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Children's Senses of Place and Belonging in Light of Social Difference

A Systematic Literature Review

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Master's thesis in Childhood Studies
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Abstract

People's and place's identities can be viewed as dynamic and interrelated, for as Cresswell (1996) put it, "*What one's place is, is clearly related to one's relations to others*" (p.3). But to what extent and in which ways are children's subjective experiences of place being explored within academia? This thesis draws on childhood studies' interest in producing knowledge about children's lived experiences and sociocultural geography's interest in social identities and sense of place to explore research into children's spatial subjectivities in light of social diversity. To this end, a systematic literature review was undertaken which analyzed studies identified through a systematic search of the database Scopus. Potentially relevant peer-reviewed studies were located via a search of the database Scopus using key terms related to children, place, identity, and diversity. These articles were then screened according to preset inclusion/exclusion criteria, eventually yielding 110 references. A multi-level analysis was carried out on these studies. This thesis presents the results of these analyses, providing an orienting overview of the research field and sharing insights gained from an immersion in the literature. The first analysis chapter presents the bulk analysis which provides an overview of the research field and identifies a core group of studies which focused most specifically on children's sense of place/diversity in relation to social difference. Tendencies and main themes were found in regard to disciplinary background, geographic spread, thematic foci, and included axes of diversity. Social science disciplinarity, Minority World (especially European) contexts, and "minority group" participants were found to dominate the literature. The most prevalent thematic focus was found to be identity processes, followed by sense of place or belonging. An in-depth analysis of the core group of studies is presented in the second and third analysis chapters. Part 1 of the core analysis focuses on significant tendencies in the methods and theories employed in the research field. Key trends are discussed, particularly regarding a reliance on verbal methods and qualitative analysis, participants from older age groups, and fieldwork which focused on place at local and domestic scales in Minority World contexts. Intriguing patterns in how diversity was incorporated in the articles' analyses are also discussed. Part 2 of the core analysis outlines some key areas of findings, namely, the significance of social and material dimensions of place in children's sense of place, children's placemaking practices, and the ambiguous nature of belonging. Core analysis, Part 2, also illuminates predominant themes found in the literature: social difference as structurally constrained, yet unfixed; risk and safety; and diversity as a daily experience. In the process of presenting key findings and dominant themes within the core group, I also identify possible blind spots and challenges for this area of the research field. The work closes by addressing the implications of the project and its relevance to ongoing debates within childhood studies. On the whole, this work hopes to contribute to the field of research into social difference and children's sense of place by presenting novel understandings alongside an organized and distilled report of the field. It thus highlights the value, as well as the challenges, of conducting systematic literature reviews on broad topics within a field as expansive and interdisciplinary as childhood studies.

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Chapter I. Introduction

Growing up in a medium-sized city in the Southeast United States, my world appeared very local. I lived with my parents and brothers in a detached house in a medium-sized neighborhood. I played around our house, on the cul-de-sac across the street, or in neighbors' yards with my brothers and other children from our street. Much of my extended family lived over the road from us, and I walked to school through my grandparents' backyard. As we learned how to negotiate traffic, my older brother and I were allowed to roam further away through the neighborhood on foot, and eventually by bike. Our spatial routes expanded to include the closest gas station, playgrounds, parks, and the nearby lake. Our neighborhood and school were neither homogenous nor multicultural. Neighbors and schoolmates were a part of my life whose presence I did not question. In my older childhood, I got rides to other neighborhoods or into the busier parts of the city with my older brother or older friends who could drive, and eventually I could myself borrow my parents' car to explore the city and surrounding rural areas. My friendships came to extend beyond our closest neighbors.

I did not move from my childhood home (where my parents still reside) until I began at the local university and moved into a house on the other side of town. Yet, my local mobilities did not mean that my childhood was purely local. As argued by geographers such as Massey (1991; 2005), places are transected by simultaneous trajectories and a multiplicity of scales. Each person in my young life brought their places, their "stories-so-far" (Massey, 2005 p. 130), with them. Global traces (J. Anderson, 2015) were also a part of my "local" childhood: we ate foods imported from locations around the globe; my aunt, uncle, and close friend had been adopted from South Korea; my mother and her brother were born in South Africa; and the music, TV shows, and movies we enjoyed at home were produced nationally and internationally. Our family vacations to nearby destinations and more distant family members taught me to recognize my life as situated within a region, within a country.

In my time since undergrad, I have lived in multiple states within the USA and in multiple countries. It is only since leaving that I have explored my own attachments to places, including my childhood home. At the same time, I have experienced deep senses of home and belonging in places far from "home" with others so unlike the people of my childhood. Some of my most vivid experiences of homecoming have occurred in countries far removed from my childhood world. Making attachments to new places has changed my relationship to home, to family, and to myself in dynamic ways which I often struggle to articulate. Since beginning to think about children and childhood through the lens of childhood studies, I have often reconsidered my own childhood experiences. Regarding place and belonging, am I able to make place connections and feel a sense of belonging while traveling because I had a single childhood home? Or would children be just as likely to experience place in deeply personal and meaningful ways while moving *as children*? Was the relative social similarity I experienced as a kid important to being able to feel safe and familiar? Do young people living in more multicultural contexts feel safe and familiar with difference? Do they experience social difference and similarity in the same ways as children from monocultural contexts? If children are viewed as competent beings with capacities and perspectives of their own, then these questions can be explored in conjunction with actual children. If children are valuable as children with a present as well as a future, then the motivations and assumptions behind research into these questions should reflect this.

Children's Perspectives on Place & Social Difference

My academic interest in research on sense of place and belonging stems from work in sociocultural geography which investigates the dynamic relationship between people and places (see: G. Valentine, 2007) while utilizing conceptualizations of identities as interconnected and negotiated (Panelli, 2004) "situated accomplishments" (West & Fenstermaker, 1995, p. 21). Such research shows identity as multi-faceted and chimeric, with different identities being expressed depending on the socio-spatial situation. This resonates with me at a theoretical as well as experiential level, and it piqued my interest in doing research of my own along these lines. Some of this research is done as life history case studies (as is the case in G. Valentine, 2007), which explore how individuals' multiple identities are variably expressed and repressed in the multitudinous spatial contexts they inhabit. However, I wanted to focus on the overlapping experiences of different people sharing a particular place. That is, hearing a multiplicity of subjectivities oriented around a single place, rather than following a single subject through the various spaces of their life. This draws on Massey's conceptualizations of place as a meeting place, as a collection of stories-so-far (2005).

The interest in doing this with children and considered in light of social difference stems from prevalent discussions in media, policy, and casual social interactions focused on diversity and its effects on young people. I also have a personal interest in this topic stemming from my acquaintance with a small rural town in the Midwest US which has seen rapid growth and diversification over the last decade through in-migration and refugee settlement. The change was striking and, though not wholly without pushback, has been accepted in a largely positive spirit by the more longstanding residents of the town. I had originally planned to conduct an ethnographic fieldwork with the children of the town to try and understand if and how their senses of belonging were affected by the diversity around them. However, the timing of the project and the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic made the study unfeasible for the present time. Yet, while searching for relevant literature in preparation for fieldwork, I found studies which had been conducted and published across a range of disciplines and geographic areas. These exciting yet dispersed works can be too easily overlooked when stemming from unfamiliar traditions, and I did not find any good cross-disciplinary reviews on the subject. This increases the risk of conducting redundant research without referring to existing findings and methods (Ennew et al., 2009). To gain a better perspective myself and help other researchers interested in this research topic, I decided to change my thesis design from fieldwork to a systematic literature review of research on social diversity and children's sense of place.

Adults both deliberately and unconsciously structure and restructure spaces as parents, educators, policymakers, etc. in response to migratory influences, exercising significant power in shaping the public discourse[1] (Clark, 2013). These social-political forces structure daily life (J. Anderson, 2015) for children who are "local" and for "other" children. However, children are not merely passive receptacles or unformed clay waiting to be molded into future citizens at the whim of adults. They have their own thoughts, wills, experiences, and agency (K. Valentine, 2011). In light of this, children's own senses of place and belonging cannot be assumed to be homogenous, either with other children or with adults. The socio-spatial contexts which shape and are shaped by

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[1] The word "discourse" has many uses both within and outside of academia. The usage which I have adopted in this thesis refers to discourse as a "set of interconnected ideas…that are hold together by a particular ideology or view of the world" (Stainton-Rogers, 2009, p.143).

children's understandings of themselves and others are dynamically complex, not simply inherited with their genes or surname. But to what extent and in which ways are children's subjective experiences of place and belonging being explored within academia?

Childhood studies as a field specifically explores tensions between the productive and reproductive aspects of childhood, approaching social phenomena from children's own perspectives. It strives to account for the dynamic production of childhoods through societal and structural forces while also recognizing children as active transformers of society in their own right (Qvortrup et al., 2009). The interdisciplinary nature of childhood studies gives it a breadth which can be difficult for scholars to gain control of, with relevant works being published in a sea journals from various individual and interdisciplinary fields. However, childhood studies as a field does not have a monopoly on research into children and childhood, meaning that there are untold numbers of potentially relevant studies "out there" in academia. So, it becomes necessary to take a methodical and bird's-eye-view approach to the literature in order to move towards a better understanding of what childhood studies has been learning about children's senses of place in relation to social diversity. The intention behind this thesis is to seek out and bring together this widespread research area to gain a better overview of which thematic foci are dominating the field, which methods are being employed, and what knowledge is being produced. Familiarity with one's academic field is essential for effective research utilization and production (Feak & Swales, 2009); however, this often-cumbersome task is made all the more challenging by the decentralized nature of childhood studies (e.g. Stansfield, 2019). By taking the time and effort to produce a thorough literature review on the subject of children's sense of place and diversity, I hope to contribute to the field with consolidated and novel insights.

The project focuses on the topics of social difference and sense of place for children in order to gain a better picture of how these topics are being researched and presented in the literature. Place can be understood most simply as "*a meaningful location*" (Cresswell, 2004:7), that is, spaces which people have made attachments to and given meaning to in various way. If places and identities are relational (Cresswell, 1996; Massey, 2005), then it follows that one's sense of place is equally relational. *Sense of place* refers to the affective and identity-laden aspects of space (Agnew, 1987/2015). In other words, sense of place captures the individuals' subjective relation to spaces and those who inhabit them. Cresswell (1996, p. 3) states it thus, "*What one's place is, is clearly related to one's relations to others.*" Co-inhabitance of space always implies a coming together of difference (Massey, 2005), which transects places and shapes our individual experiences of them in co-productive ways. Therefore, methodologies for researching place need to be calibrated to relational, not just physical/demographical factors. These theoretical claims ought to have implications for research, but it is difficult to gain a sufficient overview of the research field to see if and how diversity and children's experiences of places are being explored, that is, to gain insight into the knowledge being produced about this topic.

Systematic Literature Reviews and the Social Sciences

The systematic literature review is a methodology for locating, analyzing, and comparing research on a particular field, topic, issue, etc. by following a predetermined protocol (Feak & Swales, 2009). Such reviews are often undertaken with the purpose of clarifying the state of a research field and exploring implications of findings (Feak & Swales, 2009). Systematic literature reviews are therefore a useful tool for enquiring the

existing literature in a particular field. They have traditionally been the province of the "hard sciences" rooted in a methodological positivism which values neutrality, repeatability, and generalizability (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015). A systematic approach to reviewing literature enables a methodical combing of research. This is often done with the aim of comparing results to find the best answer to a question, with randomized and controlled experimental designs being prized over all others. Medicine has especially capitalized on this method to compare outcomes across studies with different treatments and populations in order to identify best practices regarding a particular illness or problem (Levay & Craven, 2019). The repeatability and objectivity valued in positivistic research paradigms makes this a logical application of systematic reviews. But, it can make social science researchers wary of systematic reviews and their usefulness for evaluating qualitative research (e.g. Cornish, 2015).

Yet, the systematic review is merely a methodology for locating relevant research in a thorough and transparent manner (Solhaug & Jensen, 2020). How the resulting data pool is then read, analyzed, and interpreted is entirely up to the author(s) of the review. This means there is a distinct opportunity for social scientists to use this methodology to enhance the body of knowledge in their chosen field without requiring them to assume a positivistic lens. A number of recent reviews have shown the value of a systematic approach to social science research, with particular examples in childhood studies. Adams and Savahl's (2017) multi-disciplinary review of nature as children's space identified a common thread in the research showing nature's positive influence on children's well-being, but also pointed to a lack of both theorizations and descriptions of research contexts. *The International Journal of Children's Rights* (IJCR) chose to mark the 30th anniversary of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) with a special issue (2020) featuring reviews of the UNCRC's influence. Brittle and Desmet's (2020) review focused on research published in key childhood studies journals which applied children's rights to migratory contexts. It showed the field's success in promoting the recognition of migrant children's rights, while simultaneously showing the imbalanced nature of studies which focused mostly on specific populations, namely unaccompanied-minor refugees and asylum seekers in Europe. McMellon and Tisdall's (2020) work reviewed all participation literature published in IJCR for the past 30 years. They identified valuable research contributions but also holes regarding development of the field and interaction between researchers' works. Quennerstedt and Moody's (2020) review of research on children's educational rights recognized major achievements in the literature while illuminating a continued overrepresentation of Western scholarship. Their review also found a surprising lack of educational and pedagogical research and theory regarding children's educational rights. A little less recently, McNamee & Seymour (2013) evaluated methodologies from nearly two decades of childhood research published in three leading journals. Their comprehensive work disclosed a problematic underreporting of methods and an overrepresentation of 10-12-year-olds, thus challenging childhood studies' claims of representing a plurality of "children's voices." Taken together, these works illustrate the high value of systematic reviews to the social sciences. Though fields such as women's studies and childhood studies are often presented as single, albeit multi-faceted paradigms, the reality is that research in these fields is conducted in a vast array of disciplines. Systematic reviews offer rich insights by bringing together research from disparate publications to provide a distilled overview. This makes systematic searches in broad, interdisciplinary fields extra demanding to execute, but all the more valuable as contributions to the academic community.

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Research Aims, Objectives, & Questions

My aim for this review is to contribute to the growing body of work within childhood studies which promotes reconsidering social phenomena from children's own perspectives while also taking the importance of the material contexts into account (e.g. Katz, 2004; Laoire, 2011a; Leonard et al., 2011). This literature review was undertaken in order to identify the existing body of research on diversity and children's sense of place. This study also aims to read said research critically so as to evaluate which methodological approaches and theoretical perspectives are being employed, discuss potential consequences these have on types of research being done and their findings, and to identify gaps in the current literature. To meet these research goals, this review was designed to answer the following research questions.

What are significant tendencies in research regarding social difference and children's spatial subjectivities? Here, the focus was on processes of knowledge production relating to social diversity and children's subjective experiences of place, including sense of place and sense of belonging. It was not primarily concerned with compiling or comparing findings. Answering this question involved examining how research was conducted, including methods, study locations, analytical frameworks, and representation of children through participation in the studies or as the analytical focus.

What are key findings and predominant themes in studies of social diversity and children's sense of place/belonging? This question was formulated to illuminate significant contributions to and achievements within research regarding diversity and children's sense of place/belonging. To answer this question, relevant studies identified through the systematic literature search were critically and methodically read to identify dominant themes and some important findings on the topics of social diversity and senses of belonging and place for children. The focus was not on exhaustively compiling and ranking findings, but on identifying significant trends and contributions to the field.

Overview of the Thesis

This first chapter has included an introduction of my thesis including the main research questions and some contextualizing academic and personal background. Chapter II, "Defining the Field" goes deeper into the academic background and presents the theory behind this project which will be used later in the analysis sections. The methodology for this review is described in Chapter III. This is followed by three chapters presenting the review itself. First, a bulk analysis (Chapter IV) provides an overview of the included literature. It presents tendencies identified during the coding process which relate to study location, primary thematic focus, and aspects of diversity under consideration. Secondly, an in-depth analysis of the core group of studies pulled out from the bulk of included studies is given. Chapter V ("Core Analysis, Part 1") focuses on significant tendencies in the core group related to methods, participants, geographical foci, theoretical aspects, and aspects of diversity under analysis. Part 2 of the core analysis (Chapter VI) presents areas of key findings and dominant themes relating to social difference and children's sense of place/belonging. These are further discussed in a final, concluding chapter which presents possible implications of the review's findings and wraps up the project as a whole. Extra information and exhaustive reference lists can be found in the appendices at the very end of the review.

Chapter II. Defining the Field: Academic Context & Theory

This chapter presents an overview of theory relevant to the topic of this review: social diversity and children's senses of place and belonging. It aims to define the research field related to the topic and situate this review within the academic landscapes of childhood studies and human geography. The chapter begins by providing academic and theoretical context for the field of childhood studies, highlighting key concepts and developments in the field. It then goes on to explore theoretical understandings from human geography for key terms relating to the central parts of the research topic. Space and place, social identities, intersectionality, and belonging are expanded upon to provide a theoretical basis for the research topics handled in this literature review.

Childhood Studies

Childhood studies has been an interdisciplinary field from the start. Topics in childhood studies vary greatly, reflecting the breadth of researcher backgrounds and aspects of society touching children's lives. There are, however, some core claims which can be seen to constitute the research paradigm. Prout and James (2015) have outlined six key features, all of which emerged in critical response to previously dominant approaches. *Childhood as a social construction* is a central tenet of childhood studies. It speaks to the human-made meanings assigned to the state of biological immaturity, holding that childhood is neither a natural nor universal category. Social constructionist approaches to childhood use cultural, discursive, and interpretive analyses to explore the constructed and context-specific meanings ascribed to being young. Another core idea in the childhood studies paradigm holds *childhood as one variable of social analysis* alongside many others (i.e. gender, ability, class/SES, etc.). When childhood, or age, is viewed as only one variable for social analysis, the assumed universality of childhood is challenged, and there is conceptual room for understandings of childhood as heterogenous, contextualized, and historicized. *Children as subjects worthy of study in their own right*, another mantra of childhood studies, places children, along with their views, experiences, and concerns, at the center of child research. This idea confronts the adult-centric nature attributed to other research paradigms which approached child research from the viewpoint of adult concerns and views (Jenks, 1982). The view of *children as social actors* taking an active role in constructing their lives and reproducing wider society challenges notions of the child as a passive subject isolated from societies' broader structures and processes. The childhood studies paradigm also acknowledges its own role in producing knowledge about children and childhood as partaking in the process of *reconstructing childhood in society*. These mantras contribute to the claim that *ethnography is a particularly useful methodology* for studying childhood. The championing of ethnography as a method of study with children is based in an identified need to include children more directly in sociological research so as to understand childhood as a social, generational, and cultural phenomenon. In addition to these six features identified by Prout and James (2015), an important feature in the field of childhood studies is its core orientation towards children as "beings" with lives and capabilities in the here-and-now. This present-orientation developed as a reaction against the dominating future-orientation of much child research and thought which approaches young people primarily as "becomings", or future-adults (Jenks, 1982).

The description I have just outlined can be understood as the new traditional paradigm of childhood studies. As a field, childhood studies emerged towards the end of the 20th century in response to growing critiques of the existing conceptualizations of

children and childhood. Childhood studies came out of feminist and social constructionist perspectives (James, 2007), building on critical theories to deconstruct childhood and the socially defined and power-laden conceptualization of the child (James & Prout, 2015). It has been highly critical of developmental studies of childhood as a positivistic, scientific approach to questions about the processes by which humans grow and change during the early phase of the life course (Woodhead, 2013). Childhood studies has also been highly critical of socialization theories which focus on children as passive subjects and the internalization of societies rules and structures (Nilsen, 2009/2014). Developmental and socialization theories have both been objected to for their individualizing and marginalizing treatment of children as incompetent, unformed, and non-agentic "becomings" (Jenks, 1982). These critiques continue as part of childhood studies, though childhood studies has itself come under internal as well as external critique. These critiques have centered on often highly euro-centric understandings within childhood studies. Eurocentrism has been pointed out in both its critiques of and proposed solutions to, for example, power struggles, child's rights issues, and children's agency. European influences dominate childhood studies scholarship directly through authorship and fieldwork sites, and indirectly through prevailing theorizations (e.g. Bourdillon, 2011; Woodhead, 2013). Critiques of childhood studies have also emphasized a need to move away from binary thinking (e.g. not "beings" *or* "becomings", but "beings" *and* "becomings"; Uprichard, 2008) engendered by the paradigm's orthodoxy of social constructionism and rejection of previous models for studying childhood (Spyrou, 2019). Calls for better theorization (e.g. Tisdall & Punch, 2012; K. Valentine, 2011), more Minority World scholarship (e.g. Quennerstedt & Moody, 2020), attention to material-spatial (e.g. Punch et al., 2007) and political-economic (e.g. Wyness, 2013), relational conceptions of childhood (e.g. Wall, 2008), and expanded interdisciplinarity (e.g. Korbin, 2010; Tatlow-Golden & Montgomery, 2021) have all been made. These critiques attempt to advance the production of more nuanced, contextualized understandings of children which account for a greater variety of experiences.

These calls and developments within the field are not totally unique to the childhood studies. Rather, they echo wider patterns in the social sciences (e.g. Bissell, 2019 on sociocultural geography; Liamputtong, 2019 on health and social science research). The daily pressures and pleasures experienced by people in all places, and rapid changes occurring in societies globally, necessitate sensitive and reflective social theory. Theories are needed which take the lived realities of people seriously, in a way which often favors pragmatism over positivism or pure social constructionism (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015).

Conceptualizations of Children in Childhood Studies Research

As discussed above, conceptualizations of the child in childhood studies are not entirely uniform, though there is a large degree of consensus regarding the need to treat children as members of society and heterogenous beings worthy of study in their own right (Prout & James, 2015). Similarly, childhoods are seen as multiple, varying across contexts and social difference (James, 2007). Exactly what implications these understandings do and ought to have are not unvaryingly agreed upon by academics. Nor is there unanimous agreement about whether these understandings of children and childhood should completely replace traditional constructions, or rather exist in conversation with them (e.g. Tatlow-Golden & Montgomery, 2021 on developmental psychology). There are potential blind spots in the field of childhood studies if scholars choose to reject entirely the theoretical perspectives they initially critiqued

(Hammersley, 2017). While critiques of developmental and socialization theories have been instrumental in establishing childhood studies as a discipline and fruitful for recognizing children as active human beings with rights and capacities of their own, it's rejection of classical ideas of developmentalism and socialization theory (Nilsen, 2009/2014; Woodhead, 2013) mean that it has often ignored parallel theoretical progressions within these other fields (Hammersley, 2017). Is it helpful to continue to write-off fields based on representations of them which are no longer accurate? If instead, childhood studies can continue as a dynamically interdisciplinary field, analytically drawing from a multitude of disciplines and theories, it can also move towards better understandings of and approaches to children and childhoods. This means then that childhood studies is left with the difficult and critical task of teasing apart the 'good' from the 'bad,' of paying attention to ongoing developments in fields other than one's own, and of keeping the interdisciplinary dialogue open.

This interdisciplinary literature review of research on social difference and children's spatial subjectivities, (i.e. children's subjective experiences of place) aims to help researchers to pay attention to developments in as many disciplines as possible which relate to this area of child research. It emphasizes the material-spatial contexts of child, in addition to the social and relational aspects. To better understand these dimensions of children's experiences, it is helpful to take a closer look at theoretical understandings from social and cultural geographies which pertain to the central concepts handled in this literature review. The topics of place, identities, intersectionality, and belonging are expanded upon in the following sections. To begin, attention is turned towards space and place, with a special emphasis on sense of place.

Making Space for Place

One challenge to theorizing place academically is that it is such a commonplace word generally. Widely used in everyday language, its meanings are manifold, and it becomes a slippery concept in the theoretical realm. A particular difficulty has been in teasing out the difference between space and place. A relatively agreed-upon understanding of the difference is that place is space plus meaning. Place can be understood most simply as "*a meaningful location*" (Cresswell, 2004:7), that is, spaces which people have made attachments to and given meaning to in various way. Gieryn (2000) describes space as place minus the "unique gathering of things, meanings, and values" (p. 465), whereas place is full of people, things, meanings, and practices. It is an active, productive part of social processes. Place, then, is less abstract than space (Cresswell, 2004), being both particular and full compared to the unspecified emptiness of space.

The meanings which arise out of humans' emplaced interactions, and their interactions with the spaces themselves, signify places are inherently relational. These meanings construct identities, which are equally relational. A particular place is that which it is in relation to that which it is not. In other words, "here" is known in relation to "there". The construction of place identities through comparison includes recognizing arrays of similarity and difference. ("Here" is not only "here" on the basis of its unique originality.) Just as with people's identities (Panelli, 2004), place identities are constituted by identifications and disidentifications simultaneously. Identifications are the attachments and associations someone makes to another person, place, idea, etc., whereas disidentifications are the detachments and disassociations a person makes.

Identifications can be visualized by nearness or drawing closer, while disidentifications can be pictured by distance or pulling away.

The concept of place saw a revival in social theory during the late 1980s (Agnew & Duncan, 1989). Agnew and Duncan argued for a melding of place and time in order to better understand social and political processes. This revaluing of place as an analytical concept followed its previous marginalization in favor of time, or "historicity" (Foucault, 1980, in: Agnew & Duncan, 1989). In an attempt to bring spatiality back into the picture, previous conceptualizations of place were engaged in a synthesizing process. Agnew (1987/2015) described this renewed concept of place as including three main, integrated aspects: "*location*" which captures objective and macro-spatial dimensions of place (i.e. where in space the place is located), "*locale*" which speaks to place as a material setting for social interactions (i.e. how does a place look, and how is it used), and "*sense of place*" which refers to place as a subjective structure of feelings (p. 28) or identities (i.e. how does one subjectively experience a place). These aspects had previously been competing perspectives, but human geographers of the 1980s, including Agnew, began working with these three elements as distinct concepts, yet complementary dimensions of the same thing: place. As an illustration, consider the desk on which I am writing my thesis. It can be understood as a particular place, with a *location*: about 1.5 cubic meters of space in room A344 in the sports building on NTNU's Dragvoll campus, Trondheim, Norway. The grey desk which holds my laptop, coffee cup, and some personal artifacts in addition to an array of papers and books also serves as a *locale* for the social practices of researching, writing, studying, checking emails, and sometimes eating, chatting with colleagues, listening to music, or online shopping. Simultaneous to these two dimensions of the desk is my own *sense of place* for the desk, which includes the somewhat conflicting feelings of focus, interest, purpose, frustration, boredom, and familiarity. Agnew and Duncan (1989) argue that these various aspects ought not to be competing versions of place used by different disciplines (e.g. geographers concerned with location and sociologists concerned with locale). They argue for a multidimensional concept of place to be used in any discipline, though the aspects will be combined in different ways depending on the discipline.

Although geography saw a renewed interest in social phenomena in the 1980s and 1990s, Gieryn (2000) later identified a continued lack of place in sociology more generally. He called for sociologists to view all social phenomena as spatially embedded, as well as temporally. That is, to view social phenomena as varying across space as well as over time. Gieryn framed this need to conceive of social processes as "emplaced" (p. 467) by saying that place ought not to be relegated away to geographers specifically, but rather be integrated into all social science. He argued for the application within sociology of anti-reductionist, anti-determinist conceptualizations of place as one vital factor among many. Gieryn claimed that approaching social phenomena as spatially contextualized, as well as temporally, culturally, individually, etc. would safeguard sociologists against the pitfalls of both environmental determinism and unbounded social constructivism. S. Holloway and G. Valentine (2000) made a similar call for the spatialization of children's sociologies, identifying a need for recognition of childhood as emplaced, and of places as "aged". The repeated criticisms of sociology for not using place in practice (Agnew, 1987/2015; Agnew & Duncan, 1989; Gieryn, 2000) makes spatial aspects an interesting thing to look for during the review. Have empirical research practices regarding place changed? Is place applied as merely the backdrop for the research, or is it considered as an active player in social processes, as Gieryn urged?

Deeper Into Sense of Place

As this literature review is focusing specifically on research regarding children's subjective experiences of place, it is necessary to elaborate on the concept of sense of place here. Sense of place refers to the affective and identity-laden aspects of space (Agnew, 1987/2015). May (2000, in: Cresswell, 2004) describes sense of place as a wider, unbounded sense of belonging. Though May's description would seem to imply that sense of place is positive, it can still apply to negative or ambivalent senses of place which are shaped by a sense of unbelonging. In either case, a connection is drawn between experiences of belonging and place. Places and identities are relational (Cresswell, 1996; Massey, 2005); therefore, one's sense of place is relational. As Cresswell (1996, p. 3) writes, "*What one's place is, is clearly related to one's relations to others.*" When looking at a place (as opposed to space), experiences, meanings, relations, attachments, and connections are present. An individual's personal view encapsulating these aspects is their sense of place. Which aspects are emphasized, and which are ignored, speak to what their particular sense of place is (Cresswell, 2004).

Just as places exist across a range of scales from the micro (e.g. an armchair) to the global, so too can sense of place exist at a variety of scales (J. Anderson, 2015). Additionally, sense of place can be individual, as in a child's feeling for their bedroom, or shared, as in a school groups' sense of place for their classroom or a common national imagination. B. Anderson (2006) has emphasized the role of imagination in constructing a sense of place, particularly at the larger scales, as it is impossible for one to really experientially know one's country, for example, but must rely on constructed narratives, discourses, symbols, and images to develop an individual or shared sense of national place. This does not imply that the nation is an imaginary illusion, but it reinforces the ideological and discursive aspects which are especially powerful in creating place at the scale beyond personal experience.

Sense of place captures the subjective dimensions of place. W. Holloway's (2006) conception of subjectivity as a lifelong process, a way-of-being-in and experiencing the world through relationships, has direct implications for sense of place. If one's experience of the world is mediated dynamically and relationally, this can certainly be extended to one's experience of the material world. As a concept, sense of place captures the individuals' subjective relation both to a particular space and to others who also share that space. The place, its inhabitants, and the subject are interconnected, such that when one changes, the others are affected. These changes can be minor and cumulative or sudden and drastic, but in either case, sense of place is affected. This plasticity accommodates understandings of place which emphasize change and mobility as well as stability. Understandings of place which highlight mobility, change, and interconnectivity were referred to as *a progressive sense of place* by the influential sociocultural geographer, Doreen Massey (1991). The conceptualization of place as inherently local *and* global (Massey, 2005), as dynamic and able to accommodate "routes" (i.e. mobilities) as well as "roots" (i.e. fixed localities) has characterized more recent human geographies (J. Anderson, 2015). In researching children's social geographies, this has meant an interest in interactions between children's specific, local social worlds and the wider global social processes, pressures, and structures. This approach to children's geographies is exemplified by Katz's work (2004) on globalization in the lives of children in both rural Sudan and urban New York, USA, which portrayed the societal restructuring and "deskilling" (p. xii) of children in both contexts. These were

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produced by collisions between the reproduction of local society and the changing environmental and economic pressures introduced by globalization.

People- and Place-Identities

The relational, subjective nature of sense of place is tightly bound up with who one is in relation to others (Cresswell, 1996). Therefore, it becomes necessary to explore children's identities in our attempts to explore children's senses of place. Panelli (2004) argues the people's and places' identities are mutually constituted, that they are formed, expressed, and change dynamically in response to each other. Geographies of identities explore how spatiality affects these processes of identification. But, *identity* is another familiar concept which needs clarification. As a term, it widely used in daily life, as well as with specific meanings in disciplines as diverse as biology, psychology, geography, and sociology. What is wrapped up in the concept of identity as used in research with children on social diversity and sense of place?

Non-essentialist and post-structuralist theorizations of identities as constructed, interactive, and situated accomplishments (West & Fenstermaker, 1995) have been highly influential within the social sciences since the 1990s. In her book, *Social Geographies: From Difference to Action* (2004), Panelli elaborates on (primarily Western) theories of identity within social geography. While structuralist conceptualizations of identities as fixed, essential characteristics of an individual previously dominated academic thought, it is the discursive and relational understanding which now predominates. Post-structural approaches emphasize identities as constructed: they are performed, negotiated, and valued in context-dependent ways. Identities, then, become multiple and unfixed positionalities. Rather than something one "has", identity is actively "done" in dynamic processes of formation and expression which are discursively and spatially mediated. The concept of performativity, or identity politics, has also been influential. As Panelli explains, identity politics can be the mobilization of identities to achieve political means as in political activism, or more simply as in the daily, mundane, and power-embedded practices related to identity negotiation (challenging, resisting, claiming, expressing, contesting, etc.). Also stemming out of post-structuralist approaches, identity politics focus on the practices of identity, rather than the narratives or language of identity. It pays attention to power-laden processes which privilege certain identities over others in homogenizing, hegemonic, and normalizing ways. At the same time, certain identities are devalued, submerged, or ignored. That is, identity politics recognizes how certain axes of social difference are privileged over others. Swanson (2007) provides an example of this political approach to identity in research with children in her work with indigenous children and women begging on the streets of Quito, Ecuador. She highlights how the are discursively constructed as out of place in the city on the grounds of their gender, age, socio-economic status (SES), indigeneity, and assumed rurality which challenge dominant, hegemonic constructions of good women and children. She points to how their identities were marginalized, their livelihoods suppressed, and their presence in the city vilified.

However, Panelli (2004) also points out that identities are comprised of both recognition and difference. In an article working towards a critical theorization of the development of self, W. Holloway (2006) conceives of subjectivity as "an unending dynamic tension between individuality and intersubjectivity" (p. 477). Such a dynamic interplay makes room for personal and collective identities. It also offers a reconciliation of structure and agency, which have so often been set up as dichotomies (Tisdall &

Punch, 2012). W. Holloway propounds a psychologically aware discourse analysis which views people as interconnected subjects with agency, rights, and social worlds which are structured discursively, as well as inner psychological lives, relational positionality, and interdependent senses of self. In this view, development of self is not relegated to a single phase of child development, but rather an unending process throughout the entire life course. Also under critique is the almost exclusive emphasis on the mother-child relationship which ignores the children's roles as observers of relationships or as members of relationships with fathers, siblings, aunties, caregivers, etc. W. Holloway identifies recent trends which point to the dynamic interplay of individuality and intersubjectivity in self-formation, a focus on relational space beyond that of mother-child, and the importance of sibling relationships to processes of self-formation. An example of this type of research into children's identities as relationally and spatially situated is described by Laoire (2016). Her work with return-migrant children in Ireland situated their identities within family relationships and narratives of migration and diaspora which highlighted mobility and spatial patterns. Thus, it also serves as an example of identity research which incorporates the progressive sense of space purported by Massey (1991) and J. Anderson (2015).

Social Difference

Identity is experienced through interconnections of a whole array of social differences which each person must constantly negotiate (Panelli, 2004). People experience moments of identification and recognition with others across the differences. These differences have often been conceived of in terms of gender, class, and race/ethnicity (West & Fenstermaker, 1995), with increasing attention being paid to sexuality, ability (G. Valentine, 2007), and age (Prout & James, 2015). Yet, there continues to be a recognized need for more research with children with non-dominant social identities (Freeman, 2020) and which considers more axes of diversity, such as religion and indigeneity. There are also debates about the suitability of approaching research with fixed diversity categories in mind. Some researchers approach diversity as comprised of various fixed axes of difference, whereas others consider social difference to be the fluid, dynamic result of interactions. For example, based on his research with children in Spain on ethnic diversity and racism, Sedano (2012) suggests that adults' assumptions about social structuring may be inappropriate to apply to children's views. Rather than arguing that ethnicity did not exist in the children's social worlds, he argues that it was not a meaningful aspect for the children that they did not organize their worlds according to it. Similarly, Thomson (2007) refers back to the performativity of identities (Panelli, 2004; West & Fenstermaker, 1995) in her call for methodologies which do not approach research with children along predetermined lines based on fixed identity categories and stereotypical assumptions, particularly along the axis of age. Thomson argues for a conceptual openness when approaching research with children, especially when designing research.

Intersectionality-"age as one variable among many"

A discussion of identities and social difference necessitates a consideration of *intersectionality*. This highly influential concept was developed in the 1990s by critical race theorists and feminist scholars, namely Kimberlé Crenshaw and Judith Butler, to conceptualize the way different identities interrelate (G. Valentine, 2007). While early intersectionality emphasized the symbolic intersections between categories such as race and gender, West and Fenstermaker (1995) argued for a more fluid, negotiated

understanding of these intersections which recognizes every individual's experience as racialized, gendered, classed, etc. Difference is a reality for everyone, including white, middle- and upper-class, heterosexual males. Their conceptualization of identities as situated accomplishments and intersectionality as "done" was widely taken up in social studies for its problematizing of fixed identity roles and acknowledgment of individuals as active producers of their own lives, thus moving it away from structural determinism (G. Valentine, 2007). However, G. Valentine (2007) points out the fact that the adoption of this conceptualization largely marginalized the situated aspects of identity, calling for a larger focus in research and theory on the spatial aspects of intersectionality. S. Holloway and G. Valentine (2000) used an intersectional and spatial approach in their research with children and their use of the internet, incorporating manifold aspects of diversity. As much of the research on social difference which incorporates children's spatial experiences also addresses belonging, it is necessary to address belonging here in order to understand the research in this review.

Belonging

Belonging is yet another term which is familiar in daily speech and seems to be self-explanatory. Drawing on Cresswell's (1996) notion of in place/out of place, belonging can be understood as the state of being in one's proper place. The concept can be applied to things, persons, behaviors, animals, institutions, etc. Belonging is multi-faceted, comprised by a constellation of relations, expectations, identities, roles, and capabilities. This review is focusing on children's sense of place and belonging, so it is primarily interested in belonging as it relates to persons. Like identity, belonging has been used in various ways by a plethora of disciplines, often without clear definitions or explanations. It is sometimes conflated with identity, citizenship, or a combination of the two (Antonsich, 2010).

In the social sciences, belonging has generally been undertheorized (Antonsich, 2010) and under-researched (Wastell & Degotardi, 2017). When belonging has been addressed, it has often been in political terms regarding national belonging, institutional membership, or citizenship. In their well cited article, Cuervo and Wyn (2014) argue for the use of belonging as a relational metaphor in youth studies. They claim that as a concept, it is helpful in bringing the quality and nature of connections between young people and their world into focus. Belonging creates analytical opportunities for considering the influence of places, relationships, and generational features which shape their experiences of being. This is not only true for adults and youths, but is useful for younger children, too. For example, Wastell and Degotardi's (2017) research with preschool children highlighted the importance of studying belonging, not least because of its incorporation into educational goals and curricula. Belonging has been used as a measure for children's well-being and sense of self by educational and developmental psychologists, so as Wastell and Degotardi argue, it follows that researchers should be concerning themselves with understanding exactly what belonging *is* and how children of different ages experience and express it. Antonsich (2010) sought to develop an analytical framework for belonging through an interdisciplinary review. He identified two main dimensions of belonging: *politics of belonging* (belonging as a discursive resource in negotiations of socio-spatial inclusion and exclusion) and *place-belongingness* (the emotional attachments made by an individual to a particular place). Cuervo and Wyn (2014) expand upon these dimensions, combining Antonsich's notion of politics of belonging with socio-relational belonging in their broader concept of social-belonging.

Social Belonging

Social belonging, as an experience of feeling "at-home" in social relationships (Cuervo & Wyn, 2014), points to the connections and attachments one has to important others who have the capacity to generate a sense of belonging and to influence one's own decisions. Alternatively, relationships to (or isolation from) others also have the power to exclude an individual or group from belonging socially, actively constructing them as "other". Thus, one's sense of social belonging is closely related to experiences of inclusion and exclusion. J. Anderson (2015) discusses material bordering practices as one such method of othering, whether through regulations, restrictions, signage, fencing, or dress codes, for example. These practices establish certain identities as belonging and certain identities as foreign, alternative, or unacceptable. Ríos-Rojos' (2014) work with immigrant schoolchildren in Spain on the politics of conditional belonging serves as an example of research on children's emplaced social belongings.

Place-Belongingness

A sense of belonging to a place, or "place-belongingness" as referred to by Antonsich (2010), captures the personal attachments individuals make to particular places. There is a lot of overlap between place-belonging and sense of place, although they are not synonymous, and both can be experienced along positive or negative lines , as in a sense of being "out of place". To experience place-belongingness somewhere is to feel "at home" there, and as such emphasizes a sense of locality and rootedness. This challenges contemporary sociological trends claiming a loss of locality and a rise in placelessness (Cuervo & Wyn, 2014). Belonging in this emotive, spatially rooted sense has frequently been passed over in scholarly work in favor of politicized social belonging (Antonsich, 2010). This is perhaps not surprising given the history of the development of sociology and critical theory. There are some examples, however, such as Parr et al.'s (2007) emotional geography of the Scottish Highlands exploring the connections between emotions, people, and places. Place-belonging can be seen to be built upon place identifications (or disidentifications) made by individuals as they relate to and give meaning to places they interact with (Panelli, 2004). Just as with sense of place, it can exist at any scale, from the sub-local to global.

Summary II: Defining the Field

This chapter has presented disciplinary and theoretical context as a means of situating this literature review. The field of childhood studies was presented, with attention given to the paradigm's core principles which place children at the center of research as social agents and "beings" worthy of study in their own right. The way these conceptualizations are shaping child research were discussed, as well as some internal critiques growing in the field. The chapter also presented theoretical background pertinent to the topic of this review: space, place, and sense of place; identities, politics of identity, social difference, and intersectionality; belonging, social belonging, and place-belongingness. This academic context is important to bear in mind moving forward with the rest of this review of research on social difference and children's spatial subjectivities. The theory presented here is used to make sense of the findings in this research area, and this chapter can be used as a reference for the following chapters.

Chapter III. Methodology

This chapter presents the research design and methodology I adopted for this literature review. The review of research on social diversity and children's spatial subjectivities was designed to answer the following main research questions: *What are significant tendencies in research regarding social difference and children's spatial subjectivities? And, what are key findings and predominant themes in studies of social diversity and children's sense of place/belonging?* The chapter begins by providing an overview of the research design, followed by a detailed account for each stage, from the preliminary search phase through to analysis and synthesis. I discuss methodological choices and limitations along the way.

The Systematic Literature Review

Systematic literature reviews aim to bring together existing research on a particular topic, question, issue etc. (Quennerstedt & Moody, 2020) by finding literature through a systemic search and evaluating and summarizing it through a planned and transparent research process (Solhaug & Jensen, 2020). *Systematic searching* is a rigorous and organized method of locating as much of relevant research to a topic as possible (Levay & Craven, 2019). For a literature review to be considered systematic, it must be conducted on literature identified through a systematic search (Leavy & Craven, 2019). My overall project design was adapted from Solhaug and Jensen (2020) to fit my needs as an individual researcher conducting a systematic literature review of social science research. My methodological framework was inspired by Quennerstedt and Moody's (2020) description of "systematic analysis of a research field" (p. 185) which employs a systematic search to locate research which is then analyzed through a process of synthesis to identify characterizing patterns and themes in the field under study. In my analysis, I have chosen to synthesize findings as well as methodological and thematic tendencies; however, I did not approach findings in an exhaustive or comparative style. I have adopted Quennerstedt and Moody's (2020) analytical approach which emphasizes identifying patterns and structures over evaluating and summarizing in my handling of research findings. My systematic literature review consisted of a preliminary search phase to decide on databases/journals and key search terms, followed by the main search phase. The main search generated the references which served as the review's primary data set. During the literature screening phase, these references were screened and cut down to the core, relevant texts for reading and analysis. The findings of the reading and analysis phase were then synthesized to answer the main research questions outlined in the introductory chapter.

In order for my literature search to be systematic, it needed to be *planned*, *documented*, and *verifiable* (Haraldstad & Christophersen, 2004 in: Solhaug & Jensen, 2020). Search *planning* involved deciding where to collect writings from, selecting key words to use when searching for the writings, and adhering to predetermined exclusion/inclusion criteria. The systematic search was conducted through the database Scopus. To ensure transparency in my review, I carefully *documented* my searches including references, where pieces were retrieved from, and which pieces were excluded and why. To help manage the large amounts of data generated in the search, I made use of complementary software programs in light of the recommendations found in Solhaug & Jensen (2020). I used Endnote, a downloadable reference manager, to import, organize, and export references. Rayyan QCRI, an internet site designed to assist with literature screening (Ouzzani et al., 2016), was used to aid the screening

process. The resulting collection of included references were then sent back to EndNote before being exported to NVivo, a downloadable computer program designed to assist with qualitative analysis (Røddesnes et al., 2019). This shuffling of references is documented in detail by the flowchart in Figure 1. to show how the initial search yielded the final reference list analyzed in this review. By documenting my process and detailing my methods, I aimed to make the search verifiable. That is, another researcher could follow my methods reported in this chapter to reach the same, or nearly the same, search results. Because online databases are continually updated, the time and date of the searches are also reported. The verifiability mentioned here is limited specifically to the search conducted in Scopus with the search string and limits presented in the following sections. I strove for rigor in my review through planning and transparency, but this is not to suggest that my search is objective and free from bias. The systematic literature search, like other research methods, is an interpretive process which is shaped by the researcher's personal and professional background at every level, from selection of research topics/questions, databases, search words, inclusion/exclusion criteria etc. through to decisions about how to write up and disseminate the results.

Overview of Studies in Main Search, Screening, and Analysis St

Main Search

Records identified from database:
    Scopus (n = 1,585)

Records removed *before screening*:
    Duplicate records removed:
    (n = 0)
    Records removed for other reasons (n = 0)

Screening

Records screened
(n = 1,585)

Records excluded**
(n = 1,469)

Reports sought for retrieval
(n = 116)

Reports not retrieved
(n = 0)

Reports assessed for eligibility
(n = 116)

Reports excluded:
    Duplicates (n = 2)
    Found irrelevant after reading
    (n = 4)

Analysis

Studies included in review:
    Bulk Analysis (n = 110)
    Core Analysis (n = 37)

Figure 1: PRISMA[2] flow diagram of systematic literature review process.

Stage 1: Preliminary Search

It was first necessary to select which and how many databases to search. Through my university, I had access to a number of databases, including three prominent ones with sources from a variety of disciplines: Web of Science[3] (WoS), Scopus[4], and Google Scholar[5]. Google Scholar is known for including a vast quantity of sources; however, it is also known to include many non-scholarly sources and/or sources of questionable quality (Iowa State University Library, 2020); therefore, I decided not to utilize Google Scholar. I then looked more closely at the content of WoS and Scopus. I searched both databases for inclusion of journals representing all the articles I have read for my childhood studies master's courses, plus all those in the reference lists of a few key works related to the topic of diversity and children's sense of place. There was considerable overlap in the two databases' coverage, but compared to WoS, Scopus had better overall coverage of interdisciplinary publications, including journals in the fields of childhood studies and sociocultural geography (see Appendix A). Additionally, when I tested the two databases' search functions, Scopus was less sensitive to the order of the search terms (see Appendix B), making it simpler to construct a reliable search string. These factors led me to select Scopus as better suited to my study and to determine that it was unnecessary to search both databases.

Search Terms

The special use of familiar terms within the social sciences creates challenges in generating search strings for the systematic review. The goal is to find terms which are inclusive while at the same time specific, a challenge when the central conceptual concepts are such daily words as "place", "belonging", and "difference". What research article does not mention difference of one sort or another?

TITLE		TITLE, ABSTRACT, KEYWORDS						
Child		Child		Place		Identity		Diversity
child*		child*		place		identi*		divers*
young		young		belong*				differ*
youth*		youth*		position*				other*
kid*		kid*						ethnic*
girl*	AND	girl*	Within 25 words		Within 25 words		AND	*migra*
boy*		boy*						socioeconomic
								religio*
								race
								racial
								group
								gender*
								sex

Table 1: Words used to construct the search string. "*" allows for additional letters, or no letters whatsoever. Thus, child* generates hits for child, children, child's, etc.

In order to generate more relevant hits, I decided to use four main terms (see Table 1). Child (with variations), place/belonging, and identity plus a larger pool of terms related to diversity. The search terms, combinations, Boolean operators (e.g. AND, OR), and proximity operators (W/n for "within 'n' number of words) were tested during the preliminary search phase. Doing extensive preliminary searching allowed me to see

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[3] www.webofknowledge.com
[4] www.scopus.com
[5] Scholar.google.com

which terms were most important for generating relevant hits without making my search too narrow. The combination of "child," "place," and "identity" (with variants) proved to be key for generating hits within the field I am studying. By combining these with proximity operators (i.e. W/25 for "within 25 words"), I was able to hone my search. As mentioned before, these search terms which have specific meanings within sociology and human geography are also widely used in common language and genetics/microbiology (for instance, "young cells", "has been identified", "when in place", etc.[6]). By reducing the distance between the search terms, articles with only irrelevant term-usages were less likely to be included. By requiring that "child" (with variants) was in the title specifically, I was able to limit the search to literature which had children in focus.

Not only was it important to generate hits related to the field of study, I also needed to find articles dealing with my particular topic of study. This was achieved by adding the term "diversity" with many possible synonyms. These variations were intended to generate hits discussing social diversity of various kinds. By reading over some abstracts of articles I was previously familiar with, it became clear that social diversity is not referred to in a systematic way and that studies focusing on one aspect of diversity may only mention that aspect. Thus, a combination of general and specific terms was included, drawing from main categories of social difference discussed within academia. As a way to quality check my search string, a university librarian with experience in systematic searches was consulted. I also looked through the resulting hits to check that some of the main journals (e.g. *Children's Geographies*; *Gender, Place, and Culture*; *Children & Society*) in the fields of social and cultural geography and childhood studies were represented. I also checked for the inclusion of certain relevant articles (e.g. Laoire, 2011a) which I was both familiar with and knew were on Scopus.

Search Limits

Publication year was used to limit the search results. I decided to exclude publications prior to 1990. This date was chosen because it was during the 1990s that developments within human geography led to the emergence of social and cultural geography as a field (Gleeson et al., 2000). The topics of children's place, identity, and belonging focused on in this systematic analysis took on new, specific meanings during this period, so in order to find relevant research it was useful to limit the search to publications from 1990 and onward. The search was also limited to works published in English. Because of the scope of the project and my own linguistic capacity, this was a necessary limitation. Of course, this has the potential to bias the sample against non-English works, but the prevalence of English as publication language, regardless of the country in which the study is done, means that I was still able to find works originating in a wide range of countries. This was supported by the data analysis of my search results (see the section on Study Location in the Chapter IV.) I did not set any search limits relating to disciplinary background as the search aimed to find relevant studies from as many research traditions as possible.

Stage 2: Main Search

The main search which served as the primary data collection for this review was performed on September 22nd, 2020, at 12:53pm, using the search string developed during the preliminary search phase. The terms used to search Scopus are laid out in

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[6] Based on generalized language used in some of the articles found during the preliminary search.

Table 1. For the exact search string used, see Appendix C.1. This search generated hits for 1,585 references (see Figure 1), all of which were downloaded into EndNote, a reference manager. Using EndNote's "Find Duplicates" function revealed no duplicates.

Stage 3: Literature Screening

After retrieving these references from the database in the search phase, I began the screening phase. The screening process and number of studies are documented in Figure 1. The goal of screening was to identify and include relevant studies from the hits generated in the systematic search while removing those which did not fit the search criteria. That is, to select studies focusing on social diversity and children's subjective experiences of place. To aid in the screening process, I exported all 1,585 references on September 23rd, 2020, from EndNote and uploaded them to Rayyan QCRI, a website designed to assist researchers in screening literature for literature reviews. On Rayyan, I identified key words for inclusion and exclusion which it highlighted for me as I read through the titles and abstracts. I then labelled each reference for inclusion, exclusion, or later reconsideration. These decisions were made based on preestablished inclusion and exclusion criteria (detailed in Table 2). Namely, the writings had to be published on or after the year 1990 and in the English language. They needed to be an original empirical or theoretical study or a review. They also had to be relevant to my topic of study: looking at children, their subjective place experiences, and some aspect of social diversity. The screening process yielded 114 included articles. The included studies were then exported to EndNote from Rayyan QCRI. PDF copies of the studies were then downloaded through Scopus as available, or directly from publisher websites. For those which I did not have digital access to, I obtained paper copies via NTNU's interlibrary loan system. Upon closer reading, four additional articles were found to be irrelevant and were excluded. Thus, the bulk analysis presented in Chapter IV was conducted on 110 articles[7].

The Inclusion/Exclusion Criteria

This review only dealt with works published in the English language on or after 1990. As mentioned previously, the rationale for these criteria has to do with both the scope of this review and my capacities as a researcher, as well as the age of the field of sociocultural geography. The focus was on academic research methods and perspectives, so I only included published, peer-reviewed works featuring original research. I did not include newspaper articles, opinion pieces, textbooks, blogs, or other non-scholarly[8] works. Additionally, republished studies or findings were excluded, as these would have created duplicates within the data set. The studies were required to look at children or young people below 18-years-of-age. Biological age is a problematic way of defining a "child" (Clark-Kazak, 2009), yet it is still a widely used and fairly concrete way of identifying children as a generational group. By choosing eighteen as the upper age limit, I was able to capture a wide representation of children and young people, as opposed to only focusing on schoolchildren, toddlers, teenagers, etc. Studies with mixed populations (e.g. children and adults; youths 16-22-years) were included so long as children under eighteen were included as part of the primary participant group. However, if the study looked at a group 18+, then I excluded it because here 18-year-olds were included as adults, a different generational group. The works did not need to focus solely

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[7] The full reference list for the bulk analysis is recorded in Appendix E
[8] Here, "scholarly" refers to works produced by academic professionals to contribute to research or debate within their field (Central Queensland University Library, 2020).

on children, nor were they required to involve children as active participants. However, real children and their experiences of place needed to be the main focus of the study. This was especially relevant for deciding whether or not to include intervention studies which met the other inclusion criteria. For example, if the intervention study looked at teachers' experiences of a classroom intervention, or parents' perspectives on an intervention with their child, but the child's experience were not also a main focus, then I excluded the study. In some cases (e.g. Denov & Akesson, 2013; Motsa, 2017) studies were included which employed recall methods where data was based on recollections of childhood experiences by participants over 18-years-of-age, because the focus was on real children's lived experiences.

INCLUDE:	EXCLUDE:
English language	non-English language
publication year ≥1990	publication year <1990
Original, peer-reviewed research	newspaper article, literature analysis, literature review, textbook chapter, reprinting of a study in a book, etc.
Related to topic:	
Children or youths (age <18) are the focus of the study	Study does not include persons <18
Some aspect of social diversity is discussed	Does not report or discuss the children's social difference or its influence
Addresses children's experiences of place (can be social belonging/position in relation to a physical place)	Does not discuss subjective place

Table 2: Inclusion and exclusion criteria used during literature screening.

For inclusion in this study, the main subject of interrogation had to be children's subjective experiences of place. All research takes place somewhere, but not all research takes its own spatial aspects into account. Yet, this is exactly the research this search aimed to find. The working definition of "place" used in the inclusion criteria was borrowed from Agnew's (1987/2015, p. 28) concept of place as including three main, integrated aspects: "*location*" (i.e. place as geospatially specific), "*locale*" (i.e. place as setting for social relations), and "*sense of place*" (i.e. place as a structure of feelings or identities). For the purposes of this study, the places studied in the articles had to include these various aspects of place, though they need not all be discussed in depth. For example, I chose to include only works dealing with geographical places one can go to or inhabit. In other words, the place must be a *location*. This may be at a variety of scales, from the very local (e.g. a corner of a room) to the national and transnational. Some streams of social and cultural geography consider bodies, or even body parts, as places (J. Anderson, 2015: 232), but this was not the object of this study. This review was interested in examining research on children's experiences of tplaces which they inhabit and share with others, thus necessitating places external to the children themselves. I also decided to exclude purely virtual spaces (e.g., online chatrooms) which may be "places" on the axes of *locale* and/or *sense of place*, but are not a *location* in any meaningful physical sense (i.e. the servers, computers, and internet networks are not the chatrooms' *location*). However, I did not exclude research regarding the physical spaces children use to engage in virtual spaces (such as internet cafés), as these incorporate Agnew's three main aspects of place. Because of the nature of many studies found in my database search, the subjective aspect of place was emphasized in the inclusion/exclusion criteria. The vast majority of place references are tied to physical

locations, and the aspect of place as *locale* is often included in social science research or can be inferred from the research situation and background. Whether or not children's subjective experiences, their *sense of place,* or direct place-based knowledge were addressed often became the deciding factor for a reference's inclusion or exclusion.

Lessons from the Screening Phase

After beginning the screening process, I realized that some relevant articles looking at children who differ across the axis of ability were in the search results. This was not included in the main search terms, so I decided to check if this was a problematic omission. To do this, I used a modified search string (see Appendix C.2) on Scopus to check for relevant articles with *ability terms which had not already been included in the main search. This yielded 101 hits. A quick screening of these references yielded only one article of possible interest. Thus, I concluded that the original search string was adequately broad to return relevant articles from disability studies, but narrow enough to exclude these 100 or so irrelevant studies. Therefore, I did not add this supplementary search to my main search results.

It also became clear after beginning the screening process that the preestablished inclusion/exclusion criteria needed to be made stricter. The criteria as presented in Table 2 are therefore the result of preplanned criteria which were then modified based on my experiences during the first few screening sessions. As my concepts can be (almost) endlessly broad, and it is easy to get distracted by interesting albeit irrelevant abstracts, the individual criteria needed to be as clear as possible. For one, the study must not only deal with a group that is considered diverse in a broad sense, but address/consider diversity directly. Additionally, the working definition of "place" needed to be refined. Ultimately, I referred back to Agnew's (1987/2015) concept of place as previously mentioned. Place also had to be discussed in a subjective way, either in reference to children's specific experiences of place (be it the nation-state, the school, or their backyard) or their sense of belonging with reference to a particular place. This could be discussed in terms of place-dependent belonging or identity, but not simply identity formation or belonging as such. Furthermore, place must be addressed specifically, rather than 'accidentally.' To illustrate, a study in Spain with Spanish children which does not address Spain as a place or any other spatial dimension outright (the home, the neighborhood, the mall, etc.) is not looking at place. If the same study is not mentioning aspects of gender, ethnicity, SES, etc., then it is not considered to address diversity either. However, if a study is focusing on Spanish children in Italy and how they talk about Spain, then 'Spanish' becomes a diversity factor and 'Spain' becomes a place. The diversity and place aspects are relative to the context of the study.

Stage 4: Read & Analyze

The fourth stage of the project, read and analyze, yielded thematic analyses which were in some parts deductive and in some parts more empirically exploratory. I used a method resembling thematic analysis as described in Terry et al. (2017) to analyze the included studies. As put forth by Terry et al. (2017), I began by *familiarizing* myself with my data (i.e. the included studies) and then going on to *code* the texts which were then used to *develop themes.* This process drew on my creativity and subjectivity as a research in dialogue with the articles as I immersed myself in the them through multiple readings. Before beginning, I wrote a codebook (see Appendix D) to help guide the analytical process. This codebook included a mixture of predetermined

categorizations (e.g. study location, participant age groups) and open-ended topics to code for (e.g. belonging, diversity), both tailored to address the thesis' research questions.

Two types of analyses were conducted on two groups of studies. The first was a bulk analysis comparing all studies included after screening. The second was an in-depth analysis of a core subgroup identified during the bulk analysis. For both analyses, I used Microsoft Excel to record and organize information from the studies into spreadsheets. The bulk analysis was concerned with article-level information. I systematically categorized (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015) the studies according to information about author, title, journal, publication date, study location, field of study, and thematic focus. This initial mapping was conducted in order to gain an overview of the field based on all of the relevant literature identified during the screening process. Thematic categories were developed inductively based on my readings during the screening phase, which were then used to deductively code the studies during bulk analysis. This categorization of the studies according to thematic focus allowed me to identify a core group of studies most closely connected to my own goals of exploring children's diverse senses of place and belonging in reference to a particular place. The thematic subgroup of thirty-seven studies[9] focusing on sense of place or belonging was then separated out as the second group for in-depth analysis. At this point, the studies in the core group were printed out for a combination of categorization (e.g. age group, geographic scale) and coding by hand using different colors to highlight and label text relating to different topics (e.g. theoretical approach, attitude towards diversity). Codes were words or phrases assigned by me to excerpts of text which summarized or evoked the passages' meanings (Saldaña, 2013). This coding process was mainly concept-driven (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015), as sections of the texts were highlighted based on their relevance to main areas of interest (see the codebook in Appendix D). Highlighted portions of text were then synthesized and inductively analyzed for trends and patterns. The categorizations of the core group were recorded in another Excel spreadsheet, while codes were worked with on paper before being consolidated and written up in Chapters V and VI. The in-depth analysis consisted of two different levels, one which focused on meta-data and article-level information (Chapter V), and another which focused on findings and themes present in the articles (Chapter VI). The in-depth analysis of core studies serves as the main focus of this review.

Methodological Considerations

One methodological limitation of this search is related to the impossibility of creating an adequately inclusive and exclusive search string to use in the database. The slippery nature of the terms being used in my field of study made it difficult to be exclusive enough with my terms. As mentioned above in the search terms section, key terms such as "sense of place" and "social difference" are used unsystematically within the field. At the same time, the terms are commonplace enough to make frequent appearances in publications from unrelated fields. Furthermore, the high specificity of the studies being done in my topic of interest make it impossible to be entirely inclusive. A study examining X aspect of social difference and belonging among children from place Y will use those specific terms in their article, often avoiding general terms altogether in the title and abstract. It is impossible for me to include synonym terms for every possible research subject. For instance, the article "Images of 'the Other': 'the Turk' in

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[9] The full reference list for the core group of studies is recorded in Appendix F.

Greek Cypriot children's imaginations" by Spyrou (2002) is directly relevant to my search and documented within Scopus, yet it does not show up in my search results until I broadened the search (Appendix C.3) enough to generate over 500,000 hits! These factors combined to make it impossible to have a truly inclusive, exhaustive look at the published literature that is practically feasible for me to carry out as an individual researcher and master's student. However, as the goal of this review was to gain an overview of the topic and identify methodological and ideological trends, this did not undermine the study as a whole. Rather, it serves as a caution against overgeneralizing from my findings.

This brings me to another limit of the search regarding the meaning of the results. Systematic reviews in the social sciences serve a different function from systematic reviews in, for example, the medical field. They are not looking for the best treatment option, the one right answer, or the most accurate synthesis of generalizable research results. The topic being studied here is too context-dependent, and the references too varied in subject, study design, and population. Any expectations that this systematic analysis will reveal THE answer to questions about the effect of diversity on children's experiences of place and belonging will certainly not be met. But that was not the purpose of this study. Rather, the study aimed to present an outline of research which handles social difference and children's subjective experiences of place. Such a synthesis is a worthwhile endeavor to understand what is being found, how it is being found out, and what perspectives are shaping these findings.

Summary III: Methodology

This chapter has presented the methodological process followed in this literature review. The project consisted of a preliminary search stage during which the database Scopus, search terms, and search limitations were selected. This was followed by the main search which yielded 1,585 references which were downloaded to EndNote, before being exported to Rayyan which I used to organize the articles during the screening stage. I screened the studies according to the predetermined inclusion/exclusion criteria presented in Table 2. The resulting 116 references were then exported to a new EndNote library and copies were obtained from online databases and the NTNU library. This marked the beginning of the fourth stage during which I read and analyzed the texts the texts in a multi-phase, multi-level analysis. An additional six studies were excluded upon closer reading, and the remaining 110 studies were categorized and coded thematically to assess significant tendencies. This bulk analysis also allowed the identification of the core group of studies, which were thematically analyzed to illuminate areas of key findings and dominant themes in research on social difference and children's sense of place/belonging. The fifth and final stage, synthesis, involved drawing the threads together and writing them up in the remaining four chapters: IV. Bulk Analysis; V. and VI. Core Analysis, Parts 1 & 2; and VII. Concluding Discussion.

Pains were taken to conduct the systematic research analysis in as methodical and transparent a manner as possible. This does not, however, imply that the project is neutral or objective. My perspectives and role as researcher shaped the review at every stage of the process. Decisions made while writing on a search string, determining the inclusion/exclusion criteria, making screening decisions, drafting the codebook, conducting the analysis, and writing-up the review all reflected my own theoretical and methodological stance, capabilities, and personal background. This does not devalue the review of research, particularly when the review is focus on research into children's

subjective experiences of place. However, it will be helpful for the reader to bear in mind the limits of this review as they progress through the rest of this review. First, it is not an exhaustive compilation of all relevant research which has been published on the topic of social difference and children's sense of place. It is limited to peer-reviewed studies published in English and included in the Scopus database which the search string succeeded in locating, and I managed to identify during coding. Secondly, my analysis of the included literature was based on my own readings and theoretical approach to social difference and children's spatial subjectivities. It was driven by my interest in the concept of sense of place/belonging and in intersectional, empirical research with children. I propose that the situatedness of this review does not detract from its usefulness, but rather offers an additional layer of perspective to the reading of the research presented in the analysis. It is my hope to contribute to the academic dialogue in this field through the synthesis of research which incorporates a perspective on it gained through months of submerging myself in this area of research.

Chapter IV. Bulk Analysis

The following three chapters form the analysis for this literature review. This chapter begins by presenting the results of the screening process before going on to give a bulk analysis of all the included studies. The analysis in this chapter focuses on article-level categorizations and meta-data, including publication information, region of study, thematic focus, and aspects of diversity. The bulk analysis provides an overview of the research topic of children's sense of place and diversity, helping to answer the first main research question about *tendencies in research regarding social difference and children's spatial subjectivities*. It also elucidates some of the broad, dominant themes in this research field, which speaks to the second main research question about *key findings and predominant themes in studies of social diversity and children's senses of place and belonging*. This bulk analysis was important for orienting myself and the reader to the research field as a whole. It also allowed a core, thematic subgroup of studies to be identified for the in-depth analysis, which is presented in the next two chapters, Core Analysis, Parts 1 & 2.

The screening process described in the methodology chapter (Chapter III) initially yielded 114 studies which fit the inclusion criteria for this review. To be included, the studies had to be peer-reviewed, original research published in the English language no earlier than 1990. Children under eighteen years of age had to be included in the research which needed to be investigating their subjective experiences of place while also considering aspects of social diversity. Copies of those studies which fit these criteria were obtained for reading, at which point four additional articles were excluded. The remaining 110 studies, listed in Appendix E, form the basis of the bulk analysis presented in this chapter.

The bulk of 110 included studies come from a wide variety of disciplinary backgrounds and were published in 78 different journals with a similarly broad range of disciplinary foci. The most highly represented journals were *Children's Geographies*(x8), *Childhood*(x4), *Gender and Education*(x4), *Journal of Rural Studies*(x4), *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*(x4), *Children and Society*(x3), and *Journal of Youth Studies*(x3). The remaining 71 journals had only one or two articles included. Most of the studies position themselves within the field of childhood studies (or youth/early childhood studies) and took an interdisciplinary approach rooted in at least one area of the social sciences. Social sciences clearly dominate the research field. Indeed, there were no studies which did not draw on some area of social science. Most studies did not fit neatly into disciplinary fields, as they draw on many different theories, traditions, and subject areas. But based on the research topics, publishing journals, theoretical approaches, and listed key words, it was possible to designate approximate categories and identify some trends. Geography was the most common discipline with the majority of studies at least incorporating geographical perspectives, which is unsurprising given the topic's emphasis on place. There is a large degree of interdisciplinarity within the studies. A number of studies include multiple subdisciplines within social science, e.g. rural studies & youth studies (e.g. Leyshon, 2008), women's studies & migration studies (e.g. Woelz-Stirling et al., 2001), and education & gender studies (e.g. Casey et al., 2016). There was also a number of studies working across disciplines, e.g. public health & geography (e.g. Bates et al., 2019), environmental science & education (e.g. Tunstall et al., 2004), psychology & education (e.g. Midgen et al., 2019), and religion & sociology (e.g. Hopkins, 2007).

Within the 110 studies which fit the overall topic of the search, there was still an array of themes and research topics. Some focused on identity processes, including place-dependent identity performance (e.g. Blazek, 2011), formation of place identities (e.g. Lunda & Green, 2020), daily politics of identity (e.g. Harju, 2018), and negotiations of national identifications (e.g. Katarzi, 2017). Others focused on transnational/national belongings, citizenship as belonging (e.g. Colombo et al., 2011), spatially differential outcomes (e.g. O'Brien, 2003), or migration or resettlement experiences (e.g. Caxaj & Berman, 2010). Still others focused mostly on place themes, including topics of perceived safety (e.g. Harden, 2000), school experience (e.g. Allen et al., 2020), affective place perceptions (e.g. Kindermann & Riegel, 2018), placemaking practices (e.g. Kjørholt, 2003), and place-specific senses of belonging (e.g. Raffaetà et al., 2016). Diversity was a key part of all studies included, but some research placed especial emphasis on themes of diversity, with topics such as gendered (e.g. Laoire, 2011a) or racialized (e.g. Meetoo, 2019) identities and senses of place. While all the articles needed to draw on place and diversity, there was still a great deal of theoretical and empirical leeway, as evidenced by the variety of topics included.

A Geographical Orientation

All social processes are emplaced (Gieryn, 2000), including those of research and knowledge production. This is all the more obvious when considering research into children's spatial subjectivities. It is therefore worthwhile to consider where the studies in this review were conducted, as this speaks both to the phenomena described in the findings and to the research itself. I use study location to refer to where the research was conducted, as opposed to where the authors reside or where the research was published. So, for empirical research the study location refers to where fieldwork was conducted (or where the participants were, in the case of online methods), whereas for textual/public record analyses the study location refers to the context which the data is about. As displayed in Figure IV.1, more than half (x61) of the research was conducted in (or about) European contexts. North America (x19) and Oceania (x17) were the next most highly investigated research contexts, followed by a smattering of studies on Asian (including Russia and Turkey; x5), African (x3), South American (x1), and multi-continental (x4) settings. Clearly, Minority World settings dominate this research field, with European contexts being particularly represented.

The clear dominance of Minority World studies in this research topic aligns with trends identified regarding other fields of research (e.g. Quennerstedt & Moody, 2020 on children's rights research; Graham, 2017 on community psychology). However, when comparing the proportion of Majority to Minority World representation based on institutional affiliation, a slightly different trend can be observed. Using data drawn from metadata generated by the Scopus database, I compared the number of affiliations with institutions in Majority World countries to the number of affiliations with institutions in Minority World countries. For the entire group of 1,585 references generated by this review's search, there were 1,922 distinct affiliations, 347 of which were to institutions located in the Majority world. Whereas, for the 110 articles included after screening, there were 120 distinct affiliations, nine of which were to affiliations located in Majority World countries. Notably, the representation of Majority World scholarship in the 1,585 studies found during the search process (~18%) was proportionally higher than in the included studies (~7.5%). It was surprising to me that nearly than one-fifth of the hits generated during the search process were tied to Majority World institutions, given the often-mentioned hegemony of Minority research. That proportionally more of the

research tied to Majority World institutions was excluded from the included literature sample could speak to the fact that the topic is less prioritized, less urgent, or less conceptualized by Majority World scholars and/or their funders. Children's personal and subjective experiences of place could arguably be a more "Western" area of conceptual interest and societal concern in response to increasing in-migration of peoples with non-Western backgrounds (Maylor, 2010).
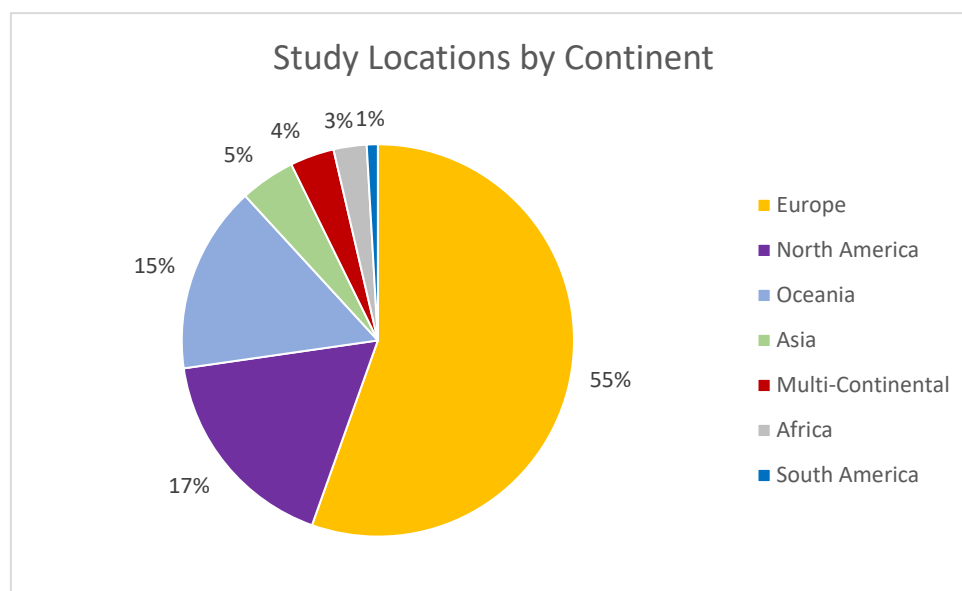
Figure IV.1: Pie chart showing study locations organized by continent

The fact that only English language studies were included could also be a contributing factor for the dominance of studies from anglophonic countries (Britain, Australia, USA, New Zealand, Canada were the six most popular study sites, see: Figure IV.3). Despite the dominance of English-speaking Minority World study locations, it is clear that Western Europe is not the only part of the world interested in the topic of diversity and children's experiences of place. There were 20 studies included which were focused on non-Western or non-Northern contexts. The earliest of these was published in 2009, with six coming out in the last two years (2019 & 2020). When looking at the names of the authors, it becomes evident that there are many researchers with some degree of at least partially non-European background who are involved in this field. It would seem that the calls for decolonizing social science research are being heeded. Perhaps it also points to the immense interconnectivity of places around the world through globalization, both for those in multicultural cities of the North (Massey, 1991) and those in seemingly isolated villages of the South (Katz, 2004).

Deeper insight into the geographic distribution of the studies according to research context was found by organizing the study locations according to region (Figure IV.2). Doing so allowed regional inequalities in representation as research context to be easily seen. Notably the British Isles (England, Northern Ireland, Republic of Ireland, Scotland, & Wales; x32) were responsible for a bit less than one-third of all the studies. Australasia (Australia & New Zealand; x17) was the second most studied region, followed closely by North America (USA & Canada; x16) and Western Europe (excluding the British Isles; x16). Northern Europe (x7), and Eastern Europe (x6), were decently popular study locations, followed by Asia (x3), Africa (x3), and Central America (x3), then Eurasia (Russia and Turkey; x2) and South America (x1). While Asia, Africa, and

Figure IV.2: Graph of all study locations organized by region.
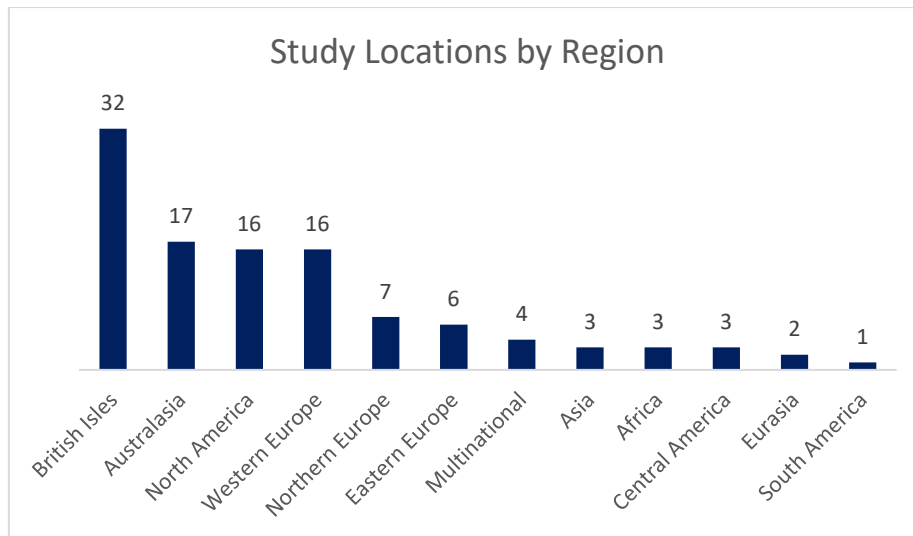
South America are continents, I have also included them here as regions due to the low publication count for each. Of the four multinational studies, two were especially interesting in that they followed participant groups from England to Bangladesh (Zeitlyn, 2012) and from England to Zimbabwe (Judge, 2016). In both cases, the participants resided in England, and the dual study location was an innovative methodological choice to help explore processes of transnational identity construction (Zeitlyn, 2012) and racial identity negotiations (Judge, 2016).

Out of curiosity, I also compared study locations by specific country. Out of thirty-one different countries (or territories), the top six countries provided contexts for more than half of the studies (x59). By looking at the individual countries, it becomes evident that England (x17) and Ireland (x7) were responsible for the British Isle's prominence in the field. Australia (x12) and New Zealand (x5) have also had a large presence in the field since the 1990s, with Hatty's (1996) research with homeless young women in Sydney being the oldest study included. The USA (x9) and Canada (x7) were frequently studied areas, and studies were carried out in dispersed areas. For example, studies in the US were conducted with urban youth in the Southwest (Bauder, 2001), Northeast (Driskell, Fox, & Kudva, 2008), and Midwest (Sarmiento & Duarte, 2019), as well as with rural children in Alaska (Lunda & Green, 2020) and the Pacific Northwest (Postma et al., 2014). Clearly, whether within or between countries, some contexts have been more thoroughly explored in the field of children's sense of place and diversity, while others have barely been mentioned. Again, the exclusion of non-English publications could be falsely enhancing this trend.

Some of the more frequently studied contexts are those of high ethnic multiplicity, often in urban settings. This seems to be related to current concerns regarding immigration and diversity in the top fourteen countries (shown in Figure IV.3) which dominate the research field. Discourses of both multiculturalism and post-multiculturalism have been influential in recent years (Gozdecka et al., 2014). Several works address their country's favoring of multicultural discourses and policies through the end of the twentieth century, followed by a discursive reaction against multiculturalism which has grown over the last couple of decades along with ethnic tensions. For example, Fabiansson (2018) focused on youths' experiences of belonging in light of multiculturalism and ethnic tensions in the Australian context. Also, Sanderson
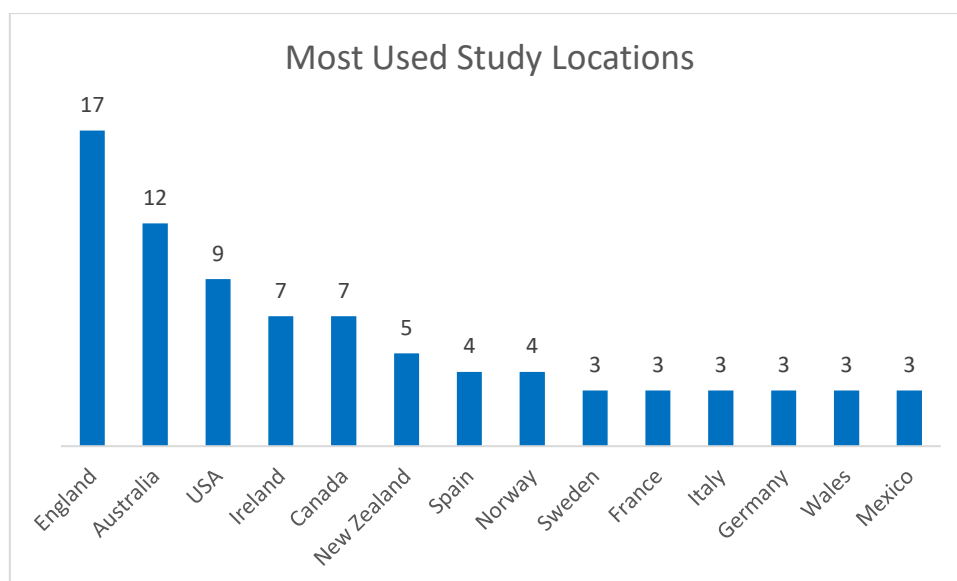
Figure IV.3: Chart presenting 14 most frequently used study locations by country.

and Thomas (2014) researched the connection between the British reaction against multiculturalism in the twenty-first century and young people's identifications, while Evers (2020) studied youths' multicultural identity production and negotiations of belonging through multilingualism in France.

As discussed in Chapter II, identities (West & Fenstermaker, 1995; Panelli, 2004) and social phenomena (Gieryn, 2000) are emplaced accomplishments which are "done" in dynamic processes which both shape and are shaped by place (J. Anderson, 2015). Because of the spatial nature of the topic of social difference and children's spatial subjectivities, it is helpful to keep the geographical distributions of these studies in mind. However, the location of the study does not proscriptively determine the research topic, thematic foci, or research findings any more than the environment proscribes children's subjectivities.

Primary Thematic Focus

Attention is now turned towards the thematic foci of the studies. To aid analysis, the articles were sorted during coding into one of three categories based on broad themes identified during the screening process: *sense of place or belonging* (x37), *identity processes* (x58), and *other* (x15). These categories were chosen based on notes made during the screening process and conceptual decisions based on theoretical background. A complete list of the included articles organized according to thematic focus is located in Appendix G, while Figure IV.4 included in this section provides an overview of the distribution of studies according to primary thematic focus. The thematic categories were not entirely separate, discrete emphases, but the goal was to see what each study had as its main focus. The *sense of place or belonging* category was used for studies which held children's subjective experiences of places or place-specific experiences of belonging as the primary focus. If identity was a coequal focus, the article was sorted into *sense of place or belonging*, as I had decided to use this thematic focus to identify the core subgroup for in-depth analysis (Chapters V and VI). A considerable number of studies concentrated on national/transnational belonging, particularly with migrants and refugees, and some with ethnic minorities. The national and transnational scale is arguably vague as a geographic space which can be experienced only through

the imagination (B. Anderson, 2006), which is not to say that they are imaginary. However, they are too broad to be directly lived in the way a home, a school, a neighborhood, etc. can be experienced. Consequently, the studies primarily exploring national and transnational identities have a rather abstract view of space. In some cases, research into trans-/national belongings were added to the *identity processes* category, such as when they emphasized processes of negotiation of identifications (e.g. Naftali, 2020). Whereas, studies focusing on place-specific experiences of belonging or inclusion/exclusion which were connected to participants' experiences of places (e.g. Caxaj & Berman, 2010) were sorted into the *sense of place or belonging* group.

Studies focusing on identity formation, navigation, negotiation, or performance and/or trans-/national identifications were sorted under the umbrella theme of *identity processes*. This was by far the most prevalent thematic focus in research on diversity and children's place-subjectivities. In most of the included studies, identity processes were the primary theme of approach, with some holding sense of place and identity in coequal focus (e.g. Burrmann et al., 2017) and far fewer studies holding experiences of place as most central (e.g. Reay & Lucey, 2000). The studies in this subcategory tended to concentrate on embedded identity processes (e.g. Ibrahim, 2016) and/or trans-/national identification (e.g. Vila Freyer, 2019). *Identity formation*, or the development of a sense of self, is a popular topic within the studies included in this review. Within child developmental theory, identity formation has traditionally been considered the main developmental task of adolescence (Klimstra, 2013), making it a popular subject for research with children. Antonsich (2010) argues that processes of identity formation cannot be separated from senses of place-belonging, a relation researched by several of the studies included in this review. For example, Hopkins (2007) studied young male immigrants' narratives of national and religious identity formation in relation to their sense of belonging in Scotland. The various practices by which identities are enacted, embodied, and expressed constitute *identity performance*. The concept of performativity in relation to identities, also called "identity politics", includes the daily, mundane, and power-embedded practices related to *identity negotiation* (Panelli, 2004). This negotiation encompasses an individual's challenging, resisting, claiming, expressing, or contesting of identities in a dynamic process sensitive to socio-spatial contexts (Panelli, 2004). For example, identity performance and negotiation in relation to socio-spatial contexts featured in Judge's (2016) study with young people traveling together from England to Zimbabwe. *Identity navigation*, as in Lyons (2018), describes the ways in which individuals make sense of who they are and how they belong. Identity navigation is enacted on an ongoing basis in response to socio-spatial interactions. It overlaps with processes of identity formation, performance, and negotiation. Indeed, all of these processes are interrelated, contributing to their inclusion as a single thematic category in this review. Together, identity processes reflect the active, dynamic, and contextual aspects of identity. When applied to research with children, identity processes can serve to highlight children's roles as social actors and support conceptualizations of competent children who actively engage with the material, social, and spatial aspects of their lives as they come to understand who they are and how they fit in. These identity-oriented studies are certainly relevant to the research area of children's spatial subjectivities in light of social difference. Yet, identity processes are not the main theme of interest for my review. Identity itself is still very interesting to the project, especially in light of social connections between place, social interaction, and an individual's sense of belonging. But it is this belonging which I am interested in as the primary focus, with identity secondary to it, not primary to it.
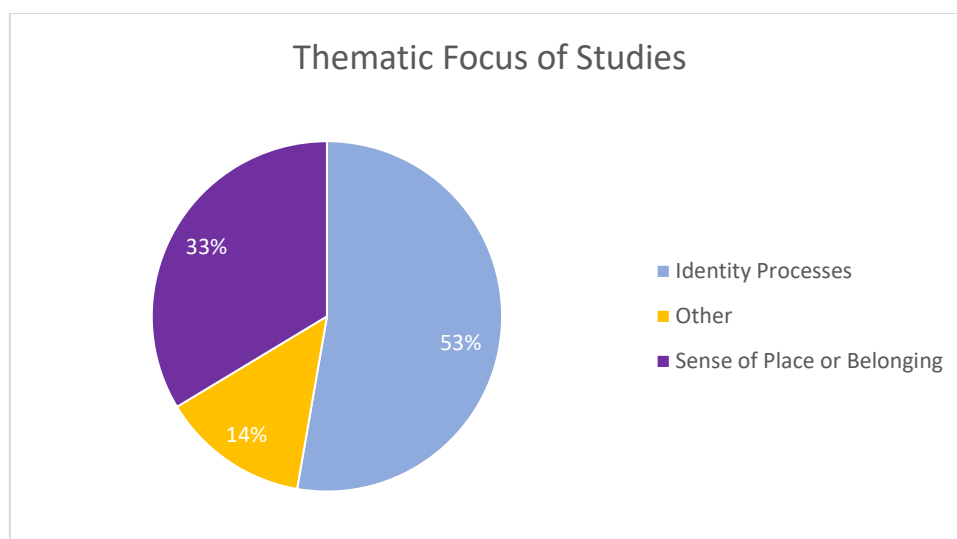
Figure IV.4: Pie chart showing distribution of studies according to thematic focus.

The category *other* was used for those articles which did not fit well under the categories *sense of place or belonging* or *identity processes*. These studies focused on conceptualizations of citizenship (e.g. Keegan, 2019), youth transitions (e.g. O'Brien, 2003), and resettlement outcomes (e.g. Brook & Ottemöller, 2020). These studies were relevant to the research field and met all inclusion criteria, yet they were not close enough to my main area of interest to include in the core group for in-depth analysis. All of the themes discussed in this section were also crossed with discussions of social difference. Whether examining differential experiences of place, spatial variation in identity performance, identity formation for migrants in country X, refugee's affective citizenship, or rural youth outcomes, these themes incorporate spatial as well as social-diversity aspects. To further unpack the research on the topic of children's experiences of place in contexts of diversity, attention is now turned towards the studies' handling of social diversity.

Aspects of Diversity Under Consideration

Social difference forms a vital part of the topic of this review and is therefore an important aspect of the included studies. The defining features necessary for inclusion of research in this review were that they focused on children under eighteen-years-of-age, subjective experiences of place and/or belonging, and aspect(s) or context(s) of social diversity. So then, the emphasis of the studies under review is on children's subjective belongings in reference to a particular place, with social difference brought into consideration. Focusing on particular minority groups' experiences seems a very common way of approaching children's spatial subjectivities, rather than looking at all (types of) members' of a place experiences through an intersectional lens. This could reflect the interests driving the research and its funding. It is also reflective of wider trends in social science such as giving voice to silent groups, decolonial/feminist movements, continued othering of certain groups, and concern regarding migrant and refugee integration.

Using identity categories to approach the topic of social diversity is not new, and in many ways serves to bring attention to otherwise invisible groups' experiences. However, the continued use of set categories can at the same contribute to the continued "othering" of particular groups by making them seem more fixed and discrete

than they really are. Runfors (2016) illustrates how youth studies with methodologies incorporating an "ethnic lens" use pre-labeled ethnic categories to select participants. This results in the problematic homogenization of ethnic groups. She argues that more complex inter- and intragroup othering processes and their effects are made invisible when participants are automatically sorted according to ethnic labels. This also means that research which starts with a predefined category of difference as the entry point before moving on to explore the personal identities or experiences of those within that particular social group have a potentially reifying effect. That is, the abstract categories of social difference are reinforced through a sort of confirmation bias which construes them as fixed, essential qualities rather than theoretical concepts. Here, the marker of difference precedes the rest, potentially giving the illusion that such a diversity lens is in fact a fundamental reality. The category becomes concrete, while the expression of those in the category is subjective. Not all the studies under review take this approach, but certainly a chunk of them do, making this potential problem more salient. Some studies (e.g. Miled, 2020) focus in on a particular minority group, but avoid this pitfall by doing so with a nuanced, intersectional approach which problematizes simplistic and proscriptive labelling. It is important to remember that age is itself a category of difference with socially assigned meanings, assumptions, and labels given to individuals according to age-related differences (Clark-Kazak, 2009). The social construction of age has been a central tenet of childhood studies since its beginnings in the 1980s (Jenks, 1982), producing considerable amounts of academic writing and research which problematizes notions of children and childhood (e.g. Burman, 1994; Mayall, 2002). Just as with other axes of diversity, age can become overly reinforced as a meaningful difference by research and discourses which take age as a starting place. It is important, then, for child research to be sensitive to children's experiences in relation to individuals of other ages as well as across other aspects of diversity so as not to falsely "other" childhood, falsely attributing variation to age-based differences or even imagining differences where there are none. Some of the articles chose broad age ranges precisely as a way of entering into research with young people without assuming age-based differences (e.g. Panelli et al., 2002), whereas others recruited participants from across the lifecourse in order to situate children's experiences generationally (e.g. McLeod et al., 2013). However, there were many others which chose participants from certain age groups precisely because of assumptions about their development, capacities, and life experiences (e.g. Bak & von Brömssen, 2010; Teixeira & Zuberi, 2016). While this by no means invalidate the findings or mean that the research only serves to propagate age-based stereotypes, it does raise questions about the knowledge-production process which ought to be reflexively engaged with by child researchers.

If the ideal is to avoid reifying fixed identity labels, then it would be best for research in the field of children's sense of place and diversity to use place as the entry point and main criteria for recruiting participants. It then becomes the job of the researcher to set aside demographic-based assumptions and tease out which differences make a difference, and when. Solberg (1996) advocates the adoption of a stance of "intentional ignorance" (p. 64) which does not anticipate finding differences along distinct categorical lines. Solberg promotes such ignorance as a methodological tool for deconstructing social categories based on age, but it is also well suited for approaching other axes of social difference in research with an open mind. This differs from many diversity studies, including those represented in this review, which start with an axis (or multiple axes) of difference as the entry point (for example: refugees, aboriginal Australians, transgender students). My intention was to find research which considered

axes of diversity in their analysis; however, the goal was for the place, not the diversity markers, to be the main common point between participants. Nonetheless, studies with a focus on minority-group-as-diversity might have become overly represented in the included group of studies given the search terms used in Scopus and the nature of screening which does not allow for a careful reading of 1,585 texts.

That being said, it can still be beneficial to employ these diversity categories in analysis, as they are so frequently used in research. But in doing so, it is important to remember that they are neither homogenous groups nor discrete categories. As discussed in Chapter II, intersectionality captures this idea that all social labels are intrinsically interconnected. They exist in relation to each other, they inform each other, and they cannot be isolated from one another. While it can be useful to consider certain social identities in a given study or field, this will not be able to capture the fullness of the participants' realities.

With these words of caution in mind, I decided to record which categories the studies used in order to identify trends in the field. To identify which categories the studies were interested in, I looked at their titles, abstracts, introductions, and methods sections. The results of coding according to categories of social difference are displayed in Figure IV.5. I found that the categories of race/ethnicity, gender, migratory status, socio-economic status(SES)/class, religion, language, refugee/asylum seeker status, indigeneity, ability, and sexuality were the axes of difference considered in these works. Note that every article also includes the axis of age, which is not included in Figure IV.5. These categories were identified in the texts themselves, though there is a bit of ambiguity in these labels. I chose to combine race and ethnicity into a single category because their use was inconsistent and sometimes conflated (e.g. using "black" and "white" as ethnic categories). I chose to keep refugees and asylum-seekers as a single but distinct category, because they are handled as such in the articles. It ought to be noted, though, that as a category, "refugees and asylum-seekers" can be particularly effective at obscuring intragroup differences as it conflates migratory status with ethnicities, geographical trajectories (i.e. personal histories of geographical movements; Denov & Akesson, 2013), and, often, an assumed low-SES. Studies which distinguished between refugees from different ethnic background were counted as utilizing both racial/ethnic and refugee/asylum-seeker categories. Several articles were highly nuanced in their handling of refugees/asylum-seekers (e.g. Harris, 2016; Miled, 2020), considering other aspects of diversity, including country of origin, ethnic group, language, and class in addition to refugee-status. Other studies treated refugees/asylum-seekers more as a homogenous category, much in the way "problem group" labelling has been criticized within childhood studies (e.g. Meintjes & Giese, 2006, on problem of using "orphan" as a label for research, policy, and interventions in South Africa). Likewise, indigeneity, or identification with a native ethnic group, is a category which could be considered under race/ethnicity; however, it was utilized as a separate axis of diversity in several of the reviewed articles, so I chose to treat it as a distinct category. Indigeneity carries with it specific historical and colonial meanings (K. Anderson, 2000), and it has often been used in analysis by researchers with postcolonial theoretical perspectives (e.g. Lunda & Green, 2020).

By counting up the number of times these diversity categories were employed (see Figure IV.5), it became evident that racial/ethnic and gendered categories were the most frequently included axes of diversity. Migratory status was also examined in a substantial number of studies. Class/SES, religious, urban/rural, and linguistic diversity

categories as well as refugee/asylum-seeker status were the next most popular categories, with only a few studies each considering indigeneity, ability, or sexual diversity. Note that total number of references is greater than the number of included studies due to the inclusion of multiple axes of difference.
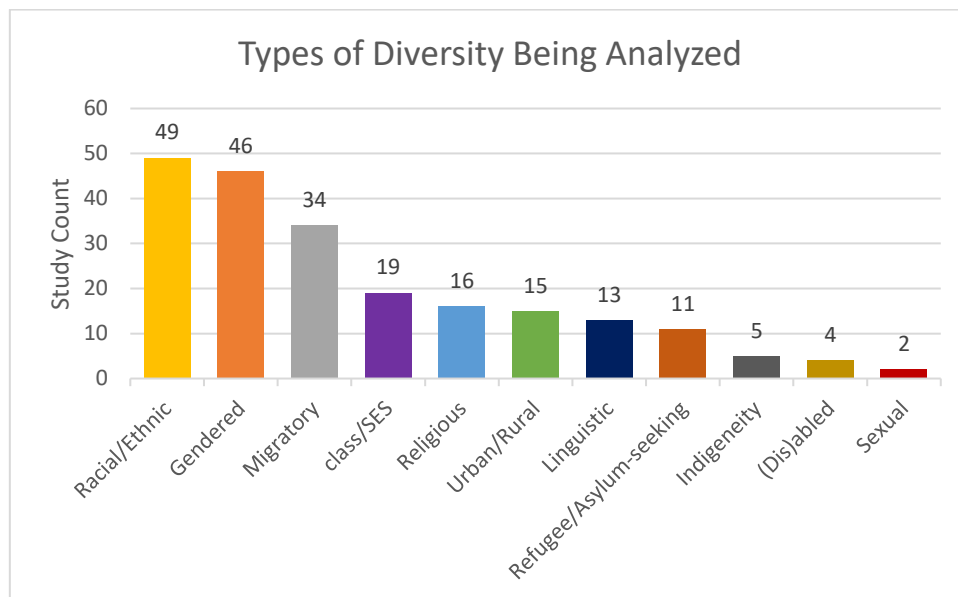
Figure IV.5: Chart of aspects of social difference being examined by the studies.

The majority of the researchers used more than one axis of diversity in their analyses. I noticed several patterns regarding specific combinations of categories of social difference. For one, there were no studies presenting an analysis of ability in relation to any other factor. Additionally, there were no studies looking at religion and rurality/urbanity or religion and indigeneity. Neither were there any studies looking at race/ethnicity and sexuality. Diversity categories and topics rely on certain assumptions which may be being evidenced by these trends. Disability and indigeneity tend to be viewed by individuals as even more fixed than other categories (Metell, 2019 on ability; Harris, 2016 on indigeneity), though current academic writing would challenge this assumed fixity (e.g. Bates et al., 2019 on ability). I did not identify any included studies where researchers analyzed their findings according to children's gender and national belonging, class and national belonging, etc. unless also in reference to children's ethnicity. Nor did any of the articles research ethnic majority participants' sense of national belonging, unless as a comparison to a migrant, refugee, or ethnic minority group's sense of national belonging. This would seem to point to simplistic assumptions which posit certain hegemonic identities (Panelli, 2004) as uncomplicatedly "in-place" and alternative identities as automatically "out-of-place" (Cresswell, 1996). Persons in such alternative identity positions become the "others" whose right to belong is contested. A possible implication of this for research is that hegemonic identities are not seen as in need of interrogation in the same way as their alternatives.

Summary IV: Bulk Analysis

This chapter has presented an analytical overview of the 110 studies included in this literature review. The bulk analysis helps to orient the reader to the research on social difference and children's spatial subjectivities which was located during the systematic search. Tendencies and dominant themes were identified at the article-level

regarding publication, disciplinary background, geographic spread, thematic foci, and inclusion of diversity. The articles published in this topic are highly disciplinary in terms of the authors' backgrounds, the literature cited, and the journals in which they were published. This reflects a widespread interest in children's experiences of place as marked by diversity, as well as the interdisciplinary nature of childhood and youth studies. Geography and other disciplines within the social sciences have been highly influential in research done in this area. Regarding study location, there was a clear dominance of European research contexts, and very little research published on Majority World contexts. The highest volume of projects was carried out in/on British contexts, followed by Australasian and North American research settings. Together, these accounted for over half of the studies. The clear dominance of a few countries as research settings means that findings ought to be approached with a critical eye to hidden context effects. A clear need for research on children's experience of place from a wider range of places is needed, especially on contexts located within Majority World countries.

Regarding the articles' primary thematic foci, topics related to identity processes were the most prolific. Such studies emphasized the active, processual nature of children's identities in relation to places and social difference. The other main thematic focus centered on children's sense of place/belonging, which tended to place a greater emphasis on children's *place* experiences compared to their identity processes, although these also frequently came into play. Because this review is primarily interested in children's experiences of place and place-belonging, this second main group was selected out as the core group for deeper reading and analysis. The resulting core analysis is presented in the following two chapters.

All of the studies were selected because of their inclusion of multiple axes of diversity in their texts. Because the research topic focused on children, this meant at least one aspect of social difference was included in addition to age. Most of the studies included at least three aspects, with racial/ethnic and gendered diversity categories being the most highly represented. In any research focused on identity categories, there are significant potential pitfalls. This review has identified a need for more research with participants who identify with majority/dominant social groups which could help to problematize simplistic readings of hegemonic identities as "in place" and all others as "out of place". I have also suggested that using place rather than identity as the primary criteria for recruiting participants could be helpful in addressing diversity from a less essentialist approach. This chapter addressed some of the issues with the use of pre-assigned labels in research, as well as the problematic nature of using identity categories as inclusion criteria during participant recruitment. Both have the ability to reify identities as fixed, to propagate stereotypes, and to obscure intragroup differences and intergroup similarities. Although researchers will always play a significant role in shaping the knowledge produced, by approaching topics and research subjects with an intentional ignorance, the effects of their assumptions can be somewhat mitigated.

Chapter V. Core Analysis, Part 1

In the previous chapter, I presented a bulk analysis of all the studies included in this research review. This provided an overview of research into children' spatial subjectivities and social diversity as it now stands, drawing attention to trends in the field relating to location under study, axes of diversity under consideration, and thematic focus. Attention is turned towards the thirty-seven articles[10] in the thematic subgroup *sense of place or belonging* in the following two chapters which present an in-depth analysis of this core group of studies. The core analysis was conducted in order to answer the main research questions: *What are significant tendencies in research regarding social difference and children's spatial subjectivities?* And*, what are key findings and predominant themes in studies of social diversity and children's sense of place/belonging?* This chapter, *Core Analysis, Part 1,* aims to illuminate significant tendencies in relation to the core group of research on social diversity and children's sense of place/belonging. This involves tendencies in how research was conducted, including methods and analytical frameworks, as well as where and with whom it was done. Geographic contexts, participant-inclusion, and approach to social diversity are relevant here, as are theoretical tendencies relating to disciplinary background and key concepts. This chapter will begin with an overview of the methodologies employed in the core group, including research tools, participants, and limitations stated in the articles. The chapter then continues with an overview of the theoretical perspectives, geographic focus, and the handling of social difference during analysis by the core group of studies. Connections are made between theoretical approaches and the methodological choices made by researchers. The following chapter, *Core Analysis, Part 2,* will present some of the studies' key findings before going deeper into dominant themes employed within research on social diversity and children's senses of place and belonging.

Overview of Core Studies

The thirty-seven studies which were identified as the core group during the bulk analysis all handle the topic of children's[11] diverse senses of place and/or belonging. The studies draw from a variety of disciplines and use a range of methods in order to investigate assorted themes relating to children's sense of place and place-belongings in relation to social diversity across many different contexts. In this group of research, studies deal with topics of children's perceptions of place, their sense of belonging in specific spatial contexts, particular spatial practices, and strategies for navigating social difference. The studies also address how children's experiences of these topics are transected by various aspects of social difference. Research questions explored the social construction of difference, children's perceptions of risk and safety in certain areas, how power relations shape children's sense of place/belonging, and the active involvement of children in production of place. Some indicative titles were, for example, "Living the multicultural city: Acceptance, belonging and young identities in the city of Leicester, England" (Clayton, 2012); "'I don't really like it here but I don't want to be anywhere else': Children and inner city council estates" (Reay & Lucey, 2000); "Ethnic identities, sense of belonging and the significance of sport: stories from immigrant youths in Germany" (Burrmann et al., 2017); "'Creating a place to belong': Girls' and boys' hut-building as a site for understanding discourses on childhood and generational relations in

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[10] For full reference list of the core studies, see Appendix F

[11] I use the term children to refer to participants with 18 year-of-age or under for the sake of simplicity. However, when describing studies which focus on "youth" or "young people", I have adopted their terminology.

a Norwegian community" (Kjørholt, 2003); and "Border encounters: How children navigate space and otherness in an ethnically divided society" (Christou & Spyrou, 2012). In order to gain a clearer perspective on this part of the research field, this section maps out the methodologies, inclusion of participants, theories, geographic contexts, and approach to diversity employed within the core group of studies as reported by the articles themselves. This section is formulated to answer the first research question regarding significant tendencies in relation to the core group of research in this literature review.

Methodological Trends in the Core Group

The knowledge produced through research with children is shaped in significant ways by the researcher's disciplinary traditions and by their theoretical conceptualizations of children and childhood (Woodhead & Faulkner, 2000). The methods, or research techniques, chosen for a study are part of the researcher(s) wider methodology which originates from theory regarding the nature of knowledge, the research topic, and human beings (Beazley & Ennew, 2006). By looking more closely at the methods used by the studies in this area of the research field, insight into the findings and processes of knowledge-production can also be gained. To help provide an overview of the core group, I have organized information about the studies, including methods, participants, and methodological/theoretical approaches, in Table V.1. The information in Table V.1 was identified during a coding process carried out in accordance with the codebook included in Appendix D. The study location listed is that of the fieldwork context (or where the data was about), and geographical scale and methods are listed using terms assigned during coding. However, I only included terms and concepts mentioned explicitly in the articles under the columns for methodological and theoretical approaches. The methodological approach column includes specific approaches (e.g. participatory), as well as types of analyses (e.g. narrative), methodological orientations (e.g. "child-centered"), or other significant terms and phrases used by authors when describing their methodologies (e.g. emancipatory, inductive/deductive). The theoretical approach column includes information about academic disciplines/fields, theoretical orientations, frameworks, and key concepts as stated in the texts.

Of the thirty-seven studies in the core group, *qualitative* research clearly dominated, with qualitative methods being employed in thirty-four cases, nine of which combined qualitative with quantitative techniques. Only three articles were based on research conducted using quantitative methods alone (Allen et al., 2020; Bæck, 2004; Kindermann & Riegel, 2018). Techniques which were used to generate data for *quantitative* analysis were surveys/questionnaires (x7; refer to Table V.1), semi-structured interviews (Harris, 2016; Panelli et al., 2002), public data searches (Sarmiento & Duarte, 2019; Teixeira & Zuberi, 2016), short written responses to preset questions (Kindermann & Riegel, 2018), a photo activity (Tunstall et al., 2004), and GPS/accelerometry tracking (Marques et al., 2020). The semi-structured interviews in Harris (2016) and Panelli et al. (2002) were sources of qualitative data, some of which was quantified based on number of responses referencing certain places and themes (Panelli et al., 2002) or responses to set demographic questions regarding age, gender, and ethnicity (Harris, 2016; Panelli et al., 2002). Kindermann and Riegel (2018) quantitatively analyzed child participants' written responses to set prompts regarding their experiences of church buildings following field trips to churches in their local areas.

Author	Year	Study Location	Geographical Scale	Methods	Methodological Approach	Theoretical Approach[12]
Allen et al.	2020	USA	Schools	Surveys	Deductive, Participatory (CBPR)	Transgender Studies, School Health, Intersectionality
Bæck	2004	Norway	Community< Regional	Surveys	Inductive	Rural Studies, Youth Studies, Sociology
Bak & von Brömssen	2010	Sweden	Transnational	Interviews		Transnationalism, Diaspora, Children's Competence
Bates et al.	2019	New Zealand	Wheelchairs<Sport Centers< Community<City	Part Obs, Interviews	Participatory	Disability Geography, Health Geography, "Enabling Places", Relational Perspective
Bollig	2018	Luxem-bourg	Day Care	Ethnography, Interviews	Grounded Theory, Case Study	Child Perspective, System Perpective, Massey, Mobility Perspective
Burrmann et al.	2017	Germany	Sports Club< National	Interviews	Multiple Case Study, Documentary Method, Story-Oriented	Multi-dimensional Integration
Caxaj & Berman	2010	Multi-national	Home<School<Co-mmunity<National	Discourse Analysis (transcripts, blogs)	Postcolonial	Intersectionality, Postcolonial Perspective, Nursing
Christou & Spyrou	2012	Cyprus	National	Drawing, Mapping, Interviews	Ethnographic	Childhood Studies, Ethnic Studies
Clayton	2012	England	City	Ethnography, Interviews, Photo Diaries		Urban Multiculturalism, Racial Studies, Context
Denov & Akesson	2013	Canada	Transnational	Recall Methods (Interviews)	Inductive, Story-Oriented	Children's Geography, Relational, "flight"
Díaz-Rodríguez et al.	2015	Spain	Community	Non-Part Obs, Interviews, Surveys		Youth Studies, Urban Geography, Intersectionality
Evers	2020	France	Neighborhood	Unspecified (ethnography?, Interviews)	No methods section whatsoever!	Linguistic Anthropology, Multiculturalism
Harden	2000	Scotland	Home<Community	Mixed methods, Interviews	Discursive	Sociology, Social Constructivism
Harris	2016	Australia	Community< National	Demographic Analysis (Participants), Interviews		Multiculturalism, Social & Political Ecology
Kindermann & Riegel	2018	Germany	Churches	Written Text Analysis, Surveys	Deductive, Exploratory	Religious Education, Developmental Psychology, "theory of subjective turn in religion", Schema-Based Model of Emotions

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[12] Disciplines, Paradigms, Theories, or Key Concepts

Kjørholt	2003	Norway	Hut<Community	Interviews	Narrative Approach (discursive), "interpersonal reasoning"	(Inter)generational, Gender Performance, Sociology
Laoire	2011 b	Ireland	Transnational	Mixed Methods(including drawing, photos), Interviews	"Child-Centered Participative Methods", Narrative Analysis	Family Migration Research, Childhood Studies, Children's Geography, Intergenerational
Leonard	2007	Ireland	Home< Neighborhood/ Community<City	Mapping, Interviews		Sociology, Children's Geography, Relational, Extended Conflict
Marques et al.	2020	Brazil	Neighborhood	Guided walks (interviews), GPS tracking	Narrative, Child-friendly, ethnographic	Urban Planning, Children's Geography, Anthropology, Utopia/Dystopia, Historical
McLeod et al.	2013	Australia	Home<School	Mixed Methods (drawing, interviews, surveys), Speech assessment data	Child-friendly, Interpretivist, Phenomenological	Speech-Language Pathology, Intergenerational, Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Model of Childhood
Melhuus	2012	Norway	Day Care<Nature	Part Obs, Interviews, "Child Part Methods"	Life World Approach	Anthropology, Phenomenology, Social Cultural Theory, Contextualisation
Midgen et al.	2019	Britain	Schools	Mixed Methods, Interviews, Surveys	Exploratory, Emancipatory	Special Education, Educational Psychology
Miled	2020	Canada	Home<National	Photovoice (interviews), Ethnography	Participatory Action Research (PAR)	Intersectionality, Feminist, Displacement, Diaspora
Mohammad	2013	England	Neighborhood/ Community<City	Interviews, Obs	Case Study, Narrative	Feminist, Urban Geography, Muslim Diaspora, Intersectionality, Mobility
Moskal	2015	Scotland	Transnational	Mixed Methods (drawings, maps), Interviews	Narrative, Child-Centered, Grounded Theory	Childhood Studies, Human Geography, Transnational, International Migration Studies, Mobility, Human "Agency-oriented", Relational
Panelli et al.	2002	New Zealand	Community	Interviews (street, group, visual stimulus), photovoice	Participatory, Youth-oriented	Feminist, Critical Social Theory, Rural/Urban Geography
Postma et al.	2014	USA	Community	Photovoice (interviews) Surveys	Participatory (CBPR, with the adults in the study), Purposive Sampling	Children's Envrionmental Health, Environmental Justice, Rural Health
Raffaetà et al.	2016	Italy	City<National< Transnational	Part Obs, Interviews	Case Study(representative experiences), Practice-Oriented	Youth Studies, Migration Studies, Transnational, Intersectionality
Reay & Lucey	2000	England	Housing Blocks (Neighborhood)	Part Obs, Interviews, Mixed Methods (incl. mapping)	"micro-geographies of difference", "symboloic and geographical landscapes"	Urban Geographies, Intersectionality, Intergenerational, (uses an older conceptualization of space/place)

Richmond & Smith	2012	Canada	Schools	Interviews	Participatory, inductive	Aboriginal Health, Aboriginal Education, Decolonialism, Intergenerational, Transcultural Nursing
Sarmiento & Duarte	2019	USA	City	Part Obs, Interviews, Mapping, Public Data Analysis	Youth Participation, Purposive Sampling	Community Planning, Mobility, Structural, Youth-Centered, Development Psychology
Scourfield et al.	2006	Wales	Community<City< National<Global	Interviews	Purposive Sampling	Childhood Studies, Developmental Psychology, Massey
Spaaij	2015	Australia	Sports Club< City<National< Transnational	Part Obs, Interviews	Ethnography, Longitudinal	Settlement, Sports and Integration, Intersectionality
Teixeira & Zuberi	2016	USA	Neighborhood	Photo Mapping, Interviews, Public Data Analysis	Participatory (CBPR), Longitudinal, Purposive Sampling, Mixed Method Analysis	Environmental Justice, Environmental Health, Youth Health, Multi-lens, Youth Studies
Tunstall et al.	2004	England	Parks	Non-Part Obs, Photos & Comments, Interviews, Surveys	Multi-Method, Triangulation, Participatory Methods, exploratory	Environmental Education, Children's Perspectives, Affordances
Watt	1998	England	Town<Regional	Interviews	Exploratory	Sociology of Youth, (critiques youth subcultural and postmodern approaches)
Witten et al.	2019	New Zealand	Neighborhoods	Interviews, Neighborhood Walks	Affective Atmospheres, "micro-geographies of children's experiences of place & place-making"	Children's Geography, Multiculturalism, Hyperdiversity, Mobility, "Enabling Places", Interractionist, Emotional Geography

Table V.1: Table displaying methodological and theoretical features of studies included in the core group.

The responses were coded and statistically analyzed to compare responses across genders, locations, age, religion, and familiarity with churches as sites of worship. The photo activity in Tunstall et al. (2014) involved child participants taking photographs in relation to prompts given by the researchers during visits to local river sites. The children wrote descriptions and explanations for their photos, which were thematically coded and then statistically analyzed according to theme, river location, and gender of photographer. Marques et al. (2020) combined tools to produce quantitative and qualitative data about children's experiences of their neighborhoods in Brasilia, Brazil. GPS and accelerometry tools were utilized to gain quantitative data regarding location, mobility, and time distribution during guided neighborhood walks with the participants.

The studies drawing on quantitative methods, alone or in combinations with qualitative methods, were conducted with high numbers of participants, with only two exceptions: the case study in Marques et al. (2020) and Postma et al.'s study (2014) reporting community-based participatory research (CBPR)[13] with eleven children and adults. All studies in the core group which applied CBPR methodologies also applied quantitative techniques (Allen et al., 2020; Postma et al., 2014; Teixeira & Zuberi, 2016). Two of these, the studies by Postma et al. and Teixeira and Zuberi, were rooted in an environmental justice framework which seeks to empower individuals through involvement in identifying and addressing environmental disparities which negatively impact individual and community well-being (Teixeira & Zuberi, 2016). Participants in studies making use of quantitative techniques also tended to come from large geographic areas, as in Allen et al. (2020), Bæck (2004), Harris (2016), Kindermann and Riegel (2018), and Midgen et al. (2019). Interestingly, four of the twelve studies which utilized quantitative methods were conducted in the USA, which means that the USA was the most prevalent site of quantitative research on social diversity and children's senses of place and belonging. More than that, all of the research conducted in the USA which was identified through my systematic search as relevant to my field of study and part of the core group utilized quantitative methods. Given the fields' proportionally small use of quantitative methods, this would seem to be a significant methodological trend. The main application of quantitative analysis by studies in this part of the research field was to compare results across participants and/or locations, either statistically (Allen et al., 2020; Bæck, 2004; Díaz-Rodríguez et al., 2015; Kindermann & Riegel, 2018; Midgen et al., 2019; Sarmiento & Duarte, 2019; Tunstall et al., 2004) or descriptively (Marques et al., 2020; Panelli et al., 2002). Other uses of quantitative analysis were to offer demographic background information (Allen et al., 2020; Bæck, 2004; Harris, 2016; Kindermann & Riegel, 2018; Midgen et al., 2019; Postma et al., 2014; Sarmiento & Duarte, 2019) and/or information regarding demographic distribution across a geographic area (Sarmiento & Duarte, 2019; Teixeira & Zuberi, 2016).

Interviews were by far the most dominant of any individual method. Thirty-three out of thirty-seven articles were based on interviews. These included individual and group interviews, sometimes in the form of a group discussion, sometimes accompanied by photos or drawings. Not all studies reported fully on the interviewing methods, so it is not possible to give a full comparison. But based on those articles which did include detail about interview methods, there were structured, semi-structured, and unstructured interviews carried out in homes (e.g. Bates et al., 2019; Laoire, 2011b), in

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[13] CBPR is a research paradigm often used in developmental (Beazley & Ennew, 2006) and public health (Israel et al., 1998) research which engages community stakeholders as co-researchers in order to empower them through subverting power relations intrinsic to traditional Western research (Tremblay et al., 2018).

schools (e.g. Bak & von Brömssen, 2010; Leonard, 2007), in the street (e.g. Díaz-Rodríguez et al., 2015; Panelli et al., 2002), in other public spaces (Bates et al., 2019; Spaaij, 2015), or as part of a guided walk (Marques et al., 2020; Witten et al., 2019). The study by Denov & Akesson (2013) included both in-depth individual interviews and a focus group using recall methods with refugee youth and young adults from Africa in Canada in order to investigate their placemaking practices as separated children during flight and resettlement. Though only one participant was under eighteen years-old at the time of the interviews, the participants shared memories, recalling their own, lived childhood experiences. Though recall effects might have influenced the stories they shared (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015), by using recall-focused methods, the researchers were able to present perspectives which would otherwise remain silent because of logistical and access problems if strict child-participation were required. The nature of memory and hindsight also allowed the participants to share events from their childhood which had been and become significant to their stories through the lens of personal history (Bornat, 2008). Interviews were for the most part accompanied by complementary methods, most commonly participatory observation or ethnography (see Table V.1). Notably, all the interviews were conducted in person, and only those four studies which did not rely on interviews did not involve direct interaction between the researchers and the participating children. This would reflect the dominance of child-centered research within Childhood Studies and Youth Studies as well as the movement within the social sciences away from the once idealized objectively neutral research role (Woodhead & Faulkner, 2000). The four studies which did not conduct interviews relied on surveys (Allen et al., 2020; Bæck, 2004; Kindermann & Riegel, 2018) and textual analysis (Caxaj & Berman, 2010[14]; Kindermann & Riegel, 2018). Only two studies (Allen et al., 2020; Kindermann & Riegel, 2018) reported research designed in order to deductively test hypotheses. These relied on quantitative data gathered through surveys.

The clear supremacy of interviewing in research with children on their sense of place/belonging in light of social difference reflects a wider dominance of interviewing methods in research with children in an effort to include children's own voices. James (2007) argues that the inclusion of children's words as authentic and therefore unproblematic representations of children's truths glosses over a host of theoretical and epistemological complications. While the inclusion of children's words in published research have helped to "unmute" them, just as early feminist research sought to un-silence women's views and voices, there are issues of interpretation, translation, and mediation by the researcher anytime children's views are represented (James, 2007). The asymmetrical power differentials present in the research process, as well as the researcher's role in structuring, conducting, interpreting, and representing interviews mean that the researcher's own voice is loudly present (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015), even when directly quoting child participants. Furthermore, children's views and voices are shaped by adult's discourses and institutional contexts (Spyrou, 2011) such that children's words ought not to be left unquestioned as pure, authentic accounts of their reality. Simplistic representations of children's voices can lead to stereotypes and caricatures of them and gloss over the messy, multi-layered, and non-normative nature of children's views and experiences (Spyrou, 2011). There is a need to contextualize children's voices, to not assume that one child's voice can speak for a universal, homogenous category of children (James, 2007). Children have their own "cultures of

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[14] Caxaj & Berman (2010) did include some pre-existing transcripts from interviews, but the transcripts were handled only as texts in the context of the study.

communication" (Christensen, 2004, p. 170), or ways of using words and abstract concepts which, if researchers take the time to learn them, can be helpful for producing more sensitive and nuanced representations of children's interview responses. Spyrou (2011) argues that learning children's own semantics requires a significant investment of time and resources, but it is a vital key to conducting ethical interview-based research with children. The combining of visual, performed, or observational methods with verbal methods can be one way of sensitizing and contextualizing children's voices within a project (Spyrou, 2011; Laoire, 2016). Most of the studies in the core group did indeed incorporate multiple research methods with interviews. However, this does not imply that issues of representation are thereby resolved. It would be helpful if authors included more reflections regarding their role in shaping the research (beyond a nod to power differentials in the methodology section) and in representing children's views. This could aid in promoting transparency and ethical practices relating to the production of academic knowledge about children's senses of place and belonging in relation to social difference.

About one-third of the research incorporated *visual methods* in their study design. The use of such visual methods was often borne out of child-centered methodologies (Laoire, 2011b; Moskal, 2015), as advocated by childhood studies, in order to enable children to participate with their voices and perspectives in research more fully and more comfortably through techniques which are more familiar to them (e.g. drawing) than formal interviews. Six of the studies had the children construct cognitive maps, through drawing (Christou & Spyrou, 2012; Leonard, 2007; Moskal, 2015; Reay & Lucey, 2000; Sarmiento & Duarte, 2019) or with photos (Teixeira & Zuberi, 2016). Mapping techniques were chosen both because they allow child participants to creatively engage in the research process (e.g. Moskal, 2015) and because of the subjective and spatial information they produced, which fits well with the topic of children's spatial subjectivities (e.g. Leonard, 2007). Some studies used drawing as a method independent from mapping (Laoire, 2011b; McLeod et al., 2013; Moskal, 2015) which helped allow children to express multiple meanings and identities. These studies also used interviews to guide the interpretation of the drawings, a methodological choice related to understandings of the "competent child" who has their own capabilities as well as perspectives which adult researchers ought to respect (discussed in Laoire, 2011b). Six studies utilized photographic techniques, either in photovoice (Miled, 2020; Postma et al., 2014), as part of visual stimulus interviews (Panelli et al., 2002), for a mapping exercise (Teixeira & Zuberi, 2016), with photo diaries (Clayton, 2012), photo-elicitation discussions (Laoire, 2011b), or by having participants take photos and write captions (Tunstall et al., 2004). All of these visual methods were accompanied by interviews to add extra layers of meaning and aide interpretation. A couple of the studies carefully incorporated visual and verbal methods in such a way as to facilitate participation of children with difficulty communicating because of speech disorders (McLeod et al., 2013) or low proficiency in the researcher's language (Miled, 2020). In other cases, lack of ability to communicate in the researchers' language was specific cause for exclusion. For example, Bak and von Brömssen (2010) selected only schoolchildren in classes with Swedish as the language of instruction, thereby excluding those with lower competence in the Swedish language. However, whether concessions were made or not, there was an overall high reliance on spoken or written verbal methods as well as a striking absence of research with non-verbal children and very low representation of children in early childhood. Elsewhere, McNamee and Seymour (2013) have suggested that the selection of children for

involvement in research has often been driven by the children's assumed competences, especially as related to their ability to participate in certain research methods. It is possible that a similar phenomenon is occurring here as well. Whether the trend in this group of research is primarily methodologically or theoretically driven is outside of the scope of this review to judge, but the parallel trend in methods and in participant exclusion is unlikely to be purely coincidental.

Over the last couple of decades (the timeframe of the literature included in this review), *ethnographic methodologies* have been promoted as especially useful for approaching research with children as a way of emphasizing and understanding children's perspectives and the specific contexts of their lives (e.g. James, 2001; Prout & James, 2015). My analysis indicates that researchers interested in social diversity and children's senses of place and belonging are indeed following the advice of prominent voices such as James' (2001), as a significant minority of the studies incorporated ethnographic principles and techniques. Ethnographic methods or participant observations were not uncommon in the core group (Bates et al., 2019; Bollig, 2018; Clayton, 2012; Evers, 2020[15]; Harris, 2016; Melhuus, 2012; Miled, 2020; Raffaetà et al., 2016; Reay & Lucey, 2000; Sarmiento & Duarte, 2019; Spaaij, 2015). Two studies reported non-participant observations (Díaz-Rodríguez et al., 2015; Tunstall et al., 2004), while Mohammad (2013) reported the use of observations but did not specify by type. These methodologies' emphases on children's social practices and their everyday contexts complements nicely intersectional theoretical approaches which emphasize the socially constructed, interconnected, and context dependent nature of identities. In fact, all but two (Allen et al., 2020; Caxaj & Berman, 2010) of the articles which cited intersectionality directly utilized observational methods (Díaz-Rodríguez et al., 2015; Miled, 2020; Mohammad, 2013; Raffaetà et al., 2016; Reay & Lucey, 2000; Spaaij, 2015).

A little over one-quarter of the research in the core group drew on *participatory approaches* which aim to mitigate the power asymmetries inherent in traditional research (Beazley & Ennew, 2006) and promote processes of capacity-building and knowledge production which benefit participants through the very act of partaking in research (Richmond & Smith, 2012). *Participatory techniques* refers to the use of a range of research methods used in order to engage research participants as active, knowledgeable subjects and to enable participants to contribute to the research process with their own perspectives and competencies (Grant, 2017). Within the context of child research, the use of a participatory approach has been frequently promoted by childhood studies as a methodology which is particularly appropriate for incorporating conceptions of children as competent social actors in their own right (Laoire, 2016). Five of the ten studies which were designed with a participatory approach were related to various health disciplines (e.g. nursing, environmental health, school health). The five health-related studies included the three CBPR studies mentioned previously (Allen et al., 2020; Postma et al., 2014; Teixeira & Zuberi, 2016). There was also a study by Bates et al. (2019) with New Zealand youth involved in wheelchair basketball on the interconnections of place and health, and a study by Richmond and Smith (2012) with aboriginal (indigenous) Canadian youths on school belonging and well-being in relation to social support. These studies all highlighted social and spatial aspects of health and

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[15] The study by Evers (2020) did not include a methods section, but I judged that it was safe to classify it as an ethnography based on the work's basis in linguistic anthropology as well as the richly detailed contextual descriptions provided.

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well-being but did so through different participatory techniques. The methods used were interviews (Bates et al., 2019; Richmond & Smith, 2012; Teixeira & Zuberi, 2016), surveys (Allen et al., 2020; Postma et al., 2014), photovoice (Postma et al., 2014), photo-mapping (Teixeira & Zuberi, 2016), participant observation (Bates et al., 2019), discursive textual analysis (Caxaj & Berman, 2010), and statistical analysis of public data (Teixeira & Zuberi, 2016). Other studies with participatory approaches drew specifically on child-centered (Laoire, 2011b; Tunstall et al., 2004), youth-centered (Panelli et al., 2002; Sarmiento & Duarte, 2019), or feminist (Miled, 2020) research traditions and sited these theoretical paradigms as the motivation behind their participatory methodologies. All of these studies utilizing participatory techniques incorporated photography taken by participants, except for Sarmiento and Duarte (2019) who drew on participant observation in addition to mapping exercises and public data analysis. Miled's (2020) participatory photovoice research project was part of a larger ethnographic study. Participatory methods were used in studies with all age groups except for early childhood, which could have to do with how participation and agency are often conceptualized in terms of autonomy, power to effect change, and capabilities (Thomson, 2007).

Another significant, though less widely used methodological approach was that of *narrative analysis*. Narrative, or story approaches emphasize participants' accounts as stories, looking for the meanings and interpretations individual's give to their own experiences (Laoire, 2011b). Their narrations are therefore handled not as straightforward, all-inclusive histories, but rather as stories resulting from dynamic and selective meaning-making processes. They were thus handled by researchers using narrative analysis interpretively, to better hear and understand children's voices (Moskal, 2015), or discursively, to read children's stories for the presence of local and national discourses (Kjørholt, 2003). This methodology has been used by studies in the core group primarily to investigate the meanings children give to their personal migration experiences (Burrmann et al., 2017; Denov & Akesson, 2013; Laoire, 2011b; Moskal, 2015). Narrative analysis was also used to examine children's incorporation of wider discourses into their personal narratives (Kjørholt, 2003; Marques et al., 2020) and to understand the experience and navigation of urban space by a marginalized minority (Mohammad, 2013). The suitability of a narrative approach has been promoted for research with minority/non-dominant groups, including children (Moskal, 2015), because of the approach's interpretive aspects and its positioning of participants as storytellers knowledgeable about their own lives and experiences.

No studies reported laboratory experiments or experiments designed with control groups. Nor were there any studies based on clinical trials. While these methods were once common for developmental, psychological, and health research with children, there has been a broad movement away from experiments on human subjects in social sciences and in child research over the last few decades (Woodhead & Faulkner, 2000). This reflects ethical concerns about conducting research on children, as well as epistemological questioning of the appropriateness of applying experimental methods and statistical analysis to individual performance in a laboratory. Furthermore, the heavy emphasis on subjectivity in the research topic of children's sense of place and belonging could be pushing it farther away from more experimental research traditions and placing it in traditions which have abandoned experimental research. It could also be a time-related trend. The timeframe of this literature review means that all the research being reported was conducted after the social sciences had generally shifted away from

experiment-based research. The research has also all been conducted after the creation of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC, 1989) with its urgings to include children's voices in matters which concern them (article 12).

With Whom Was the Research Done?

In order to establish with whom has research regarding social difference and children's spatial subjectivities been done, it is necessary to examine the participants involved in the research. Childhood is strongly associated with biological age and developmental stages, though there has been much theorization in childhood studies emphasizing the socially defined meanings given to particular stages of the life course (Clark-Kazak, 2009). Child participants are typically recruited based on their age, either directly or indirectly via their age-based group membership to, for example, a particular level at school. To see if certain age groups were being over- or under-represented, I coded all the articles based on participant age into early, middle, or late childhood; youth; including adults; or some combinations thereof (For a full list and age ranges, see the codebook in Appendix D). I decided to predefine these stages with set age ranges such that they corresponded roughly with frequent school divisions, as recruiting through and/or researching school contexts is a common feature of research with children. Because many of the social meanings given to different ages are thought of in terms of educational level which has been heavily influenced by developmental psychology (Woodhead, 2013) it was helpful to name age groups roughly in developmental terms (e.g. early vs. middle childhood). The results of this age-group coding are reported in Appendix H. While the over-representation of children in middle childhood has been reported elsewhere (McNamee & Seymour, 2013), this was not the case for research into children's sense of place/belonging and social diversity. Twenty studies included youths, making them the most represented age group, followed by late childhood (x16), and middle childhood (x12). Children in early childhood were by far the least represented. Very few studies included early childhood (x5), and no studies included children under the age of six without also including adults (Bollig, 2018; McLeod et al., 2013; Melhuus, 2012), all school levels (Midgen et al., 2019; Moskal, 2015) or focusing on older children (McLeod et al., 2013). In other words, there were no studies with only participants under the age of six. Given the extreme prevalence of interviewing methods mentioned earlier, this trend could be related to perceptions of younger children as poorly qualified to participate in research (McNamee & Seymour, 2013).

Quite a lot of the research included in the core group was done with youth only (x12), often including older youth/young adult participants as a single participant group (e.g. youths aged 15-20) (Allen et al., 2020; Bates et al., 2019; Caxaj & Berman, 2010; Denov & Akesson, 2013; Díaz-Rodríguez et al., 2015; Mohammad, 2013; Raffaetà et al., 2016; Spaaij, 2015; Watt, 1998). The recruitment of participants straddling childhood and adulthood was cited by some of the others as intentionally targeting an ambiguous life stage in the societies under research. This was done in an attempt to account for social (Caxaj & Berman, 2010) and spatial (Díaz-Rodríguez et al., 2015) constructions of age. For example, Caxaj and Berman (2010) refer to the socially constructed definitions of "youth" which make it complicated to decide which individuals fit this category in any straightforward way; therefore, they elected to include a broad age range of participants (13-30-years-old) as well as participants who did not report their age in their study on newcomer youth experiences as a means of capturing experiences which are often excluded from research. Díaz-Rodríguez et al. (2015) chose to include youths aged 15-20 in their study on young people's use of space for leisure activities. The authors

describe their decision to include participants in this age range in order to capture a broader picture of the spatial practices and meanings assigned to individuals in the "ambiguous category of adolescent" (p. 82) and young people.

Although late childhood was represented in more studies than middle childhood, more studies relied on participants in middle childhood alone (x5) than did late childhood alone (x4). On the other hand, late childhood was the age group most likely to be included with other age groups/generations, with twelve studies representing late childhood alongside younger children, youths, or adults. This could be due to somewhat ambiguous conceptualizations of children aged 11-14 which allow them to be viewed as both "big kids" and "little teenagers". Of those studies including late childhood as a distinct participant group, alone (Bak & von Brömssen, 2010; Christou & Spyrou, 2012; Leonard, 2007; Sarmiento & Duarte, 2019) or in conjunction with another age group (Evers, 2020; Harden, 2000; Postma et al., 2014), all explore topics related to home/family and safety except for Evers (2020). Studies which included middle childhood tended to explore places at the local-community level or smaller. Only Laoire (2011b) and Moskal (2015) explored sense of place at the transnational/translocal level with children in middle childhood.

A variety of methodological and theoretical approaches influenced which participants were included in research, and how they were recruited. Bollig (2018), Harden (2000), Kjørholt (2003), Laoire (2011b), and McLeod et al. (2013) intentionally recruited multiple participants from the same family (siblings, parents, grandparent, etc.) to gain a *familial perspective*. This is distinct from the coincidental inclusion of siblings, as was the case in Sarmiento & Duarte's (2019) study with students from multiple classes at the same school. Those studies applying a familial approach tended to prioritize the relational and social context for one group of child participants (e.g. McLeod et al., 2013) or the difference age makes for siblings growing up with the same home culture (e.g. Harden, 2000). Some, but not all of these studies also incorporated an *intergenerational lens*. Bates et al. (2019), Bollig (2018), Evers (2020), Harris (2016), Kjørholt (2003), Laoire (2011b), McLeod et al (2013), Melhuus (2012), and Postma et al. (2014) all included adults (parents, teachers, community workers, grandparents, etc.) giving their studies an intergenerational quality. Some of these studies use intergenerational participants to situate children as members of multi-generational social contexts (e.g. Evers, 2020; Kjørholt, 2003) or to add additional layers of perspective on the research context (e.g. Bollig, 2018, Melhuus, 2012). One study (Reay & Lucey, 2000) incorporated intergenerational aspects in analysis of the participating children's accounts, but their article did not draw directly on any interviews with adults. These studies incorporating adult perspectives (parents, teachers, community workers) did so in ways which generally complemented child perspectives, rather than correcting them. Even when the children's and adults' accounts were contradictory, these were explored as generational differences as opposed to "reality checks" on fanciful or lying children. This speaks to a shift in child research away from earlier research traditions which have treated children as unreliable informants (Prout & James, 2015; Punch, 2002). For example, in Laoire's (2011b) work with children and their families' narratives of return migration to Ireland, she draws attention to times when children's stories and their parents' stories align or challenge each other to better understand the reality of return migration for both children and adults with a relational lens.

Nearly all the research in this literature review could be classified as intersectional, in regard to the consideration of multiple, intersecting categories of social difference (age, plus at least one other category). However, only eight studies stated directly the application of an *intersectional* lens (Allen et al., 2020; Caxaj & Berman, 2010; Díaz-Rodríguez et al., 2015; Miled, 2020; Mohammad, 2013, Raffaetà et al., 2016; Reay & Lucey, 2000; Spaaij, 2015). All but one (Reay & Lucey, 2000) of these studies referencing the theory of intersectionality were conducted with youths and young people. I have not been able to determine a reason for this. It is not only individuals on the cusp of adulthood whose experiences of place are colored by interactions between age, gender, race/ethnicity, SES, etc. These aspects of social existence are very much a part of life for children of four and fourteen as well as seventeen. Regardless the reason, there is a need for research with younger children which investigates questions of sense of place/belonging from an intersectional perspective.

Frequently Stated Limitations & Justifications

In the course of analyzing the thirty-seven articles in the core group, it became evident that two particular limitations formed a distinct methodological trend in this area of the research field. By far the most common methodological limitations mentioned by the authors of the core studies were those of *non-representativity* and *non-generalizability*. In fact, none of the authors claimed broad generalizability, and only one, Bæck (2004), claimed representativity for the sample population on the basis of random sampling. Bæck's study was conducted with youth in northern Norway while in their final year of schooling. She investigated the youths' rural/urban place attachments and attitudes regarding their local communities within the region. More than half of the students in the region under study were recruited for the project through random sampling with the aim of generating responses representative of the population of young people being researched. The study did not, however, attempt to produce knowledge generalizable to young people outside of northern Norway. On the other hand, Raffaetà et al. (2016) did not attempt to conduct statistically representative research, but they did present a case study of five interviews which depicted narratives of belonging and identity that were "particularly representative" (p. 425) of the diverse experiences of Chinese youth in Prato, Italy.

Generally, non-representative and non-generalizable research findings are in keeping with the qualitative, exploratory, phenomenological, participatory, and narrative methodologies which characterize this area of the research field. It does not mean that these kinds of research have no wider implications or relevance beyond the specific child participants in their specific contexts. However, the open generalizability born out of strict statistical representation which are the hallmarks of "proper research" in most of the "hard sciences" (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015) is not a concern of these methodologies. For example, in the Raffaetà et al. (2016) study, the authors do not claim broad generalizability. Rather, they use the specific experiences of the participating Chinese youth in an exceptional context of discrimination in Prato, Italy, to point to the fact that young people engage in active processes to construct a sense of belonging even in extreme contexts. The authors use this finding to identify a need for more dynamic theories of immigrant belonging which accommodate their findings and imply that while the circumstances are unique and the experiences of the participating youths are heterogenous, there is good reason to assume that youth in other contexts might share similar experiences and processes of belonging. Identifying "the potential extrapolations" (p. 2098) of theory-related findings to other circumstances and contexts is a claim of the

transferability of those findings (Carminati, 2018). Transferability claims were made by several studies and given as a justification for the research (e.g. Leonard, 2007). It was also used to identify needs for additional research (e.g. Kindermann & Riegel, 2018) and to appeal for the inclusion of more voices and perspectives in academia (Reay & Lucey, 2000) and policy- and decision-making (e.g. Allen et al., 2020). The transferability of findings was used as an argument for complicating current and widespread opinions (e.g. Burrmann et al., 2017; Spaaij, 2015) and to criticize current theory which does not adequately incorporate the full range of children's realities (e.g. Bollig, 2018; Denov & Akesson, 2013). The lack of representativity and generalizability is not problematic for qualitative research, as these are neither the goals for the measures of validity when evaluating the quality of qualitative studies (Carminati, 2018). Given the dominance of qualitative methodologies in this research area, it is noteworthy that so many of the authors still feel the need to defend qualitative paradigms. There is no harm in their mentioning the non-generalizable and non-representational nature of qualitative research findings. However, that so many researchers from disciplines which rarely produce research using traditional quantitative paradigms still must state this would be surprising if it were not for the longstanding dominance of quantitative paradigms.

Theoretical Trends & Tendencies

I have already made some connections between methods and theory and later additional connections between theory and geographic focus and social difference. However, this section specifically addresses several levels of theoretical influences in order to offer deeper insight into conceptual tendencies in research with children on sense of place/belonging in light of social difference. It refers to trends in the core group relating to disciplines/research fields, theoretical orientations, frameworks, and key concepts identified during the coding process. While many studies exemplified various theoretical perspectives, I decided to code theoretical perspectives at multiple levels based on the authors' specific terminology and descriptions. The full list of theory-related codes is organized by study in Table V. Even so, the studies in this area of the research field proved highly complex and interdisciplinary. Research was carried out and published in journals relating to disciplines ranging from sociology to geography to health to education to psychology and to linguistics. The authors drew upon an abundance of combinations of theory and concepts relating to the research fields of childhood and youth studies, rural/urban studies, multicultural studies, migration studies, gender studies, sociocultural geographies, and many more. The extent of the variation of research fields, theoretical orientations, and frameworks represented in the core group of studies is noteworthy, even considering the interdisciplinarity of the research topic. Not only was each study influenced by theories and concepts from multiple fields, there was a high degree of variation in which theories, concepts, and disciplines were referenced between studies. To provide some insight into the theoretical complexity in approaches to the research topic, I will provide an overview of main disciplinary tendencies identified in the core group. This section attempts to simplify some of the complexity by focusing on dominant trends at the levels of discipline and research field. However, the detailed outline provided in Table V is meant to serve as an illuminative balance to the trends identified here.

Not surprisingly, more than half of the studies on children's senses of place and belonging in relation to social diversity situated themselves theoretically within a vein of childhood studies (x13) or youth studies (x6), including children's/youth geographies and children's/youth health. The studies which referenced *childhood studies* as an

interdisciplinary field tended to employ multiple methods in order to allow children more scope for expressing themselves, with the exception of three studies which relied on interviews alone (Bak & von Brömssen, 2010; Denov & Akesson, 2013; Scourfield et al., 2006). This highlights the interconnectedness of theory and methods in research, suggesting that childhood studies researchers are following calls for the use of multiple methods as conceptually important for research with children (e.g. Abebe, 2009; Laoire, 2016; Spyrou, 2011). Denov and Akesson (2013) were the only researchers within this subgroup to rely on the recalled experiences of young adults to investigate children's realities; however, as mentioned earlier in the section on methods, their choice was driven by the difficulty of accessing separated children during flight from home/homeland.

The studies situating themselves within childhood studies were both the largest theoretical subgroup and the most widespread geographically, with studies in Northern (Bak & von Brömssen, 2010), Southern (Christou & Spyrou, 2012), and Western Europe (Bollig, 2018), as well as Great Britain (Laoire, 2011b; Leonard, 2007; Moskal, 2015; Scourfield et al., 2006; Tunstall et al., 2004), North America (Denov & Akesson, 2013; Postma et al., 2014), South America (Marques et al., 2020), and Australasia (McLeod et al., 2013; Witten et al., 2019). Leonard's (2007) study was fairly typical of this subsection of the research field and is helpful for illustrating the theoretical influence of childhood studies on research with children on their spatial subjectivities which takes social diversity into account. Her research focused on children's perceptions of safey/risk and everyday navigations of place in the context of the long-standing and occasionally violent ethno-religious conflict in north Belfast, Northern Ireland. The study prioritized the direct involvement of children in late childhood through a mixed methods design incorporating focus group interviews and a map-drawing and labeling activity. Leonard's research questioned prominent discourses of risk, underlining the potential danger of studies with children in conflict areas to obscure "the more mundane features of children's everyday lives" (p. 434) in favor of the more sensational aspects. Leonard's approach highlighted the heterogeneity of children's experiences both within and across social divisions. This emphasis on children's practices, the everyday contexts of children's lives, and a multiplicity of experiences was a common thread throughout research with a child studies approach. The studies which placed themselves specifically within *youth studies* were less numerous and were conducted in European (Bæck, 2004; Díaz-Rodríguez et al., 2015; Raffaetà et al., 2016; Watt, 1998) and North American (Sarmiento & Duarte, 2019) contexts. Research within youth studies comprised only a small subset of those studies which included youth perspectives. This points to the wider inclusion of young people over fourteen-years-of-age in research, whereas younger children are more likely to be excluded from research not specifically conducted within a child-focused framework.

Eleven studies specifically cited disciplines within *human geography* as part of their theoretical background. Eight of these (Bates et al., 2019; Díaz-Rodríguez et al., 2015; Leonard, 2007; Marques et al., 2020; Mohammad, 2013; Panelli et al., 2002; Reay & Lucey, 2000; Witten et al., 2019) included the neighborhood/local community in their analysis. The other three (Denov & Akesson, 2013; Laoire, 2011b; Moskal, 2015) focused on the transnational scale which exists between, or across nations. Only Díaz-Rodríguez et al. (2015) and Panelli et al. (2002) incorporated quantitative methods. This signals a move away from quantitative methods in geographic works interested in spatial subjectivities. It also echoes a wider trend within human geography as it has moved

further away from essentialist paradigms and an emphasis on quantifiable issues of structural inequality (G. Valentine, 2001).

Some additional tendencies related to theory have to do with levels beyond that of discipline and research field. *Multiculturalism* is an emerging focus area and was present in a small subgroup of studies on social diversity and children's sense of place/belonging (Burrmann et al., 2017; Clayton, 2012; Evers, 2020; Harris, 2016; Witten et al., 2019). These studies were all conducted fairly recently, with the earliest published in 2012 (Clayton) and the other four within the last five years. They tended to focus on the oldest age groups of children, except for Witten et al. (2019) whose study was with children in middle childhood. Most explored multiple or conflicting senses of belonging or belonging at different scales (e.g. to their local community and to the nation, as in Burrmann et al., 2017). I found no clear pattern in methods for studies on multiculturalism, except that all drew on interviews, which as mentioned earlier is not unique to this subsection of studies.

There was a noticeable silence within research on diversity and children's sense of place/belonging regarding topics of *children's rights* outside of short references to their right to participate or to the ethics of consent (e.g. Leonard, 2007). I found no studies in this part of the research field which were directly conducted from a children's rights perspective. This is surprising given the central position of children's rights within some areas of childhood studies research. Children's rights have been a significant driving force for child research since the adoption of the CRC in 1989, during which time the research in this review was conducted, making the silence on children's rights issues all the more notable. Several articles connect a sense of belonging to health and wellbeing (e.g. Caxaj & Berman, 2010; Richmond & Smith, 2012), participation in online networks (Raffaetà et al., 2016) and to school success (Midgen et al., 2019). Others connect sense of place to issues of risk/safety (e.g. Harden, 2000), conflict contexts (e.g. Christou & Spyrou, 2012), and gender and racial marginalization (e.g. Mohammad, 2013). All of these topics are present in the UNCRC (1989), the most central document of children's rights, yet none of the studies chose to approach these topics from a children's rights perspective. There is a need for research in the field of children's sense of place/belonging and social diversity to be combined with a rights perspective in future.

Geographic Focus

The question of "where" research is being done is of immediate relevance to this review of research into children's sense of place and place-belongings. Children's subjective experiences of place are directly related to the physical and social dimensions, which vary across spaces. To better understand the research about children's experiences of place, it is helpful to consider both the geographic location where the research was conducted and what geographic scale the researchers were investigating. An analysis of *fieldwork locations* revealed several distinct trends. Of the English language studies published on this particular focus area of research into children's diverse spatial subjectivities, Minority World contexts clearly dominate. Although the core group of studies were carried out in various locations around the world (see Figure V.1), only one study was based on fieldwork conducted in a Majority World context. This exception was a study by Marques et al. (2020) in Brasilia, Brazil which explored two children's use of utopia/dystopia in their narratives of their home neighborhoods. The two participants were chosen for their disparate socioeconomic backgrounds and

residence in areas set up as discursive opposites: a high-SES urban superblock and a low-SES satellite settlement.
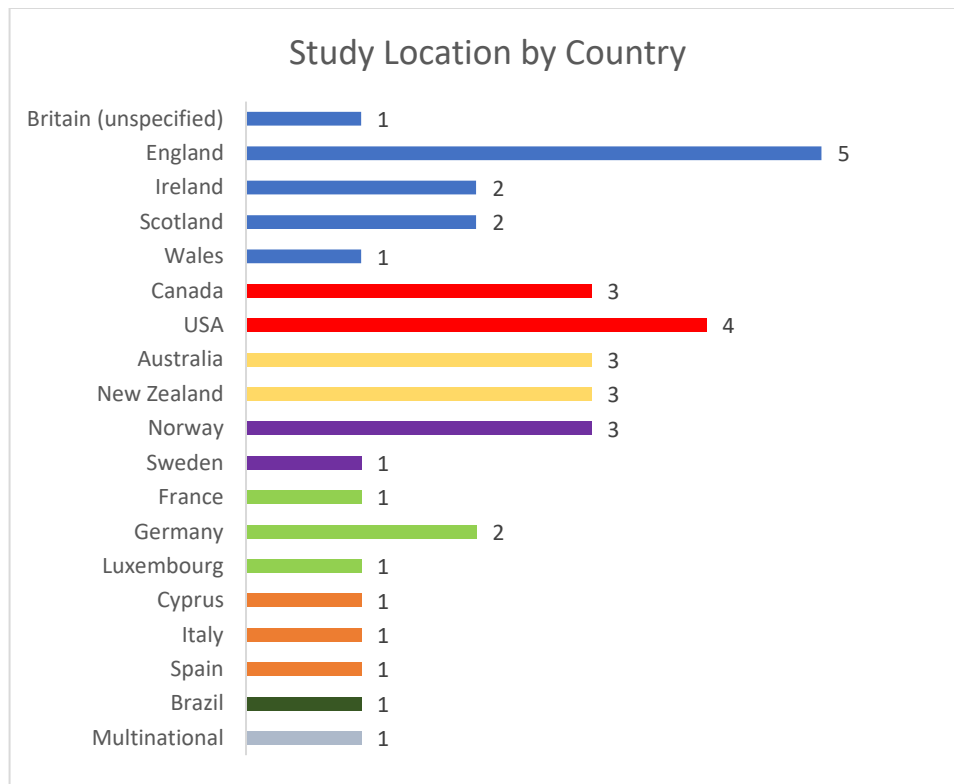

Figure V.1: Bar graph showing studies according to location of fieldwork according to country. Country names are organized according to region.

Only one study (Caxaj & Berman, 2010) in the core group drew on data from more than one country. Caxaj and Berman's (2010) study was multi-national, discursively analyzing online texts (USA, Australia, UK) and pre-existing interview transcriptions (Canada) to investigate challenges and opportunities to "newcomer youths' " (i.e. recent international immigrants) sense of belonging at different levels ranging from the home to the national. The rest of the core studies were conducted in contexts in Europe (x22), North America (x7), and Australia & New Zealand (x6). European contexts clearly dominate this area of the research field, with the British Isles (x11) being particularly prolific compared with Northern Europe (x4), Western Europe (x4), and Southern Europe (x3). A full list of articles by study location is included in Table V.1. The dominance of Minority World contexts is more prominent in the subgroup of included studies which focus on sense of place/belonging compared to the larger research field as presented in the bulk analysis (see p.26-27). The application of a critical sociological lens emphasizing placemaking and belonging for children, largely in response to anxieties over minority integration, refugee resettlement, race-relations, and autonomy and safety for young children, has largely been the purview of Minority World scholarship. This trend indicates that, as far as English-language academic research is concerned, questions of children's sense of place, particularly regarding the topic of place-related belonging, are predominantly a Minority World issue at this time.

In many of the studies in the core group, the *scale under focus* corresponded to the fieldwork context. For example, Bates et al.'s (2019) research with a group of young people in New Zealand investigated their experiences of wheelchair basketball as an enabling place at three levels: the body/wheelchair, the court/recreational center, and

the community/city. The study was rooted in a participatory approach and carried out via participant observations and individual interviews. The observations and interviews were conducted by the researchers in those three scales under inquiry by sitting in wheelchairs & playing wheelchair basketball themselves, by participating at training sessions and attending games in various recreation centers, and by interviewing participants in community locations (as well as in homes). This alignment of fieldwork site with scale of interest was seen in many of the studies, either directly, as in the Bates et al. (2019) study, or indirectly. The more indirect matching of scales could be through participant selection, as in Bæck's (2004) recruitment of youth across an entire region of northern Norway for her study on youth's regional sense of place for that same region. Another manner of indirect scale-matching was typified by Christou and Spyrou's (2012) study with children in southern Cyprus on their spatial navigations of otherness by enquiring their experiences of crossing the border into the northern region occupied by the discursively othered Turks. While they did not ethnographically follow the children across the border and back, Christou and Spyrou drew on the children's spatial experiences of otherness through crossing the physical border dividing their country to understand their subjective and social experiences of place, otherness, and belonging at the national scale. Not all of the studies' scale under focus clearly matched their fieldwork context to their scale of inquiry. For example, Laoire (2011b) and Moskal (2015) investigated migrant children's transnational sense of place without conducting fieldwork in multiple countries. The "mismatch" between fieldwork scale and scale of inquiry did not necessarily detract from these studies, as they often employed methodologies which utilized multiple research tools to help children express multiple views and lend extra interpretive context to the research. The alignment of scales cannot be assessed for some articles which failed to report the data collection setting (e.g. Harden, 2000; McLeod et al., 2013). All anthropological and ethnography-based studies, however, prioritized the matching of scales for research and topic of study. This corresponds to the tendency of anthropological/ethnographic research to prioritize contextualized knowledge production.

Table V includes a complete list of scales considered in the analysis of the studies in the core group. The study by Bates et al. (2019) described in the previous paragraph was the only study to examine place at a scale smaller than a building or a park with their focus on the body/wheelchair. There were a handful of studies which included home as a scale of interest[16] (Caxaj & Berman, 2010; Harden, 2000; Leonard, 2007; McLeod et al., 2013; Miled, 2020), but none of the studies included in this review looked exclusively at individual homes. Tunstall et al. (2004) focused on children's experiences of rivers located in parks, limiting the scale to a specific, small area although located in the vast and open scale of *Nature*. Kjørholt (2003) investigated children's placemaking practices at the small scale of "huts" as well as the broader scale of the local community.

Eleven studies included place at what could be considered the *institutional level*. These studies had the widest spread of participants according to age, including all research in the core group done with children in early childhood, except for Moskal's (2015) study on transnational belonging with children aged 5-17. Half of the eleven studies focused on the institutions as a single scale, whether schools (Allen et al., 2020; Midgen et al., 2019; Richmond & Smith, 2012), day care (Bollig, 2018), or churches (Kindermann & Riegel, 2018). The other half of the studies analyzing place at the

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[16] Home as a scale refers to a place of residence with its material as well as social and affective aspects, as opposed to a symbolic, affective state of belonging referenced in many of the articles.

institutional level included additional scales for comparison of place experiences at multiple levels (Bates et al., 2019; Burrmann et al., 2017; Caxaj & Berman, 2010; McLeod et al., 2013; Melhuus, 2012; Spaaij, 2015; see Table V for more specific details). A large subsection of studies in the core group analyzed place at the level of the *local community* or the *neighborhood* (x16), with seven studies focusing only on this scale. Most of the studies including the Reay and Lucey (2000) focused on a specific group of housing blocks, making the scale of interest somewhere between the home and the neighborhood. Nine studies included place at the *town/city* scale, six of which relied on participant observations/ethnography. These studies focused almost exclusively on late childhood and youths, with only one study conducted with children in middle childhood (Scourfield et al., 2006).

Only two studies considered the *regional* scale in their analyses, one in conjunction with local communities (Bæck, 2004) and one with towns (Watt, 1998). Eight studies incorporated the national scale; however, Christou and Spyrou (2012) were the only researchers in the core group to focus exclusively on the national scale. A subgroup of six studies considered the *transnational* scale. This group included all the articles within migration studies (Laoire, 2011b; Moskal, 2015; Raffaetà et al., 2016), as well as half the studies representing refugee's experiences (Bak & von Brömssen, 2010; Denov & Akesson, 2013; Spaaij, 2015). Two of these compared several scales (Raffaetà et al., 2016; Spaaij, 2015), while the other four only interrogated the transnational scale (Bak & von Brömssen, 2010; Denov & Akesson, 2013; Laoire, 2011b; Moskal, 2015). These four studies included home, local, and national places, but their interrogative focus was only on the transnational (including the translocal). Scourfield et al.'s (2006) study was the only one to use the *global* scale in their analysis. Here, global is distinct from transnational in that it is not between any specific combination of individual nations, but rather a broad web which can be seen to transcend nations. In that sense, global is more abstract, perhaps contributing to its unpopularity as a scale in research on social diversity and children's sense of place/belonging. It is also possible that there is more work being done on global sense of place or belonging, but which did not fit my criteria for the core subgroup which favored embodied experiences of place. Overall, the predominant scale of focus in research on children's sense of place/belonging and social diversity was the institutional scale, followed by the neighborhood/community scale. This would suggest that conceptions of children's worlds as confined to the domestic (i.e. homes) and local (i.e. schools, neighborhoods, communities) spheres are still dominating the knowledge production process (Huijsmans, 2011), from study design to analysis. This is still where children are assumed to spend most of their time, so it is not surprising that most research deals with these scales. However, children are just as much a part of the nation and the globe as are adults. More research is needed to gain understanding about children's wider sense of being in the world and to problematize blind spots relating to their assumed domestic and local belongings.

Social Diversity in Analysis

The rationale behind focusing on social diversity in this literature review was manifold: I aimed to identify research which took an intersectional approach to children's experiences of place and place-belonging; to locate research being done on children's senses of place and belonging in multicultural or hyper-diverse contexts; to include research on belonging and sense of place for migrant and refugee children; and to find research on children's senses of place and belonging in contexts of "everyday" or ubiquitous social diversity. However, the goal was not to synthesize findings in order to

discover different minority groups' sense of place or belonging as the qualitative nature of the research in this area are not attempting to produce universal or generalizable findings. Based on my reading of the studies in the core group, it would seem that my literature search was successful in locating research on the topic of children's sense of place/belonging in relation to the many approaches to social diversity I was aiming to include. It is certain that some articles which fit these approaches were missed in the search and screening process, yet each of these approaches was represented. The descriptive and comparative nature of this literature review allows for the consideration of how social diversity was approached by the different studies, and for a bird's-eye view of which axes of social difference are being represented in literature on social diversity and children's sense of space/place.

The previous chapter presented an overview of social diversity in all 110 included studies in the section "Aspects of Diversity under Consideration" (p.31-34). This section on social diversity in analysis for the core group diverges from the section on social diversity in the bulk analysis in that coding of axes of social difference differ for some of the articles. While reading the core group of articles, I found that a number of articles reported certain diversity traits for their participants (e.g. participant gender, sample population ethnicities) but did not later include those aspects of social diversity in the analysis or discussion sections (e.g. no comparison of experiences based on gender, no discussion of gender effects or masculinities/femininities). In the bulk analysis, articles were coded for axes of diversity based on the title, abstract, introduction, and methods sections. For the core analysis, I decided to change codes to reflect only the axes of diversity which were represented in the analysis and discussion sections of the articles. This was intended to provide a more nuanced and accurate picture of the analytical focus of the studies. It also accounts for the discrepancies between Figure IV.5 in the previous chapter (p.34) and Figure V.2 in the current chapter.
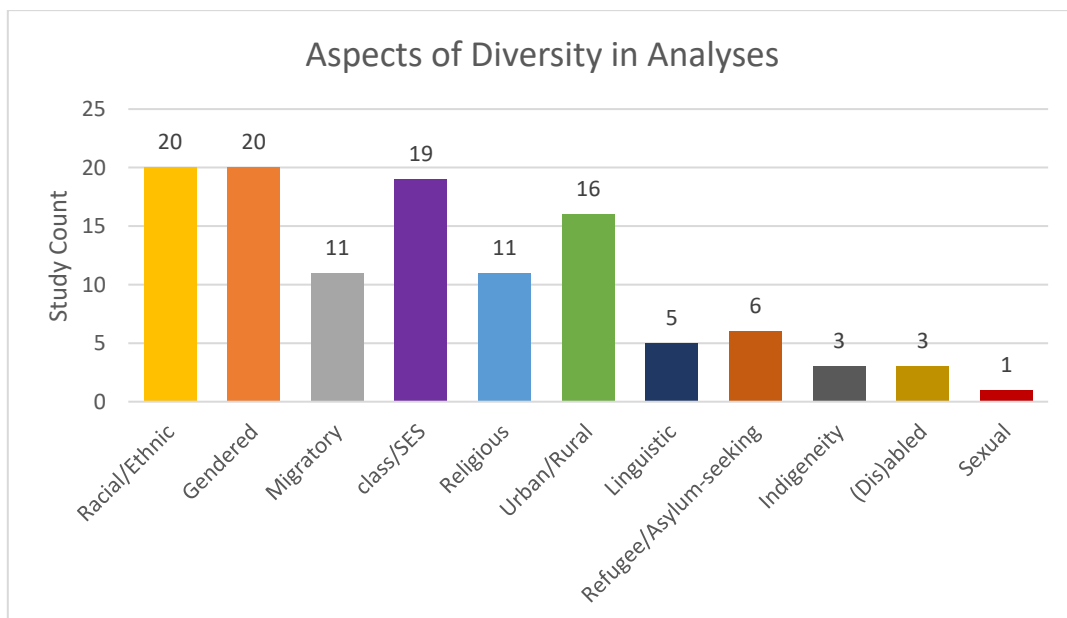

Figure V.2: Chart showing number of studies addressing various aspects of social difference in their analysis.

For example, more articles were reported to address *urban/rural* diversity in Figure V.2 (x16) than in Figure IV.5 (x15) which presents data for the entire bulk of included studies. Eleven additional articles were identified to consider urban/rural

difference during core analysis which had not been identified during the bulk analysis. This points to the inclusion of rural and urban differences in the analytical discussions of topics in the studies, as well as a tendency to deemphasize urban/rural categories in the theoretical and methodological sections. This could point to a reduced tendency to "other" individuals based on urbanity/rurality but which is not blind to heterogeneity on the basis of urban/rural differences. Similarly, the two models show and equal number of studies including *socio-economic status (SES) or class* (x19) differences. This was not because all of the studies considering class/SES were part of the thematic subgroup focusing on sense of place/belonging. Rather, ten additional studies were found to incorporate class/SES during their analyses but not earlier in their papers. Again, this could be indicative of a conceptualization of class/SES which is less "othering" than other categories of difference which are viewed as more fixed and stable, especially those of race and ethnicity. For example, there was very little discrepancy between reporting of race/ethnicity in the first and second half of the papers. This suggests a general treatment of race and ethnicity as fixed, if problematic categories, interesting both as basic background information and as an influence on children's sense of place/belonging.

The only category which did not see any change between coding during bulk and core analyses was the one relating to *disability* (x3). The articles which represented children with abilities labeled as "disabled" did not evaluate their experiences along any other axis of difference. There were no studies which took an intersectional approach and included ability as an aspect of social diversity, whether "able" or "disabled". This made it easier to code the articles, but it also points to an exclusion of disability from representation in research on social diversity and children's sense of place/belonging. This supports claims that ability is still seen as more fixed than other categories of social difference (Metell, 2019). This review shows a clear knowledge gap relating to how ability intersects with other aspects of social identity to interact with children's senses of place and belonging.

R*acial/ethnic* (x20) and *gendered* (x20) differences were the axes of difference most frequently present in the studies, which was also the case in the bulk analysis. The analysis of children's senses of place and belonging in light of racial/ethnic and gendered aspects of social diversity clearly dominated this area of the research field. More than half (x11) of the studies including these aspects looked at both racial/ethnic and gendered aspects of children's experiences in addition to at least one other axis of social difference. Furthermore, there were nine studies each which focused on either racial/ethnic or gendered aspects, but not the other. Whether these two axes were present alone or in combination, I could not identify any clear trends regarding study location, methodology, theoretical background, or their incorporation of other aspects of diversity. However, there were some trends relating to date of publication. Of the nine studies published prior to 2010 (1998-2007), only one (Scourfield et al., 2006) did not include gender in their analyses. Whereas, only twelve of the twenty-seven studies published between 2010 and 2020 included gender in their analyses. This trend was not present for ethno-racial aspects of diversity which were spread evenly over the timeframe of the review. This trend reflects the influence of critical feminist theory and feminist geography on childhood and youth studies during the 1990s and early 2000s (Panelli et al., 2002; G. Valentine, 2007). Only eight studies in the core group did not include either gender or race/ethnicity in their analyses. These included the three disability studies mentioned previously, in addition to three studies which focused on migrant experiences (Bak & von Brömssen, 2010; Laoire, 2011b; Moskal, 2015) and one study which focused on indigenous youth's experience of social belonging in urban schools (Richmond & Smith, 2012).

Interest in *migratory* (x11) status was proportionally less for studies in the core group compared to the bulk of included studies. Articles were selected for the core group based on their thematic focus regarding sense of place/belonging, as opposed to identity processes or resettlement/transition outcomes. Because articles were sorted into the core group thematically, it is safe to conclude that proportionally fewer studies focusing on children's sense of place/belonging were interested in migratory status compared to children's identity processes or resettlement/transition outcomes. This indicates that research with migrant children is not primarily concerned with their sense of place or belonging. *Religious* (x11) difference was most often included in studies with Muslim children. This was treated as either part of a combined ethno-religious categorization and/or identification (Mohammad, 2013) or as more individualized religious belief and practice (e.g. Miled, 2020). Most of these studies focused on Muslim children and their religious background's interaction with gender (x10), migratory status (x6), SES (x6), and/or refugee status (x4). Only two of the studies which included religious diversity in their analyses did not focus on Muslim participants/Islam. Kindermann and Riegel's (2018) study from a religious-education perspective researched children's experiences of visiting Catholic churches, while Leonard (2007) researched children's perceptions of risk and safety in the context of violent ethno-religious divisions in the city of Belfast, Northern Ireland. This trend might point to a lack of interest in the relation between children's religious position and their experiences of place and belonging, except when it comes to the experience of Muslim children. This reflects an "othering" of Islam in Minority World contexts.

Sexuality was by far the least represented aspect of difference included in research on children's sense of place/belonging. Harris (2016) study was the only one in this review to consider sexual diversity in analysis. Her research conducted with urban youths aged 14-25 in Australia incorporated hegemonic norms regarding appropriate vs. inappropriate sexuality which shaped participants' constructions of place and belonging. The inclusion of sexual norms was helpful in making sense of participants' interview responses which otherwise seemed contradictory to the point of being self-defeating. Participants in Harden (2000) and Witten et al. (2019) made references to sexual imagery in public spaces, on television, and on the internet. The children in both studies identified the sexualization of these spaces as uncomfortable, not "kid-friendly", and even threatening. However, sexuality was not discussed in terms of social difference, so these were not coded as a reference to sexual diversity. This review identifies a clear knowledge gap relating to sexuality and children's sense of place/belonging. This gap could be related to discourses of childhood innocence, which have been claimed to have a silencing effect, contributing to the construction of sexuality as a taboo subject in many western contexts, especially for children (Robinson, 2013). Given that children themselves brought up sexualized aspects of place, there is clear potential for incorporating sexual dimensions in research on children's sense of place/belonging.

Linguistic difference was considered in a small group of studies, most of which considered at least four aspects of difference in addition to language (Bak & von Brömssen, 2010; Evers, 2020; Miled, 2020; Scourfield et al., 2006). Bollig (2018) was the only researcher to analyze her research based on language differences alone in her exploration of the differential and spatially dependent use of language by a boy in the Luxembourg daycare setting. Other traits were mentioned (such as gender, ethnicity, and migratory status) but these were not addressed in the analysis or the discussion. As discussed earlier, representation through descriptive background is not the same as conceptual representation through the interpretive analytical process. Only three studies included *indigeneity* as a distinct axis of social difference. Richmond and Smith (2012) were the only researchers in the core group to focus specifically on aboriginal children's sense of place and belonging, while Harris (2016) and Witten et al. (2019) included

aboriginal children in their studies of hyper-diverse urban contexts in Australia and New Zealand, respectively. *Refugees/asylum-seekers* were represented in six studies, all of which considered race/ethnicity (Caxaj & Berman, 2010; Christou & Spyrou, 2012; Denov & Akesson, 2013; Miled, 2020; Spaaij, 2015) and/or religion (Bak & von Brömssen, 2010; Caxaj & Berman, 2010; Miled, 2020; Spaaij, 2015). All of these explored the children's multiple or conflicting senses of belonging (except for Denov & Akesson, 2013), and the children brought up perceptions of safety (except for in Spaaij, 2015). None of the studies considered rural/urban aspects, but this could have an interesting bearing on their experiences of place and belonging in the home and host cultures. There is a clear need for research into refugee children's experiences of place and belonging to incorporate rural/urban aspects, both before and after resettlement.

Summary V: Core Analysis, Part 1

This chapter presents an analysis of the core group of articles in this review which focus on children's sense of place/belonging and social diversity. This analysis was carried out in order to identify significant tendencies in this area of the research field. I have outlined some key trends in the methodological choices made by researchers, particularly regarding research tools, participating age groups, and fieldwork location. Qualitative methodologies clearly dominate within this research topic, and interviews were used in nearly every study. Interviews were frequently combined with at least one other research tool, suggesting that researchers are taking into consideration issues of accessing and interpreting children's voices. Research on the topic of social difference and children's sense of place/belonging was conducted with children ranging from the age of three and up. Youths between the ages of fifteen and eighteen were by far the most represented age group, and were often included in mixed age groups with young adults (over eighteen-years-old) or with younger children, especially those aged 11-14. The researchers have taken pains to ensure the participation of children in their research projects, as evidenced by the methodological and theoretical emphases placed on participatory tools and design, children's subjectivities, and discourses of children as competent and knowledgeable social actors. Yet, this does not automatically ensure ethical or sensitive representations of children's views or realities, and more attention needs to be given to issues of representation and reflexivity regarding the role of the researchers/authors in shaping the research.

The popularity of participatory, narrative, intersectional, relational, and intergenerational approaches helped to create contextualized knowledge regarding the research topic. I have also analyzed the geographic location of the studies, both in terms of global position and the scale of place being studied, in order to further contextualize the knowledge produced in this area of the research field. Minority world contexts, more specifically European contexts, clearly dominated the literature being published in the English language. An emphasis on place at the domestic and local scales was discussed as a significant tendency. The trends in both the scale under focus and the fieldwork locations speak to blind spots in the field. This review has identified a clear need for research from a wider variety of countries, particularly Majority World countries, and for a consideration of children's experiences of place as transected by spatial scales wider than the spheres closest to home.

This chapter went on to analyze representations of various axes of social difference in the articles' analyses. Significant tendencies to focus on gendered and racial/ethnic aspects point to the widespread acceptance of these identity categories as part of children's daily experiences. On the other hand, the dearth of research incorporating ability, language, and sexuality suggest that these types of difference are not as widely recognized as shaping children's lives, pointing to a need for more research

which problematizes the silence on these axes. I have also addressed some significant discrepancies between the inclusion of social difference in the papers' analyses (this chapter) and in their abstracts, introductions, and methods sections (previous chapter). The inconsistencies in reporting between sections of the articles was illustrative of the way in which different aspects of diversity are conceived. Gendered, racial/ethnic, migrant, refugee/asylum-seeking, indigenous, and ability differences were fairly stable between sections, whereas class/SES and urban/rural differences were often included in analysis, but not before. These tendencies indicate a less fixed reading of class/SES and urban/rural differences. There is a clear need for research into the intersectional aspects of sense of place/belonging for all children, not just "other" children. The next chapter, *Core Analysis, Part 2*, will move on from focusing on significant trends to present key findings and predominant themes relating to children's sense of place/belonging and social diversity in the core group of works.

Chapter VI. Core Analysis, Part 2

This chapter builds on the first part of the core analysis presented in the previous chapter to address the second main research question: *What are key findings and predominant themes in studies of diversity and children's sense of place/belonging?* In this review, findings and themes are used to refer to two different levels of information found in the texts. *Findings* is used to refer to direct research outcomes reported by authors. My analysis of findings tended to focus on the data presented as research results, which were generally drawn from the articles' results and discussion sections. *Themes* is used to refer to a level of analysis above that of comparing research results. I identified and labeled thematic elements present in the texts before comparatively synthesizing my notes made in the margins of the articles to locate dominant themes within the core group. Themes tended to focus on conceptual, theoretical, and/or discursive elements present within the articles. There can, of course, be thematic trends in what was found, and the findings themselves can be related to broader themes. However, I have chosen to organize part two of the core analysis according to which level of analysis is being presented.

In the previous chapter, the methodological and theoretical approaches were connected to the types of research done and the groups of children[17] included in research on social diversity and children's sense of place/belonging. The methodological and theoretical choices made by researchers have implications for the research findings, which form the topic of this chapter. Continuing the core analysis, I outline some key findings in the research field related to the significance of social and material dimensions of place in children's sense of place, to children's placemaking practices, and to the ambiguous nature of belonging. The chapter then goes on to present prominent themes which were found to dominate within research into social diversity and children's sense of place/belonging. The three major themes, identified during a coding process inspired by thematic analysis (Terry et al., 2017), were those of social difference as structurally constrained, yet unfixed; of risk and safety; and of diversity as a daily experience. In the process of presenting key findings and dominant themes within the core group, I also identify possible blind spots and challenges for this area of the research field. The discussion of these potential pitfalls woven throughout the core analysis is also carried into the final, concluding chapter where it is taken up again in greater depth.

Key Research Findings

The research in the core group of thirty-seven studies produced knowledge about children's senses of place and belonging in relation to social diversity. The research was done with a range of methods in various geographical and social contexts with children of diverse ages, social identities, and backgrounds. Although the findings of these studies reflected this variation, there was a certain level of agreement across contexts and participants. This section will present some key findings which coalesced around prominent areas within the topic of children's sense of place/belonging in light of social difference. Namely, the importance of material and social context to place/belonging, children's engagement in placemaking practices, and the dynamic and manifold nature of belonging. It is beyond the scope of this review to present a full, comparative report of findings for all studies. However, this is not necessary as the purpose of this review is

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[17] I use the term children to refer to participants with 18 years-of-age or under for the sake of simplicity. However, when describing studies which focus on "youth" or "young people", I have adopted their terminology.

not to identify universal findings or best practices, but rather to provide insights into trends and themes in the research field. The focus will therefore be on findings which were identified as significant during the reading and coding processes, on the basis either of their repetition or the emphasis placed on them by authors in this subgroup as a whole.

Role of the Social & Material Aspects of Place in Sense of Place

Findings relating to the role of social and material contexts in shaping children's spatial subjectivities kept coming to light during the coding process. Generally, the literature in the core group pointed to a relationship between the material and relational features of a place and children's formation of *place attachments*, that is, affective ties a person makes to a place (Denov & Akesson, 2013). While many studies highlight the social aspects of children's experiences of place and place-belongings, a small number of studies were conducted from a specifically relational perspective (Bates et al., 2019; Denov & Akesson, 2013; Leonard 2007; Moskal, 2015). The methods, ages, study locations, and geographical scales varied greatly, but the relational focus drew attention to ways in which place-belonging and sense of place are shaped by the people present (or absent) from that place. For example, Denov and Akesson's (2013) research with youths on their placemaking practices as child refugees emphasized the importance of relationships to their sense of place during flight. Participant's stressed the deep bonds formed between themselves and their fellow refugees which influenced a positive sense of belonging to lands in spite of hostilities, persistent dangers, and deprivations. In Moskal's (2015) study with Polish immigrant children in Scotland on their *translocal* (i.e. local-local connections across nations) sense of home, their senses of place were marked by the absence of friends and family. The meaningful "holes" in the social fabric of their lives in Scotland problematized their sense of belonging. The participants conveyed experiences of simultaneous closeness and remoteness. Closeness, due to the presence of family locally in Scotland or through communication over phone and videocall; and remoteness, because of family members and friends left behind in Poland and the physical distance which was not crossed through phone or video calls. Together, the four studies which openly cited a relational perspective presented findings which portrayed children's spatial subjectivities as full of conflicting affective ties and ambiguous senses of place. The messy findings of the studies which emphasized a relational perspective reflect the complexity of the social relations which shape everyday experience, especially when considering the interplay of the spatial and the social.

There were however many more studies which addressed the significance of the social to the spatial but did not situate themselves within a specifically relational framework. Table VI.1 presents an overview of studies with findings which addressed the social and/or material features of place in shaping children's sense of place. The studies are organized in Table VI.1 according to which aspects are concentrated on by the authors. For example, Midgen et al. (2019) found that relationships were the most important factor by a large margin to school belonging according to the children participating in their study of children's perceptions of belonging for disabled children in mainstream English schools. The participants emphasized the importance of friendships, supportive relationships with school staff and classmates, and connection to family and the wider community for creating an inclusive school environment in which they could feel welcome and a sense of connection. Similarly, McLeod et al. (2013) found that the children with speech sound disorders in their study experienced places quite differently depending on who was with them in those spaces. Particularly when with parents,

siblings, or close friends, the children were found to be more communicative, happier, and less saddened or embarrassed by their speech than in schools, in front of peers, or in public spaces. The children's sense of place-belonging was enhanced through relationships with people who had learned to listen to them, allowing them to contribute without being significantly impacted by their speech difficulties. Likewise, Richmond and Smith (2012) found that Aboriginal youths in Ottowa, Canada, largely experienced school as a place of exclusion and non-belonging, which was shaped by a lack of supportive social relationships and a sense of isolation due to the absence of other Aboriginal students or teachers.

Social Features	Social & Material Features	Material Features
Bæck, 2004	Bates et al., 2019	Marques et al., 2020
Harden, 2000	Bollig, 2018	Tunstall et al., 2004
McLeod et al., 2013	Christou & Spyrou, 2012	
Moskal, 2015	Clayton, 2012	
Richmond & Smith, 2012	Denov & Akesson, 2013	
Scourfield et al., 2006	Díaz-Rodríguez et al., 2015	
	Kjørholt, 2003	
	Laoire, 2011b	
	Leonard, 2007	
	Midgen et al., 2019	
	Mohammad, 2013	
	Panelli et al., 2002	
	Postma et al., 2014	
	Reay & Lucey, 2000	
	Teixeira & Zuberi, 2016	
	Witten et al., 2019	

Table VI.1: Overview of studies with findings focusing on social &/or material features of place as important to children's sense of place.

In some studies, the presence or absence of others was related more specifically to the children's experience of and attachment to place. For instance, Witten et al. (2019) found that children from different neighborhoods in Auckland, New Zealand, experienced their local areas in relation to others. The presence of friends and known adults enabled them to play and explore with enhanced freedom and to form positive place attachments to special places (e.g. a favorite tree). Whereas, the presence of others behaving in a manner which the children perceived as threatening (e.g. derisive teenagers at the skate park; unpredictable drunken or homeless adults in the city park) limited their use of the spaces and colored their sense of place with negative emotional responses. In other cases, findings related to the social aspects of sense of place were focused not on individual relationships, but on wider social opinions or stereotypes. Reay and Lucey (2000) found that children living in low-SES housing blocks which had been the focus of much negative media attention had conflicted senses of place reflecting their awareness of the disparaging discourses as well as an attachment to the housing blocks as their home community. Similarly, Teixeira and Zuberi (2016) found that young black people living in a disadvantaged neighborhood in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, were keenly aware of the social stigma attached to their place of residence. The young people's place attachments were negatively affected by this, and it also influenced their perceptions of the material aspects of their neighborhood. Litter, abandoned houses, and other sorts of

visible disorder in the neighborhood, occupied almost exclusively by African Americans, became directly connected to negative, racial stereotypes of black people as "dirty", "trashy", and "careless". Material disorder was frequently mentioned by the participating youths as a problematic, material feature of the neighborhood which degraded their emotional sense of place and well-being. Scourfield et al. (2006) found that sense of place was mainly socially informed for children from several primary schools in Wales. The participating children clearly prioritized attachments to other people over attachments to places, with place attachments frequently being framed in terms of the inhabitants. Their spatial subjectivities were based on relational judgements regarding whether or not the inhabitants were perceived as similar or different to the children. The emphasis on attachments to people over places in forming a sense of place could be construed as a developmental difference between children in middle in childhood and adults. However, Scourfield et al. (2006) argue that children's lack of place-based attachments and identities might not indicate a significant cognitive difference between children and adults. Rather, the difference between children's and adults' articulations of sense of place could be indicative of the limited linguistic and cultural categories available to children in middle childhood based on their relatively short time of exposure to travel and societal discourses. There were articles which addressed social relations in the form of power structures, but these were considered as structural aspects and are discussed later on under predominant themes. Another group of articles mentioned some social aspects, but much more so in relation to belonging than to place. I have therefore chosen to handle these as a separate group of findings, and these are discussed in the section on ambiguous belongings.

On the whole, most of the articles which reported findings related to the importance of social and/or material aspects to children's senses of place and belonging emphasized social aspects. Considering that the studies focus on spatial experiences, this is significant in that it points to the widespread inclusion of the social as well as material dimensions of place. Given the subject of this literature review, the inclusion of social and material aspects is not especially surprising as it is closely related to sociocultural geography and childhood studies, both of which have emphasized social aspects of everyday life in context in research over the last thirty years (e.g. Panelli, 2004 on social geography; Prout & James, 2015 on childhood studies). However, historically in the tradition of geography, which was primarily material geography, such attention to the social dimensions of space cannot be taken for granted. The findings in the core group of studies consistently supported the inclusion of social dimensions of space. This does not mean that the material aspects of place were unimportant, but rather highlighted an emphasis that child participants placed on relationships and social belonging when evaluating place or forming place-attachments. Given the focus on social difference and aforementioned disciplinary backgrounds, it is not surprising that a socially oriented lens would be employed by most researchers interested in the topic of social diversity and children's sense of place/belonging. However, even when authors chose to look at children's place experiences with a focus on the physical, material environment, as in Tunstall et al. (2004), the participating children still mentioned social aspects. In their perceptions of London rivers, the children emphasized possibilities to play in river spaces with friends and the material aspects which facilitated play over the features of the river as a landscape or place in itself. Marques et al.'s (2020) findings focused on the material dimensions of two Brazilian children's sense of place for their disparate neighborhoods in Brasilia. The physical aspects, such as facilities, distance, cleanliness, crowdedness, and condition of buildings, featured in the children's spatial

accounts during guided walks. The participants also referred to the social function of some of these places (e.g. for play, for buying bread), although the findings were presented through a lens oriented towards the material.

Nevertheless, to say that the studies in the core group consistently prioritized social contexts by no means implies that they did not consider material contexts important. Witten et al. (2019) argued that processes by which children derive senses of belonging, inclusion/exclusion, and self are dependent on their relations with the material and the social dimensions of where they live. This was supported by Bates et al.'s (2019) study with youth participating in wheelchair basketball. They found that, for the young people in their study, inclusion in a space was about much more than physical accessibility. However, material accessibility to sports facilities and the material functionality of the wheelchairs were necessary prerequisites for inclusion. Panelli et al. (2002) also found that both social and material aspects of the local community were important for rural youths' sense of belonging. The young people in their study reported experiencing and practicing both inclusion and exclusion through social relationships with others in the town as well as through material features including populations size, local facilities, and distance between locations. Similarly, Christou and Spyrou (2012) found that refugee Greek Cypriot children's sense of place in Turkish-occupied North Cyprus was heavily shaped by the material dimensions of borders, military presence, and changed homesteads. Yet, these were inextricably linked to the social practices of border crossing; the social meanings ascribed to military uniforms, symbols, barbed wire, etc.; and the presence of Turkish people as well as the nature of social encounters with them. Christou and Spyrou's (2012) findings point to the socially constructed nature of the materiality of place. In many of the studies, examining the multidimensional nature of relations between children and the spatial contexts of their lives helped to make sense of the heterogeneity of their place-based experiences. This perspective was helpful both for illuminating individual children's heterogenous experiences across different places and different children's heterogenous experiences of the same place.

This collection of findings supports Massey's relational understanding of place as material context imbued by a people's constructed meanings (2005). Massey's theorization of place as a "simultaneity of stories-so-far" (p. 130) is helpful in considering the findings presented by studies in the core group relating to the role of the material and the social in the children's spatial subjectivities. The children's stories represented in the articles feature social and material characters and settings—the quality of the place is shaped by social dynamics and material features and the characters in the stories include other people, structures, the natural environment. Cresswell (2004) has described place as space which people make attachments to. Combining this definition with the findings of the research analyzed in this section, it can be said that, as children dynamically form place attachments in response to experiences of spaces which are colored by their variegated social and material characteristics, children are at the same time actively engaging in placemaking practices. Such active, placemaking practices were themselves an important cluster of findings within this area of research.

Constructing a Place for Oneself

Placemaking (also written "place-making") refers to the practices by which meaning is given to places (Bollig, 2018), including the dynamic relations between people and places as well as one's understanding of oneself in relation to the place

(Denov & Akesson, 2013). Placemaking can therefore be understood as the process by which one builds or develops a sense of place. It is a concept which is both process oriented and relational, and it tends to focus on the ways in which places are constructed by people.

Study	Findings of Placemaking
Bak & von Brömssen, 2010	of home/homeland
Bollig, 2018	through language use
Christou & Spyrou, 2012	of nation/homeland
Denov & Akesson, 2013	during flight
Evers, 2020	through language use
Kjørholt, 2003	through hut building
Marques et al., 2020	through play
Melhuus, 2012	of "Nature"
Miled, 2020	of home
Mohammad, 2013	of gender, through mobility & routine
Moskal, 2015	of home
Panelli et al., 2002	of community
Raffaetà et al., 2016	of transnational community
Sarmiento & Duarte, 2019	through mobility & music
Witten et al., 2019	in a context of "hyper-diversity"

Table VI.2: Overview of findings in core group studies regarding children's placemaking practices.

About a third of the articles in the core group presented findings which focused on children's placemaking practices, although not all of them used the term directly. Table VI.2 provides an overview of significant findings which related to the concept of placemaking. It is not an exhaustive list of all findings which could be considered relevant to placemaking practices, but instead draws attention to the most illustrative examples. Together, the findings referred to in Table VI.2 highlight the dynamic, active role children occupy as they interact with the spatial contexts of their daily lives to infuse them with meaning, thereby transforming them into places. The research in this review reported a wide range of practices which contribute to the production of place. Placemaking practices encompassed physical acts of construction, such as children making huts to be special places as well as to establish themselves in the local social order (Kjørholt, 2003). Placemaking also included mobility patterns, such as children's independent movement along favorite routes (Sarmiento & Duarte, 2019), young women's routinized use of familiar spaces (Mohammad, 2013), and young people's routine avoidance of places of disidentification and exclusion (Panelli et al., 2002). Some findings illuminated social practices as serving a placemaking function, for example, the playing of certain games in certain spaces such that they become part of that place's identity (Marques et al., 2020) or daily rituals (such as making bonfires, storytelling, and identifying birds) at an outdoor kindergarten which construct "Nature" as an educational and playful place (Melhuus, 2012). Children were also found to make place via the formation of affective attachments to, for example, a favorite tree in the neighborhood (Witten et al., 2019) or to significant places of hardship along the flight journey of child refugees (Denov & Aksesson, 2013). The presence, or absence, of family members were also found to be a meaningful part of place production for children, especially those with a migrant background (Bak & von Brömssen, 2010; Moskal, 2015). Language was found

to be an important resource for placemaking for multilingual migrant children in the Luxembourgish daycare setting (Bollig, 2018) and for young people in their use of a hyper-local dialect to form and express a specific place identity as descendants of Arabic-speaking migrants in Marseilles, France (Evers, 2020). Other studies found that discursive elements served as resources for children in their placemaking practices. Christou & Spyrou (2012) found that Greek Cypriot children constructed the northern, occupied region of Cyprus using nationalistic discourses and symbols to construct a national sense of place with Northern Cyprus as their homeland invaded by an ethnic other (the Turkish Cypriots). Raffaetà et al. (2016) found that Chinese youth in Prato, Italy, used local and transnational placemaking practices to negotiate their place in a context of heightened stigmatization and discrimination. The youth in their study practiced placemaking to negotiate discriminatory discourses, while their placemaking was simultaneously being constrained by the same discriminatory discourses they were working to negotiate. The study found that the youth were hampered by such discourses, but that they were also able to actively carve a place for themselves as "Chinese from Prato". The participants accomplished this sense of place through the Pratese dialect of the Italian language, routine travel with friends between Chinese cities and Prato, academic achievement, participation in local youth cultures, and participation in transnational social networks online. These findings of active but constrained placemaking were supported by Mohammad's (2013) study with young Muslim women in Birmingham, England. She found that the women in her study engaged in placemaking practices which simultaneously reproduced gendered, Muslim space and their neighborhood as "Little Pakistan". Mohammad's study found that participants' routinized use of space in line with gendered and ethno-cultural norms (e.g. frequently engaging in shopping trips within a safe distance from home as a leisure activity) was both a means of trying to belong in the neighborhood and a reaction against not belonging elsewhere. Their practices in turn reinforced the established gendered and ethno-cultural spatialities familiar to them, strengthening their attachments to Little Pakistan.

Several studies found that children actively engaged in placemaking practices to construct a place for themselves to belong (Kjørholt, 2003; Miled, 2020; Moskal, 2015; Panelli et al., 2002; Raffaetà et al., 2016). Such findings point to the role children can take as agents for their own sense of belonging. One of the clearest examples of this was in Kjørholt's (2003) study on the hut-building practices of children in northern Norway. Her study found that children engaged in hut-building activities in order to construct a place to belong, both in the sense of a special material place in a specific location and in the sense of carving out a position for themselves in the local, intergenerational social field. By engaging in a culturally meaningful practice of childhood, the participating children actively constructed places of belonging along aged and gendered lines which pre-existed in local patterns of social relations. The findings of Panelli et al. (2002) also illuminated the processes by which children construct belonging. Their study in rural New Zealand found that young people creatively create their own "politics of 'community'" to negotiate belonging and contest exclusion. The studies found that children's constructed senses of belonging were sometimes contested by others, limiting their ability to make a place for themselves (Miled, 2020; Raffaetà et al., 2016); however, this did not simply erase their sense of belonging. Findings related to the contested, ambiguous nature of belonging for children in many of the core group studies is discussed in the following section.

Ambiguous Belongings

Another significant group of findings in the core group of studies centered on children's sense of belonging. These findings illuminated the ambiguous nature of belonging, painting a complex picture of belonging which is not simply a black-and-white case of belonging or not. Table VI.3 presents an overview of the clearest, most significant examples of findings in the core group pertaining to the ambiguous character of children's belongings. Belonging and non-belonging can exist within and across places and scales. Senses of belonging can be in conflict with each other, contested by other individuals or by society at large, multiple, and simultaneous. *Conflicted belongings* are those of simultaneous belonging and non-belonging, as in the experience of both inclusion and exclusion from the local community described in Panelli et al. (2002). For the youths in Panelli et al.'s study, belonging was shaped by specific social encounters which varied across individuals and locations. These encounters were often inconsistent and shaped by race, gender, and age, making local belongings the active result of the youth's navigations and interpretations of social interactions. Caxaj and Berman's (2010) findings also pointed to the conflicted nature of belonging. Their multinational study into newcomer[18] youths' experiences of belonging supported Panelli et al.'s (2002) research showing the possibility of simultaneous experiences of inclusion and exclusion for youth. The Caxaj and Berman (2010) study reported contradictory yet coexisting senses of belonging and non-belonging for newcomer youths navigating public and private spheres. Home could be a supportive place of familial support and private cultural expression *and* a place of restrictive surveillance and conflict, especially for the female informants[19]. On the other hand, public spaces could be exclusive places of marked otherness and exposing visibility *and* places of empowerment, freedom from gendered/cultural regulation, and opportunity to participate in the wider community.

A conflicted sense of belonging can also exist in terms of a mixed or ambiguous sense of belonging to a place. This was the case for the female Asian youths in Watt's (1998) study of place in southern England. The study found that the participating female Asian teenagers were attached to their local community as a familiar and safe place, yet also experienced it as restrictive and oppressive due to the watchfulness and gossiping of their neighbors. This ambiguous sense of place translated into an ambiguous sense of belonging. The male Asian youths in Watt's study expressed multiple belongings, with a strong local attachment to their home community, as well as orientation towards traveling "out of town" to specific destinations which were identified with a transcendent "British Asian" culture. The concept of *multiple belongings* was typically used with regard to immigrants and refers to plural belongings which are not a single, uniform belonging, nor are they seen as contradictory (e.g. Italian-American in Raffaetà et al., 2016). Denov and Akesson (2013) also reported findings related to children's belongings which were both conflicting and multiple. Their study with youths recalling experiences of place during flight as child refugees found that their senses of belonging consisted of strong, conflicting place attachments for places left behind, as well as attachments to multiple places, including place of origin, arrival, and resettlement. Belonging is a complex and multilayered phenomenon which is actively produced; however, it can also be facilitated or contested by others.

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[18] Recently arrived immigrants/refugees who are in the process of homemaking in a new country (Caxaj & Berman, 2010)

[19] The term "informants" is used here because Caxaj and Berman (2010) relied on pre-existing texts for data, meaning that the young people in the study could not be described as active participants in the study.

Some studies' findings highlight the role of *social gatekeepers*[20] who grant or contest belonging for the child participants. Raffaetà et al.'s (2016) study with Chinese youth in Prato, Italy, found that the youths' senses of belonging were complex and conflicted, simultaneously singular (e.g. Chinese, not Italian) and multiple (e.g. Chinese from Prato). But, in either case, the participants consistently reinforced essentialist understandings of identities and belongings as fixed, mutually exclusive, and based on intrinsic characteristics. The authors argued that the youths' perceptions of identities as fixed can only be understood in the context of the stigmatization and discrimination they experienced from the non-Chinese inhabitants of Prato. The persistent legal barriers to Italian citizenship for youths of Chinese-immigrant descent, combined with "locals' " refusal to socially acknowledge them as either Italian or Chinese-Italian, acted as a powerful contestation of the youths' right to belong in Prato. Daily experiences of exclusion did not prevent the youths from carving out a place for themselves to belong (discussed in previous section on placemaking). However, it did significantly shape their understandings and senses of belonging at multiple scales, including to their schools, to Prato, to Italy, and to China.

Study	Findings of Ambiguous Belongings
Bak & von Bromssen, 2010	multiple belongings
Burrmann et al., 2017	complicated belongings at various levels
Caxaj & Berman, 2010	conflicted experiences of belonging
Denov & Akesson, 2013	conflicted and multiple place attachments
Miled, 2020	multiple belongings
Panelli et al., 2002	heterogeneity across places and between youths
Raffaeta et al., 2016	contested belonging, belonging at various scales
Spaaij, 2015	belonging at various scales
Watt, 1998	multiple, conflicted belonging

Table VI.3: Overview of findings in core group studies regarding the ambiguous nature of children's place-belongings.

Findings which highlighted the role of social gatekeepers in shaping children's belonging at multiple levels were also present in less hostile contexts. Spaaij's (2015) study with Somali refugee youth involved in sports clubs in Melbourne, Australia, also found that belonging was dynamically shaped by the interplay between participants' active negotiations and the responses of others. The youths actively navigated social difference and formed place attachments, but social gatekeepers' recognition or denial of their belonging had the power to facilitate or contest it, respectively. However, the multicultural Australian context permitted a wider scope for Somali youths in Spaaij (2015) to negotiate belonging than experienced by the youths in Raffaetà et al. (2016). The Spaaij study found that certain boundaries of inclusion/exclusion were flexible and able to be crossed by the youths, including those of clan and sports team. Whereas, other social boundaries were experienced as stable and posed significant barriers to

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[20] The concept of social gatekeeping relates to the politics of belonging. *Gatekeepers* are persons inhabiting a place, of any scale, who have the power to include or exclude others by virtue of their dominant or more established social position (Spaaij, 2015). One does not need to be in a dominant position in a broad sense to be a gatekeeper for a particular place. For example, a two-year-old girl of ethnic minority background and low-SES may be a gatekeeper at a daycare center she has attended for over a year in relation to a three-year-old boy of majority ethnic background and high-SES who has only recently begun attending the daycare center. In this case, the girl would occupy the dominant social position because of her familiarity with the daycare center, established friendships, and "seniority" as the experienced child.

belonging, including those of gender, ethnicity, and religion. In both cases, youths would engage in belonging-"seeking" practices through selective identity expression (e.g. Somali vs. African), language, dress, and situation-specific behaviors, while social gatekeepers could "grant" belonging through recognition or oppose their belonging with exclusive practices and language. The intersection of gender, religion, and ethnicity made it especially difficult for the young, female, Muslim refugees from Somalia to forge a sense of belonging to Australian sports clubs. The complex nature of developing a sense of belonging was also affirmed by Burrmann et al.'s (2017) study with migrant and refugee youth in sports clubs in Germany. Again, belonging was found to be a multilayered and conflicted achievement which could be contested or supported by others. Belongings existed for the teenagers in the study at multiple scales, including homes, sports clubs, neighborhoods, Germany, and their countries of origin. Some participants identified very strongly with their sports clubs and had a profound sense of belonging at the team level, yet they struggled to belong at home or in Germany because of conflicting values or the denial of resident permits. Official denial of belonging did not negate belonging at other levels, but it complicated it for participants without an acknowledged legal right to belong. For other participants, a long-term sense of non-belonging at the sports club complicated their wider sense of belonging in Germany in spite of official recognition. This did not imply exclusion from the neighborhood, but the segregated nature of their social worlds could in turn deplete their sense of belonging in Germany as well as in their home country. Despite a level of comfortability when in both, these participants experienced being "too foreign" in Germany, but "too German" during visits to their/their parents' homelands. These findings illuminate the complicated nature of belonging, which is shaped by many actors. Research into children's sense of belonging cannot only consider the internal characteristics or individual histories of the children whose belonging is being researched. Studies which investigate children's belonging to specific places must account for others who influence that place.

Research in the core group which situated itself within diaspora studies also produced nuanced knowledge about the conflicting belongings for migrant and/or refugee children. *Diaspora* is related to dislocation and a sense of being "out of place" resulting from mobilization processes, hence diaspora studies are interested in the "imagined transnational communities" constructed by "people that live in territorially separated locations" (Sökefeld, 2006, p. 265). Bak & von Brömssen's (2010) study with migrant and refugee children in Gothenburg, Sweden, focused on their diasporic experiences, including that of transnational belonging. They found that the children were able to embrace multiple belongings, to Sweden and to home countries primarily through transnational kin, or family, networks and through language. Miled (2020) drew on concepts of displacement to study negotiations of identity, home, and belonging with female, Muslim refugee youth in Canada. The findings showed that belonging in Canada was strongly desired and worked for by the participants. Yet their achievement of belonging was also dependent on how others perceived them, and was influenced by factors such as skin color, language proficiency, and style of dress. Interestingly, all findings identified in this literature review on children's ambiguous belongings came from studies with migrant and/or refugee children, except for Panelli et al. (2002). It is possible that this is because ambiguous belongings are primarily experienced by children who have undergone a movement between two places with distinct cultures. However, it is likewise possible that it is a matter of which discourses and theories drive research with different groups of children. Concerns regarding the social integration of migrant/refugee children (e.g. Burrmann et al., 2017; Spaaij, 2015) have motivated

research into their sense of belonging, whereas "local"[21] children's belonging may often be left unquestioned. In the case of the Panelli et al. (2002) study, the research found complex, ambiguous senses of belonging for the "local" youth involved in the study. Such an approach proved fruitful for gaining knowledge into the heterogenous experiences of youthful inhabitants in the same small town. More research into belonging for children who are not traditionally considered as "others" in a society is needed to further understand how belonging is perceived and experienced by children in all their diversity, not only for certain groups of children labelled "diverse".

It is notable that a handful of studies found that the presence of diversity served as a key for some children's sense of belonging. Bates et al. (2019) found that the diversity of abilities on wheelchair basketball teams which incorporated athletes who did not use a wheelchair off the court was a key for disabled youths' sense of belonging to the team and enablement on the court. Similar, Caxaj and Berman (2010) found that cross-cultural exchange and diversity in the places of settlement were important for facilitating immigrant youths' sense of belonging. As Harris (2016) found, diversity could play an instrumental role in young people's sense of local and national belonging. As one young participant stated, "You're not an outsider because everyone's just so different" (Harris, 2016, p. 365). Even in contexts of less positive and general multicultural exchange, growing diversity was discussed in positive terms by participants. This was the case in Mohammad's (2013) study with young Pakistani-British women living largely segregated lives in Birmingham, England. For children with multiple or conflicting belongings, the daily reality of diversity and positive social encounters over lines of difference can serve as the key to opening up a place for them to belong.

Predominant Themes

This section presents themes identified during coding which dominate in the field of research on social diversity and children's sense of place/belonging. The analysis presented in this section is at a higher level than that presented in the previous section analyzing important areas of findings. The thematic analysis focuses on conceptual, theoretical, and/or discursive elements present within the articles in the core group. The themes explored here are not exclusive to this specific area of research and there is overlap with the wider fields of sociocultural geography and childhood studies. However, in the context this literature review, themes were specifically linked to the topic of children's senses of place and belonging in relation to social difference. The predominant themes in the core group related to intersectional understandings of belonging with social difference as structurally constrained yet unfixed; recurrent themes of risk/safety and public/private divisions in relation to children's sense of place and belonging; and social diversity as "everyday". To better understand how these themes were present in the research under review, they are elaborated below with examples from articles in the core group.

Structurally Constrained, but Unfixed Social Difference

One theme which dominated the research included in the core group was that of social difference as both structurally constrained and as unfixed. Generally, social difference was portrayed by researchers as neither a fixed structural position nor as a fluid construct wholly open to personal redefinition. Rather, social difference was

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[21] "Local" is placed in quotes to emphasize the contested and constructed nature of definitions of natural or "local" inhabitants.

conceived of as the dynamic result of tensions between structural constraints and an individual's own meanings and practices. This theme is present in wider debates within social studies regarding structures vs. social actors. The studies in this review which incorporated this theme approached difference as both structurally and individually determined, rather than one or the other. Such an approach to social difference necessarily carries over into understandings of sense of place, belonging, and social identities as also dynamically shaped by individuals as social actors within structural constraints. For example, Clayton (2012) found that the historical and political economic contexts of Leicester, England, shaped the city's social structures such that there were entrenched power relations along ethnic lines. The children and youths in Clayton's study negotiated their own ethnic identity and acceptance within the city through multiple belongings, modifying the meanings of social identities, and the creation of affiliations. However, the negotiation of ethnic identity was constrained by intersectional hierarchies of race which were shaped by perceived "otherness" based on skin color, SES, religion, dress, and newcomer or refugee/asylum-seeker status. Also, Watt (1998) critiqued both Gramscian inspired subcultural theory with its fixed, structural approach to youth subcultures as well as postmodern theory's seemingly endless fluidity and emphasis on individual actualization for their failure to capture the lived realities of children and young people as they navigate place and difference. Instead, Watt approached youth culture and sense of place as something created by individual social actors through mobility practices and dynamic negotiations of identity within the structural contexts of hegemonic racialization of space. The racialization of space played out in geographic segregation according to gender, class, and ethnic divisions and unequal access to transport.

The theme of social agency within structural constraints was evident in relation to most categories of social difference. There is not space in this chapter to report every connection made in the core texts to this theme; however, I present a selection of examples from articles which illustrate this theme. The examples were chosen for their clarity and relevance. An overview of the examples of unfixed difference within social constraints is presented in Table VI.4 along with references. One of the most notable examples was in Harris (2016) which stood out for its clear approach to all difference as dynamically constructed with reference to structural constraints. Harris' conceptualization of difference paid attention to situational and discursive elements shaping youth's constructions of difference in multicultural Australian cities. Harris presents a nuanced picture of intersectional diversity which is not categorical but flexible and actively produced in interactions. The suppleness of social difference was however still shaped by structural constraints, including local hierarchies of belonging and hegemonic norms of gender and sexuality. National discourses of multiculturalism which embrace difference and promote the successful coexistence of distinct cultural groups living alongside each other as distinctly Australian enabled the youths' constructions of Australian identity as multicultural dexterity. However, national discourses of post-multiculturalism which hold that differences must be set aside to achieve societal cohesion emphasized the goal of immigrant assimilation and hampered the participants' development of national Australian identifications. As one young male participant stated, being Australian was "not what color you are or where you are from. It's about how well you interact with everyone else around you…" (Harris, 2016, p. 364). The youths constructed difference depending on situational contexts for use as a political resource for establishing their own sense of belonging. For example, while difference was widely used by participants as a resource for belonging to the nation and the local

neighborhood, it could also be leveraged in flexible ways to assert belonging to local youth cultures. Some young female participants of migrant background defended their status in youth hierarchies and their right to participate in youth beach culture by excluding others as "too new", "oversexualized", and "too Muslim". The young women employed exclusionary practices included slut-shaming, avoidance, and stigmatization of headscarves; however, these did not center on differing religious beliefs or Islamophobia but reflected hegemonic norms which marginalize both female over-sexualization and repression. Harris argues that this approach to difference as unfixed, yet structurally constrained, helps make sense of the youths' seemingly contradictory constructions of multicultural community and instances of ethnicized and racialized conflict. This conceptualization of difference allows for readings of the children's various constructions of difference as shaped by multiple fields of power while maintaining their agency as social actors.

Study	Structurally Constrained *and* Unfixed Difference
Bates et al., 2019	regarding ability and enabling places
Caxaj & Berman, 2010	regarding participation/belonging for immigrants
Christou & Spyrou, 2012	regarding ethnic identities
Clayton, 2012	regarding intersectional hierarchies of racialization
Evers, 2020	belonging for descendants of migrants
Harden, 2000	regarding age
Harris, 2016	difference as situationally & discursively produced
McLeod et al., 2013	regarding ability and enabling places
Miled, 2020	regarding belonging for young female Muslim refugees
Panelli et al., 2002	regarding youths' belonging in rural towns
Raffaetà et al., 2016	regarding ethnic/national identity
Spaaij, 2015	for refugee youth in organized sport
Watt, 1998	regarding race and place
Witten et al., 2019	regarding age and place

Table VI.4: Overview of examples from core group of studies regarding difference as dynamic and structurally constrained. Note: not an exhaustive list.

Ability was approached as relatively fluid but confined within social and structural constructions by McLeod et al. (2013). The children in their study experienced their diagnosed speech disorders in unfixed ways depending on various contexts with their accompanying demands, expectations, and structures. Communicative disabilities were, for the most part, not experienced by the children in their homes or in the context of supportive, familiar relationships. On the other hand, schools and other public spaces facilitated experiences of disability and inability to function as required by teachers, shopkeepers, or other children and adults. Bates et al.'s (2019) study also incorporated themes of agency within structure in relation to ability. Their study with youth participating in wheelchair basketball focused on enabling spaces which facilitate the experience of ability for youth which typically find themselves labeled as disabled and excluded from community sports. This adds nuance to concepts of accessibility and welcome, which becomes about much more than physical admittance. In Bates et al.'s article, the concept accessibility was expanded to encompass social equity, inclusion, and enabled participation, as well as structural access, sufficient resources, and constructions of ability/disability. Such approaches help to reflect disabled children's lived realities. They also allow for more dynamic conceptualizations of ability/disability which are neither deterministically structural or individual, nor endlessly fluid.

Some of the studies in the core group carried the theme of structurally constrained agency directly into considerations of age. Panelli et al. (2002) discussed constructions of youth and their place within rural communities as limited by structural marginalization and stereotypes, yet something which the participants in their study creatively challenged, contested, and negotiated. Structural marginalization took various forms, including exclusion from playgrounds and some shops and the communal monitoring and delegitimization of youth activities (e.g. banning skateboarding). Harden's (2000) study in Scottish contexts addressed the structural reification of age constructs which reinforce discourses of children as vulnerable to risk, irrational, and as naturally belonging in the home. These included restricting children's access to public space through curfews, bans, and requiring adult chaperones, as well as media discourses of young children as innocent and at risk but older children as threatening and deviant. The children participating in Harden's study were aware of these discourses and constraints, sometimes agreeing with them, sometimes contesting or questioning them. The children showed a level of reflexivity and thoughtfulness in their own understandings of safety/risk in private/public spaces which challenged discourses of their irrationality. They also adapted strategies for navigating risk in home, local, and public spaces which allowed them to negotiate their belonging and safety within restrictions of their movements. Witten et al. (2019) conducted a study with children of the same ages as those in the Harden (2000) study, also with a focus on children's negotiations of place in their local area. Almost twenty years later and oceans away, Witten et al. (2019) found that children's senses of place were actively negotiated within structural regulations through practices similar to those used by children in Harden (2000). The creation of child-friendly places (or lack of them) and transportation networks served to regulate the children's use of space, yet the children in the study also actively shaped their sense of place through mobility practices and the avoidance of certain areas or people. For example, some children chose to carve out places for themselves in their neighborhoods instead of using designated children's areas, effactually remaking place and age.

Ethnic/racial difference was also seen to be both unfixed and socially constrained. Raffaetà et al. (2016) argued that while ethnic and cultural identities are not statically fixed or unchanging, theories of fluid hybridity did not reflect the reality of Chinese youth in Prato, Italy. Though able to negotiate their place with belonging and identities as resources, this was within severe constraints of discrimination and monoethnic national discourses which did not allow the youth to hold a multiple Chinese-Italian identity. Belonging was further constrained by structural barriers of spatial and social segregation and stereotypes which singled out persons of Chinese descent as more out of place in Prato than migrants/descendants of migrants from all other countries. The youth were not stripped of all agency regarding their place within Prato, but their ability to exercise agency was significantly limited. Christou and Spyrou's (2012) study can be seen to support Raffaetà et al.'s (2016) approach to constructions of ethnonational belonging as unfixed but severely constrained within contexts of entrenched enmity. Christou and Spyrou's (2012) work on children's border encounters in ethnically divided Cyprus also highlighted the children's agency in constructing ethnonational difference through personal experiences and narrative-retelling. This was however strongly shaped by cultural trauma, national discourses about ethnic difference, and the realities of military occupation and border construction.

Similarly, the theme of difference as dynamic but structurally constrained was present in conceptions of belonging/non-belonging for refugee/migrant children. Structural factors were considered as especially significant to constructions of refugees and migrants as different. Immigration politics (Miled, 2020; Spaaij, 2015) and refugee resettlement systems (Miled, 2020), were seen variously as structural facilitators of and barriers to belonging for children based on intersecting discourses of difference. For example, Miled (2020) showed the heterogenous nature of young female Muslim refugees' experiences of resettlement in Canada. Their ability to negotiate belonging and identity in Canada was constrained by discourses of religious, racial, and ethnic difference as well as socio-economic differences and political support for certain groups of refugees (e.g. Syrian refugees). Despite increased racialization and stigmatization in the Canadian context, the young women in Miled's study were able to contest their position through engagement in youth culture and choice of dress. Some of the participants chose to wear a veil or headscarf as a statement of religious and personal identity or in combination with modern clothing as a statement of hybrid identities.

The adoption of flexible identities by refugees to combat structural constraints was also presented in Spaaij (2015). Spaaij approached belonging for Somali refugee youth in Australian sports clubs with a structural and social actor lens. Though constrained by national media discourses and immigration politics, the youths were able to negotiate various social boundaries, though some proved more rigid than others. The structural organization of community sports teams and leagues could downplay or emphasize difference. The organization and dress codes combined with Australian and Somali-Islamic gender norms to be doubly problematic for the female participants in Spaaij's study. The skill of cultural adaptability in playing with team members from different clans, countries, and religions was held as an important resource by participants for acting within social constraints to negotiate their belonging and national identities. Evers' (2020) study with children of migrant descent in Marseilles, France, incorporated the theme of structurally constrained negotiations of difference for exploring constructions of linguistic and racial difference. The adoption and manipulation of the local dialect of French by the participants was presented as a creative production of hyperlocal place attachments, but this was framed by structural segregation, socio-economic divisions, and the hegemonic status of "proper" spoken French which inhibited the recognition of the children's local identities and belongings. Similarly, Caxaj and Berman (2010) address the constraining nature of rigid social norms, nationalist conceptions of identity, and lack of social support which act as structural barriers to immigrant youths' sense of belonging, constructing them as "other". However, as was the case in many of the studies incorporating themes of dynamic yet constrained difference, Caxaj and Berman also presented the youths as social actors working to forge new identities of belonging through flexible identities and negotiations of intersecting difference.

Themes of Risk and Safety

Themes of risk and safety clearly dominated within research into children's senses of place and belonging and social diversity. Well over half of the studies in the core group dealt with themes related to safety and risk. Table VI.5 presents a detailed list of all examples of themes of risk and safety identified during coding. Risk and safety were discussed in relation to children's sense of place, their sense of belonging, their belonging in public/private/local spaces, and the formation of place attachments. Risk was typically associated with children's presence in public spaces (Harden, 2000;

Leonard, 2007; McLeod, et al., 2013), children's diminished belonging (Reay & Lucey, 2000; Teixeira & Zuberi, 2016), experiences of discrimination (Caxaj & Berman, 2010; Clayton, 2012; Miled, 2020; Watt, 1998), violence (Denov & Akesson, 2013; Leonard, 2007; Reay & Lucey, 2000; Teixeira & Zuberi, 2016), and encounters with unfamiliar or threatening others (Christou & Spyrou, 2012; Harden, 2000; Leonard, 2007; Reay & Lucey, 2000; Witten et al., 2019). Risk was also heavily related to restrictions being set on children's activities and mobility (Clayton, 2012; Harden, 2000; Leonard, 2007; Reay & Lucey, 2000; Sarmiento & Duarte, 2019; Teixeira & Zuberi, 2016; Watt, 1998; Witten et al., 2019), either by themselves or by adults. Safety/risk were in some cases related to notions of security/insecurity, as in Burrmann et al. (2017) in their exploration of immigrant youths' local and national belongings which were complicated by political economic marginalization and the refusal of citizenship or permanent residency. Children were also sometimes conceptualized as risks themselves, either as immature beings unable to care for themselves and make sound decisions (Harden, 2000; Reay & Lucey, 2000), or as individuals engaging in risky or bullying behaviors which pose a direct threat to others (Harden, 2000; Leonard, 2007; Postma et al., 2014; Witten et al., 2019).

By and large, risk and safety were treated as dichotomous opposites in the articles. The treatment of risk and safety as opposites was evident in some of the authors' writings, but also in some of the quotes from participants. Safety was typically associated with children's presence in the home or other private places (Caxaj & Berman, 2010; Harden, 2000; McLeod, 2013; Mohammad, 2013) by researchers and participants alike. Several authors pointed to safety as enhancing children's sense of belonging (Bak & von Brömssen, 2010; Harden, 2000; Laoire, 2011b; Midgen et al., 2019; Miled, 2020; Witten et al., 2019). Conceptually, safety was tied to experiences of inclusion (Allen et al., 2020; Bates et al., 2017; Midgen et al., 2019; Miled, 2020; Richmond & Smith, 2012; Spaaij, 2015) and physical well-being (Postma et al., 2014; Teixeira & Zuberi, 2016). Positive or supportive social encounters with others (McLeod et al., 2013; Midgen et al., 2019; Postma et al., 2014; Reay & Lucey, 2000; Richmond & Smith, 2012) were also discussed by participants as contributing to experiences of places as safe. While risk was associated with restrictions being placed on children, safety was associated with greater freedom and independence (Laoire, 2011b; Sarmiento & Duarte, 2019). Connections were frequently made between safety and familiarity of people, places, language, or culture (Caxaj & Berman, 2010; Christou & Spyrou, 2012; Denov & Akesson, 2013; Harden, 2000; Kindermann & Riegel, 2018; Mohammad, 2013; Reay & Lucey, 2000; Witten et al., 2019). In fact, the conceptual ties made between safety/home, safety/belonging, and safety/familiarity were so strong that the terms were sometimes conflated by authors and participants, with "home" and "sense of home" being interchanged with "belonging" (Harden, 2000; Kindermann & Riegel, 2018; Miled, 2020; Scourfield et al., 2006), and "familiar" being interchanged with "safe" (Kindermann & Riegel, 2018; McLeod et al. 2013; Mohammad, 2013).

Given the thematic prominence of safety/belonging, there was a considerable lack of attention given to risk/belonging in the research. Safety was treated as an assumed prerequisite for belonging and the formation of place attachments, while belonging and risk were implicitly painted as oppositional. However, there was very little empirical exploration of this. An important exception was Denov and Akesson's (2013) study on the placemaking practices of child refugees during flight. Their research found that the participants had engaged in forming place attachments and forged a sense of belonging

Implications of Safety/Risk	Safety & Risk Regarding...	Study
for belonging	safety in school	Allen et al., 2020
for belonging	resettlement, home, & safety	Bak & von Brömssen, 2010
for belonging	enabling places & safety	Bates et al., 2019
for belonging	political-economic insecurity	Burrmann et al., 2017
for belonging	public/private and discrimination	Caxaj & Berman, 2010
for belonging	navigating the city and racial hierarchies	Clayton, 2012
for belonging	constructions of safe/innocent space	Laoire, 2011b
for belonging	safety at school	Midgen et al., 2019
for belonging	cultural safety in schools	Richmond & Smith, 2012
for belonging	mobility & "safe spaces" in relation to risk of racism	Watt, 1998
for belonging & place attachment	safety & familiarity/similarity; public/ private	Mohammad, 2013
for belonging & place attachments	risky environments; decisions to flee	Denov & Akesson, 2013
for mobility	safety and independence/accessibility to public spaces	Sarmiento & Duarte, 2019
for sense of place	constructions of ethnic/regional difference	Christou & Spyrou, 2012
for sense of place	urban public spaces as safe	Díaz-Rodríguez et al., 2015
for sense of place	feeling safe, familiar, "at home"	Kindermann & Riegel, 2018
for sense of place	risks in home/local/shared spaces; negotiating safety/risk in risky environment	Leonard, 2007
for sense of place	risk perception in community	Postma et al., 2014
for sense of place	safety & respectability	Scourfield et al., 2006
for sense of place	danger identification; risk & fun	Tunstall et al., 2004
for sense of place	safe/unsafe people/places	Witten et al., 2019
for sense of place & belonging	public/private/local spheres; familiarity	Harden, 2000
for sense of place & belonging	home & safety; social risk	Miled, 2020
for sense of place & belonging	risk/restriction & safety/familiarity	Reay & Lucey, 2000
for sense of place & comfortability	familiar and safe private places	McLeod et al., 2013
for sense of place & place attachment	perceived neighborhood risks/harms	Teixeira & Zuberi, 2016

Table VI.5: Overview of themes of safety and risk in the core group.

even in the most extreme contexts of violence, privation, and insecurity. The authors acknowledged the counter intuitiveness of such processes in dangerous contexts. However, they argue that it was perhaps precisely the risk experienced by the children which compelled them to forge meaningful attachments to place and to their fellow refugees. Reay and Lucey (2000) showed the complicated place attachments formed by children living in a risky environment and portrayed their belongings as ambivalent and complex. These studies would seem to imply that risk does not negate children's sense of belonging, which complicates a straightforward reading of safety/risk and belonging. More research into the relationship between risk and the development of place attachments is needed to better understand the importance of risk/safety for children's sense of belonging.

The dominant subthemes of public spaces as risky and private spaces as safe were challenged in only a couple of studies. Díaz-Rodríguez et al. (2015) found that youth in the Canary Islands, Spain, preferred central, urban public spaces for leisure activities in part because they were perceived by participants as safe. The visibility and centrality afforded by such public spaces provided a sense of safety and comfort in contrast to the more isolated and disadvantaged surrounding suburbs. On the other hand, Leonard's (2007) study with children living in conflict zones of Northern Ireland challenged readings of the home as a sphere of safety. For some of the children participating in Leonard's study, home was not a safe haven from violence, but rather another area in which risk was present, particularly for those living along communal and regional borders. The participants did not report household risks related to domestic violence or other forms of abuse perpetrated by family or friends. Rather, some children experienced ethnoreligious and politically motivated acts of violence (e.g. vandalism, arson, bombings) which had been committed against their houses. These studies which contradict dominating themes provide an important reminder that assumptions can create blind spots in research. If one does not think it is possible to find something, one does not look for it. All articles which emphasized familiar aspects of place drew positive connections between feelings of familiarity and safety. It seems unlikely that this is because familiarity is never tied to risk. Rather, it seems probable that unexamined assumptions in society and in research with children assumes that familiarity (and, with it, security and stability) and safety are appositional. For this area of the research field to continue developing, it is necessary to continue examining and challenging our assumptions as researchers, especially as regards children's sense of place/belonging and risk/safety.

Everyday Diversity

The final, predominating theme to be discussed here is that of diversity as everyday. By *everyday diversity*, I refer to the treatment of social diversity as a daily, even mundane reality for children. A selection of clear examples of how this theme presented in the core group is found in Table VI.6. This included discussions of contexts in which cultural diversity proliferates to the extent that multiculturalism is the norm for children living there. Such normalized multiculturalism was a theme in studies of hyperdiversity, which refers to contexts with intensely diversified populations along socio-economic, ethnic, cultural, and social lines (Witten et al., 2019), as in Clayton (2012), Harris (2016), and Witten et al. (2019). These three studies were conducted in highly multicultural contexts, in which cultural, ethnic/racial, and religious multiplicity

are a normal aspect of daily life for children. In such contexts, monoethnic and monocultural spaces were experienced as atypical. For example, Clayton's (2012) article recounts a participant's exceptional experience of entering a white male space, a pub, as an Asian-British female and being made keenly aware of her position as the "other". The positing of this experience as noteworthy provides evidence of the normalcy of being in multicultural spaces for this girl compared with living as an "othered" individual in other parts of the city. Bollig (2018) adopted a stance towards linguistic *diversity as normal* which held linguistic (and cultural, ethnic) diversity as an assumed part of daily reality for young children in multilingual, multicultural Luxembourg. The acceptance of diversity as normal in the given research contexts did not, however, mean that othered, racialized, or gendered power relations were absent. Rather, when such difference-driven power relations are embedded in contexts of multiculturalism, there tend to be room for a higher degree of negotiations of difference and belonging (see the example from Spaaij, 2015, under ambiguous belongings) compared to contexts of monoculturalism, where anyone perceived as different from the majority or dominant group is held as the "odd man out" with more fixed lines separating "us" and "them" (see the example from Raffaetà et al., 2016, under ambiguous belongings).

Diversity as Everyday	Study
assumed by participants, part of everyday life	Bak & von Brömssen, 2010
everyday contestations of diversity	Evers, 2020
normal, diversity assumed as part of daily reality	Bollig, 2018
normal, gender fluidity/variation as normal	Allen et al., 2020
normal, part of everyday experience	Clayton, 2012
ubiquitous (heterogeneity) and normal (hyperdiverse context)	Witten et al., 2019
ubiquitous (unfixed, heterogeneity) and normal (hyperdiverse contexts)	Harris, 2016
ubiquitous, heterogeneity for everyone	Panelli et al., 2002
ubiquitous, reality for everyone everywhere, not just "minority" groups	Watt, 1998

Table VI.6: Overview of examples from core group of studies regarding everyday diversity.

Everyday diversity also included studies which did not describe social diversity as particularly normal for the research context, but which did emphasize social diversity as a normal part of daily life for the children participating in the research. An example of this was Bak and von Brömssen's (2010) study with refugee schoolchildren in Sweden. The authors emphasized that, for the participating children, multiple belongings, diasporic activities[22], and transnational social networks were nothing out of the ordinary. The children did not identify these as either problematic or out of place, nor did they seem to reflect specifically upon diasporic activities as such. This sense of diversity as an everyday reality for specific children was also a part of Evers' (2020) research with descendants of migrants in Marseilles, France. The children in Evers' study seemed to be more aware of their transnational practices than those in Bak and von Brömssen (2010), as they experienced direct challenges to their multiple identities and local belonging. Their daily use of the local Marseilles dialect "remixed" with Arabic acted as part of a daily assertion of their right to belong and their identifications with multi-ethnic France in the face of exclusionary practices and discourses of monocultural Frenchness. Allen et al.

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[22] Diasporic practices are various activities engaged in to maintain connections to one's homeland in another country, including its culture, language, and others still living there (Bak & von Brömssen, 2010).

(2020) also worked with a theme of normal, daily diversity. Their study on school experiences with transgender youth approached fluid gender variation as a normal and healthy form of diversity for children and teenagers alike. Allen at al. handled gender diversity as a typical, daily experience which they expected to find, rather than being surprised by it. However, binary (male or female) and non-binary (gender categories outside of male/female) transgender identities were not framed as a universal experience for the entire population. Rather, it was framed as normal for those transgender youths participating in the study.

Another iteration of the theme of everyday diversity present in research on social difference and children's sense of place/belonging was that of *ubiquitous diversity*. I use this to refer to conceptions of diversity as part of reality for everyone, not just groups labeled as "different" or "minority". Diversity as ubiquitous draws attention away from discrete identity categories and turns it towards the ways in which social difference is constructed. It also illuminates how traditional axes of social difference effect all persons, including the dominant social groups in a given context. Ubiquitous diversity was a clear theme in a handful of the research included in the core group, including Panelli et al. (2002). Panelli et al.'s study found experiences of belonging for youth in rural communities to be highly heterogenous *within* given social groups. This led to their use of a conceptualization of diversity as ubiquitous, as part of everyone's daily experience. Watt's (1998) study on race and place with youths in rural England included the theme of racial diversity as ubiquitous and sought to problematize a region typically left unquestioned as an assumed "white place". By approaching racialized elements as part of place experiences for youths of all ethnic groups, Watt was able to produce richer, more nuanced knowledge about how place is racialized in Southern England. Harris (2016) and Witten et al. (2019) included themes of diversity as both normal and ubiquitous. Their studies of children and young people's experiences in hyperdiverse cities held that difference was the "new normal" (Harris, 2016, p. 363), with diversity as a mundane, familiar aspect of daily life for those in the research contexts. Furthermore, Harris and Witten et al. conceptualized diversity as ubiquitous, as a range of simultaneous differences relating to places, symbols, discourses, norms, ages, ethnicities, and social classes. This view of diversity as doubly everyday drew attention to intersections of difference at the individual level, and the production of difference through interactions as the interpersonal level. Research with diversity as everyday tended not to produce results neatly categorized according to population groups. This is not to say that the results were disorganized or devoid of references to the traditional axes of social difference. Rather, diversity as ubiquitous contributed to richly textured knowledge about children's daily lives within an expansive terrain of heterogenous experiences.

Summary VI: Core Analysis, Part 2

This chapter has presented an in-depth analysis of the research located in this systematic review which focused on social diversity and children's sense of place/belonging. Key findings pertaining to the role of social and material dimensions in children's constructions of place highlighted children's spatial subjectivities as complex and multi-dimensional. Key findings about children's placemaking practices showed that children actively engage in producing places for themselves through a creative array of social and material practices. A significant group of findings related to the ambiguous nature of belonging for children, which was particularly emphasized in migration and refugee studies. This chapter also presented three major themes which dominated within

research on the topic of children's sense of place/belonging in relation to social diversity. The themes of social difference as socially constrained, yet unfixed; of risk and safety; and of diversity as a daily experience were often helpful in producing nuanced, multifaceted knowledge about children's experiences of place and diversity. However, the prominence of the themes sometimes propagated certain assumptions which contribute to blind spots in the research area of social diversity and children's senses of place and belonging.

Chapter VII. Concluding Discussion

This seventh and final chapter draws to a close the systematic literature review of research on social difference and children's spatial subjectivities. First, I summarize the work presented in the preceding chapters, including methods employed in this review and the analytical findings. Implications of these findings are presented alongside a discussion which picks up some of the main arguments threaded throughout the review. I then go on to share some reflections on how my project speaks to criticisms which have been raised within childhood studies over the last decade pertaining to issues of inclusion, disciplinarity, representation, and theorization. Finally, the chapter ends by highlighting some suggestions for further research raised throughout the analysis.

Summarizing the Project

This review was driven by an interest in children's complexly heterogenous experiences of place. The project took shape in response to competing dialogues regarding the state of society and childhood in an ever-more globalized world. In a desire to understand what academic knowledge is being produced about this topic, and how, I carried out a systematic literature review. The methodology employed was largely inspired by Quennerstedt and Moody's (2020) description of "systematic research analysis" (p. 185) and Solhaug and Jensen's (2020) guidance for conducting systematic searches of social science research. The design consisted of a systematic search process including the methical screening of articles generated by a search of publications covered by the database Scopus. I do not claim to have found every relevant article through my search. Indeed, the opposite is true: relevant studies have undoubtably been missed. However, the search and screening stages were conducted in such a way as to find as many relevant articles from as broad a range of publications as possible given the logistical limitations of the project. The process also had to accommodate my personal limitations as a master's student undertaking to conduct a systematic analysis alone. The result was an extensive cross-section of peer-reviewed, original research published since 1990 in the English language which handles topics of social diversity and children's spatial subjectivities. Subsequent to reading the articles, a multi-level analysis was carried out in several phases on the resulting body of included research. The results of the analysis were recorded in the chapters on bulk analysis (Chapter IV) and core analysis (Chapters V & VI). The analysis centered on the processes of knowledge production as well as key findings and dominant themes within research on social difference and children's sense of place/belonging. This project has answered the research questions outlined in Chapter I: *What are significant tendencies in research regarding social difference and children's spatial subjectivities?* And*, what are key findings and predominant themes in studies of social diversity and children's sense of place/belonging?*

The systematic literature review identified significant tendencies relating to processes of knowledge production. Although studies were conducted in various locations around the globe, the majority of studies were conducted in Minority World contexts. Yet within these Minority World study locations, there was a clear preference for participants with minority status regarding at least one axis of diversity. This conceptual interest in "minority" participants as "diverse" participants can have an othering effect, marking certain identities as different and problematic, while leaving other identities unquestioned as "normal". Watt (1998) argued that hegemonic identities, and places infused with hegemonic identities (e.g. "white spaces") are often left unproblematized.

The clear lack of research interrogating sense of belonging for children with "dominant" identities suggests that this continues to be a problem for this field of research. While several studies addressed social difference as a reality for all individuals, no matter their identity status (e.g. Harris, 2016; Panelli et al., 2002; Watt, 1998), the majority of research included in this review focused on fixed identity categories in their approaches to diversity. The static combination of diversity categories left certain gaps. Research is needed which incorporates axes of social difference in more holistically intersectional ways. Studies which incorporate axes beyond gender, class, race/ethnicity, and age, or "the big four" as I like to call them, could do much for creating nuanced, relational knowledge about children's experiences of place.

Qualitative methods clearly dominate this research area, along with a heavy reliance on verbal methods. Interviews were used by almost every study in the core group, usually in combination with other methods. No studies included non-verbal or cognitively impaired children, suggesting a matching of participants to methods (see McNamee & Seymour, 2013), or at least a lack of creative inclusivity for finding ways of interrogating sense of place with very young, nonverbal, or mentally disabled children. This review did, however, identify a high degree of creativity in incorporating multiple methods to increase inclusivity regarding under-researched childhoods (e.g. Denov & Akesson, 2013) and to address issues of representation and accessibility to ambiguous experiences, identities, and narratives (e.g. Laoire, 2011b; Zeitlyn, 2012).

Research has been conducted on place at a variety of scales, from the sub-local to the transnational. Despite the diversity of places questioned, there was a decided emphasis in the articles on place at the local and domestic scales. Some of the authors related this to discourses regarding children's place as in the home (e.g. Harden, 2000). The recognition of local places as touched by influences as broad as global traces (J. Anderson, 2015; Massey, 1991) would help expand understandings of children's places as situated within national, transnational, and global spheres, as well as domestic and local spheres. Research was conducted with children from the ages of three to eighteen, but youths over 14-years-old were the most highly represented. Participants aged 6-14-years were also frequently included, but very few studies involved younger children.

While most of the included research situated itself within childhood or youth studies, there was still a striking amount of variety regarding interdisciplinarity. Theoretical paradigms, frameworks, and concepts were drawn from numerous fields, though mostly within the social sciences. Sixty-six out of the 110 articles included in the systematic analysis were published in journals unrelated to childhood/youth studies or education. This is significant in that it points to an increasing inclusion of children in research outside of the silos of childhood and youth studies. There were, however, significant disciplinary absences, particularly regarding biology and developmental psychology. There were very few references to biological realities or participants' physical characteristics. The clear dominance of social features over physical features and embodied experiences is surprising given the materiality of place. This points to a clear conceptual break between biological thinking/concepts/research and socio-spatial research. Given childhood studies' and sociology's strong conceptual opposition to the naturalization of identities, physiological difference has perhaps become a taboo subject. The blindness to biology (or hesitancy to address it) could be to blame for the near absence of research on disability and sense of place, as disability tends to be conceptualized in relatively fixed medical and physiological terms (Metell, 2019).

Connections to Wider Critiques within Childhood Studies

Over the last decade, a body of critiques from within childhood studies has been growing regarding the state of the field, always an important part of intra-field development. This systematic analysis has touched on several areas of the field relevant to these critical voices, sometimes supporting the critiques, sometimes contradicting them. One main area of criticism touched on was that of *exclusivity*. The tendency to focus on Minority World childhoods has been noted by many authors within childhood studies, including Freeman (2020), Tisdall and Punch (2012), and Quennerstedt and Moody (2020). Given the frequent calls for more research on Majority World childhoods, I was actually surprised to find as many Majority World studies in my search as I did. Yet, there is still a clear need for growth in this regard, and the contribution of more perspectives on the topics of social difference and children's experiences of place would be fruitful for advancing the field.

As previously mentioned, this review identified certain disciplinary blind spots, especially regarding biology and developmental psychology. Prominent authors have also lamented childhood studies' *impoverished interdisciplinarity*. Prout (2019) has notably argued for richer and anti-reductionist approaches to childhood which incorporate biological sciences and materiality. Tatlow-Golden and Montgomery (2021) have championed dialogue between childhood studies and developmental psychology. Both of these disciplinary silences can be related to childhood studies' paradigmatic stance of social constructionism and opposition to natural or deficit models of childhood. However, in order to continue progressing as a field, it is necessary to question childhood studies' own assumptions and paradigmatic orthodoxies relating to children and childhood. By opening up more interdisciplinary dialogue between childhood studies and biology, developmental psychology, socialization theory, etc., fuller and richer understandings of children's daily lives can be developed.

As is the case with all research, representation is an issue for the studies in this review, particularly as relates to issues of voice (James, 2007) due to the high reliance on verbal methods. This continues to be a challenge for research with children on the topics of spatial subjectivities and social difference. Childhood studies scholars have raised issues of r*epresentation* in the production of knowledge about children (Spyrou, 2011), which are also connected to dominant conceptions of agency (Thomson, 2007). The prevailing conceptions of agency are tied to ideals of autonomy and competency, which in turn influence which children are conceived of as able to participate in research. The ideals of independence, capability, and action have traditionally been conceived of as male traits, making the dominant use of agency one which is embedded in hegemonic masculinities to the marginalization of other expressions of agency (Panelli et al., 2002). The burgeoning criticisms of *agency* (e.g. Abebe, 2019; Spyrou, 2019; Tisdall & Punch, 2012; Thomson, 2007; K. Valentine, 2011; Wall, 2008) have tended to focus on attempts to move away from agency as a static, internal trait rooted in autonomy to reconceptualize it as interdependently situated and practice-oriented. The findings of this analysis support this movement, with numerous studies presenting empirical findings which situate agency—as well as placemaking, identity, and sense of belonging—as highly relational, dynamic "achievements" (see West & Fenstermaker, 1995). The key findings and dominant themes identified in my analysis combined to paint a complex portrait of children as active beings in the process of becoming (Thomson, 2007), whose scope to negotiate their place (or not) were embedded in social relationships and framed by material, structural, and discursive constraints. Not every individual study embraced

all of these aspects, but when taken as a whole, the field of research seems to answer these criticisms levelled at childhood studies.

The key findings and dominant themes also speak to calls for childhood studies to move away from *dualistic* concepts (Prout, 2019; Spyrou, 2019; Tisdall & Punch, 2012), that is, those formulated as either/or as opposed to both/and. The studies in this review repeatedly reported children's messy experiences which present a both/and approach. Children experienced simultaneous belonging *and* non-belonging (e.g. Burrman et al., 2017). Children both shaped their social worlds *and* were shaped by them (e.g. Kjørholt, 2003). Identities were both fluid *and* deeply constrained (e.g. Raffaetà et al., 2016). Homes were both safe *and* unsafe (e.g. Leonard, 2007). Differences could both enhance *and* challenge belonging (e.g. Harris, 2016). There is significant room to grow in developing more open and contingent theorizations within childhood studies, but the empirical knowledge being produced in research with children strongly contradicts dualistic readings of children as *only* competent, autonomous, agentic beings trapped inside of a purely socially constructed age-based identity.

Suggestions for Future Research

Throughout the text, suggestions for future research have been made. To conclude this review, these suggestions are restated here. This review identified a need for research with participants who identify with majority/dominant social groups. There is definite room for research which interrogates sense of place and place-belongingness for all children, including "local" children, not just those considered "other". Such research could help to problematize simplistic readings of hegemonic identities as "in place" and all others as "out of place". I suggest that research which uses place rather than identity as the primary criteria for recruiting participants could also help to problematize essentialist readings of diversity, sense of place, and place-belongingness. This review also identified certain underrepresented groups of children. There was a clear gap in the literature regarding research with non-verbal or very young (less than 6-years) children, as well as those considered indigenous or disabled (especially developmentally or mentally). There is a need for research which creatively and ethically engages with children in these groups to enquire their sense of place. I also suggest that research which engages with intersecting difference in novel ways is needed. For instance, the literature was silent regarding rurality/urbanity and refugee experiences, religiosity and indigeneity, gender and language, disability and race/ethnicity, and disability and gender. Research which employs a broader intersectional lens could help to combat theoretical blind spots which hinge on anticipated differences and similarities.

I have also identified certain knowledge needs along the way. There is a particular need for research in this field to be conducted from biological, developmental, and rights-based perspectives. Additionally, knowledge from a Majority World perspective is needed, as almost no research on sense of place has been carried out with children living in Majority World contexts. There is also a need for empirical explorations of the connections between belonging, safety, risk, and place attachments. Similarly, more research into children's wider sense of belonging which considers regional, national, and transnational or translocal scales is needed to see how children's senses of place and belonging are shaped by aspects outside of the home and local community. In short, there is still much to be learned about children's spatial subjectivities and social difference and many exciting opportunities for interested researchers to contribute to the field.

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Appendix A

Database Coverage Comparison

WoS only	Web of Science (WoS) & Scopus	Scopus only
	American Ethnologist	Children, Youth & Environments (secondary only)
	Annals of the Association of American Geographers	
	Antipode	Ecumene
	Area	Ethics, Place & Environment
	Australian Geographer	
	Canadian Geographer	
	Capital and Class	
	Child & Family Social Work	
	Childhood	
	Children & Society	
	Children's Geographies	
	Cultural Anthropology	
	Environment and Planning (A-D)	
	Ethnic and Racial Studies	
	Ethnicities	
	European Journal of Social Theory	
	Feminist Studies	
	Gender, Place & Culture	
	Geoforum	
	Geographical Analysis	
	Geographical Journal	
	Geographical Review	
	Geography Compass	
	Health Education Research	
	Identity	
	Journal of Contemporary Ethnography	
	Journal of Youth Studies	
	Political Geography	
	Professional Geographer	
	Progress in Human Geography	
	Race Ethnicity and Education	
	Social and Cultural Geography	
	Sociological Review	
	Theory and Society	
	Theory Culture & Society	
	Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers	
	Urban Geography	
	Youth & Society	

Journal coverage last updated September 15, 2020.

Appendix B

Search Term Order and Proximity Operators

For Scopus, rearranging the order of search terms separated by proximity operators did not result in different search results as shown by search sets A and B[23]:

A

17	(TITLE-ABS-KEY-AUTH ((child* OR young OR youth* OR kid*) W/10 (identit* OR identifiers OR ethnic* OR divers* OR differen*) W/10 (place OR belong*)) AND PUBYEAR > 1990)	1,469 document results
16	(TITLE-ABS-KEY-AUTH ((identit* OR identifiers OR ethnic* OR divers* OR differen*) W/10 (child* OR young OR youth* OR kid*) W/10 (place OR belong*)) AND PUBYEAR > 1990)	1,469 document results
15	(TITLE-ABS-KEY-AUTH ((identit* OR identifiers OR ethnic* OR divers* OR differen*) W/10 (place OR belong*) W/10 (child* OR young OR youth* OR kid*)) AND PUBYEAR > 1990)	1,469 document results

B

14	(TITLE-ABS-KEY-AUTH ((identit* OR identifiers OR ethnic* OR divers* OR differen*) W/7 (place OR belong*) W/7 (child* OR young OR youth* OR kid*)) AND PUBYEAR > 1990)	915 document results
13	(TITLE-ABS-KEY-AUTH ((identit* OR identifiers OR ethnic* OR divers* OR differen*) W/7 (child* OR young OR youth* OR kid*) W/7 (place OR belong*)) AND PUBYEAR > 1990)	915 document results
12	(TITLE-ABS-KEY-AUTH ((child* OR young OR youth* OR kid*) W/7 (identit* OR identifiers OR ethnic* OR divers* OR differen*) W/7 (place OR belong*)) AND PUBYEAR > 1990)	915 document results
11	(TITLE-ABS-KEY-AUTH ((child* OR young OR youth* OR kid*) W/7 (place OR belong*) W/7 (identit* OR identifiers OR ethnic* OR divers* OR differen*)) AND PUBYEAR > 1990)	915 document results
10	(TITLE-ABS-KEY-AUTH ((child* OR young OR youth* OR kid*) W/10 (place OR belong*) W/10 (identit* OR identifiers OR ethnic* OR divers* OR differen*)) AND PUBYEAR > 1990)	1,469 document results

For WoS, search results are affected by rearranging search term order when using proximity operators, as shown by search set C[24]:

C

Set	Results	
#11	2,499	#10 AND #9
#10	164,036	(TS=((child* OR young OR youth* OR kid*) NEAR/10 ("social diversity" OR "social difference" OR "socially diverse" OR "socially different" OR divers* OR differen*))) AND LANGUAGE: (English)
#9	20,245	(TS=((child* OR young OR youth* OR kid*) NEAR/10 (place OR belong* OR "sense of place"))) AND LANGUAGE: (English)
#8		(TS=(("social diversity" OR "social difference" OR "socially diverse" OR "socially different" OR divers* OR differen*) NEAR/10 (place OR belong* OR "sense of place") NEAR/10 (child* OR young OR youth* OR kid*))) AND LANGUAGE: (English)
#7	1,015	(TS=((child* OR young OR youth* OR kid*) NEAR/10 ("social diversity" OR "social difference" OR "socially diverse" OR "socially different" OR divers* OR differen*) NEAR/10 (place OR belong* OR "sense of place"))) AND LANGUAGE: (English)
#6	1,007	(TS=((child* OR young OR youth* OR kid*) NEAR/10 (place OR belong* OR "sense of place") NEAR/10 ("social diversity" OR "social difference" OR "socially diverse" OR "socially different" OR divers* OR differen*))) AND LANGUAGE: (English)
#5	32,945	#4 AND #3 AND #2
#4	11,349,184	(TS=("social diversity" OR "social difference" OR "socially diverse" OR "socially different" OR divers* OR differen*)) AND LANGUAGE: (English)
#3	1,400,803	(TS=(place OR belong* OR "sense of place")) AND LANGUAGE: (English)
#2	2,750,036	(TS=((child* OR young OR youth* OR kid*))) AND LANGUAGE: (English)
#1	32,945	(TS=((child* OR young OR youth* OR kid*) AND (place OR belong* OR "sense of place") AND ("social diversity" OR "social difference" OR "socially diverse" OR "socially different" OR divers* OR differen*))) AND LANGUAGE: (English)

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[23] Scopus, 12:35pm on September 16, 2020
[24] WoS, 11:45am on September 11, 2020

Appendix C

Exact Search Strings

1. Main search in Scopus:

   TITLE (child* OR young OR youth* OR kid* OR boy* OR girl*) AND TITLE-ABS-KEY ((child* OR young OR youth* OR kid* OR boy* OR girl*) W/25 (place OR position* OR belong*) W/25 (identi*) AND (divers* OR differ* OR other* OR ethnic* OR *migra* OR socioeconomic OR religio* OR race OR racial OR group OR gender* OR sex)) AND PUBYEAR > 1990 AND (LIMIT-TO (LANGUAGE , "English"))

2. Modified search to check disability studies excluded by the main search in Scopus:

   TITLE (child* OR young OR youth* OR kid* OR boy* OR girl*) AND TITLE-ABS-KEY ((child* OR young OR youth* OR kid* OR boy* OR girl*) W/25 (place OR position* OR belong*) W/25 (identi*) AND (*abled OR *ability) AND NOT (divers* OR differ* OR other* OR ethnic* OR *migra* OR socioeconomic OR religio* OR race OR racial OR group OR gender* OR sex)) AND PUBYEAR > 1990 AND (LIMIT-TO (LANGUAGE , "English"))

3. Widened search to try and reach Spyrou (2002) in Scopus:

   TITLE-ABS-KEY ((child* OR young OR youth* OR kid* OR boy* OR girl*) AND (identi*) AND (divers* OR differ* OR other* OR ethnic* OR *migra* OR socioeconomic OR religio* OR race OR racial OR group OR gender* OR sex)) AND PUBYEAR > 1990 AND (LIMIT TO (LANGUAGE , "English"))

Appendix D

Codebook

For All Included Articles, in a table

1. Author
2. Publication Date
3. Title
4. Journal Title
5. Field of Study
    (e.g. Social Sciences, Multicultural Studies, Geography, Language/Linguistics)
6. Thematic Focus
    -   01_Sense of Place or Belonging
        o   Belonging (re: a particular place)
        o   sense of place (subjective and differential experiences of place)
    -   02_Identity Processes
        o   Identity formation
        o   Identity negotiation/performance
        o   National identification
        o   Transnational identification
    -   03_Other
        o   Citizenship (constructions of)
        o   Youth transition pathways/outcomes
        o   Resettlement outcomes…

        > Focus here being on differential outcomes, as opposed to experiences of places of transition/migration, etc.

7. Country/Region of study
    (Here, I have included regions for the USA because it is just so large and populated, but only the country name for most other countries. Hong Kong is listed separately from People's Republic of China, referred to as China.)
8. Axes of social difference being studied (in addition to age)
    (Gender, sexuality, ethnicity, race, indigenous groups, migration status, refugee, SES, ability, rural vs. urban, language, religion)

For Core Group[25] of Articles

Classifications (at the article level – descriptions for the text as a whole)

1. Age group of research participants[26]
    -   Early childhood (ages <6)
    -   Middle childhood (primary/elementary school) (ages 6-10)
    -   Late childhood (secondary/middle school) (ages 11-14)
    -   Youth (high/vidergående school) (ages 15-18)
    -   Mixed ages or multiple generations
        o   Youth* (for ages 15 through over 18 included as a single population)
2. Geographical Scale
    (e.g. Transnational, regional, neighborhood/community, home)
3. Methods
    -   Qualitative methods

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[25] Articles coded as 01_Sense of Place or Belonging under Thematic Focus became the core group used for in-depth coding and analysis.
[26] +/- one year

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- Quantitative methods
- Combined methods (quant & qual)

4. Axes of social difference present in analysis (in addition to age)
   (Gender, sexuality, ethnicity, race, indigenous groups, migration status, refugee,
   SES, ability, rural vs. urban, language, religion)

   Coding (Highlighting and labeling sections of interest within the texts)

5. Research Question
   (Mark the section with clearest statement of the research question; yellow.)

6. Method
   (Mark portions of the text that clearly state methods used; blue.)

7. Methodological approach
   (Mark clear statements of methodological approach; blue.)

8. Participant selection
   (Mark portions of text which summarize the selection criteria; blue.)

9. Theoretical approach
   (Mark clear statements of the article's theoretical approach to the topic. Label
   prominent theoretical approaches, paradigms, or disciplines; pink.)

10. Important definitions of terms or key theories:
    (Mark key terms/theories with definitions in the text; pink.)

11. Main finding/main point
    (Mark passages with clear statement of the main finding; yellow.)

12. Statements or findings regarding place.
    (Mark sections which give clear statements of or describe findings relating to
    place/sense of place; red.)

13. Statements or findings regarding diversity.
    (Mark sections which give clear statements of or describe findings relating to social
    diversity; brown.)

14. Statements or findings regarding belonging.
    (Mark sections which give clear statements of or describe findings relating to sense of
    belonging; green.)

15. Weaknesses/limitations, gaps, and implications?
    (Mark places in the text where the researchers ID weaknesses/limitations of their
    study, gaps in the research field, or state implications for future research; orange.)

Extra Comments: Descriptions

Write a note briefly describing the study, including any important or interesting
aspects.

Appendix E

Reference List for Studies in Bulk Analysis

Allen, B. J., Andert, B., Botsford, J., Budge, S. L., & Rehm, J. L. (2020). At the Margins: Comparing School Experiences of Nonbinary and Binary-Identified Transgender Youth. *Journal of School Health, 90*(5), 358-367.

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Appendix F

Reference List for Studies in Core Group

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Included Articles Organized by Thematic Focus

Sense of Place or Belonging	Identity Processes	Other
Allen et al., 2020	Bauder, 2001	Brook & Ottemöller, 2020
Bæck, 2004	Blazek, 2011	Butcher, 2008
Bak et al., 2010	Boland, 2020	Bybee et al., 2020
Bates et al., 2019	Caballero, 2011	Colombo et al., 2011
Bollig, 2018	Cairns, 2013	Devine, 2009
Burrmann et al., 2017	Casey et al., 2016	Driskell et al., 2008
Caxaj & Berman, 2010	Cena et al., 2018	Evans, 2020
Christou & Spyrou, 2012	Devine et al., 2008	Jakubowicz et al., 2014
Clayton, 2012	Fabiansson, 2018	Keegan, 2019
Denov & Akesson, 2013	Farrugia et al., 2014	Kernan, 2010
Díaz-Rodríguez et al., 2015	Félonneau et al., 2013	Lee et al., 2006
Evers, 2020	Fisher, 2020	Nayak, 2017
Harden, 2000	Gembus, 2018	O'Brien, 2003
Harris, 2016	Giddings, 2010	Uptin et al., 2013
Kindermann & Riegel, 2018	Güthner, 2011	Woelz-Stirling et al., 2001
Kjørholt, 2003	Harju, 2018	
Laoire, 2011b	Hatty, 1996	
Leonard, 2007	Hendry et al., 2007	
Marques et al., 2020	Holt, 2010	
McLeod et al., 2013	Hopkins, 2007	
Melhuus, 2012	Ibrahim, 2016	
Midgen et al., 2019	Jardim & da Silva, 2020	
Miled, 2020	Jones, 2002	
Mohammad, 2013	Judge, 2016	
Moskal, 2015	Kabir, 2014	
Panelli et al., 2002	Katartzi, 2017	
Postma et al., 2014	Kobayashi & Preston, 2014	
Raffaetà et al., 2016	Kraack & Kenway, 2002	
Reay & Lucey, 2000	Landolt, 2013	
Richmond & Smith, 2012	Laoire, 2011a	
Sarmiento & Duarte, 2019	Laoire, 2016	
Scourfield et al., 2006	Leyshon, 2008	
Spaaij, 2015	Lim, 2008	
Teixeira & Zuberi, 2016	Ludhra & Jones, 2009	
Tunstall et al., 2004	Lunda & Green, 2020	
Watt, 1998	Lyons, 2018	
Witten et al., 2019	Martini Ugolotti, 2015	
	Meetoo, 2019	
	Millington & Wilson, 2010	

	Motsa, 2017	
	Naftali, 2020	
	Ng et al., 2019	
	Özbay, 2010	
	Rifà-Valls, 2009	
	Rönnlund, 2015	
	Sanderson & Thomas, 2014	
	Smith et al., 2002	
	Sporton et al., 2006	
	Strycharz-Banaś et al., 2020	
	Trel et al., 2014	
	G. Valentine & Sporton, 2009	
	van Blerk, 2011	
	Varvantakis et al., 2019	
	Vila Freyer, 2019	
	Yuen et al., 2019	
	Zeitlyn, 2012	
	Ziemer, 2009	
	Zontini & Però, 2020	

Appendix H

Ages of Participants Included in Core Group Studies[27]

Reference	Early Childhood	Middle Childhood	Late Childhood	Youth[28]	Adult
Allen et al., 2020			✓	✓+	
Bæck, 2004				✓	
Bak & von Brömssen, 2010			✓		
Bates et al., 2019			✓	✓+	✓
Bollig, 2018	✓				✓
Burrmann et al., 2017				✓	
Caxaj & Berman, 2010				✓+	
Christou & Spyrou, 2012			✓		
Clayton, 2012			✓	✓	
Denov & Akesson, 2013				✓+	
Díaz-Rodríguez et al., 2015				✓+	
Evers, 2020			✓		✓
Harden, 2000		✓	✓		
Harris, 2016				✓	✓
Kindermann & Riegel, 2018		✓			
Kjørholt, 2003		✓			✓
Laoire, 2011		✓	✓	✓	✓
Leonard, 2007			✓		
Marques et al., 2020		✓			
McLeod et al., 2013	✓	✓	✓		✓
Melhuus, 2012	✓				✓
Midgen et al., 2019	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Miled, 2020				✓	
Mohammad, 2013				✓+	
Moskal, 2015	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Panelli et al., 2002			✓	✓	
Postma et al., 2014			✓		✓
Raffaetà et al., 2016				✓+	
Reay & Lucey, 2000		✓			
Richmond & Smith, 2012				✓	
Sarmiento & Duarte, 2019			✓		
Scourfield et al., 2006		✓			
Spaaij, 2015				✓+	
Teixeira & Zuberi, 2016				✓	
Tunstall et al., 2004		✓			
Watt, 1998				✓+	
Witten et al., 2019		✓	✓		
Total:	**5**	**12**	**16**	**20**	**9**

[27] early childhood= ages <6; middle childhood = ages 6-10; late childhood = ages 11-14; youth = ages 15-18; adult = over 18 years (as a distinct group from youths)

[28] "+" is used to indicate the inclusion of youths over 18-years-of-age. (E.g. youths aged 15-20-years.)

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