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Father's Constructions of the Spatial Worlds of Boyhood in Ottawa: Geographies of Memory and Masculinity

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Fathers' Constructions of the Spatial Worlds of Boyhood in Ottawa: Geographies of Memory and Masculinity

by

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A thesis submitted to
Professor Marc Brosseau
Professor Brian Ray
and Professor Luisa Veronis
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ABSTRACT

This study's objective was to uncover the role of fathers in constructing the spatial boundaries of their sons' childhoods and providing them access to play spaces, as informed by the fathers' memories of their own childhoods. In order to understand the meanings that fathers attribute to their experiences with boyhood worlds, ten semi-structured interviews were completed with fathers living in Ottawa. The fathers expressed uneasiness with what they perceive to be an increasing level of structure in their sons' play spaces. While most of the fathers attributed this decrease in autonomy to safety concerns for their sons, some fathers noted that organized play is in opposition with their experiential knowledge of boyhood in terms of risk and adventure. The study emphasizes the different ways in which fathers navigate through both societal expectations of good parenting and their understanding of masculinity as they create spatial worlds of boyhood for their sons.

RÉSUMÉ

Cette étude a pour objectif de mettre au jour le rôle des pères dans la construction des limites spatiales de l'enfance de leur(s) fils et dans la munition d'espaces de jeux pour eux, selon les souvenirs qu'ils ont de leur propre enfance. Afin de comprendre l'importance qu'accordent les pères à leur expérience du monde de l'enfance, dix entrevues semi-structurées ont été menées auprès de pères résidant à Ottawa. Les pères ont exprimé un malaise envers ce qu'ils perçoivent comme une structuration croissante dans les espaces de jeux de leur(s) fils. Malgré que la majorité d'entre eux aient attribué cette diminution d'autonomie aux préoccupations de la sécurité de leur(s) fils, certains pères ont noté que le jeu organisé allait à l'encontre de leurs propres expériences de jeunesse en matière de risque et d'aventure. L'étude met l'accent sur les différentes approches qu'empruntent les pères pour concilier les deux attentes sociétales, à savoir d'être de bons parents et de transmettre l'idée qu'ils se font de la masculinité à mesure qu'ils créent les limites spatiales de l'enfance de leur(s) fils.

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Matthew Mannella, Ottawa, August 2008

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THE PREFACE WITH A PREFACE

From the Preface of *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*

…Although my book is intended mainly for the entertainment of boys and girls, I hope it will not be shunned by men and women on that account, for part of my plan has been to try pleasantly to remind adults of what they once were themselves, and of how they felt and thought and talked, and what queer enterprises they sometimes engaged in.

– Mark Twain

INTRODUCTION

Making Masculinity Visible

There are many roles and identities with which men may associate, but perhaps the most universal one is that of the father. It is also the most prevalent adult male identity in relation to children and as such, fatherhood is not without academic interest. However, the topic has largely been left to sociologists and psychologists to investigate even though a considerable amount of adult attention is directed to the use of space by children. A dominant theme of childhood is related to the rules around where to be and not to be, as well as how to behave in particular places at particular times. As parents, fathers can draw on their experiential knowledge of their own boyhood to guide them in regulating the spatial worlds of their children. Longhurst (2000) in her review of masculinities and male identity in geography observes that there has been a marked increase in the incorporation of masculinity into research questions since the late 1990s, but there is no mention of its incorporation with children's geographies. Undoubtedly, there has been substantial progress in children's geography in recent years, with the topic now having its own academic journal. Research about children's geographies, however, has had limited interaction with other aspects of social and cultural geography, particularly research about masculinity as constructed in terms of social relations in place. Studying the father-son relationship and the regulation of the spatial worlds of boyhood represents a confluence of childhood, gender and leisure.

At the 2006 Hangzhou World Leisure Expo, it was noted that "the relationship between leisure and fathering has been much less researched than that between leisure and mothering;" yet, in the same vein, "men's involvement with their children through sport and other forms of leisure reflects prevailing ideologies of fatherhood in western democracies" (Kay, 2006:11).

This notion of the most recognizable element of fatherhood being understudied appears to be at odds with itself. However, as scholars studying masculinity emphasize, dominance functions by being unexamined. Given that within our cultural context, masculinity has been historically the more valued gender and the production of knowledge has been androcentric, it is not terribly surprising that masculinity has largely escaped the critical attention of researchers. The documentary *Tough Guise: Violence, Media and the Crisis in Masculinity* uses a schematic presented in Table 1 to explain in clear terms how masculinity avoids being studied and academically critiqued. In terms of race, sexual orientation and gender, the film argues that people are divided into visible and invisible groups, and the invisible groups are either the majority or traditionally have wielded power. Consequently, these groups are not studied or challenged, and they remain invulnerable to change and loss of status. As Table 1 illustrates, male heterosexuals comprise a significant part of the "invisible" groups in our society despite having the historical patriarchal presence (Jhally, 2002). For this reason, it is not surprising that fathers are also the understudied parent, even in fields of studies that may have strong associations with fathering, like childhood and leisure studies.

Table 1
Unexamined, Dominant Groups in Society

	What Comes to Mind: The Examined Subordinate	**What Escapes Study: The Dominant Majority**
Race	African American Latin American Asian American Native American	White Caucasian
Sexual Orientation	Gay Lesbian Bisexual Transgender	Heterosexual
Gender	Women	Men

Note. Adapted with modifications from *Tough Guise: Violence, Media and the Crisis in Masculinity* directed by S. Jhally, 2002.

The dualistic thinking that has left heterosexual men and fatherhood relatively understudied has also been directly criticized by feminist geographers, and serves as a starting point for this research. Rose (1993) highlights the presence of a masculine-feminine divide in human geographic thought and delineates how androcentric approaches have been preferred at the cost of feminist approaches that would emphasize the role of hierarchies and normative gender. Rose (1993:73) also argues this divide expresses itself as a variety of dualisms that include: knowledge-maternity; social-body; and rational-emotional. While feminist geographers have needed to expose these dualities to broaden the range of research subjects and data collection techniques in geography, it is important for researchers to move beyond these socially constructed dichotomies and the relationships between them. For this reason, this study focuses on fatherhood to challenge such dichotomies and continue to broaden the critical geographies buried within these constructs. To broaden the knowledge-maternity dualism, this research is centred on paternity. As such, masculinity becomes a visible part of the gendered and experiential component of this dualism. I have unfolded the social-body dualism by investigating the notion of fathers placing boundaries on their sons' activities, as the agency of a child's body in space is profoundly affected by social and familial structures. Finally, I have expanded the rational-emotional dualism through the addition of memory, as it contains both a rational and emotional basis for decision-making for fathers who can reflect on their own childhood spatial boundaries when creating new ones for their sons. Thus, the expansion of these dualisms has informed the creation of a research question for this study.

Research Purpose

The primary goal of this research is to study the construction and regulation of the childhood spatial worlds of boys by their fathers. While there are many ways that the

relationship between place and masculinity could be studied, the father-son relationship in the regulation of childhood allows for an assiduous exploration of the emerging field of children's geographies and responds to the knowledge voids left by the aforementioned dualistic thinking. A semi-structured interview guide was created to allow for questioning along two temporal branches in order to investigate these spatial worlds. The first branch explores fathers' recollections of their own childhoods between the ages of 6 and 14. In essence, a father's recollection of the spatial worlds of his childhood implicates spaces of play, settings for action, features of the physical environment, how he moved through spaces to meet friends, and even the ideas of control, ownership, and boundaries. These findings are combined with the second branch of inquiry, which reveals how fathers describe the current regulation of their sons' own access to spaces/places and the constituent construction of childhood worlds. In this generation, fathers living in the same dwelling as their children have more direct experience of their children's play spaces even though mothers may remain the primary caregivers. Unlike the early twentieth century when fathers' duties were almost solely defined by their financial responsibilities and structured outside the home, today the significant "amount of time fathers spend with their children reveals a high level of paternal involvement in family life that should not be overlooked" (Silver, 2000:29). Subsequently, fathers are able to offer a reasonable depth of description of their sons' spaces of play, settings for action, and how their sons move through space to meet friends. As such, the analysis of the results focuses specifically on fathers' regulations of their sons' independent mobility and their concerns about providing a good childhood while accomplishing the development of their sons' masculinity. This analysis was undertaken having unearthed the spatial qualities of the fathers' own childhoods, which

constitute experiential knowledge that fathers draw upon to make decisions when regulating their sons' mobility.

Given that the primary function of family is to protect and care for its members, this investigation of how the spatial worlds of boyhood are constructed in relation to notions of masculinity has demanded an examination of representations of safety and security. Concerns for childhood spaces have changed from seeking good places for children to grow-up to seeking *safe* places for children to grow-up. One survey found that "91% of adults polled considered it very important for children to be able to play outdoors in safety but that 85% of those questioned think that children's opportunity to play in safety has declined since they were very young..." (Valentine & McKendrick, 1997:223). Approaching these concerns from the perspective of the father-son relationship allows for an exploration of the dynamism of masculinity, as boys are more often associated with outdoor play than girls; thus, the restrictions of their spatial worlds by their fathers have strong links to masculinities. In this context, the central research question this study investigates is: What role is played by fathers and ideas of masculinity in constructing and regulating the spatial boundaries of their sons' childhood and providing them access to play spaces in the city? In this regard, what role is played by a father's own memories of his childhood?

Outline of the Research

Given these objectives and theoretical framework, I have organized the presentation of this study in the following manner:

Chapter 2 discusses several bodies of literature that inform this research. First, theories of play are examined in light of their ability to explain how boyhood play can be structured by fathers to socialize their sons. Second, research examining geographies of masculinity is

investigated in order to outline the normative standards of masculinity, as well as its manifestations in place. Third, research in the field of children's geographies is examined, as the spatial qualities of childhood, especially in relation to family, gender and safety, are integral to this project. Additionally, these studies highlight the challenges for children living in urban places, the subsequent safety concerns of their parents, and the parental regulation of children's spatial boundaries. Finally, a discussion of memory underscores the ways it is observable in daily spatial practices. This study relies heavily on fathers' experiential knowledge of their own childhood to explain the ways in which they have learned to create boundaries for their sons.

Chapter 3 outlines the methodological approach and research instruments used in this study. The semi-structured interview guide used for data collection is presented in tandem with the sampling and recruitment strategies. The difficulties I experienced with recruitment are highlighted and explained in terms of my positionalities *vis-à-vis* those of my research participants. Lastly, the coding technique used to organize the data analysis is profiled, as well as the functions of the software package *NVivo7*, which assisted in the analysis of the interview transcripts.

In Chapter 4, the results from the interviews with the fathers are summarized under three descriptive themes: 1) play spaces; 2) mobility and access; and 3) the gender of playmates. Within each of these themes, the fathers' memories from their own childhood experiences are presented first, followed by the fathers' experiences with regulating the spatial boundaries of their sons' childhoods. Some of the key findings discussed include the significant decrease in the range of the sons' play spaces as compared to their fathers' childhoods, the shift from temporal boundaries in the respondents' childhoods to geographic boundaries for their sons, and

the high level of involvement that the fathers see themselves having in their sons' play spaces and activities.

The analysis of the results has been broken down into two thematic parts. The first, Chapter 5, offers safety-based explanations for the relative uniformity in the fathers' responses about their sons' childhoods being far more organized than their own. These explanations are balanced with a discussion of the potential false memories that are tainting the fathers' perceptions of this increased level of organization. Additionally, the ways in which the fathers' memories manifest themselves as "displays of memory" in their sons' play spaces are discussed. The second part of the analysis, Chapter 6, grapples with the ways that the fathers performed masculinity during the interview, and uses their definitions of a "good boyhood" to examine multiple masculinities as expressed by this group of men. The identification of "risk" by some fathers as a crucial element of boyhood and its incorporation into the organization of their sons' spatial worlds is also examined. To finish, the locations and locales of the "new" father-son dynamic are juxtaposed with normative definitions of masculinity. This juxtaposition highlights the types of play spaces that fathers understand as masculine spaces or acceptable places for male-to-male interaction.

The concluding chapter of this study presents a summary of salient theoretical and methodological contributions. Future avenues for research are identified, which are based on my experiences with recruiting men to talk about gender and parenting, as well as the potential to further expand the use of masculinity theory within children's geography.

CHAPTER 2

If *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* was a Literature Review

Pringle (1980) identifies four essential needs of children: need for love and security; for new experiences; for praise and recognition; and for responsibility. Play activities afford children the opportunity for new experiences, as well as praise and recognition. This is evidenced by the design features of successful playgrounds that include a variety of challenges and fantasy materials in an environment that offers a gamut of sensory experiences while kindling ideas of control and choice (Scarlett, et al, 2005). However, these play activities and occasions for new experiences must be balanced with the other needs for children, particularly safety and security. Pringle (1980:37) notes that a child's need for security is met "by giving the child the security of stable family relationships…; the security of a familiar place; and the security of a known routine." These means to achieve safety and security are investigated in this research and serve both as active organizing themes and a framework for the analysis of results: fathers' constructions of the spatial worlds of boyhoods implicate family relationships and the notion of boundaries, which are part of a child's routine, and imply that some places or activities are "out of bounds" and inappropriate. In this light, the theoretical underpinnings of these concepts are explored in this literature review.

Theories of Play

The domains of leisure studies and child psychology are breeding grounds for debates over what qualifies an activity as "play" instead of "work" (Rubin, Fein, & Vandenberg, 1983). These debates are superimposed upon a wide variety of classic and contemporary, and often conflicting, theories regarding the reasons children engage in play. For this research, the categorization of which activities are or are not play is not particularly relevant, as the

cataloguing and labelling of certain activities as play is left to the experiential knowledge of the fathers being interviewed when they volunteer lists of play activities. However, understanding the theories about children's motivations to play highlights the range of societal values placed upon play, which is important for the examination of how fathers structure their sons' spatial worlds, or where they can play. If play can be viewed as "the prerequisite of learning" (Cook, 1974), the boundaries fathers place on where their sons can play structures the types of behaviours the sons will learn and from whom they will learn them. In fact, Table 2 outlines some of the classic and contemporary theories of play that speak to the link between play and learning. The classic theories view play as having more of a physical benefit stemming from biological processes, whereas the contemporary theories make stronger links to intellectual and social benefits, which in turn may be linked to play being an opportunity to learn about masculinity. Nevertheless, the classic theories shine light on the potential realm of activities in the spatial worlds of boyhood. If a father can see play through the lens of "practice for adulthood," he could equally see play as an opportunity for boys to have "practice for manhood." Moreover, if fathers subscribe to the ideas that boys should be brave and aggressive, play may be seen as an inalienable right in the spatial worlds of boyhood because boys would need to express their "surplus of energy" aggressively. From either a classic or contemporary perspective, play activities are part of an "environmental press" that socialize children, and in this case, sons:

> Environmental press is a term used by ecological psychologists in referring to the combined influence of forces working in a setting to shape behavior [sic] and development of people in that setting. Environmental press arises from the circumstances confronting and surrounding an individual that generate psychosocial momentum tending to guide that individual in a particular action (Garbarino, 1989:19).

Accordingly, the structure that fathers provide to their sons' spatial worlds, through geographic boundaries or time restraints, constructs a set of acceptable activities in which boys can

Table 2
Classic and Contemporary Theories of Play

	Theory	Reason for Play	Greatest Benefit
Classic Theories	*Surplus Energy* H. Spencer	To discharge the natural energy of the body	Physical
	Renewal of Energy G.T.W. Patrick	To avoid boredom while the natural motor functions of the body are restored	Physical
	Practice for Adulthood K. Groos	To develop skills and knowledge necessary for adulthood	Physical, intellectual
Contemporary Theories	*Psychoanalytic* S. Freud	To reduce anxiety by giving a child a sense of control over the world and an acceptable way to express forbidden impulses	Emotional, social
	Cognitive-Developmental J. Piaget	To facilitate general cognitive development	Intellectual, social
	Contextual L. Vygotsky	To reconstruct reality without situational influences or restraints	Intellectual

Note. Adapted with modifications from *Children, Play, and Development, 3rd Edition* by F.P. Hughes, 1999, p. 17.

participate, and therefore guides them to a particular set of actions. For this research, the sets of actions that are important to consider include gendered behaviours and actions that may mirror a father's own childhood experiences: "both the text and the context of whatever is defined as play is the product of earlier experiences of play" (Mergen, 1995:271). This inquiry also responds strongly to a call for "more gender sensitized and sensitive leisure studies literature" from the Leisure Studies Association following their special publication exploring masculinities, identities and culture (Horne & Fleming, 2000:x).

Geographies of Masculinity

Masculinity as a conceptual framework for this research emphasizes the importance of "doing gender in a culturally specific way;" in other words, gender is a dynamic phenomenon with spatial referents (Connell, 2005:68). In this light, Connell (2005:71) states: "Masculinity…is simultaneously a place in gender relations, the practices through which men and women engage in gender, and the effects of these practices in bodily experience, personality and culture." Berg and Longhurst (2003:352) also note that "masculinity is both temporally and geographically contingent," but emphasize that most definitions of masculinity fail to recognize the spatial element of masculinity as being more than a metaphor. This acknowledgment is paramount with respect to the spatial worlds of childhood, as there are obviously both temporal and geographic factors in these domains. The selection of the father-son relationship adds a new and increased level of specificity to masculinist identity production in geographic contexts. Additionally, the understanding of men's identities has historically suffered: "Traditionally, men have relied on women to provide them with an account and understanding of what they are experiencing in their emotional lives" (Seidler, 1994:109). While Seidler (1994) applies this idea to the ways men understand their heterosexual, conjugal relationships, in this research, men are given an opportunity to discuss their experiences and memories of childhood, as well as the experience of raising a son in a particular kind of environment. Inherently, these experiences are rooted in temporal and geographic contexts; yet, by delving into fathers' accounts of their masculinity directly, this research offers a new perspective on the dynamism of masculinity, male identity and how these identities are performed.

Normative definitions of masculinity stress the culturally dominant views of masculinity, and provide a reference point for the multiple and divergent masculinities that exist. As such,

these normative definitions communicate the expected ways in which men should act, and consequently, the expected ways in which fathers should construct boundaries and classify safe spaces for their sons. The notion of "hegemonic masculinity" is the most prominent among normative constructions of masculinity:

> This hegemonic masculinity is cross-culturally and historically variable and offers a clear example of a locally specific normative conception of gender. It stands as a normative conception to which men are accountable, a form of masculinity in relation to which subordinated masculinities, as well as femininities, are defined (Kane, 2006:152).

In a North American context, "hegemonic masculinity is naturalized in the form of the hero and presented through forms that revolve around heroes: sagas, ballads, westerns, thrillers," and today through the media and advertising (Donaldson, 1993:646). Moreover, hegemonic masculinity has been criticized by some academics for its contamination of the social environment of North American sports through physical domination, aggression, competition, sexism, and homophobia (Beal, 1996). All the same, Euro-American hegemonic masculinities, which are based in the notion of dominance, have transformed from a "gentry masculinity [that] did not emphasize rational calculation" before the Second World War to being organized around expertise and management with the growth of information industries (Connell, 1993:609). However, while it has been said that "hegemonic masculinity is confirmed in fatherhood, the practice of parenting by men actually seems to undermine it" (Donaldson, 1993:650). This mixed message highlights the problems associated with the existence of a normative masculinity that fathers are supposed to follow. Men are told to live up to this standard and instil it in other men and boys whilst being independent, in control of their emotions and successful. However, this societal construct is at odds with the social expectation that men to be involved, caring and gentle fathers, in turn creating an identity quagmire (Dudley & Stone, 2004).

Hopkins (2000) provides a contemporary example of hegemonic masculinity, which is linked to the father-son element of this research, in his analysis of "uneasy" places and advertising for Big Brothers. The analysis of these advertisements highlights the masculine myths (ideologies and connotations) that are being invoked, as well as the difficulties that Big Brothers has bridging the gap between making the adult-child relationship look fun without overplaying the degree of emotional involvement. Consequently, Hopkins noted a thematic shift in the advertisements over time from education to recreation, as well as a shift in archetypes from father and king to buddy and magician:

> The advertisements tap into and present 'locales' —settings in which the male-to-male social relations are constituted—that evoke a 'sense of place' —meanings structured by and associated with the masculinist code of 'acceptable' social positions or places for male same-sex friendships...(2000:49).

Once more, this concept of "acceptable social positions and places" is important to studies about the father-son relationship, as "heterosexual fathers play a particularly central role in accomplishing their sons' masculinity and, in the process, reinforce their own as well." (Kane, 2006:150). By defining the places that are appropriate for male interaction within sons' spatial worlds, fathers are demonstrating how they navigate through the increasingly diverse masculine roles they are socially expected to fulfill. In fact, Segal (1990:26) states that one way of answering the question "Is there a new type of man emerging?" *vis-à-vis* normative definitions and representations of masculinity is "to look at men as fathers." Moreover, recognizing the concept of hegemonic masculinity and its associated "subordinated masculinities" underscores the existence of multiple meanings or expressions of masculinity. As Franklin (1984:4) notes, appreciating that there has not been a "unitary meaning of masculinity" and that males in certain ethnic and sexual-orientation minority groups "only recently have been considered for inclusion

in the masculine gender" signifies that there are multiple ways to be a man. If there is no universal masculinity, there is no universal fatherhood. This research emphasizes how place influences the construction of masculinities and male identities by investigating fathers' memories of their own childhood and how they describe regulating their sons' spatial worlds.

Given that masculinity is constructed in terms of social relations in place, its construction can be evaluated as a spatial process with an array of possible appearances and permutations. As Connell (2005:71) remarks: "Rather than attempting to define masculinity as an object...we need to focus on the processes and relationships through which men and women conduct gendered lives." Castells (1993), in his examination of European cities, argues that suburbanization and gentrification are examples of spatial processes that can impinge on our social understandings and productions of masculinity:

> The structure of the household generally determines the spatial choice. The more women play a role in the household, the more proximity to jobs and urban services in the city makes central urban space attractive...triggering the process of gentrification of the central city. On the contrary, the more patriarchal the middle class family, the more likely it is to observe the withdrawal to the suburb....(253).

For Castells, it is evident that multiple masculinities exist, and that different masculinities may be more readily expressed in particular spatial choices and places. Admittedly, this assertion comes across as extemporaneous in an article in which Castells outlines the technological revolution, the informational society and the global economy as major social trends affecting European cities. Nevertheless, Castells's point highlights that gender is tied to space and locale, and rather than reducing spatiality to a metaphor, he links the social construction of gender to spatial processes, and links these spatial processes to particular environments. In relation to fathers, their varied experiential knowledge of gender, childhood and boyhood would impact the

regulation of children's spatial worlds in different ways. Seidler (1994) highlights the significance of comprehending this absence of universality amongst men and their identities. He notes that a variety of explanatory variables need to be investigated including "...the different needs that individual men might be fulfilling, given their own background and relationships with their fathers in taking on the responsibilities of fathering" (Seidler, 1994:113). This study considers Seidler's concerns about the significance of fathers' backgrounds through its examination of fathers' childhoods and memories, and by encouraging fathers to discuss their experiences of spatial boundary creation. As such, this study recognizes that these important differences may be particularly germane to the investigation of the manifestations and everyday constructions of masculinity in place.

Masculinities are also important in defining acceptable reactions for fathers and sons when dealing with fear, safety, and security, which are paramount in providing children access to playspaces. Brownlow (2005) classifies strategies for dealing with fear and safety as either protective or avoidant. Protective strategies increase the ability of a man to deter an attack or victimization and are related to self-defense. These do not weigh heavily as considerations in this study. On the other hand, avoidance strategies involve merely staying clear of people and places discerned as dangerous. These strategies are valuable considerations for this study and heighten the intellectual curiosity surrounding how fathers construct spatial worlds for their sons since the adoption of avoidance strategies may affect the types of places to which fathers give their sons access (viz., private, semi-private, public). For example, if fathers do not let their sons go to a park because the route to it includes crossing high traffic roads, they are imposing and encouraging an avoidance strategy to the safety threat. Additionally, these avoidance strategies may play a role in the ways fathers perform a normative masculinity or hegemonic masculinity,

as they are spatially removing themselves or their sons from situations that could make them appear weak. Conversely, boys tend to associate "prestige and status in having experienced danger" (Valentine, 1997a:77). As a consequence, a father may be more likely to extend the boundaries of his son's childhood, as children in two-parent families have been found to perceive that their fathers worry less than their mothers and are more lenient with spatial boundaries (Valentine, 1997a). Valentine (1997a) also notes that boys associate spatial exploration and roaming with praise of their physical capabilities. Clearly, masculinities and their constituent theories offer new insights into children's geographies and the construction of spatial boundaries by fathers, as well as safety concerns. These ideas are also inherently linked to the problems faced by a child in the city.

Children's Geographies

In an attempt to highlight the ways in which children's geographies have been impacted by the paradigmatic shifts in geography, McKendrick (2000) compiled an annotated bibliography of works relating to children's geography ranging from the early behaviourist studies to the contemporary critical approaches to the topic. The main domains of study and their associated topics identified by McKendrick (2000) have been consolidated in Table 3 so as to situate this study within the antecedent research about children's geographies. As such, this study is couched in the following themes from children's geographies: 1) (de)constructing children through family context and gender variation; 2) children and the environment, particularly play spaces in the city; and 3) social issues represented by the fathers' fears for their sons' security. Despite McKendrick's organization of these themes, for the purposes of this literature review the

Table 3
Domains of Study within Children's Geographies

Domain of study	Associated Topics
(De)constructing children	• Methodological/ethical issues • Geographical concepts • *Family contexts* • Society contexts • *Gender variation* • Age-based variation • Cultural variation
Children in the environment	• *Home* • School • *Playgrounds and play environments* • *Neighbourhood* • Street • *City* • Country • Landscapes of consumption • Cyberspace
Designing environments for children	• Children as planners • Utopian visions
Environmental hazards	• Traffic – independent mobility and danger • Traffic – independent mobility • Traffic – danger • Health and environment • Accidents
Indirect experience of place	• Not medium specific • Literature • Television and cyberspace
Social issues	• Children's fears • *Parents' fears for their children* • Poverty and deprivation • Work • Migration • Social hazards • Crime and deviance
Citizenship and agency	• Environmental action • Local politics • Interest in the environment
Children's geographic knowledge	• Environmental cognition • Understanding the physical environment

Note. Adapted with modifications from "The geography of children: An annotated bibliography," by J.H. McKendrick, 2000, *Childhood* 7(3), pp. 359-387. Those topics underlined and in italics are studied directly within the theoretical framework of this project.

topics related to "(de)construction" will be dealt with separately, and the topics related to children and the city and security will be addressed together. Additionally, McKendrick's (2000:363) term, "(de)constructing," will be used throughout this chapter as it emphasizes that this study is deconstructing the notion of childhood by simultaneously investigating the forces that construct childhood socio-culturally and spatially.

(De)constructing children through family contexts. Constructions of childhood and images of the child "represent ethical and political choices, made within larger frameworks of ideas, values and rationalities" (Moss and Petrie, 2002:55). This is further justification for the use of the masculinity as a framework; it abounds with ideas and values that shape childhood and father-son relationships. Childhood is a social construction that is produced discursively, and the boundaries that normative definitions of masculinity may place on men will be congruent with the boundaries in a relationship between father and son. While this way of thinking recognizes a discursive production of childhood, Aitken (2001:57) notes: "There is no universal child....Child identity is always plural....Although childhoods are variable they are also intentional, predicated upon social, political, historical, geographical and moral contexts." For this reason, research in this domain lends itself to local scales of investigation and analysis with an emphasis on experiences, such as the interviews conducted for this study. The geographic intrigue lies in how children's worlds are "structured 'from without' and experienced 'from within' " (Philo, 1992:198). Frønes (1994) argues that one of the principle dimensions of childhood research focuses on the relationships between generations, with a particularly strong emphasis on constructions of childhood. In this study, the external structures as constructed or provided by fathers to their sons are a focal point of investigation. Subsequently, a geographic spin is placed on the individuation-individualization dichotomy of childhood studies:

> The process of individuation produces a family consisting of individuals, but it also emphasizes the parents' responsibility for the young individuals. The process of individualization emphasizes that children are unique personalities, but, at the same time, places the responsibility for the personality development on the parents (Frønes, 1994:153).

In other words, while each child is a basic unit or an individual member of a family, parents still have the responsibility to create boundaries for them. This study focuses on two such basic units or individuals in the family, the father and son, and explores the structure that fathers give to their sons' lives through the spatial boundaries imposed on play. Put differently, piloting the course through the spatial worlds of boyhood is a task to be handled by the sons, but it is done so with the help of the structure they get from their fathers (Zeiher, 2003). Additionally, recollections from the fathers' own childhoods, and to a lesser degree, their stories of how their sons may break the rules, highlight the individualization or agency of these boys and siblings despite the structures and boundaries in place.

Since this study is based both on fathers' recollections of their own childhoods and their representations of the similarities and differences with which they regulate their sons' childhoods, the notion that adults and children experience spaces and places differently is a key consideration. It has been suggested that adult recollections of their childhood spatial worlds have been found to focus less on formal places like schools or playing fields, and more on "wastelands," the areas outside of parental control like streets or sidewalks, which gives some initial insight into the conception of children's spaces (Lynch, 1979:104). Yet, recent studies of children's own experiences reveal that "children's understanding of themselves and of their family is achieved through the movement in, out and around the home of different family members as much as it is through the 'home' as a material space and fixed locality" (Christensen, et al., 2000:143). In other words, access to certain spaces and activities for

children is strongly linked to the daily temporal schedules of family members, which bolsters the need to study the parental-child link (in this case, father-son) in the construction of childhood worlds. For example, children having access to a park after school may depend on whether or not a family member is available to accompany them to the park and supervise them there; moreover, this may change with age and maturity as older children may be granted permission to walk to the park alone. If the home and familial relationships are important for the construction of childhood, so then are the parental decisions of where "home" and play boundaries should be and the associated perceptions of safety.

(De)constructing children through gender variations and masculinity. Boyhood geographies have been understudied and "little is known about how, why, or where boys and girls roam in any given community" (Wridt, 1999:255). Cunningham and Jones (1991) have demonstrated that boys have larger play ranges than girls, more boys play away from home than girls, and that boys have a tendency to explore natural bushland areas. Consequently, boys have demonstrated a greater knowledge of places further away from their homes than girls, and "the freedom of movement enjoyed by boys from a younger age leads to a fuller appreciation of the mesh of local roads, alleyways and footpaths" (Matthews, 1984:333). On the other hand, cognitive mapping of boys tends to be more "superficial in content whereas girls gave more attention to limited detail" (Matthews, 1984:334). This is similar to boys' use of natural places, as such landscapes are viewed as a "stage for adventure games" (Cunningham & Jones, 1991:310). Additionally, one recent study indicates that "boys are more likely to be described as outdoor children with 84 percent being described as such" (Valentine and McKendrick, 1997:228). Therefore, attention should be given to this traditional boyhood mobility when

fathers are recollecting their own childhoods and describing how they regulate their sons' spatial worlds.

Pollack (1998) argues that the worlds of boys are structured by "The Boy Code" that has four imperatives: 1) "the sturdy oak," that men and boys should be confident and autonomous in all contexts; 2) "give 'em hell," that boys should be brave and aggressive; 3) "the big wheel," that boys should avoid shame and acquire power; and 4) "no sissy stuff," that boys must reject stereotypical feminine qualities such as compassion (23). The high value placed on developing these qualities in the socialization of boys is well-documented. Thorne (1994) generalizes that "...boys' social relations tend to be overtly hierarchical and competitive" as seen in "...their involvement in organized sports, both as a favored [sic] activity, and as a metaphor for social relations (boys sometimes talk about their cliques as 'teams' with a 'captain')" (93). McDowell (2003) echoes the existence of these imperatives and notes that a form of "laddish masculinity" becomes normalized amongst male youth after childhood, and that "hard lads" organize their identity "around participation in sport and a whole set of loud and boisterous activities such as play fighting..." (115). Pollack (1998) uses his typology to provide advice to parents about how to connect with boys in a way that also alleviates these rigid gender constructions in their lives.

The present study recognizes that "The Boy Code" may also exist in the spatial worlds of boyhood, and may explain why boys choose to partake in adventure games or violent activities in a variety of play spaces. These imperatives are also important in the analysis of the father-son relationship, particularly in the context of fathers setting play boundaries for their sons. If a father subscribes to this code of behaviour or defines childhood as a time when boys must learn these characteristics in the course of becoming a man, he may foster notions of risk and aggressiveness in his sons' play activities and provide his sons with the spatial range to

participate in such activities. In this light, the difference between children's geographies and boys' geographies is stark, as girls and mothers may not have the same degree of experiential knowledge with this "gender straightjacket." (Pollack, 1998:6).

Children in the city and parents' fears. Another fundamental variable that affects the range of play experiences of children is the safety fears of their parents, especially with respect to urban public spaces. Valentine and McKendrick (1997) name this as one primary reason for the decline in the number of opportunities that children are permitted for independent outdoor play and the subsequent increase in parental anxieties over the changing nature of childhood. While it is a possibility that the loss of children's outdoor play is related to a trend that children are choosing to stay at home with electronic media like video games and the Internet, I am sceptical of explanations that overemphasize the agency of children, particularly when the boundaries in children's lives are inherently linked to social structures and the daily routines of their families. Moreover, Tandy (1999) dismissed this possibility in a study that had children both tell and draw the play activities they would enjoy the most on a sunny day. She found that most children drew pictures of outdoor activities: "What this contradiction reveals is that despite children 'choosing' the option of playing in the home, they may prefer to go outside to investigate and enjoy their environment. Home appears to be the consigned place of play when they have no real choice" (162). This problem is compounded for children living in the city by prevalent parental notions that cities are not good places to raise children. This relates to adults and children experiencing place differently, as adults often hold a positive association between children, nature and the countryside (Jones, 1997; Jones, 2000). Interestingly, childhood geography studies offer counterevidence to an urban-rural dualism for inclusion and exclusion of children in places: "young people...associate inclusion with a range of spaces that provide a

sense of comfort and/or familiarity with other young people," regardless of whether the space is urban or rural (Nairn, et al., 2003:22). Nevertheless, parents' concerns do not revolve around their children's sense of comfort with other young people, but rather pivot upon fears of traffic and strangers harming their children (Hillman, et al., 1990; Gaster, 1991; O'Brien, et al., 2000; Tranter & Pawson, 2001; Karsten, 2005). As parental fears of these and other threats escalate, children are being removed from public culture, public space, and from unstructured geographies in general. A study by Harden (2000) confirmed that parental fears are having a direct impact of children's experience of place and their range of activity:

> In contrast to the home, public spaces were frequently defined by the children in terms of risk. However, the children distinguished between their neighbourhoods and those beyond the boundary of their street/village/network of friends' homes. By doing so, the children described an intermediate 'local' sphere between the public and private (50).

The concept of risk in public spaces is not something innately known to children; it is a learned concept, and as such vouches for the need to understand the perspective and role of parents in communicating these ideas to their children. While this study does investigate the ways in which fathers provide their sons with access to public and private spheres given security concerns, it also highlights the role of fathers in the creation of this "local sphere" for their sons, or in other words, the spatial world of their sons' boyhoods.

Given the prevalence of literature that highlights traffic and stranger danger as primary parental concerns for children in the city, I believe it is more important to demonstrate the strong link between these two fears rather than repeat statistical data from each individual study. Hillman, et al. (1990) set the standard for the consideration of traffic as both a significant safety concern and a factor contributing to diminished public or outdoor play spaces for children with the assertion:

> Children's rights are fairly well catered for with respect to matters such as nutrition, protection from illness and physical and mental abuse. But the deprivation associated with their loss of autonomy, the threat to their lives owing to the growth of traffic, and the loss of the street as accessible communal playspace [sic] has been largely overlooked... (94).

Recent studies continue to refer to Hillman, et al. (1990) and compare results to their findings. For example, O'Brien, et al. (2000) highlight that fewer children are walking to school, and fewer are going to school unaccompanied by an adult. The key here is that parents are using their vehicles as an avoidance strategy to keep their children safe from strangers who they perceive to be lurking around and making a walk or unsupervised walk to school dangerous. As a result, the parents are increasing the traffic on the roads, which was the concern highlighted by Hillman, et al. at the outset. This "social trap" was pinpointed in a study of parents' concerns for children's safety in several communities in Christchurch, New Zealand:

> If all parents allowed their children to walk or cycle to school, they would be safer in terms of both traffic danger and stranger danger. They would be safer from traffic, as there would be fewer cars (especially near schools). They would also be safer from strangers because they would be in larger groups, and hence could benefit from 'safety in numbers'. However, if only one parent allows their child to walk/cycle, that child will suffer the negative consequences of other people's actions (Tranter & Pawson, 2001:43).

Consequently, the social trap does not exist solely for the children, but also for the parents. By failing to follow the expectations of the other parents, they would appear as though they were directly placing their children at risk of injury from both traffic and strangers. However, on both the fronts of traffic and stranger danger, studies have shown that the perspective of this mob mentality is wrong on both accounts. Analyses of pedestrian and bicycle crashes involving school-aged children in Florida indicate that the majority of these traffic-related collisions occur near schools, which are the areas that parents are flooding with traffic by

driving their children to and from school (Abdel-Aty, et al., 2007). In terms of stranger danger, one study of urban environments in the United Kingdom concludes: "In spite of moral panics, which are fuelled by parental anxieties about the vulnerability of young people to attack or interference by adult strangers, evidence from this study suggests that children are often more at risk from other young people in the same neighbourhood" (Percy-Smith & Matthews, 2001:61). Nonetheless, the social traps created by the interrelationship between parents' fears of traffic and strangers for their children may explain why parents express anxiety over the changing nature of childhood and recollect many differences from their own childhood.

Memory and Geography

Given that this study investigates the recollections of fathers about their own childhoods, it is necessary to recognize that memory has theoretical and methodological relevance in geography. The literature on memory makes a distinction between early recollections and reports for the purpose assessing their relevance:

> Early recollections (ERs) are stories of events that a person *says* occurred before he or she was 10 years of age....Early recollections are different from reports, which people often confuse with ERs. Reports are generalizations such as "My father and I used to go fishing almost every Sunday" or "As a kid, I went to the movies all the time" (Mosak & Di Pietro, 2006:1).

While this distinction is an important consideration from Mosak and Di Pietro's clinical psychology perspective, I am convinced that the exclusion of reports from this study would be disadvantageous. First, the goals of this study are not the same as a psychotherapy session; consequently, there is not the same need to focus only on concrete events that may have shaped a father's personality. Secondly, in the case of early recollections "it is important to understand that the content of the remembrance is a projection; therefore, it makes no difference if the recollection is real or imagined" (Mosak & Di Pietro, 2006:2). If even false early recollections

provide insight into the individual's perceptions, I believe that generalized reports from childhood are useful because they could provide insight into how the individual perceives the structures in his childhood, such as spatial boundaries and gender roles. For these reasons, I align the use of all types of memories in this study with the following perspective:

> This material, and particularly the emotional descriptions within it, appears to reflect our childhood struggle with the social order, even as we accept the social definition of our responses. So while the memories are about us as individuals, they also say much about the social order in which we constitute ourselves (Crawford, et al., 1992:9).

This perspective is further supported by a study conducted by Sebba (1991) that also involved adult memories of childhood environments. "The research showed that the return to the landscapes of childhood was perceived as adults as an experience that links the meaning assigned to the concept of childhood, in their eyes, with the physical features of surroundings to which they were exposed in childhood" (Sebba, 1991:419). The only risk involved by including all types of memories is highlighted by Eacott and Crawley (2000) when they indicate that respondents' inability to recollect could be supplanted by information from sources other than their own memory. In terms of this study, this means that the generalized reports about the boundaries and social structures from a man's childhood could be a parent, sibling or friend's retellings of experiences or events. Nevertheless, if the respondent is willing to offer this information, I believe he is still representing his learned perception of his own childhood, and as such, it is important to include.

There is a tendency within the literature on memory to make the link to geography through the term "spatial;" subsequently, the concerns related visuo-spatial memory focus on the "location of items in space," the relationships between these items, and movement through space (Logie, 1995:78). While childhood play spaces undisputedly embody these notions, the

significance of memory for cultural geographers is related to our understandings and experiences of place. As Andrews (2006:171) argues, "the focus on the everyday inevitably involves a focus on life in marginal places, peripheries and out-of-the-way geographical locations, with a temporal emphasis...." In addition, Hoelscher (2003) argues that geographers should study 'displays of memory': "Since the original experiences of the past are irretrievable and forever unstable, we can only grasp them through their remains – through objects, images, events and representations" (661). Moreover, "the past is not simply there in memory...but it must be articulated to become memory" (Huyssen, 1995:2-3). For this study, a father's memories about his childhood are articulated as artefacts of everyday life and become "displays of memory" through the ways in which he constructs the spatial boundaries of his son's childhood. Additionally, these spatial displays of memory link to fathers' representations of safety and safe play spaces:

> According to Nietzsche, while in the world of animals genetic programs guarantee the survival of the species, humans must find a means by which to maintain their nature consistently through generations. The solution to this problem is offered by cultural memory, a collective concept for all knowledge that directs behaviour and experience in the interactive framework of a society and one that obtains through generations in repeated societal practice and initiation (Assmann, 1995:126).

By studying fathers' memories of their childhood play spaces, I am providing the fathers with an opportunity to articulate the play spaces that were considered safe for them, and thereby provide a generational context for the current displays of memory – the regulation of their sons' access to play spaces. Since some of the fathers in the sample have moved from a suburban childhood to live as adults in inner-city neighbourhoods with a family, the ways in which place allows for the display of memory will also be highlighted. For example, play spaces that were deemed safe for a man in his childhood may not be regarded as safe now for his children because

the present neighbourhood is an urban one. Clearly, memory and geography are inextricably linked in boundary creation.

Summary

Play provides a gateway for the investigation of the ways in which children's needs for new experiences, as well as safety and security, are met. However, children's play spaces are not self-contained entities of limitless opportunity: they are constructed from the outside by parents and social structures. For these reasons, this study focuses on the father-son relationship and investigates the ways in which fathers provide structure to the spatial worlds of their sons' boyhoods. Normative masculinities, while temporally and spatially contingent, imply the creation of boundaries around activities and spaces to repel vulnerability and challenges to a dominant masculine identity. Nevertheless, multiple masculinities exist, and most of these masculinities do not conform to these normative identity prescriptions. Since children's understandings of themselves and their family are realized in the course of their movement through their home and in relation to different family members, a father's notions of masculinity are likely to affect the construction of spatial worlds for their children, particularly for their sons. Moreover, as parents, fathers have additional concerns in allowing their sons access to public spaces or activities, namely in terms of safety. The literature suggests that fathers may also structure access to particular places in order to provide an ideal childhood that is in line with their own recollections of childhood. Literature in the domain of children's geographies indicates that while boys tend to have larger play ranges than girls, which is influenced by ideas of masculinity and "The Boy Code," parents still have persistent anxieties over the changing nature of childhood and places for play, in turn achieving expression in the removal of children from environmental hazards. Two key safety concerns – traffic and stranger danger – play a

significant role in diminishing access of children to outdoor and public play spaces. Parental fears of traffic and strangers for their children paradoxically reinforce themselves, as parents find themselves driving their children to activities as a means of avoiding hazards, but in turn they create more traffic in the areas in which children might play. As such, the current spatial worlds of childhood and boyhood differ from those of the parents and fathers, which merits study through the investigation of fathers' memories. These memories of the fathers' childhoods provide insight into the ways that fathers construct boundaries for their sons' spatial worlds today, and these memories are an integral part of the analysis in the chapters that follow.

CHAPTER 3

The Man-ual

Memories and masculinity are both invisible. Undeniably, the literature in these fields underscores that both memory and masculinity can manifest physically in our environments; however, it is still a challenge to access these types of experiential information. In terms of memory, this challenge is compounded by the involvement of a subjective researcher in someone else's perceptions: "Memory-work is firmly positioned against empiricist methodologies of mainstream social science. Whereas empiricism is essentially atheoretical and claims that knowledge is self-evident, a hermeneutic approach is theory-laden and acknowledges that knowledge depends on interpretation" (Crawford, et al., 1992:41). Consequently, the use of masculinity as an interpretive framework for memory-work adds a palpable layer of complexity. After all, normative masculinities often escape study and inquiry by ridiculing deviations from its hegemonic standard (Connell, 2005), thereby implicating the gender identity of the researcher, particularly if it is a man who does not embody a dominant masculinity. Nevertheless, a study about boyhood memories implicates the involvement of both memory and masculinity in the methodology, and as a result, an understanding of the researcher's identity.

This study investigates the nature of experience and memories and how they inform the ways in which fathers regulate the physical and social boundaries of their sons' childhoods. Since these phenomena cannot be directly observed, especially over a short period of time, participant observation techniques were ruled out. The focus on experience, memories, as well as notions and representations of safety and gender, could only truly be examined through a qualitative approach that placed a premium on the ideas and words of respondents – a conversation with a purpose. As such, fathers needed to be given an opportunity to express an

understanding of play environments, to describe the character of their childhood environments, and to reflect on the ways in which their sons use space and access places. Fathers also needed an opportunity to explain how childhoods are regulated in contemporary society with competing visions of masculinity and how/where to be a boy. To address these objectives, a semi-structured interview technique was adopted.

At the outset of the research, it was hoped that a comparison could be drawn between fathers living in inner-city and suburban neighbourhoods to elucidate any links between the social construction of masculinity and these spatial processes. The primary concern for the envisioned inner city-suburban comparison was ensuring methodological rigor in a study that would not have statistical parameters. When the number of respondents was not sufficient to continue with a comparison, likely due to the sampling procedures and my positionalities, the research methodology was reframed in a stronger feminist approach that emphasized individual experiences, stories, and contexts. As such, ten interviews were conducted and they provide a great deal of insight into the social environments of boyhood, both as memories and through the ways in which fathers actively engage to shape the spaces and places of their sons' boyhood. The results were coded and analyzed through detailed readings of the interviews and analysis using *NVivo 7* – a software package developed for the analysis of textual data.

Semi-Structured Interviews

A semi-structured interview has "some degree of predetermined order but still ensures flexibility in the way issues are addressed by the informant" (Dunn, 2005:80). Since the research was focused on memories and expressions of childhood, "the advantage to this approach is that it is sensitive and people-oriented, allowing interviewees to construct their own accounts of their experiences by describing and explaining their lives in their own words" (Valentine, 1997b:111).

While focus groups were a consideration for this research, since men tend to perform hegemonic masculinity in front of other men, it is possible that they would play up or play down certain experiences and memories in a group thereby reducing the variety of masculinities that the interviews would yield. The interview guide (see Appendix A) meets the four criteria for a focused semi-structured interview outlined by Flick (2002:75): non-direction, specificity, range, and depth and personal context. These criteria are described in Table 4. These criteria are followed in this study and each interview began comfortably with unstructured questions, but specific elements of the study, such as childhood mobility and access, and all aspects of these elements were pursued during the interview while re-visiting statements as necessary to maximize the degree of "self-revelatory comments" (Flick, 2002:77). As such, the interview guide begins by asking the father to describe the places and play activities from his own childhood and his son's childhood (or sons' childhoods) before becoming more structured and focusing upon the representations of safety and definitions of boyhood.

Table 4
Elements of a Focused Semi-Structured Interview

Element	Description
Non-direction	Unstructured questions are asked first, and increased structuring is introduced only later during the interview to prevent the interviewer's frame of reference from being imposed on the interviewee's viewpoints.
Specificity	Retrospective inspection should be encouraged to bring out the specific elements that determine the impact or meaning of an event for the interviewee.
Range	The interviewee must be allowed to introduce new topics of his or her own interview, but the interviewer must cover the interview guide. The interviewer should lead back to topics that have been mentioned, but not detailed deeply.
Depth and personal context	The interviewers must continuously diagnose the level of depth appropriate for the given case. Strategies include focusing on feelings or creating comparative situations.

Note. These elements are adapted from *An Introduction to Qualitative Research, 2nd Edition* by U. Flick, 2002, pp. 75-79.

The interview guide was pilot tested before being employed in the field to verify that it fulfilled the data and information needs of the research. Additionally, I asked the participants to complete a short fact sheet about salient socio-demographic characteristics prior to the interview in order to gain a familiarity with their backgrounds and to facilitate the interpretation of results. The fact sheet (see Appendix B) asked the participants about their age, the length of time lived in their current neighbourhood, the degree of mobility in their childhood (i.e., frequency with which their family moved), their marital status and the number and ages of their children. Both of these research instruments and the sampling strategies received approval from the University of Ottawa Research Ethics Board following a full review process. Consequently, each respondent was assigned or chose a pseudonym that is used in the presentation of the results.

Sampling and Recruitment Strategies

The objective of this research is not generalization to a broad population of fathers and sons. The research has a different epistemological starting point and attempts to understand the meanings that respondents attribute to their experiences as fathers. In this case, these experiences revolve around the spatial worlds of boyhood. Nevertheless, efforts were taken to homogenize the sample by selecting fathers with certain demographic, familial and experiential characteristics. The study sample only includes fathers who met the following demographic criteria: 1) they grew up in the suburbs; 2) they have sons of their own between the ages of 6-14[†]; 3) they are in a heterosexual relationship; and 4) they are currently living with their partner and children in a conjugal-like relationship. This age range for at least one of the sons was selected because it encompasses both "the stage when children begin to venture beyond the immediate vicinity of the home environment" (Valentine & McKendrick, 1997:224) and the stage prior to the extension of freedom brought on when a driver's licence is obtained. The

[†] One father had a son who was just about to turn 6 years old and was included in this study.

decision to exclude homosexual fathers was taken to ensure the focus was on the examination of dominant forms of masculinity and how heterosexual fathers reassert their masculinity through their interaction with their sons (Kane, 2006). The exclusion of fathers without joint custody or not living in a conjugal-like relationship ensured that fathers participating in the interviews would have a significant understanding of their son's (or sons') daily routines. Spatially, the fathers reside in the City of Ottawa, and sampling began in a set of identified neighbourhoods (city electoral wards) and census tracts outlined in Table 5. The census tracts were selected on the basis of the characteristics of the central-city residential neighbourhoods of the Glebe and Sandy Hill. Using the 2001 census data, neighbourhoods were targeted in which average two-adult family incomes were generally middle- to upper-middle class. Residents from these neighbourhoods were of particular interest in order to facilitate comparisons between respondents in inner-city and suburban locations. Given that family households in most suburban neighbourhoods are relatively affluent, it was necessary to select individuals in a small number of inner-city neighbourhoods that overall are characterized by a high degree of prosperity.

Given these qualifiers and having ten interviewees for the research, I adopted the approach of Brewis (2004:1823) for her qualitative study on gender, city-living and work for "thirty-something" women. Brewis's research is based on nearly as many respondents as this study, and focuses on the "complex singularity" of respondents who all share key biographical details. By recognizing that there are multiple masculinities and childhoods, the study is able to examine the "complex singularity" of each respondent. For the purpose of interviewing fathers, this approach was combined with an understanding of feminist standpoint theories, which are all

Table 5
Neighbourhoods Identified for Recruitment of Interview Respondents

	Ward	Census Tract	Total Households	Average Household Income ($)	Household Size
Central City	17 – Capital (Glebe)	0018.00	200	149456	3.8
		0019.00	360	166135	3.8
		0036.00	320	163823	3.9
	12 – Rideau-Vanier (Sandy Hill)	0051.00	200	106497	3.6
		0052.00	195	135554	3.5
West Suburbs	9 – Knoxdale-Merivale (Nepean)	0135.01	600	109204	4.1
		0137.04	265	128197	3.8
	3 – Barrhaven	0140.03	400	118301	3.8
		0140.04	1005	124475	4.0
		0140.06	370	115285	4.0
	23 – Kanata South	0161.01	930	118685	3.8
		0161.03	675	117470	4.0
		0161.04	390	127321	3.8

Note. This data is adapted from Statistics Canada, Special Tabulation, 2001.

related by one distinct premise: "Knowledge is socially located and arises in social positions that are structured by power relations" (O'Brien Hallstein, 1999:35). As noted in the Introduction, in order for this study to unearth knowledge about masculinity, traditionally understudied dominant groups (i.e., men, heterosexuals, and fathers) were targeted by the sampling methodology. In this way, the study's focus on the experiential knowledge and gender of a dominant group uncovers the social and spatial contexts of fatherhood. As a consequence, this study broadens and bridges the masculine-feminine dualisms identified by Rose (1993) in human geographic thought (i.e., knowledge-maternity; social-body; rational-emotional).

A snowball sampling technique was first used to develop the sample. Snowballing "describes using one contact to help you recruit another contact, who in turn can put you in touch with someone else" (Valentine, 1997b:116). "Fathers" as a social group are not overwhelmingly difficult to identify, and it was hoped that this technique could utilize informal networks to find fathers willing to participate in this study and rapidly increase the number of potential

interviewees. Additionally, by using this technique it was assumed that children would have friends in their neighbourhood and that their parents would know each other, thereby increasing the number of potential respondents. A recruitment letter (see Appendix C) was provided to contacts in each of the identified neighbourhoods for sampling. The majority of respondents were found using this technique, however, no snowballs were actually produced – each respondent represented the start of a snowball, but none of them were able to provide a second contact (see Figure 1). One possible reason for this shortfall was a stipulation made by the University of Ottawa Research Ethics Board that required potential interviewees be contacted by the researcher directly to maintain confidentiality and anonymity. Respondents who did provide the recruitment letters to other potential interviewees could not really act as a relay for contact information, and the letter itself contained a statement that asked potential interviewees to contact me directly. Given that respondents would be presenting these letters to fathers in informal social settings, this formal requirement would act as a serious impediment to snowballing. In addition, I am not a father and am not part of the informal social groups that I was trying to access. As a result, "the detached, disembodied and 'tick-box' approach" adopted by the ethics committee did not take into account my positionalities, and downplayed "the significance of researcher['s] life experiences, biographies and complex identities" (Hopkins, 2007:387).

The second technique used to develop the sample was on-site recruitment. This technique amounted to "cold contacts" at specific venues or events that were likely to attract fathers and sons, and I had hoped that I could easily approach potential respondents.

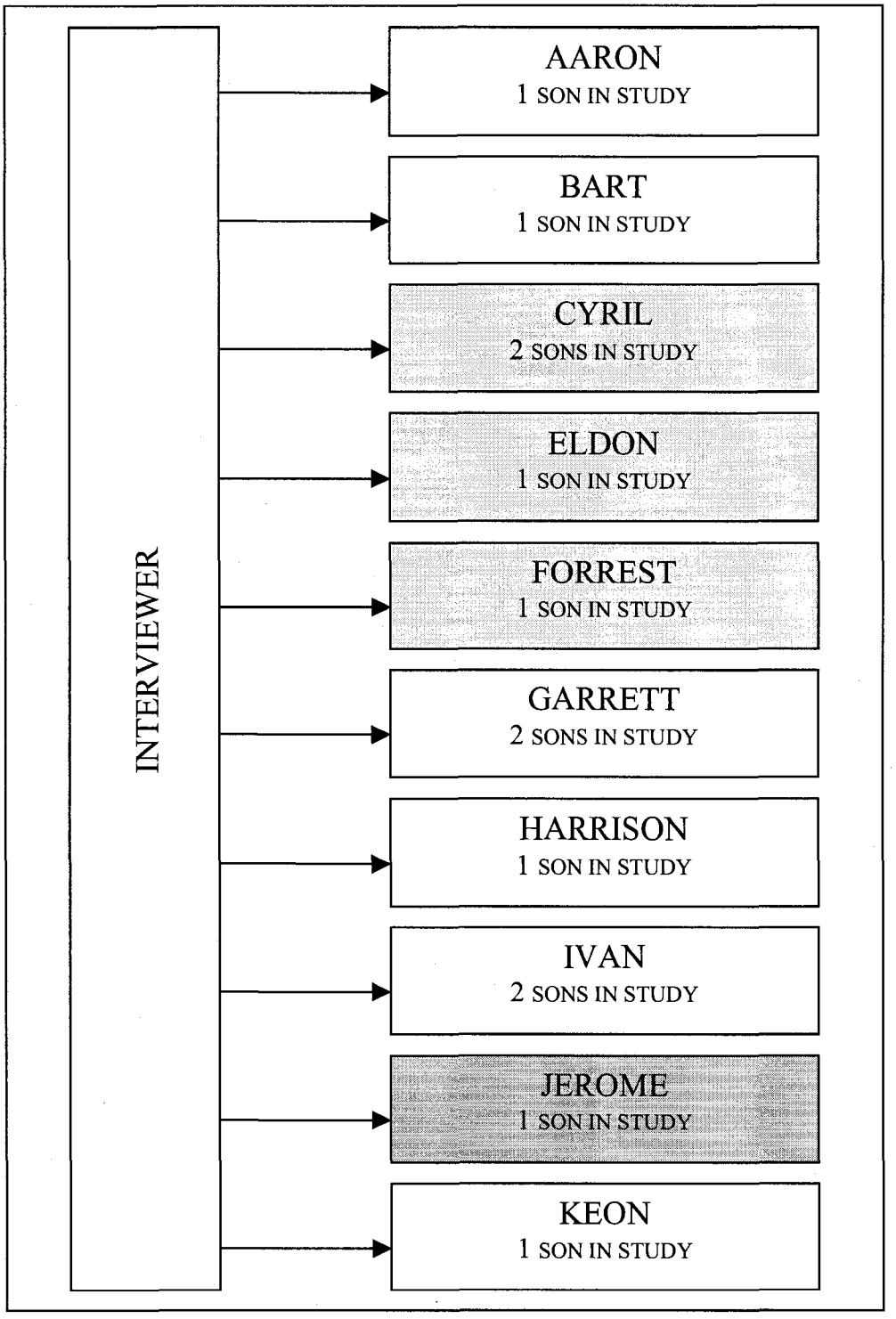

Figure 1. Participant recruitment strategy: no snowballs were produced. Those participants shaded in grey live in central-city neighbourhoods, whereas those without shading live in suburban neighbourhoods. Complete family characteristics were not included to preserve confidentiality and anonymity.

Recruitment outings took place in each of the initially identified neighbourhoods and included The Great Glebe Garage Sale, the Sandy Hill Community Centre, the Nepean Sportsplex, the Walter Baker Sports Centre and an Ottawa 67s game. In the case of recreation centres, the recruitment was scheduled to coincide with specific events or times, such as meeting the fathers at the end of day camps. While fathers were at least receptive to taking a copy of the recruitment letter, few were willing to engage in conversation or provide any contact information. During these outings, it was apparent that my multiple positionalities were influencing the recruitment process and were a barrier to a successful outcome. The aim of this research was never to measure the range of masculinities of the respondents based on their relationship with me, and while "...the importance of researchers' positionalities is a subject matter for continued debate within [cultural geography], it is still a significant aspect of the ways in which researchers are read and interpreted by research participants" (Hopkins, 2007:387).

From my perspective, the key positionalities that were greatly influencing the results of on-site recruitment were gender and marital or familial status. Many fathers approached during recruitment, and in fact even some of the fathers that eventually completed the interview, asked whether or not I was a father. If I had answered yes, the fathers would have had confirmation of the researcher's heterosexuality and a non-subordinate form of masculinity, as well as his knowledge of what it is like to be a father. However, by answering "no," I provided no confirmation of these things and opened the door to other possibilities including single, homosexual, and at worst, pedophiliac. Given that the recruitment letters openly state that the interviews would discuss masculinity and boyhood, it would have been helpful if my performance of a masculine identity had been unquestionably hegemonic or if a woman had undertaken the recruitment and interviews. It appeared that my gender identity, which is

admittedly a subordinate masculinity, created a significant barrier to recruitment of participants and may have been interpreted as a challenge to men's normative concept of gender.

Meet the fathers. As noted in Figure 1, the respondents come from both suburban and central-city neighbourhoods. Typically, or stereotypically, the notion of central-city neighbourhoods conjures up images that are starkly different from suburbia. However, high-rise apartment buildings or other common central-city icons do not dominate Sandy Hill and the Glebe, the two downtown neighbourhoods that were identified as sites for participant recruitment. Instead, they are gentrified neighbourhoods with plenty of detached, single-family homes. Between these two neighbourhoods lies Centretown that boasts high-quality public schools like Lisgar Collegiate Institute and Elgin Street Public School, which serve all three areas. Additionally, these neighbourhoods have several parks including Strathcona Park in Sandy Hill and Sylvia Holden Park in the Glebe. Unsurprisingly, these attractive neighbourhood characteristics have led to middle-class families settling in the downtown core of Ottawa, as the income figures in Table 5 outline. Similarly, the suburban neighbourhoods in which the respondents in this study live are middle-class neighbourhoods. The suburban respondents own detached, single-family homes with yards and driveways, usually in distinctly-named, subdivision communities.

It would be a geographic fallacy to assume the demographic characteristics of these neighbourhoods apply to all of their residents; however, the fathers in this study positively embody some of the middle-class qualities of their neighbourhoods. Eight of the respondents in this study are between the ages of 41 and 50, with the remaining two respondents being between 30 and 40 years old. In terms of education, all but one of the fathers has at least an undergraduate university degree, and four of the fathers have a graduate or professional

university degree as well. As such, all of the respondents have successful careers ranging from the public service to commerce, and some of them have jobs that give them flexibility in their work schedule. Their wives also have high levels of academic training: all but one of the wives has at least an undergraduate degree, and two of them possess a graduate degree. Subsequently, only four of the respondents described their wives as a stay-at-home mom, or a homemaker: Cyril, Eldon, Forrest, and Harrison. Conversely, Bart is a stay-at-home dad, and Garrett has prolonged summer vacations to spend at home with his sons. Both of their wives have professional full-time jobs, and Bart describes his wife as "the breadwinner." Additionally, over half of the fathers in this study have at least one daughter, including: Aaron, Bart, Forrest, Harrison, Jerome, and Keon. Thus, the fathers' current neighbourhoods – suburban or central-city – may look like they were lifted from a 1950s suburbia development advertisement. Yet, the familial contexts of these homes and neighbourhoods have been greatly impacted by feminist movements, and these social interactions and interrelationships are an eminent backdrop to the locales in this study.

Data Analysis and Coding

The semi-structured interviews were recorded and transcribed. In an effort to both organize and analyze these data, a coding tree (see Appendix D) was created and the entirety of each interview was coded with the assistance of the computer program *NVivo 7*. "Coding is the assigning of interpretive tags to text (or other material) based on categories or themes relevant to the research" (Cope, 2003:445). The coding tree was created to accommodate a "splitter" style of coding, rather than one for "lumpers" because the sample was not representative and I needed to perform a slower, line-by-line initial analysis to identify key concepts and indicators of expression of masculinity and memory (Bazeley, 2007). As such, two levels of coding were

considered: descriptive and analytic. Descriptive codes used the "respondents' own words as codes," whereas analytic codes represent a second level of coding based on the "theoretical literature" (Cope, 2003:452).

Using *NVivo 7*, a context-based coding tree was created through the use of "tree nodes," with top levels that represented the main settings in which the fathers and sons' play occurs. As Bazeley (2007) notes, context-based coding trees include branches to identify phases, stages, timing and location. Consequently, the top levels (or parent nodes) of these branches have been divided into time periods (either the father's childhood or the son's childhood) with additional contextual qualifiers such as activities, neighbourhood, play spaces and mobility. Each of these top nodes was further split into commonly recurring events or ideas (children nodes, grandchildren nodes, etc.). However, each section of the interview was always coded to a top level of the tree in the event that I later decided that the subdivisions of the top-level node had fragmented the data too much. Three analytical top-level nodes were added to the coding tree to represent the key thematic tenets of the research: childhood, masculinity and memory. The children nodes for these branches were more difficult to ascertain, and most were created on the second reading of the transcripts. For example, the "memory" node does not contain all references to the father's own childhood, but rather contains references to the father constructing a display of his childhood within the spatial world of his own son(s) and comments on his perception of his memory. Inherently, these analytical codes did not use the words of the respondents themselves, but rather reflected the research literature on these themes.

Other functions and tools available in *NVivo 7* assisted the textual analysis of the transcripts. During the coding process, I used the software's "coding stripes" and "coding density bar" functions to see what nodes had been associated with each block of text and to see

where the coding had stopped. This also provided a visual indicator of which sections of the interview contained significant quotes for analysis, as the coding density bar would appear darkest. Additionally, "free nodes" were used to code text that did not fit into the coding tree, but contained an interesting theme that may have developed in other interviews, or for an extremely important idea that I wanted to single out for future analysis. Finally, demographic information from the participant fact sheets was stored using the "attributes" function in *NVivo 7*, which creates a casebook for all the participants and allowed queries to be performed on these data, such as only viewing interview content relating to masculinity from fathers who have both sons and daughters.

Summary

The semi-structured interview technique allowed the fathers to express memories of their childhoods, their role in constructing the childhoods of their own sons, and their beliefs and ideas about masculinity in a way that was accessible. The sampling and recruitment strategies could be improved in the future by making provisions for the positionalities of the researcher. Since masculinity is already difficult to study because dominance functions by going unexamined (Jhally, 2002), it would be prudent to have a father carry out the recruitment and interview stages of this type of research in the future. I found that an "outsider" to the social group acts as a potential challenge rather than a friend or confidant. While I considered having a woman carry out the recruitment and interviews at the midpoint of the project, I worried that this would irreparably skew the results of those interviews, as the men may have been less likely to express any gender-biased ideas already surfacing in the earlier interviews. As a result, 10 interviews were secured, which was not enough to carry out a comparison between fathers living in the inner city versus the suburbs. Nevertheless, measures were taken to select fathers with similar

biographical and socio-economic characteristics; thus, the analysis for this project focuses on the "complex singularity" of each interview and how the fathers create displays of their childhood memories and their ideas of masculinity within the spatial worlds of boyhood of their sons. Given that living in the suburbs or inner city may simply be a strategy by which father express these displays or ideas on a case-by-case basis, I am confident that having respondents from both the suburbs and inner city does not significantly distort the results of the analyses.

CHAPTER 4

He Said/He Said

For a little over an hour, ten fathers put aside the nodding of heads and monosyllabic responses that have become the satirized standard of male-to-male communication and discussed their experiential knowledge of the spatial worlds of boyhood. This experiential knowledge is derived both from their time as a child and as a parent. In this chapter, I present fathers' insights about their own childhood and that of their sons under three descriptive themes: 1) play spaces; 2) mobility and access; and 3) the gender of playmates. For each of these themes, the fathers' own childhood experiences are discussed first, followed by the ways in which fathers describe regulating and participating in their sons' childhood. The results are presented in this way to facilitate a comparison of the fathers' childhoods relative to how they perceive and understand the experiences. Additionally, a comparative approach to the presentation of these experiences serves to highlight the fathers' strategies to re-construct elements of their own boyhoods for their sons. This approach also enables examination of anxiety-producing "hotspots" regarding the changing nature of childhood, which will be discussed in the chapters that follow. The results with regard to the gender of playmates are limited in this chapter to the descriptive elements of the fathers' and sons' childhood play environments that relate to gender, such as male-female and father-son interactions. Moreover, the comparison enables an examination of the ways in which the fathers construct and reinforce masculinity in place, first as a child with other boys, and now as a father with respect to their son(s). The theoretical aspects of these themes will be discussed in Chapters 5 and 6.

Play Spaces

The play spaces from the fathers' childhoods were primarily public spaces and most fathers provided vivid descriptions of wastelands that were home to adventures and imaginative play. Fathers used words that left me with the impression that these outdoor play spaces were readily available, numerous and vast.

> AARON: There was a large wooded area, which we called "The Woods," being creative, and it was probably many acres and included both well-treed and field environments. Attached to the fields were cornfields, so we played in the cornfields too – in the farmer's fields. On the other side of the houses across the street from us, there was a creek and a wild area around back, and there was a park and a wild area beyond that and there was another woods there. So there were a lot of woods and creeks and we spent a lot of time getting soakers and having fun.

The importance of these play spaces during their childhood was not based on the fact that they were available, but rather that they became central gathering spaces for the young boys. In Jerome's neighbourhood, it was the river that meandered and looped through the town, which "really dominated how the boys played in the town." For other fathers, the wastelands in the neighbourhood were less natural; they were sites of construction and concrete due to continuing suburban development or urban intensification in their neighbourhood. Nevertheless, the fathers did not see these processes in a negative light. Ivan cited the vacant lots and houses being built in one of his childhood neighbourhoods as his primary play area, and Eldon welcomed the rectangular paved lot that came with the new apartment buildings nearby as a perfectly-sized road hockey enclosure that was sheltered from traffic and "game on-game off" interruptions. While both Garrett and Keon certainly described similar outdoor adventures, both of these fathers recalled higher levels of semi-private play spaces, namely the YMCA and community centres. Interestingly, in these cases, both of their parents worked full-time.

After the fathers had regaled me with tales of their play spaces that were idyllic, but tempered with suburban reality, their description of their sons' play spaces were decidedly less public and much more confined:

> INTERVIEWER: Much like, or maybe unlike your own childhood, are there any features in his play environment that are very prominent?
> BART: His Lego.
> INTERVIEWER: Haha.
> BART: No, I'm serious. I guess if you were to ask him what is prominent in his play environment, he'd probably say his room. He spends hours and hours in his room by himself.

While the range of play spaces for Bart's son was certainly the most extremely confined of all the fathers I interviewed, it highlights the shift and decrease in the range of play opportunities among boys today. Even Cyril, who had a series of outdoor play spaces to detail from his childhood, mentioned that his sons have "a large driveway, which they can bounce the ball on, and that sort of thing." It is not that his sons did not also have access to parks or places to ride their bikes in their neighbourhood, and it did happen that fathers mentioned driveways as part of their own childhood play spaces. However, it is the way that driveways became a way of describing the neighbourhood in terms of the play spaces and opportunities available to his sons that is significantly different. The same sentiment was echoed by Ivan, who listed the neighbour's "very wide driveway" as one of the primary play spaces for his sons and their road hockey games.

All of the fathers were asked about whether computers and video games were an important cause for their sons playing more often in private spaces. Most of the fathers expressed that any indoor activity would inherently pull children away from potential outdoor activity, but that they place some time limits on electronic play activities. Additionally, Bart's son, who arguably spent the most time in private spaces compared to the other children, was not

allowed to have video games at all. As a whole, the fathers still had their sons engaging to some degree with public outdoor spaces, like in their own childhood, but the key difference was best explained by Garrett:

> GARRETT: I would say it's more private and semi-private compared to when I was a kid because I went to more public places than they do – not that they don't go to public places, but if they do, I'm with them or my wife is with them, or an adult is with them.

Garrett's explanation provides an excellent segue into discussing the fathers' insights into boundaries and access, but there was one important anomalous respondent that needs to be discussed regarding fathers' recollections of their own play spaces and those of their sons: Forrest. Forrest's responses to questions about his neighbourhood play spaces and those of his son were painfully terse. After relentlessly probing, Forrest divulged to me that his primary play space, or at least the play space of which he had the most vivid memories, was his cottage. Moreover, during the summer, his family still spends nearly every weekend at the cottage and the activities and play spaces for him and his son are starkly different and more unstructured than those in his immediate neighbourhood. Eldon also had a fair degree of childhood play at his cottage and the same is true for his sons. As such, rather than removing Forrest's interview from the study, I have included it because it provides insight into a set of strategies that some fathers use when they are constructing their sons' spatial worlds of play and boyhood.

Mobility and Access

The fathers recollected primarily temporal boundaries imposed by their parents that influenced where they could or could not play. In the words of Ivan, if there were any geographic boundaries, "they were vague and ephemeral," such as "don't go past this street." In fact, Aaron could not remember ever being told somewhere was out of bounds. Many fathers

noted that before leaving for any activity, they would be told to be back before lunch or dinner or some other time, but most of the restrictions placed upon their play activities were related to the onset of the evening:

> HARRISON: [I only had boundaries] in the sense that I had to be home at a certain time, that was critical, like by dark, stuff like that. I don't remember "you can't go here," because basically, we'd do it anyway, but we knew, or at least I knew, that there was a time we'd have to be home because we'd have school. In the summer time, you couldn't be out past dusk…those were the only boundaries that were put on me.

The corollary to this lack of geographic boundaries is that the fathers generally felt a sense of independence, even in early childhood. Unless the fathers were going on a major excursion, or to organized activities like swimming or hockey, few reported ever feeling dependent or getting rides from their parents, which explains the ubiquitous nature of biking in the fathers' childhood play and activities:

> BART: I remember I'd jump on my bike first thing Saturday morning, taking off and sort of reappearing for lunch and then leaving again, but not a lot of restrictions.

While the bikes acted as a mode of transportation between activities and as exercise, they also gave the fathers the agency to explore and appease their sense of curiosity:

> KEON: I got my first bicycle when I was about 8. It was one of those BMX bikes and I used to go to the bike park and stuff like that too, but that allowed me to go to different parts of the neighbourhood. I don't think my parents really knew how far we went. I just would say, "I'm going out for a ride with so-and-so and I'll be back in a few hours," and [my mother'd] be like, "Fine, get some exercise; get out of the house."

In fact, Keon recollected biking 30-40 minutes to a lake with a shopping mall and library. As such, seasonality was a concern for fathers in their childhood as play activities that were further

away required a bike. Fathers' mobility, of course, was limited during the winter and their main mode of transportation became walking.

On the other hand, the fathers spoke of their sons' mobility and access strictly in terms of geographic boundaries and the availability of parental or adult supervision. In fact, unlike the recollections of the fathers' own childhoods, there was not a single passage in any of the interviews that was coded as a temporal boundary for the sons. The only exception was fathers stating that they would give, or have given, more temporal and spatial privileges to their sons as they aged. Aaron was the only father who had extremely lenient boundaries for his sons, allowing his 8 year old to go down to a nearby creek without supervision provided that he goes with another child or adult. Aaron's concern is age and being certain that his son is capable of a contingency plan if something happens. Jerome is also less strict as a father, stating that he has not placed limits on where his 8-year-old son can play outside of his direct supervision because his son tends to stay within the boundaries of the neighbourhood block. Therefore, Jerome is very comfortable with the area in which his son normally roams. The other fathers impose rigorous spatial limits on where their sons may venture:

> ELDON: They can't cross the street. They can't – I mean, really, if they're going to be playing outside, they have to be within view.

Garrett and Forrest have similar rules, but add an extension of a one or two block radius, or allow their sons to go to a friend's house around the corner without adult supervision. Harrison has strict rules for his son as well; however, they are based more on the fact that his son has a medical condition that makes him less aware of risk and more likely to speak to strangers. As such, his son is limited to playing within the court where their house is located, but Harrison compliments that by adding organized activities:

> HARRISON: In that sense, he's the beneficiary, partially because we want him to socialize with other kids, which is important for him. On the other hand, I wish he had a little bit of unstructured [play] – just take off and explore the neighbourhood, but we're just not comfortable.

In fact, most of the fathers supplement these strict boundaries with organized activities. Much like for their own organized activities, the fathers find themselves driving their sons to these activities leading Bart to declare that the new reality is that "parents are 100% engaged." Unlike their own childhood though, the bike seems to be more of an activity than a mode of transportation – fathers find that their sons can either walk because their friends are very close by, or that they need a drive because their friends or an activity is too far away. Despite these mobility and access restrictions, Cyril believes that he is still providing his son with a sense of independence, even if it is an illusion or "managed risk." For example, when Cyril's son wants to go visit his friend up the street:

> CYRIL: I'll call [his parents] and say, "I'm sending my son over now." So, he'll walk that far and he's out of sight for a small period of time. As far as he's concerned, he's going by himself, but we've watched him all the way up the street and then he disappears, but within 15 seconds he's appeared at the other side. So, I say, "If he's not there in three minutes, give me a call."

Evidently, even with the increased restrictions, providing some sense of independence is still important to most fathers.

Representations of safety. The creation of boundaries for children is usually indicative of a safety concern harboured by the parents. Fathers' concerns about safety overwhelmingly related to child predators. Cyril believes that in his central-city neighbourhood, the safety issue is related to the people that he does not know, whereas for those living in neighbourhoods further from the central city, the safety issues are likely related to the people that they do know. Cyril implies that there is safety in the degree of anonymity provided by living in central-city

neighbourhoods because it makes it more difficult for criminals to individually target an adult or a child, or equally, because it is harder to get away from the gaze of suspicious neighbours when the population density is lower. However, it would seem that regardless of where in Ottawa the fathers live, "stranger danger" is a primary concern: Garrett invoked the image of the "white van or black van" that may try to pick up his sons and Bart referenced Paul Bernardo as an example, and both of their families live in suburbia. Keon expressed a concern for pedophiles, but noted that these predatory behaviours may have always existed; yet, we may just be hearing about them more in the media now than ever before. Keon's phrase, "when you hear everything in the media," emphatically indicates that the media may even be reporting abduction stories at the same rate, but the fathers are simply bombarded by these news stories repeatedly when they are released due to an increase in electronic communications.

Interestingly, these three fathers mitigated their "stranger danger" concerns by choosing to live in neighbourhoods of a certain socio-economic status, thereby labelling lower socio-economic groups as more dangerous. These decisions about where to live represent "avoidance strategies" (Brownlow, 2000). For example, Bart noted that areas in the city with a lower socio-economic status have higher levels of unemployment and alcoholism, which he believes lead to safety threats through unruly activity. Garrett highlighted the rental units in his neighbourhood as the least safe element because the tenants change regularly and Keon noted that the rowdy members of one of his former neighbourhoods lived in the social-assisted housing. In light of all of these concerns, Jerome's response is poignant:

> INTERVIEWER: So, when it comes to sources of information about safety, you wouldn't include the media as one of them?
> JEROME: Well, I would include it in terms of if there were certain specific events in my neighbourhood, but a lurid crime happening in say Toronto…some sort of random thing, a stranger attack on a child or something, I would be a little more protective, but I would

> keep it in perspective because it is very very rare. But, I think that's what has changed the spatial boundaries of children; they've been drastically altered by the fear of sexual assault or stranger abduction or something.

In essence, Jerome and the other fathers are pointing to the notion of the "local sphere" in children's lives, and though it is between the public and private spheres, parents want to keep undesirable elements belonging to the public sphere from crossing into their children's "local sphere" (Harden, 2000). However, Jerome's concern is that parents are constructing tangible physical boundaries between the local and public spheres to the point of excess. The most astonishing thing about Jerome's reasoned approach to stranger danger is that he revealed that he had encountered real stranger danger in his own childhood. He managed to deal with the situation appropriately and safely at the time, and did not mind revealing the situation during the interview, but still concludes that these events are over-represented by the media.

There was one unexpected source of danger that was referenced by half of the fathers I interviewed: teenagers. Given that many of the fathers named serious crimes like child abduction amongst their safety concerns, I was more than slightly surprised to hear the presence of teenagers and broken beer bottles in neighbourhood parks referenced as threats to their sons' safety. Both Forrest and Keon noted that one of the reasons they moved within Ottawa to a higher income neighbourhood before their sons reached the age of six was because of the presence of teenager-nuisance and empty and broken alcohol bottles in their previous neighbourhoods' parks. Moving away from the potential physical harm from a broken-beer-bottle encounter, Harrison has found that teenagers in his neighbourhood increase the traffic dangers for his son because they are not really aware that there are young children playing on the street. Finally, Ivan sees the teenagers as a potential physical and emotional threat to his son:

> IVAN: There are a lot of teenagers around because of the two high schools, so I guess in a way, it's a function of those two things that prevent me from letting my 8 year old go to the park. I worry about him getting there, possibly unnecessarily, and I also worry about how he would handle an encounter with a group of teenaged students. They might give him a hard time or whatever because there are a fair number of them in our neighbourhood.

From Ivan's wording, "give him a hard time," it would appear that he is as equally concerned about his son being taunted, teased and shamed by the teenagers, as he is about his son being physically harmed by the teenagers. Whether it is physical or emotional danger, the presence of teenagers in a neighbourhood is a safety concern for parents.

The Gender of Playmates

Contrary to literary and television images of boys' tree houses boasting "No Girls Allowed" signs, the fathers did not express any instances of intentionally excluding girls from their childhood play spaces. However, the fathers indicated the activities they participated in as boys often excluded girls indirectly or covertly. Cyril noted that girls were allowed to play with him and his friends provided that they were willing to wade up to their thighs in the swamp. The girls were not inclined to do that. Aaron also outlined a similar type of covert exclusion. While his tree fort was not ever labelled as exclusive to anyone, the girls did not often participate in the boys' games with bows and arrows and pellet guns:

> AARON: That wasn't something the girls would do – some of them did, but that's because they were bored.

Consequently, the exclusion of girls from the fathers' circle of friends was not done by demarcating territory for boys. Instead, it occurred due to the type of activities in which the boys participated, and these seemed to create a "natural" separation (of course, calling this "natural" in itself is contentious). Moreover, the fathers often expressed that girls were simply not prominent in memories of their childhood play environments:

> IVAN: I can't really recall ever playing with girls. I mean, you encountered them in your travels, but never really did I ever get a knock on the door where some girl would say, "Want to come out and play?" In retrospect, I probably missed out on something.

As such, the girls were simply part of the larger play environment landscape, or part of some other distant landscape. Even fathers with sisters do not really recall what their sisters were doing with the other girls, whether they stayed close to home or ventured out.

In contrast, the fathers had very different perceptions of the presence of girls in the sons' spatial worlds. Many of the fathers indicated that their sons play with girls and those girls play slightly more substantial roles in the sons' play spaces and lives. While most of the fathers maintained that the majority or all of their sons' friends were boys, many of the fathers indicated that girls in the neighbourhood act as friends of convenience when no other boys live in the immediate area:

> ELDON: I mean, he's got neighbourhood friends who happen to be mostly girls because they were in nursery school together with him. Nursery schools are neighbourhood driven, but elementary schools, sadly, are no longer institutions of the neighbourhood.

Keon's son also regularly plays with girls because both of his closest neighbours have several daughters. Both Eldon and Keon have sons who are among the youngest in the study, and fathers with older sons, such as Cyril, did not see their sons including girls very often as friends with whom they shared activities:

> CYRIL: I think when he was 5, 6, or 7, if a girl liked Yu-Gi-Oh cards or Pokémon cards, then that was fine and she immediately became an honorary boy. But now, even if she likes doing the same things, they'd rather not.

While the sons may be playing less with girls as they age, both Bart and Garrett indicated that their sons, aged 13, and 6 and 8 respectively, are playing with girls, but they simply do not talk about it unless it is forcefully dragged out of them. Regardless of whether the sons were playing

with just boys or a mix of playmates, the fathers did not condemn their sons' choices on the basis of gender. In fact, Cyril indicated that he likes when one of his sons plays with girls because he finds the play more creative. Harrison and Jerome express somewhat similar sentiments arguing that they are more concerned with their sons simply having the opportunity for safe social interaction and fun rather than the their sons' playmates.

Father-son interaction. The degree to which fathers act as playmates for their sons is an important consideration in research studying the construction of the spatial worlds of boyhood and the changing nature of childhood. The fathers whom I interviewed did not recollect any particularly play- or leisure-based relationships with their own fathers during their childhoods. It was rare that fathers described playing with either of their parents somewhere other than in their own home. Many of the respondents described play interactions with fathers being limited to playing catch in the yard after dinner, or occasional trips to the park with new toys or sports equipment, such as a new kite. Nearly all references that respondents made to father-son activities centred around sports, and for some, it was the only opportunity that they had for quality time with their father:

> HARRISON: I did very little with my dad, but I do remember when he got me interested in boxing. That was one of the few times that I thought there was a father-son relationship. Generally, my childhood experiences related to my father are not pleasant, but I do remember that being pleasant.

When fathers did reference specific father-son play spaces, most were outside of the neighbourhood. In the case of both Eldon and Forrest, these special play spaces were at their cottages. Jerome recalled that he often went swimming with his father, but not at a neighbourhood pool. Most of the fathers attributed this limited interaction to their fathers working very long hours, but Keon also attributed the level of interaction to age:

> KEON: For the most part – and I understand – he was working the long hours that he did. I didn't really see him. When we got older though, or when I got older, and we started enjoying some of the same things, like watching football and stuff like that, we would actually sit down on a Saturday afternoon and watch a couple of football games together.

Exceptionally, the very long work hours of Garrett's father actually drew him into a sports-based relationship with his mother. Garrett's mother was a physical education teacher and did not work during the summer. As a consequence, Garrett had more opportunity for sports and physical activity with his mother; however, his story fits the general trend expressed by the other respondents that their fathers were primarily "bread winners" and only became leisure parents when time permitted.

Virtually all the fathers indicated that they were more involved in their sons' play activities and play spaces than were their own fathers. For example, Aaron is his son's Cubs leader; Cyril coaches his son's soccer team; Garrett spends time selecting new parks across Ottawa for him and his sons to visit, as well as planning trips to the nearby arboretum; Harrison takes his son go-karting and bowling; Jerome's son regularly goes to museums with his father; and Keon shares time with his son over video and computer games. I have purposefully strung those activities together as an extensive list not only to convey the increased involvement the respondents have with their sons' play activities and spaces, but also to highlight that these activities are sporadic events and represent father-son interaction on top of the day-to-day supervision of less structured activities such as bike rides and trips to a neighbourhood park. Again, fathers tended to have specific activities that they did with their sons rather than specific father-son play spaces. Jerome calls attention to the increased level of organization in children's lives and the increased number of geographic boundaries leading to both sons and daughters

demanding time from fathers to provide daily leisure activities, which prevents the creation of father-son play spaces:

> JEROME: There's not some sort of masculine space that we have. I'm not concerned about – that he's going to be effeminate or something, there's nothing like that, no. In fact, his sisters will demand to go places that we might want to go ourselves. There's a constant struggle in our family for parental time, even though they spend way more time with us than I ever spent with my parents.

Fascinatingly, Bart, the only stay-at-home father whom I interviewed, did not seem to share the increased play-based relationship with his son that the other fathers identified. Bart partially attributed this to fulfilling a role as the day-to-day disciplinarian rather than a friend in his son's life. However, I pushed him in the interview to consider the effect of him "switching roles," particularly since Bart said that his son does most of his sports with his wife:

> BART: ...There were never gender specific roles in our household. Now that you mention it, it's interesting, because we were consciously going after neutrality [in] raising the kids, but I never thought of that in terms of the parental roles that we were doing.... "Okay, mommy's home from work, let's go play ball." It could be. I never thought of that.

Even though Bart is not the leisure-parent in the family, being the stay-at-home parent does enhance the amount of interaction he has with his son, particularly compared to the father-son relationship of his own childhood. Nevertheless, Bart has more difficulty negotiating the "father-friend" boundary because he spends *so much* more time with his son that he does not necessarily resemble the "buddy" status enjoyed by a familial leisure parent.

Palpably, the fathers have all employed different strategies to increase the depth of their relationship with their own son(s) beyond that of their relationship with their own father. It is not possible to know whether this is a function of choice or the constraints of their safety concerns for their sons. Nevertheless, both possibilities lead fathers to increase the level of

organization in their sons' play, which necessitates their physical presence. Similarly, the intentionality of the fathers' involvement in their sons' lives could also be a function of the places or neighbourhoods in which they live. The fathers noted that their current neighbourhoods lack the wastelands that were present in their childhood play environments. As such, the fathers may be required to take their sons' outside of the neighbourhood to experience adventure activities through Cubs or other sporting events.

Summary

The fathers' recollections of the spatial worlds of their own childhood were replete with descriptions of open spaces and wastelands – they conveyed a sense of limitless play opportunity. This was in sharp contrast to the play spaces of their sons that were outlined as increasingly private and further narrowed by a set of geographic boundaries that restrict their sons' access and ability to explore on their own. The appearance of geographic boundaries is a new phenomenon, as the fathers recollected primarily temporal boundaries governing their childhood play, which in turn led to an explicit sense of independence. Not only have the spaces changed from the fathers' childhoods to their sons', but the people in the landscapes of these spatial worlds have also changed. Girls have slowly moved from unremarkable and inconsequential dots in the scenery of the fathers' spatial worlds to potential friends and playmates in the sons', provided there are not other boys around. However, in order for the girls to participate in the sons' play spaces, they have to be interested in the boys' activities and pursuits – not the other way around. Importantly, the level of involvement of the fathers in their sons' childhood play activities and play spaces has increased dramatically compared to the respondents' recollections of their childhood father-son relationship. This increase highlights the

need to analyze the new ways that fathers are constructing the spatial worlds of boyhood for their sons, both in terms of the changing nature of childhood and masculinity theories.

CHAPTER 5

Memory Lane

Mirrors inside a circus funhouse altering how you see reality can be a fun experience because the distortions – once you have seen your body stretched every which way – are neither permanent nor likely to redefine your sense of self or place in society. However, when images of your day-to-day life are heavily distorted by learned expectations and impact your family dynamic, the notion of a funhouse mirror takes a sustained metaphoric turn. As we age, we recognize that notions within our society, or social constructions, change or have that "same but different" quality about them. While we can easily adapt to these changes when they apply to something like fashion, it is certainly worth worrying when our social understandings of childhood change. This is particularly true if you are a parent trying to care for children based on prior experiences that may not always provide clear guidance. As a result, when parents cite anxiousness over the changing nature of childhood, it could be because they are worried that the current configurations of childhood are not meeting the needs of children when they play (viz., the need for love and security, for new experiences, for praise and recognition, and for responsibility [Pringle, 1980]). Nevertheless, these anxieties could also exist because parents believe that the new forms of childhood do not meet the needs of their children, at least with respect to how they remember their needs being met as children. For this reason, this chapter will discuss the experiences of fathers regulating the spatial worlds of their sons' childhoods in tandem with the memories that the fathers have of their own childhoods so as to flush out the role of the "funhouse mirror effect."

Safety, Structure and Social Traps

As outlined in the previous chapter, it is evident that fathers have safety concerns for their sons and that these concerns play a significant role in the construction of spatial boundaries for their sons' play. Given that their fears are related to traffic and "stranger danger," it is not surprising that fathers also expressed a significant decrease in play range and use of public spaces in their sons' childhoods compared to their own. This was one of the few areas in this study where the fathers' responses were homogeneous: they all believe there are more constraints imposed upon their sons compared to their own childhoods. However, when asked to discuss the changing nature of childhood, the fathers re-emphasized the increased degree of structure and organization in their sons' play. Aaron remarked that he is not sure that any of his children have ever been stung by a bee because the experiences of nature for children today tend to be so highly organized. Generally, the fathers organize their sons' play by limiting access to places, unless they go with their sons. This may involve enrolling them in organized and sometimes costly activities and sports, or by arranging "play dates" with other parents for their children. Bart highlights that parents seem to be setting up all of their children's play activities and that "pure play time" has been lost. He recognizes that this is due to safety concerns and dutifully plays a role in limiting the geographic range of his son:

> BART: I think it is one of the greatest pities of today's society that our kids are so disassociated from the world around them because people are so concerned about the dangers, which I have to admit, I feel are very real and it is very sad.

Even Forrest, who primarily spoke of play in his own childhood and that of his son in terms of trips to their cottage, has placed rigid spatial organization or boundaries on his sons' play. However, Forrest noted that he is comfortable with restricting his son's access in their neighbourhood:

> INTERVIEWER: Is it safer if he has less freedom?
> FORREST: Yeah, I guess so. I feel more comfortable and I'm providing safety for him and he gets ample time to [run in the bush and build forts] at the cottage two days a week.

By limiting access to public and outdoor play spaces within the neighbourhood and reinstating access at the cottage, an entirely different location and locale, Forrest is perhaps the best example of Harden's (2000) assertion that public spaces are frequently defined for children in terms of risk. Moreover, the increase in the level of organization surrounding the sons' play and mobility is so severe that some of the respondents admitted that they do not feel that streetproofing their sons has been necessary. For example, Ivan remarked:

> It's weird because we deprive them of freedom to such an extent that I don't feel the need [to streetproof them]; I've never felt the need to do that. Have we had general conversations about the wider world and things like that? Probably. Have I ever given my sons rules like "don't talk to strangers"? I have not, and I probably should, but they've never really stepped out alone.

This type of admission reinforces O'Brien's (2000) research findings, which show that fewer children are going places, like school, unaccompanied by an adult. This gives continued salience to the seminal work of Hillman, et al. (1990), which argues that children are experiencing some variety of deprivation due to their loss of autonomy. An apparent loss of autonomy may explain why both Harrison and Jerome stated that their sons are constantly seeking their attention to be entertained.

The level of organization in the spatial worlds of the respondents' sons can be linked to the notion of "social traps" discussed by Tranter and Pawson (2001), as the organization is not only fuelled by safety concerns for their sons, but also by the fathers' fears of looking like they neglect their sons. Eldon stated he does not like structure, and enjoyed the lack of structure in

his own childhood. During the interview, I pressed him about why he does not allow his sons to have the same freedom he enjoyed. Eldon responded:

> I guess it's three things: first, my own belief that times are little more dangerous; second, my own concern over how I would be viewed; and the third, the neighbourhood itself is different in character.

Unknowingly, Eldon essentially explained the phenomenon of the "social trap." By restricting his children from going anywhere alone, there are fewer children on the street, which in turn elevates the dangers for other children because it removes the insulating qualities of "safety in numbers" (Tranter & Pawson, 2001:43). Additionally, it provides an example of how children's geographies are constrained by the daily temporal schedules of family members, which was highlighted by Christensen, et al. (2000:143), as they require adult supervision and organization for play activities. Eldon's concern over how he would be viewed as a parent is not anomalous, but indicative of the wider sentiments of fathers and a moral panic over children's safety that is at the core of this social trap. Jerome, one of the less strict fathers whom I interviewed, is equally aware of societal pressures upon parents. He believes that parents are judged not only on the experiences that their children are having, but also upon how involved the parents are in those experiences:

> JEROME: I think people get scared stupid in a lot of ways, but also, people are afraid to look like they are neglecting their children. It's not just a fear of crime, but there's a fear that they will be tagged irresponsible parents, or even an unfit parent, and there's a whole whack of actual legal sanctions that you can find yourself in.

Interestingly, this extends the socio-cultural element of Philo's (1992:198) assertion that children's worlds are "structured 'from without' and experienced 'from within'." While the fathers have stated that they are structuring specific spatial boundaries within their neighbourhood for their sons, these structures are also moulded by wider social expectations,

agencies (like the Children's Aid Society), and formal laws. In this light, the organization and boundaries that fathers place upon their sons' play align with some of the theories of play, including practice for adulthood (Groos, 1976) and the notion of environmental press (Garbarino, 1989): children are learning and following both the rules of their parents, but also the social, cultural and legal dimensions of childhood and play. For this reason, Harrison finds the organization of play activities useful for his son who has a disability because it provides a framework in which the boy can learn to properly socialize with other children. Aaron and Ivan echo these sentiments by noting that their sons are still experiencing many different things, but simply in a more supervised way. The importance of these comments is that while organizing the sons' play activities can act as a social trap, these organized activities and places still offer the boys opportunities for meeting friends, playing games and having fun.

False Memories and the Paradox of "Unstructured Structure"

Some of the fathers had a different take on the increased degree of structure in their sons' childhoods by identifying the possibility that some of the memories from their own childhood are false. In fact, six of the fathers spontaneously admitted during the interviews that their memory, or their perceptions of their memory, might be tainting the truth of their responses. Rather than being uncomfortable with the changing nature of childhood because it clashed with their understanding of it from their memories, the fathers recognized that childhood is as much about their recollections as it is anything else. Specifically, some fathers noted that they may be overemphasizing or inventing the degree of freedom that they actually experienced:

> CYRIL: I suspect that quite a lot of what we were doing when we were playing in the swamp, we maybe thought that we were in the middle of no where, but we may have only been about 100 yards away from the home a lot of the time. And, I'm sure, a lot of the time, my mother could see us from the kitchen window. I have a sense that I had a high degree of autonomy, but it may not have

> been – I would say it was unsupervised, but I wouldn't say that it was entirely unmonitored.

For Cyril, this revelation still underpins his perception of his childhood as relatively independent, which is valuable whether it is true or not (Mosak & Di Pietro, 2006). It is also important because this remembrance and understanding of childhood autonomy helps Cyril to re-create this "unstructured structure" for his own sons in their neighbourhood. For example, Cyril allows his son to walk to his friend's place alone, which instills a sense of freedom in his son and provides the perception that his play is not entirely structured. However, his son is unaware that the path that he walks leaves him unmonitored for a total of 15 seconds, because his father can see him walk up the street and by the time he has turned onto the next street, his friend's parents can see him from their window. Cyril terms this "managed risk," a concept that will be explored further in the next chapter.

Similarly, Aaron highlighted that his own childhood perceptions about where he played could lead him to overemphasize the untamed nature of his childhood:

> AARON: I would say the majority of play [in my childhood] probably took place in the house, at home, in people's backyards, and going to people's houses…that sort of thing. Although, my memory of it is that we spent most of our time in public spaces: the woods, the park, that sort of thing.

The likelihood that adults focus less on formal places from their childhood and more on the "wastelands" when they recall their play spaces has been documented (Lynch, 1979). However, the implication of these "false memories" or at least "selective memories," such as those expressed by Aaron, is that concerns of some researchers that children's independent outdoor play is disappearing could be overstated, especially if their research relies too heavily on oral histories or recollections. Additionally, it confirms Tandy's (1999) assertion that while children may play indoors frequently, it may be due to a lack of choice and they may prefer to go outside.

In terms of this study, if the fathers primarily recall or describe aspects of childhood play that are the most memorable, it could explain their uneasiness with the increased structure they are both seeing and implementing in their sons' spatial worlds. Certainly, for the respondents, these extraordinary childhood experiences are "remembered" as unstructured play in wastelands. On the other hand, the literature about memory stresses that the studies focusing on everyday life tend to evoke stories of life in marginal places (Andrews, et al., 2006). The wastelands described by the fathers qualify as such marginal places because they are beyond the routines of home and family environments. As a result, the fathers' memories are likely to reveal a high level of unstructured play even if their own childhoods were more structured than these memories ostensibly indicate. Nonetheless, the fathers are citing an increased level of involvement in their sons' lives and are not mentioning any of these remarkable play space peripheries or wastelands in their sons' worlds. Therefore, it is likely that the level of unstructured play in their sons' worlds has decreased.

Displays of Memory

Despite the differences that the fathers see between their own childhood and those of their sons, the fathers do create "displays of memory" in space that are congruent to the experiences of their childhood play (Huyssen, 1995). While the spatial worlds of their sons may be more constrained or organized, all of the fathers use the organized activities as a way to recreate their memories and opportunities for their sons to experience aspects of childhood that they believe are the most important. Some of these displays are as simple as recreating actual places from the fathers' childhoods: Eldon found a parking lot where his sons can play road hockey that is not unlike the elevated asphalt surface away from the road in his own childhood; Garrett purchased a home similar to one of an aunt's house where he had really good

experiences; and Forrest maintained the cottage space from his childhood for his son. With these displays of memory, the fathers are implicitly asserting that they believe childhood "takes place" in certain types of spaces. These displays of memory are truly displays of their experiential understandings of the world and, as noted by Aitken (2001), highlight the plurality of childhood, as each father holds different places and activities close to his heart.

In addition, some fathers, such as Aaron, discuss displays of memory that recreate their own childhoods via the organized activities of their sons. Aaron recognizes that planned camping activities and the nature-related activities that occur through boys' organizations like Cubs are not the exact same experiences that he had in that he could go off on his own, climb a tree, and carve his initials in the bark. Nevertheless, Aaron uses the tools available within the contemporary definitions of childhood to provide these nature-based experiences for his son, which he believes are fundamental and necessary. It is also interesting to note that while Jerome sees many differences between his childhood and that of his son, he does recognize that his own childhood was full of displays of memory from his father's childhood, both in terms of activities and boundaries. For example, Jerome was often cautioned about bodies of water as dangerous places and he believes that there was an incident in his father's childhood when some children drowned. Evidently then, displays of memory affect play in a way that makes sons' play spaces sites of cognitive development about the dangers of their world and their own family members' lives. This link between memory and play spaces highlights the value of incorporating contemporary theories of play when examining children's geographies given that current notions of play are the products of previous experiences of play (Mergen, 1995).

Since displays of memory are indicative of fathers' understandings of what experiences and play spaces constitute a good childhood, some fathers discussed "displays of memory" in

terms of certain experiences from their own childhood that they now see as being too dangerous. These actions highlight that memory is a tool that "directs behaviour and experience" for humans in a way that maintains our safety (Assmann, 1995:126). Normally, fathers discussed this type of memory in terms of whether their own childhood experiences affect the degree to which they are strict or lenient when creating or defining boundaries for their sons. Eldon's mother used the term "benign neglect" to describe how she raised her children as they had very fluid spatial boundaries. This experience was typical of all the fathers I interviewed:

> HARRISON: We didn't feel inhibited. We didn't feel – we felt that we could do what we wanted to do. Obviously, we weren't going out and smashing windows, but we didn't feel that there were constraints put on us, especially from that period of 6-12 years old.

Yet, for some fathers who had a fair degree of license to roam as a child, this very liberty led them to be stricter as parents. In this regard, Bart is a very good example:

> BART: I had a completely different upbringing. The only thing that I can remember about [boundaries] was, like I said, you had to be home before dark. You know, very… "Where were you for the past 12 hours?" "Well, we took off first thing Saturday, and we planned a trip down by the water…" I mean, think about it. We're a bunch of kids fooling around in open water, and I remember, I didn't even know how to swim. It's like, how stupid were my parents?

Bart takes parenting very seriously, and has strict boundaries on his son's spatial world – his son is not allowed beyond the backyard without adult supervision, and he is at the older end of the 6-14 age range for this study. However, it would appear that Bart's self-described "almost Draconian" upbringing of his children is not only related to present-day safety concerns, but also the lessons he has learned about danger when he was given too much license to roam in his childhood. Cyril was equally affected by this degree of liberty, and states that while he is happy with his own upbringing, he remembers situations where he could have easily drown or been run

over, and that he would not be able to live with himself if something were to happen to his own children because he was not strict enough with spatial boundaries. Forrest also remarks that he had a lot more freedom in his childhood than he gives his son, and partially attributes this to a complete lack of supervision:

> FORREST: I was the youngest of four children. My mom jokes all the time about how little I was supervised because I was the youngest of four....Maybe my older siblings kept an eye on me, but I don't remember them watching out for me, as far as I know.

As such, it would seem that some of the fathers have come to almost resent the "benign neglect" approach of their parents, and this could explain both the increased regulation of their sons' spatial worlds, but also their increased level of involvement in organizing activities for their sons. In the next chapter, this increased level of involvement and organization will be recast in the light of father-son relationships and masculinity.

Summary

This chapter has focused upon the ways in which fathers grapple with the changing nature of childhood while they try to regulate the spatial boundaries of their sons' play. Primarily, the fathers expressed uneasiness with the increase of structure and organization in their sons' play activities, as that differs greatly from their own childhood experiences. It is evident that this increase in organization is directly related to fathers defining spatial boundaries in terms of risk and safety. Subsequently, the fathers are meeting their sons' need for security and new experiences in their play activities, but it is substantially more supervised than their own memories of childhood. However, some fathers note that their memories of a rather unsupervised childhood could be false, as they would not have been totally aware of the ways in which their parents were keeping an eye on them. False memories could also be playing a part in the fathers' perceptions of their childhood taking place mostly in wastelands and outdoor public

places. As such, the fathers' understandings of childhood have been coloured both by their experiences and their perceptions and recollections of the experiences. These past play experiences have also partially produced the lived play experiences of their sons through "displays of memory." Fathers have re-created spaces and opportunities for their sons to play that are congruent with those from their own childhood, which is indicative of the plurality of childhoods and the role memory plays in geography. However, some of these "displays of memory" are not parallels to the fathers' childhoods. Instead, they represent ethical and social choices to renounce their learned definitions of childhood to create safer play spaces for their sons, even if they are more constrained.

CHAPTER 6

Only Some Men are from Mars

Everyone has a story. This simple truth is apparent when we think of childhood, as we often exchange and happily share many tales, lessons, and adventures from our youth. We may lament about the changing nature of childhood, but the memories and present-day meanings attached to childhood are easily accessible. However, when it comes to masculinity, a diversity of stories is much less common because normative versions of masculinity disparage and shame deviations from the idealized standard (Donaldson, 1993; Pollack, 1998). In fact, these normative definitions of masculinity do not encourage men to recognize that gender is something that applies to them as equally as it does to women. Since men are socialized to hide aberrations from hegemonic masculinity, it is not as straightforward to establish that a multiplicity of masculinities exists in contemporary society. Yet, the literature is adamant that there are multiple masculinities, and indeed this is in line with our own experiences of social interactions with men: not all men assert and perform their gender in the same way and certainly these vary over time and space (Berg & Longhurst, 2003). As such, this chapter will highlight how the fathers in this study enter into parenting and the creation of boundaries for their sons with different understandings of masculinity and how these boundaries structure where boyhood takes place and the content of boyhood. Additionally, the chapter will examine how these fathers are reconciling these notions of boyhood with the increased amount of organization and personal involvement they have in their sons' childhood play.

Defining Boyhood and Performing Multiple Masculinities

The notion of multiple masculinities does not purport that there are a series of masculinities that are individually labelled and delimited; rather it denotes a spectrum of

masculinities. This spectrum contains permutations and combinations of masculinities that borrow characteristics from hegemonic masculinity and its antipode, subordinate masculinity. Some are closer to the normative, hegemonic ideal, while others are tangled up between the two defining archetypes. Importantly, the men who perform these masculinities do not exist independent of broader social and cultural contexts. The fathers in this study, for example, are aware of feminism and have relationships with their wives whose own lives often depart significantly from normative versions of femininity and motherhood. This social context comes through in the interviews I conducted with the fathers, as they seemed reluctant to express strongly held positions of masculinity. Consequently, it is necessary to examine the presence and effect of normative ideas of masculinity upon the respondents during the interviews.

When fathers were asked directly, "is there a distinction between childhood and boyhood?", fathers struggled to provide an answer that met both the social expectations of normative masculinity and political correctness. The struggle often left me wondering whether they were embodying a normative masculinity or truly expressing values of equality. However, it seems that they were simply performing and the answers that fathers provided fell between the extremes of dominant and subordinate masculinities. Cyril skated through the two extremes by framing the question in terms of biology:

> CYRIL: ...you know, you kind of get into the nature-nurture debate here, aren't you? When I was at a Liberal Arts department, everyone at that stage was saying it was all nurture, nothing was nature....I'm of the strong view now that we are part of the animal kingdom and boys are different from girls because of their chemistry and testosterone makes boys want to do certain things.

Cyril continued his response by adding that you should not stereotype any child to an extreme degree, but this comment highlights the masculinity he wishes to portray to observers when he is aware that his gender is being called into question. Interestingly, Seidler (1994) indicated that

men often lean upon women to give them an explanation of their emotional lives. However, in this interview, a situation where women have been removed from the purview of the conversation, Cyril relies on theoretical knowledge and scientific evidence to express his views of gender. In this regard, Cyril demonstrates a fundamental quality of hegemonic masculinity by providing a response that asserts knowledge and power rather than one that is highly experiential. Garrett also manoeuvred carefully through the question, but used a different tactic to achieve a similar result:

> GARRETT: Boyhood, yeah, there's going to be a difference because I think boys generally develop different interests, more so from their parents and the different environments they grow up in, but they should be exposed to...oh boy, I know I'm on tape here, but wording it...you know, feminine activities. Should boys not be exposed to say, stuff like, arts and crafts and dance and music and all that kind of stuff? I think they should have it all.

Garrett's response clarifies that he is aware that he performs gender and that he believes masculinity and femininity are inherently different. By recognizing that activities like arts and dance are not typically masculine, Garrett has tipped his hat to normative definitions of masculinity that only include activities and behaviours that are physical and aggressive (Beal, 1996). However, Garrett was careful to avoid portraying a masculinity that is too dominant by expressing that boys should at least be "exposed" to activities that embody femininity. As such, Garrett was able to offer a response that both lives up to the standards of normative masculinity and the societal expectation that fathers be caring, aware of their children's needs, and open to popular feminist ideas of childhood.

When attempting to define boyhood, Bart and Aaron expressed a masculinity that falls between normative and subordinate definitions in a similar way. Both indicated that they were

aware of "gender neutrality" and incorporate this into the way they parent and socialize their sons, despite their sons displaying stereotypically masculine play characteristics. Bart says:

> BART: To us, the issue of raising somebody is not to raise them as a boy or a girl, but to raise them as a decent human being. And we did, but the fascinating thing about it is that my daughter gravitated to dolls, and dollhouses, and you know, role-playing like that. My son gravitated to weapons, and you know, the whole boy thing, without any influence from us.

In this example, Bart is putting the physical domination, aggression and competitiveness of playing with weapons at odds with the caring and compassionate roles associated with dolls. While Bart is clear that he embodies a masculinity that is not in line with hegemonic masculinity, and in fact he is a stay-at-home father, he confirms that certain dominant elements of masculinity do exist and that these characteristics are innate to boyhood. Similarly, Aaron notes that he and his wife are "modern parents" who have raised both boys and girls while trying not to be "gender phobic." Yet, Aaron also describes a sort of gravitational pull upon his sons to play in a stereotypically masculine way:

> AARON: They are asking for these kinds of activities. The gun thing – I didn't have any trouble keeping my daughter away from guns, but the boys will shoot anything, and you wonder why. Anything becomes a hockey stick, you know? My daughter is extremely sporty and active as well, but the emphasis the boys place on it…<trails off>.

Aaron, like Bart, sees a "natural" competitiveness to boyhood that is somehow separate from childhood in general, or girlhood. Curiously, for two fathers who describe themselves as parents going out of their way to be gender neutral in their parenting, neither seem to offer an explanation beyond "boys will be boys" for their sons' attraction to stereotypically masculine activities. As such, both Bart and Aaron discounted other agents of socialization (viz., school, peers, and the media) as prominent in moulding their sons' gender when they were directly asked

to define boyhood, despite both parents citing other social activities they enrol their sons in, like Cubs. While Bart's son is somewhat more isolated from these agents of socialization than Aaron's due to stricter play boundaries, it is intriguing that the fathers would imagine the only place for their sons to learn gender roles is the home, or within familial interactions. Kane (2006) asserts that fathers play the pivotal role in achieving their sons' masculinity, and it would appear that both Bart and Aaron see themselves as performing the primary role of socialization in this regard. These fathers are embodying masculinities that are neither normative nor subordinate, but when they see their sons embracing more normative masculinities during play, they are far from upset and indicate that they are resigned to processes that they interpret as biological or social reality.

Other fathers defined boyhood in a way that was suggestive of an emerging softer masculinity, and they tended to highlight a masculinity that is "temporally contingent" (Berg & Longhurst, 2003:352). Ivan and Jerome state that it is not important to them whether their sons play mostly with boys or girls. On its own, this admission is not necessarily a strong indicator of gender positions or constructions. For example, Harrison's primary concern for his son is simply that he has fun and an opportunity to play because he has a medical condition that makes socialization difficult:

> HARRISON: I think in his case it doesn't matter. He just wants to play. He likes the idea of people coming over or going over to somebody's place. He wants to – he's really good at playing by himself – a lot of times he wants company, someone to come over, or if he can, go over there.

This viewpoint is much different than having girls merely as "convenience friends" when no other boys are around, but it also does not necessarily indicate anything about Harrison's masculinity merely because he wants his son to have friends, regardless of their sex.

Nevertheless, Beal (1996) does highlight that hegemonic masculinity has permeated North American culture through sports that are almost always sex-segregated. In this light, Jerome's response about whether there is a difference between boyhood and childhood gains poignancy:

> JEROME: Not anymore. I think there was; I think boys were expected to be dirty little ruffians that were poking around dead things and that sort of stuff. I think there's a lot of blurring; there's not nearly the kind of gender boundaries when I was a kid. Girls just existed – they were somebody's sister, they just came through, they were just around – but, I see my children playing, especially my son, with a very mixed group of people.

Jerome emphasizes the temporally contingent nature of masculinity in the geographic contexts of play spaces. As such, one of two things is happening, separately or together: 1) today's normative definitions of masculinity no longer communicate to Jerome's son that he should engage in sexism in his everyday play spaces; and/or 2) the temporal difference is due to Jerome performing masculinity in a way that departs from the hegemonic masculinity standard. In this regard, Jerome's son very well may not learn about normative qualities of gender in the geographies of his play, particularly because both Jerome and his sons' social groups do not seem to discourage his son from playing with girls, even if all of his friends were always girls. At least in terms of gender socialization, Jerome does not see a need to keep his son away from prolonged exposure to femininity, as he is not worried about his son producing a masculinity other than one that is normative or dominant. This speaks to a lack of "avoidance strategies" (Brownlow, 2005) employed by Jerome in the creation of boundaries for his son's spatial world due in part to his perception that the tenets of normative masculinity and boyhood have changed over the years.

Ivan also sees temporal variation in the expression and construction of masculinity as described in terms of the boyhood experiences of his sons. Ivan also makes strong links between

this shift and the fathers' concerns outlined in the last chapter regarding organizing childhood play:

> IVAN: Probably not today. I don't think, for the most part, that boys like my son have the same boyhood experiences as they used to. Childhood is probably more homogenous now than it was then, and again, largely for the reasons we've discussed in terms of the lack of freedom that they have. I think that there definitely was a sense of boyhood back when I was growing up because we had nothing to do with girls at all. I think it's more integrated now, and less defined.

For Ivan, like the rules of the Boy Code (Pollack, 1998), normative masculinity and boyhood are defined by autonomy and "no sissy stuff." However, Ivan believes his sons are experiencing a childhood without the traditional sense of boyhood due to the increased amount of organization in their play spaces and spatial worlds that removes the opportunity for autonomy. Concomitantly, if his sons are relying upon organized activities for playmates, and Ivan is stating that childhood play is now more integrated amongst the sexes, the implication is that the organized activities are not allowing for as much gender segregation. The situation may also indicate that Ivan is selecting activities that are gender-neutral.

The preponderance of fathers in this study indicated that there was an increased level of organization in their sons' play activities. Some of them claim more gender neutral approaches to parenting and that this shapes their sons' masculinity in new ways, while others believe that biological sex plays a substantial role in moulding their sons' masculinity beyond socialization processes. So, how are the fathers overtly conveying the characteristics of masculinity to their sons through play space boundaries? The role of play spaces in the production of masculinity for boys is partially revealed by the way fathers use geographic contexts to expose their sons to risk and bonding through the father-son relationship.

Risky Play Spaces and Boundaries of Opportunity

As the literature indicates, men and boys tend to correlate a certain level of eminence with dangerous encounters and confrontations (Valentine, 1997a; Pollack, 1998; McDowell, 2003). From the last chapter, it is evident that fathers are uncomfortable with certain changes to the nature of childhood, as revealed by the increased organization of their sons' play. In their own childhood, the fathers had more licence to roam; consequently, some of the fathers found themselves in risky situations and saw the risk as exciting and perhaps a valuable experience. For four of the fathers, re-creating risky experiences in their sons' play spaces, albeit in a more controlled fashion, either provides them with a way to transmit ideas about masculinity to their sons or gives them the chance to create "boundaries of opportunity" and thereby expose their sons to risk. The fathers' memories about their own childhood inform the need for risk to be accessible in their sons' childhood play. Ivan recalls:

> IVAN: It was just like, we were hanging around, and there's a house being built, and there's all this stuff they've left around, and cool things! What boy wouldn't go there unsupervised? I mean, it's the logical place for a boy to go, so that's where we went.

Categorically, Ivan saw a "naturalness" to boys sneaking into dangerous or forbidden places to experience autonomous play, which in his example, presents a risk for injury and illegal trespassing. In fact, Eldon directly incorporates risk into his definition of a good boyhood:

> ELDON: I think that kids need to be exposed to risk and kids need to take calculated risk and they need to test themselves and push themselves. That's how you figure out what you're good at, what you like, what's dangerous and what's not.

While he and other fathers see this risk as important to their sons' sense of boyhood, they also recognize there are safety issues and that boundaries must be created. Importantly, the fathers do not specifically cite this as the primary conflict in building risk into their sons' play spaces.

Cyril, Eldon, Ivan and Keon allude to a primary obstacle that blocks the incorporation of risk into their sons' spatial worlds: their sons' mothers. I do not want to give the impression that the fathers spoke in an overtly pejorative manner about their wives and partners in this regard; however, they certainly did label them as more cautious and concerned about their sons' physical safety. For example, Eldon describes himself as "more lax" and more willing to let his sons take risks than his wife, and Ivan classifies himself as "lobbying" for his sons to be given a bit more freedom. Keon, whose son is at the young end of the age distribution in this study, admitted that the tight boundaries on his son's safety are currently warranted, but worries that his wife's protective nature may impede upon his son's self-confidence. In particular, he is concerned that his wife's plans to drive their son to school throughout the primary grades could give his son "a complex," and that her ideas of safety are a bit too incongruent with his own childhood mobility:

> KEON: I know for me, just being able to get out and see different parts of the community, but also going further than I should have gone, provided me with a good perspective of how things were around my neighbourhood. I'd like to do the same thing for my son, maybe when he's a little bit older than I was when I started going out on my bike. I think…I'll definitely try to…not convince my wife…but, see if I he can get out on his own to see his friends.

These sentiments echo the literature, both in terms of the father being perceived as the more lenient parent with spatial boundaries (Valentine, 1997a) and boys traditionally demonstrating a greater knowledge of their neighbourhoods and places away from home than girls (Matthews, 1984). Unmistakably, Keon's concerns represent the difficulties that fathers face in trying to juggle a performance of normative masculinity for the benefit of their son while embodying a less dominant masculinity when discussing these concerns with their wives. Ultimately, Keon would like to create the same "boundaries of opportunity" that existed in his childhood. By providing his son with some licence to roam, Keon provides him with the

opportunity to break the rules, to go further afield, and engage in risky behaviour without his wife knowing.

Cyril, a proponent of "managed risk" as outlined in Chapters 4 and 5, also notes that he and his wife only differ on boundaries when it comes to risk:

> CYRIL: I'm more inclined to let them do things that might bring them immediate physical risk, as in they can climb trees higher than she might like them to. They could fall down and they could kill themselves, but I think that's a low likelihood. It's a high likelihood that they could break their arm and be in pain. But, in relation to water, traffic, and strangers, we're pretty much on the same level.

Again, Cyril is managing risk for his sons, but he has prioritized the types of risk to which he is willing to expose them. The slight physical dangers that are presented by climbing trees allow his sons to experience play in line with his understanding of boyhood, but the risk is not so great that Cyril would be perceived as careless by his wife or other neighbours. Fascinatingly, at an earlier point in the interview, Cyril referenced taking his sons out for a bike ride and stopping to let them climb trees, and suggested that these bike rides were normally father-son activities. Cyril takes advantage of his time alone with his sons to expose them to risk, thereby using the father-son relationship and play spaces to convey his understanding of masculinity to his sons. The boys may also be implicitly aware that their mother would reject their tree-climbing as an inappropriate activity.

Those pesky teenagers: Too risky? The fathers identified different types of risk. The two prominent types – physical risk, such as injuries from adventurous play or traffic accidents, and stranger-related risk – were supplemented by some fathers with the perceived risk posed by the presence of older teenagers in neighbourhood parks. In fact, the "risk" posed by teenagers highlights a cleavage identified in the literature between the masculinity of male teens and that of

adult men or boys. McDowell (2003:115) identifies a "laddish masculinity" amongst young men, who build their youth identity around rowdy activities and fighting. This form of laddish masculinity has similarities to hegemonic masculinity in that it emphasizes physical domination, but it has been labelled as "retributive" in other studies (McDowell, 2003:115). The idea of retribution is not unfamiliar to constructions of masculinity. Pollack (1998), for instance, noted with the Boy Code that shame is used to disparage subordinate masculinities and feminine qualities. However, the notion of retribution includes punishment, and if these "hard lads" (McDowell, 2003:115) are quick to fight, they could be legitimately perceived as dangerous by some fathers. The fathers usually employ what Brownlow (2000) identified as "avoidance strategies" when they create boundaries to keep their sons away from places where older teens are likely to hang out. Indeed, Ivan, who defined risk as part of his experiential knowledge of boyhood, mentioned that teens were a primary safety concern when deciding on play boundaries for his children. Rather than using the avoidance strategies to perform a normative masculinity, fathers like Ivan are removing their sons spatially from places where their sons could look weak or have their masculinity challenged too seriously at a young age (i.e., their bravery or confidence). For example, Ivan stated that he worries about teenagers giving his son a hard time, but one other father offered insight into why teenagers may pose a serious risk to his children:

> KEON: I got to thinking back to when I was a teenager. Did I do that? And I was like, "yeah, I did." It changes. I remember being a teenager and doing park parties and stuff like that, but it changes when you have kids.

Keon highlights that the fathers who are concerned about teenagers and their broken beer bottles in the park have intimate experiential knowledge with these "hard lads" who build their youth identity around rowdy activities and fighting (McDowell, 2003:115). Subsequently, the fathers may know that teenage male youth are more likely to physically and verbally tease weaker boys.

Nevertheless, there is another explanation for fathers classifying teenagers as a "safety risk" beyond the potential of physical harm. Given that both the literature and fathers' experiential knowledge describes teenagers as disorderly and raucous, the real issue may be the lack of control the fathers can exercise over their sons' play spaces when teenagers are present. Garrett described a situation when he felt that one of his son's play spaces, a skating arena, was negatively impacted by the presence of teenagers. The teenagers were "trying to impress the young girls" and they swore repeatedly:

> GARRETT: This guy, in three sentences, has laid down the S-word, a couple of F-bombs and I just lost it with him. I just said, "do you have to talk like that? I mean, he's 4 years old, he shouldn't have to hear that" kind of stuff....He was somewhat unrepentant and that sort of thing. I remember leaving there feeling quite angry and mad – just a lack of judgment that kid showed.

Garrett emphasizes that the swearing teenager was not only an unwelcome element in his son's play space, but also an unplanned element. With the increased level of organization in the sons' play activities, the fathers expect that the activities to which they provide their sons access are only teaching behaviours they deem acceptable. Garrett had to ask the teenager to stop swearing in order to re-structure the conduct within the play space to reflect an environment to which he is willing to expose his son. Clearly, teenagers and their characteristic unruly behaviour make it more difficult for fathers to place boundaries on how sons experience public places. In this light, it would make sense that the fathers would see teenagers as a safety risk to be avoided by their younger sons in order to ensure they experience a good boyhood.

The "New" Father and Masculine Space

As alluded to in recounting Cyril's bike rides with his sons, some of the fathers in this study use their quality time to build their sons' masculinity in a way that suggests they are very aware of the role they play in socialization processes. Primarily, the increased organization in

their sons' play activities has compelled the men to be more involved in these processes than were their own fathers. The corollary of this increased organization is that the fathers have more time to spend with their sons. It may also mean that the sons are spending more time with their fathers than out with other children in a much less organized way. For the respondents, as outlined in Chapter 4, the difference in the available time they have to spend with their sons and do spend with their sons is conspicuous. As a result, some fathers have included a strong father-son relationship as a key component to providing their sons with a "good boyhood:"

> HARRISON: I tend to make a point of doing things he likes....I'm not necessarily into go-karting, but I know that he really loves that, and subsequently, I've actually had a lot of fun doing it myself. It kind of worked in reverse that way, but I think that's the big thing: that he does that stuff and that he's loved and the he feels we'll be there for him.

The increased level of time that fathers spend with sons has translated into new places for the father-son relationship. For Harrison, he has seen an increase in the range of play spaces where the father-son relationship takes place, and consequently, where boyhood is confirmed. However, it is important not to jump to conclude that these fathers have completely revolutionized fatherhood. By combining Segal's (1990:26) statement that if we want to see if "a new type of man is emerging" we must "look at men as fathers," with Hopkins (2000) research on Big Brothers advertising, we see that the increased amount of time the fathers are spending with their sons is still occurring in locales that are "acceptable social positions and places" for male-to-male interaction. If there is a new type of father emerging and some of the fathers are part of this movement, it is clear that they avoid what Hopkins (2000) labels "uneasy" places for male-to-male interaction. Accordingly, these fathers select play spaces and sports to explore this new level of interaction because they ground the relationship in the ideologies and connotations about masculinity:

> BART: You know, as much as I appreciated my upbringing from the point of view that I was allowed to do what I wanted when I wanted...I didn't have much of a relationship with my father specifically. I'm hoping that – you know, because I do coach my son in Ultimate now – you know, that we do walk everyday together, I'm hoping that we will have a better relationship.

The role of a sports team coach easily falls into both the archetypes of father and buddy that are characteristic of the "masculinist code" for same-sex interaction (Hopkins, 2000:49). This role also fits the mould for boys' social relations delineated by Thorne (1994:93), who found their interactions to be "overtly hierarchical and competitive." Thus, while these "new fathers" are using the time-afforded opportunities to engage in their sons' play spaces, they are falling back upon the normative definitions of masculinity to define where this interaction should occur.

Alternatively, the involvement of the "new" fathers in the play activities their sons could be construed as a "protective strategy" (Brownlow, 2000) for their sons' masculinity. By ensuring that they spend quality time with their sons, fathers are letting their sons know that they are investing in their relationship thereby preventing their sons from experiencing future emotional pain from being unloved in their childhood. All normative definitions of masculinity in our cultural context vilify a lack of confidence and being too emotive. As such, some of the fathers seem to be going out of their way to prevent their sons from being afflicted by this pain. Certainly, parenting in general functions to ensure that children avoid pain. However, the respondents have shown a tolerance for exposing their sons to some forms of physical harm, which is why it is important to emphasize that some fathers have little tolerance for their sons experiencing emotional pain. Both Harrison and Bart referenced that they want their son to have a better relationship with them than they had with their own father and that they want their son to feel loved. Nevertheless, it was Keon that made the protective strategy against emotional pain the most clear:

> KEON: I think you can have a safe childhood, and a safe childhood would definitely lead to having a good childhood. You don't want him to experience at 6 years old – you don't want him to have any really bad experiences that would maybe, not scar him, but maybe affect him down the road.....I want to spend more time with him because I didn't get to spend enough time with my dad. I know how that can have an affect on a child growing up.

When pressed about the elements of a safe childhood for his son, Keon immediately jumped to protecting his son from the emotional pain of not having a strong father-son relationship. While having an increased level of involvement in his son's life is not the same as some explicit protective strategies suggested by Brownlow (2000) such as carrying a weapon, Keon's involvement in his son's play activities and play spaces is certainly a tactic that keeps his son safe from experiencing feelings that are not in line with cultural expectations of masculinity.

Ultimately, fathers tactically use space and place to construct their sons' spatial worlds. Sometimes the tactical use of space is related to safety and protecting sons from traffic or teenagers, or from feeling unloved. At other times, the tactical use of space is merely about providing their sons an opportunity to play. However, as the fathers indicate, place and activities are used to provide sons with lessons about masculinity. For example:

> AARON: I coach the ball team, do the Cubs, or do the – I'm the trainer on the hockey team and that sort of thing, so those end up being father-son activities. [My wife] takes them to the dance studio though, so I don't have to go there.

The ways in which fathers associate or disassociate masculinity with a play space powerfully relays a message to sons about boyhood. Aaron recognizes there is merit in his son participating in an activity that is seen as traditionally feminine. He strategically uses the dance studio as a place away from home where his son can learn that activity; in so doing, he provides an opportunity for play. Yet, Aaron is careful not to physically associate himself with that play space. As a result, Aaron intentionally does not participate in that play space to ensure that

male-to-male interaction and father-son interaction are not part of the dance studio's locale. Much like the other examples presented throughout this chapter, space and place are used to protect sons from versions of masculinity that are seen to be undesirable. Consequently, space and place are more than just background items in the father-son relationship.

Summary

The fathers' responses confirmed that there is a multiplicity of masculinities between the normative and subordinate extremes on the masculinity spectrum. The variation in these masculinities was seen in the different approaches that the fathers took to explain how boyhood is different from childhood in general. Some fathers focused upon biological explanations, others laid claim to gender-neutral parenting techniques, but did not discourage their sons' tendencies to align with normative masculinity. Others still noted that the idea of boyhood is temporally contingent and that "boyhood" is is no longer poles apart from our general concept of childhood. Nonetheless, there were fathers who continue to distinguish boyhood from childhood, and by implication girlhood, on the basis of risk. The idea of boyhood taking place in risky spaces is informed by the fathers' own childhood experiences. Yet, they find it difficult to provide these same experiences to their sons on a regular basis because these types of activities are often spontaneous and do not fall in line with the boundaries they have collaboratively set with their wives. This conflict typifies the identity quagmire highlighted by Dudley and Stone (2004) that fathers often experience, as they must both navigate through the social expectation that they be caring and gentle fathers while instilling a sense of autonomy in their sons to accomplish their masculinity. Two of the fathers provided crafty solutions to this problem: one plans to propose "boundaries of opportunity" that will allow his son to roam a bit further afield, while the other saved the risky experiences for the play spaces that he frequents alone with his

sons. In truth, many of the fathers are testing new waters as they become more involved in their sons' play activities, and higher levels of organization in their sons' play. The respondents often steer their way through this role that their own fathers never played in their lives by selecting "acceptable social positions and places" (Hopkins, 2000:49) in line with normative masculinity as the geographic context for these father-son activities.

CONCLUSION

One Small Step for Man

In this study, play spaces and activities for boys provide an opportunity for fathers to talk about two topics that normative definitions of masculinity would seem to discourage: their own gender and their role as fathers. These same normative definitions of masculinity encourage fathers to play a central role in accomplishing their sons' masculinity. Consequently, fathers find themselves actively regulating both the spatial and social boundaries of their sons' childhoods in order to ensure their sons' physical safety and that they learn to perform gender in ways that are congruent with their fathers' understanding of masculinity. As such, fathers' experiential knowledge of boyhood becomes an important factor to consider when studying parenting because these ideas inform the spatial worlds they create for their own sons. For these reasons, the study investigates boyhood play spaces as the juncture between geographies of masculinity, childhood, and memory. By making masculinity and memory visible within children's geographies, both in the sense that they have been understudied and in the sense they spatially manifest themselves in the play spaces of children, this study is able to make significant theoretical and methodological contributions while opening avenues for future research in socio-cultural geography.

Theoretical Contributions

I have noted throughout this research that the existing children's geography literature has had limited interaction with other realms of social and cultural geography, particularly masculinity and the constituent male identities associated with fatherhood and boyhood. The respondents in this study echoed a need for fatherhood to be studied more directly as a part of children's geographies. In this regard, the majority of respondents cited an increased level of

involvement in their sons' play activities and play spaces compared to recollections of their own childhood. The corollary of this increased level of interaction is that there are more opportunities for father-son interaction. Interestingly, the location for much of this new father-son interaction took place in "acceptable social positions and places" (Hopkins, 2000:49), such as places for sporting activities, as defined by normative definitions of masculinity. Despite defaulting to normative masculinity to provide venues for male-to-male interaction, the respondents defined a "boyhood" and the elements of a "good boyhood" in a variety of ways that were indicative of a spectrum of masculinities. This confirmed that a universal childhood, a universal fatherhood, and a universal masculinity do not exist. Accordingly, I witnessed the fathers performing masculinity during the interviews as they attempted to provide answers that navigated a safe course amidst the culturally-constructed expectations of masculinity while reflecting their experiential knowledge as a parent.

Some fathers did consider "risk" a primary component of boyhood fun and play, but others were quick to express their anxiousness over the changing nature of childhood and safety concerns for their sons. The prominent safety concerns, related to traffic and "stranger danger," played a pivotal role in the creation of boundaries and increased level of organization in the spatial worlds of boys. While these safety concerns are well-documented in the children's geography literature, the fathers' concerns about being viewed negatively by others, to the point of being worried about legal action if they allow their sons to experience the risk and freedom they see as endemic to boyhood, are novel findings. By bringing the concepts of fatherhood and masculinity into the realm of children's geographies, this study draws attention to the identity quagmire that arises for men who are both trying to accomplish their sons' masculinity through their play spaces and attempting to live up to the societal expectation that the fathers be

responsible, caring and gentle. Subsequently, it is evident that play has changed for sons as it would seem that more than ever their play activities are being structured both by the ideas and experiences of their fathers about boyhood and the society's ideas about safety. Although this provides a new spin on Philo's (1992:198) statement that children's worlds are "structured 'from without' and experienced 'from within'," the result for the sons' spatial worlds is that they are increasingly confined and they experience less autonomy within them.

Methodological Contributions

This study explores and furthers the relationship that geography has with memory through the semi-structured interviews done with the fathers. While the memory literature makes a distinction between "early recollections" and "reports" (Mosak & Di Pietro, 2006), which are specific events and generalizations respectively, I found that both were useful for examining the geographic dimensions of this study. Since the study has a focus on the ways in which childhood is structured from the perspective of spatial boundaries and gender roles, it is important to recognize that the respondents would express their knowledge of this social order from their childhood, and even now as parents, in both specifics and generalities. As a result, two key methodological findings arise from this study. First, some of the respondents recognized during the interviews that they could be reporting false memories about the boundaries of their childhood play. The implication of false memories in this study is that some fathers may have remembered experiencing very high levels of childhood autonomy when in fact they were being closely monitored. The value of these revelations to children's geography is that some parents may be overstating the lack of autonomy their children's spatial worlds because they have artificially created a higher level of autonomy in their past. Second, some respondents gave clues to geographic "displays of memory," or in other words, they were re-creating

elements from their childhood in the physical play spaces of their sons. These findings indicate that including memory in geographic inquiry allows researchers to understand how respondents define social constructions in terms of their use of place. In these cases, the fathers believe these types of places are where childhood and boyhood happen; for that reason, they go out of their way to ensure these places exist in their sons' spatial worlds as well.

Future Considerations

Undoubtedly, the epistemological starting point for this study was to attempt to understand the meanings that fathers attribute to their experiences of their worlds, and those of their sons. In this case, these worlds were the spatial worlds of boyhood. While the study was focused on the experiential knowledge of these fathers, future studies may consider expanding the pool of respondents to include either their sons or their wives/female partners, or even both. It would be interesting to include sons as part of the study in order to ask them what they know about their fathers' childhood play spaces. The "displays of memory" that had appeared in some of the sons' play spaces represent indirect communication from the fathers to the sons about where boyhood should take place. However, if the sons do have any knowledge about stories their fathers have told them about their childhoods, the role of man-to-boy oral histories in defining concepts related to masculinity and place could be further explored. On the other hand, the choice to perform similar and separate interviews with the respondents' female partners could also serve to clarify how the respondents perform their multiple masculinities in day-to-day life outside of the stage of the interview. Having completed this study, it is evident that the fathers do struggle with the aforementioned crisis of masculine identity, as they navigate through two sets of social expectations: normative masculinity and gentle, caring father. By asking the female partners how the fathers enforce the spatial boundaries in their sons' lives, a researcher

may get a better understanding of the type of masculinity the father aligns himself with, or at least, a better understanding of how masculine ideas of boyhood do or do not cause difficulty when collaborating with a spouse to create boundaries for children.

Finally, future studies involving both the geographies of masculinity and childhood should take fully into account the multiple positionalities of the researcher before designing a recruitment strategy, particularly if the respondents will be fathers. As I mentioned in the introduction, dominant groups maintain power and prestige by going unexamined, and male heterosexuals certainly qualify as a dominant gender and sexuality group that often escapes academic critique. Thus, it would seem natural for this group to be wary of a recruitment strategy that amounts to "cold contacts" at specific events or venues that would attract them, particularly if the recruiter appears to be an outsider. My success with this type of recruitment was particularly limited because not only did I embody a subordinate masculinity, but I also could not relate to the potential respondents on a familial level, as I am not a father. As a result, I would recommend that future studies consider using either a father or a heterosexual female to do the recruitment, and possibly the interviews. Both of these groups would allay concerns that the fathers are being targeted for nefarious reasons – after all the fathers in this study indicated that protecting their children from strangers and pedophiles was a primary safety concern. A homosexual, single, male recruiter sent the fathers into a series of "avoidance and protective strategies" (Brownlow, 2000) to safeguard both their own masculinities and the well-being of their children, which could have also caused the fathers to not be as open during the interviews. Although a heterosexual female does represent "an outsider" from the standpoint of masculinity, she would represent "an insider" in the realms of childhood studies, as normative definitions of masculinity would associate compassion, repose and comfort with femininity.

All told, this study reveals the challenges that fathers face regarding "what it means to be a man" and how they communicate this to sons. On top of carefully plotting a course through the societal expectations associated with masculinity and finding appropriate ways to communicate these ideas, the fathers must also be concerned with keeping sons safe. Subsequently, the fathers construct the spatial worlds for sons somewhere between the "shifting terrains" of masculinity and security, which makes fathering more arduous. Yet, these terrains are more than just a metaphor, as the fathers are negotiating these challenges by the use of place. Both the locations and locales of the play spaces in the sons' boyhood worlds are structured by fathers such that they are reaffirming their understandings of masculinity. Whether they are associating the father-son relationship with organized sports' play spaces that endorse the competitiveness of hegemonic masculinity or are sneaking risk into bike rides that they take with sons after school, the fathers are inventive in responding to the challenges of their familial role and the communication of masculinity. Certainly, these responses are based on their varied experiential knowledge and memories of boyhood fun and play. As a consequence, there is no universal fatherhood, but fatherhoods are palpably geographic.

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APPENDIX A

Interview Guide

Introduction

1. Purpose of study – highlight age range, emphasis on places
2. Consent form
3. Participant fact sheet: demographic information, childhood residences/moves
4. Information on the audio recording of interview

Part 1: Recollection and Memory of Fathers' Boyhoods

(a) Places and Activities

1. Tell me about the kind of housing you lived in between the ages of 6 and 14 (e.g., single-family home, town house, apartment etc). Could you describe the neighbourhood(s) that you lived in during this time? Were there a lot of other kids in the neighbourhood? Did your parents know other people in the neighbourhood on something more than a very casual basis? Was this a neighbourhood where kids would often play together?
2. As a boy between the ages of 6 and 14, were most of your friends other boys of the same age? Did you play most of the time with other boys? Did you sometimes play with girls?
3. Were there any undeveloped or natural areas in neighbourhood *x* (refer to fact sheet and places where respondent lived)? Did you go to these places or were they 'out of bounds' according to your parents? How did you use these spaces?
4. Were there parks or baseball diamonds or hockey rinks nearby? Did you go there? How did you use these spaces? Did you use these places differently in summer and winter?
5. Overall, did you change your play activities in the neighbourhood when the seasons changed?
6. Did you play any sports as a boy between the ages of 6 and 14? What kinds? How often? Was this in an organized league? Did friends from the neighbourhood also participate in *x* sport(s)?
7. Did you have any hobbies? What kinds? Where did these activities take place? Did friends from your neighbourhood also participate in *x activity*?
8. Were your play spaces mostly public (e.g., parks), private (e.g., homes), semi-private (e.g., arenas or shopping malls), or was there a balance?
9. Are there any features of your play spaces that are particularly memorable, for example, a river, arena, park, street, animals, an old barn or a treehouse?
10. In general, would you say that your play spaces were primarily places for you to be just alone, or places where you could have fun and adventures with other kids/boys/girls? Do some places fit into each category?
11. How would you describe the relationship between your play spaces and activities for boys (yourself and your male friends)? Were any of these spaces labeled as "no girls allowed"? How and why?
12. Would your father or mother sometimes play with you somewhere other than in your home? For instance, did you sometimes play soccer with your father, mother or entire

family? Who played with you more – your father or mother? Where did you go and what did you do?

13. Were there any spaces where only you and your father went to play sports or to have fun?

(b) Mobility and Access

1. Tell me about the boundaries your parents placed on where you could or could not play. Did these rules change at different times of the day or at different times of the year? For example, could you range more broadly during summer holidays? Did these rules change with your age? If applicable, did the boundaries change if you were with an older brother or sister?
2. If applicable, were these boundaries the same for all your brothers? What about your sisters?
3. Did you explore neighbourhood *x* (refer to list of neighbourhoods where lived) as a child? How did you explore it (on foot, by bike, by transit)? If you went to a park or a baseball diamond or a hockey rink, how did you get there? To what extent did getting around make you dependent on other people? If so, how did this restrict your play?
4. Did you purposefully sneak into dangerous or unsafe places to play? What about places that were supposed to be "out of bounds"? What were these places like? Were you encouraged by friends or siblings to go there?
5. Did your mother enforce your play space boundaries differently than your father, or did both your mother and father allow you to use the same play spaces? If one of your parents bent the rules, what reasons did s/he give for bending the rules?
6. Did you spend a lot of time at your friends' homes? Was there something different about hanging out there? Were these friends all boys? Did they live nearby?

Part 2: Description of Sons' Spatial Worlds

(a) Places and Activities [Need to establish in the fact sheet where the father and son have been living since the child turned 6. Adapt the questions to the context of each neighbourhood.]

1. Often when couples are thinking about where they would like to live, the characteristics of the neighbourhood for children is often a consideration. When you and your partner were deciding about where to live in Ottawa, did you actively consider what it would be like for your child(ren) to live in this neighbourhood? What did you think was good or bad about the neighbourhood for your son(s)?
2. In general, what other factors encouraged you to live in this neighbourhood? Probe: Was it close to work for you? Your partner? Liked the house? Good value for money? Liked the neighbourhood in terms of services? Quality of the schools? Near to activities for children?
3. Many people think of this neighbourhood as being *x neighbourhood* (Nepean, Barrhaven, the Glebe, Sandy Hill)? How would you describe your neighbourhood? With your son (sons), how do you define the neighbourhood for them, in terms of where they can play?

4. Could you describe the neighbourhood where you live now in terms of the kinds of play spaces and opportunities that are available to your son(s)? Are these spaces and opportunities nearby?
5. Is this a place where kids normally play in a local park, play street hockey or build snow forts together?
6. Does the neighbourhood where you live now influence where and when your son might play? Is traffic a concern? Is there public transit? Does (Do) your son (sons) use public transit on his (their) own?
7. What kinds of sports or play activities do(es) your son(s) participate in?
8. Do(es) he/they have any hobbies?
9. Does (Do) your son (sons) spend a great deal of time playing video games or surfing the Internet on a computer? Does this influence how much he (they) play in the neighbourhood or with neighbourhood friends? What about with friends from school or those who live beyond your immediate neighbourhood?
10. Would you say that most of your son's (sons') friends live in the neighbourhood?
11. Has/have your son(s) expressed an interest in some kind of play activity or hobby that you disapprove of or think is not really a good idea?
12. Could you tell me about the types of spaces and places where your son(s) play most often?
13. Are there any features of your son's (sons') play spaces that are particularly noteworthy or that you use to identify where he is going? For example, a street intersection, park, shopping area, river or an old barn?
14. Is/Are your son's (sons') play spaces mostly public (e.g., parks), private (e.g., homes), semi-private (e.g., arenas), or is there a balance? Why do you think he plays mostly in *x* kind of place?
15. Does (Do) your son (sons) participate in activities and frequent play spaces that are typically used just by boys? Is this important to them? Has this changed? Is it important to you that your son (sons) play mostly with other boys (girls) or would you like to see them have more friends who are girls (boys)?
16. Are there any spaces or places that only you and your son(s) go to play sports or to have fun? Do you think that the places where you hang out with your son(s) differ from those where they might go with your partner?
17. What kind of play activities would you like to see in this neighbourhood?

(b) Mobility and Access

1. Have you and your partner placed any limits on where your son(s) can play outside of your direct supervision. How far is he (are they) allowed to roam? Are there some places in the neighbourhood where you would not want your son to play or where you might not want him to hang out with friends? How did you arrive at these decisions? {Map}
2. If applicable, are these boundaries the same for each of your children (girls included)? Why or why not?
3. Do your own childhood experiences affect how strict or lenient you are in creating and enforcing these boundaries for your son(s)?
4. Do you and your partner enforce these boundaries the same way? If not, why?

5. Do you know if your son(s) have ever broken the rules and gone exploring beyond the boundaries you set for him (them)? When did this happen? Why? What did you do?
6. To what extent has setting boundaries created conflict between you and your sons? Do they want to roam more broadly? *or* Would you like them to roam more broadly than they do?
7. How does (do) your son(s) get together with his (their) friends in order to play or hang out? Do his (their) friends mostly live in the neighbourhood, or is he (they) forced to go somewhere else to play or see friends? What about for sports or hobbies? Do transportation needs simply make him (them) more dependent on you or your partner or other people, or do they just restrict his (their) play? (Consider those activities already mentioned by the father).

Part 3: Representations of Safety

1. Can you briefly tell me what sources of information or experience you rely upon to decide what places are safe and unsafe in your neighbourhood? What about in the City of Ottawa? Do you and your neighbours talk about safety issues for your kids? Would you say that your neighbours generally think they live in a safe neighbourhood? How about you, do you believe that the neighbourhood is safe? Why?
2. Have you tried to "streetproof" your son (sons)? How did you do this?
3. Are public spaces, like parks or baseball diamonds, safe places for your son (sons)? What about shopping malls? Recreation centres, like the Nepean Sportplex or the YMCA?
4. How do you try to ensure the safety of your son (sons) in private spaces, like at a neighbour or friend's house? Is safety just a problem of getting your son (sons) from home to the neighbour or friend's house?
5. Are the boundaries you place on your son's (sons') play spaces primarily related to safety?
6. Do you think the concept of a "safe childhood" takes opportunities away from an otherwise "good childhood"? Why?
7. *For suburban fathers:* Do you think the suburbs are a safer place for children than the central city? If so, why might the suburbs be safer? If not, why? Do you think that (this neighbourhood) is more or less safe than the suburban neighborhood where you grew up?
8. *For central city fathers:* Many people think that a downtown neighbourhood like (the Glebe, Sandy Hill) is less safe than suburban neighbourhoods. Do you think that this is true? What makes it less/more safe? Do you think that (the Glebe, Sandy Hill) is more or less safe than the suburban neighbourhood where you grew up?

Part 4: Changing Nature of Childhood

1. When you were kid of 6 to 14 years old, did you think that your neighbourhood provided all the places necessary for a boy to play or places where boys could "just be boys" without worrying about breaking windows, tearing up lawns and just having fun? What did you think kids did who lived in downtown neighbourhoods?

2. What about today, for your son(s)? Does your (suburban/downtown) neighbourhood provide a sufficient amount of play opportunities for your son (sons)? Do you think your son (sons) have sufficient opportunities to just be a boy (boys) in this neighbourhood?
3. In general, how would you say the way you used neighbourhoods and play spaces as a kid differs from the way your son (sons) use their neighbourhood and play spaces today? Are you comfortable with these differences?
4. What do you believe are the most important things for boys to experience in terms of "good" childhood fun and play? Would you say it is relatively easy for kids today to have these experiences? What challenges do they face? What challenges do you face as a parent in terms of making these opportunities happen?
5. What do you believe are the most important things for your son (sons) to experience in order for them to look back and say he (they) had a "good" boyhood?
6. In your mind, is there a distinction between childhood and boyhood? If there is, how would you describe the distinction?

Conclusion

1. Review of purpose
2. Choice of pseudonym for respondent and his child/children
3. Transcript review process
4. Additional information participant may wish to add

APPENDIX B

Interview Participant Fact Sheet

Demography

1. Age:
   _____ Under 30
   _____ 30-40
   _____ 41-50
   _____ 51-60
   _____ Over 60

2. Age of my partner:
   _____ Under 30
   _____ 30-40
   _____ 41-50
   _____ 51-60
   _____ Over 60

3. Current occupation: _____

4. Current occupation of my partner: _____

5. Highest level of education completed (check one):
   _____ Elementary school
   _____ Secondary school
   _____ College / CEGEP
   _____ Bachelor/Undergraduate university degree
   _____ Masters/Doctorate
   _____ Other (please specify): _____

6. Highest level of education my partner has completed (check one):
   _____ Elementary school
   _____ Secondary school
   _____ College / CEGEP
   _____ Bachelor/Undergraduate university degree
   _____ Masters/Doctorate
   _____ Other (please specify): _____

7. Do you or your partner stay at home and take care of your family on a full-time basis?

_____

_____

8. Do you currently own or rent your home? (check one):
   _____ Own
   _____ Rent

9. How many years have you been living in your current neighbourhood? _____

10. Are you married to or in a common-law relationship with your partner (check one):
    _____ Married
    _____ Common-law partnership
    _____ Other (please specify): _____

11. How old are the children who currently live with you.

    Boys: _____

    Girls: _____

12. Are any of the children listed above from previous relationships? If so, which children? How long have they been living with you?

    _____

    _____

13. What child care arrangements exist for your children (e.g., daycare, youth camp):

    (a) After school? _____

    (b) On weekends? _____

    (b) During summer vacation? _____

Moving History

14. Please provide a brief timeline of the cities and neighbourhoods where **you lived between the ages of 6 and 14.**

City, Town or Municipality	Neighbourhood	Neighbourhood Description	Ages Lived Here
Example: Ottawa	*Example: Centretown*	*Example: Downtown; Well-established*	*Example: 3-19*

15. Please provide a brief timeline of the cities and neighbourhoods **where you have lived since at least one of your sons turned 6 years old** (e.g., since your son turned 6, have you always lived in this neighbourhood? If no, where did you live previously? Would you say that this was a suburban neighbourhood?).

	City, Town or Municipality	**Neighbourhood**	**Neighbourhood Description**
	Example: Brockville	*Example: North End*	*Example: Suburban; Recently built*
1			
2			
3			
4			
5			
6			
7			
8			
9			
10			
11			

APPENDIX C

Recruitment Text

(This was distributed by email, hard copy [on Faculty letterhead] or conveyed over the telephone to interested individuals.)

My name is Matthew Mannella and I am currently a Masters student in the Department of Geography at the University of Ottawa. For my thesis, I am researching the role that fathers play in determining where sons play and the kinds of activities in which their sons are involved. This research contributes to the field of geography by examining the ways in which men define appropriate play spaces for their sons both in and outside of their residential neighbourhoods.

As such, I am looking to interview fathers, to hear about their insights and experiences regarding the play spaces of their sons, and their ideas about how their son's (sons') experiences either differ from or match those of their own childhood. In this respect, I am especially interested in how much boyhood has changed with time and the environments in which people live. The interview, which will be an informal conversation, will have these four themes:

- The places, activities and spatial boundaries of your childhood;
- The play spaces, activities, and spatial boundaries of the childhood of your son(s);
- The general safety concerns you have for your children in relation to their play spaces; and,
- The play opportunities you believe your son(s) should have in order to experience a "good" childhood.

To participate, you must have lived in the suburbs at some point during your childhood. Currently, you must be living with your female partner and with at least one son between the ages of 6-14. Finally, you must be living in one of the following Ottawa neighbourhoods: Barrhaven, Nepean, Sandy Hill or the Glebe.

If you have any questions or concerns regarding this study or your participation, please get in touch with myself or my research supervisor, Professor Brian Ray. If this information has been passed onto you by a friend or colleague that thinks you may be interested, please contact the researchers directly to express your interest. Our contact information is listed below.

Looking forward to hearing from you,

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APPENDIX D

Coding Tree

Parent Node	Child Node	Grandchild Node
	DESCRIPTIVE CODES	
Father's Activities		
	Biking	
	Danger	
	Hobbies	
	Roughhousing	
	Sports	
		Organized Sports
	Swimming	
Father's Mobility		
	Access	
		Dependence
		Independence
	Geographic Boundaries	
	Out of Bounds Activity	
	Range	
	Siblings	
		Brothers
		Sisters
	Temporal Boundaries	
		Age
		Day-Night
	Transportation	
		Automobile
		Biking
		Public Transit
		Walking
Father's Neighbourhood		
	Children and Neighbours	
	Housing	
	Natural Areas	
Father's Play Spaces		
	Private	
		Friends' Homes
		Home - Indoors
		Home - Outdoors

	Public	
		Parks
		Streets
		Wastelands
	Semi-Private	
		Arenas
		Recreation Centres
		Shopping Malls
Son's Activities		
	Biking	
	Computer	
	Hobbies	
	Inappropriate Activities	
	Sports	
		Organized Sports
	Swimming	
Son's Mobility		
	Access	
		Dependence
		Independence
	Geographic Boundaries	
	Out of Bounds Activity	
	Temporal Boundaries	
		Age
		Day-Night
	Transportation	
		Automobile
		Biking
		Public Transit
		Walking
Son's Neighbourhood		
	Children and Neighbours	
	Natural Areas	
	Traffic	
Son's Play Spaces		
	Private	
		Friends' Homes
		Home - Indoors
		Home - Outdoors
	Public	
		Parks
		Streets

		Wastelands
	Semi-Private	
		Arenas
		Recreation Centres
		Shopping Malls
Son's Safety		
	Internet	
	Socio-Economic	
	Strangers	
	Substance Abuse	
	Teens and Beer	
	Traffic	
ANALYTIC CODES		
Childhood		
	Changing Elements	
		Autonomy
		Boundaries
	Static Elements	
Masculinity		
	"Boys Will Be Boys"	
	Masculine Spaces	
	Male-Female Interaction	
		Mother-Son Interaction
	Male-Male Interaction	
		Father-Son Interaction
	Rejection of Stereotypes	
	Risk	
Memory		
	Display of Memory	
		Congruent Display
		Dissimilar Display
	False Memory / Perception Issue	