography, Vol. 38, 43-52.

Broberg, A. Kyttä, M. & Fagerholm, N. (2013) Child-friendly Urban Structures: Bullerby Revisited. Journal of Environmental Psychology. Vol. 35, 110–120

Fyhri, A. Hjorthol, R. Mackett, R. Nordgaard Fotel, T. & Kyttä, M. (2011) Children's active travel and independent mobility in four countries: Development, social contributing trends and measures. Transport Policy, Vol. 18, Issue 5, 703-710.

 $Kytt\ddot{a}, M. (2008) \ Children in outdoor contexts. \ Affordances and independent mobility in the assessment of environmental child friendliness. \ PhD thesis, Helsinki University of Technology. \ Available at: <math display="block">\frac{http://lib.tkk.fi/Diss/2003/isbn9512268736/isbn9512268736.pdf}{http://lib.tkk.fi/Diss/2003/isbn9512268736/isbn9512268736.pdf}$

Kyttä, M. (2004) The Extent of Children's Independent Mobility and the Number of Actualized Affordances as Criteria of a Child-Friendly Environment. Journal of Environmental Psychology, Vol. 24, Issue, 179-198.

Kyttä, M. (2002) The Affordances of Children's Environments. Journal of Environmental Psychology, Vol. 22, Issue 1, 109 - 123.

Kyttä, M. Hirvonen, J. Pirjola, I. Laatikainen, T. & Rudner, J. (2015) The last free-range children? Children's independent mobility in Finland in 1990's and 2010's. Journal of Transport Geography, 47, 1-12.

Kyttä, M. Kaaja, M.& Horelli, L. (2004) An Internet-based Design Game as a Mediator of Children's Environmental visions. Environment & Behavior, Vol. 36, Issue 1, 127 – 151.

Kyttä, M. Oliver, M. Ikeda, E. Ahmadi, E. Omiya, I. & Laatikainen, T. (2018) Children as urbanites: Mapping the affordances and behavior settings of urban environments for Finnish and Japanese children. *Children's Geographies*, Vol 16, No 3, 319–332.

Laatikainen, T. Broberg, A. & Kyttä, M. (2017) The physical environment of positive places: Exploring differences between age groups. *Preventive Medicine*, Vol 95, S85–S91.

Leskinen, Aino (2015) Kaupunki lasten kokemana: lahtelaisten lasten kokemuksia jalankulku-, joukkoliikenne- ja autovyöhykkeiltä. Master's thesis. Aalto University, Department of Architecture.

Shaw, B. Bicket, M. Elliott, B. Fagan-Watson, B. Mocca, E. & Hillman, M. (2015) Children's independent mobility. An International Comparison and Recommendations for Action. Policy Studies Institute, London.

30