

“Where Do Children Go?”: Exploring Children’s Daily Destinations With Children, Parents, and Experts

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Abstract

Research on children’s destinations has primarily focused on school trips, yet their lives are more than that. Different destinations contribute to children’s quality of life in different ways, but this is rarely examined. For our research, focus groups were conducted with different stakeholders to better understand non-school destinations, namely by identifying common, daily, and informal destinations and perceptions of how they relate to children’s well-being. Online focus group discussions were conducted with children (aged 8–12), parents (with children aged 7–13), and experts from different cities across Canada in May and June 2023, to obtain diverse opinions about children’s destinations. The analysis was conducted based on a prior review to categorize children’s destinations, identify informal destinations, green and grey places, and the relation between those destinations to children’s well-being. Discussions with parents, children, and experts highlighted the diversity of destinations relevant to children. Leisure destinations were one of the most mentioned in the discussions. Spaces without specific rules or structures were identified by experts as beneficial for children’s cognitive, social, physical, and psychological health. Parents mentioned primarily formal places, whereas children and experts mentioned primarily informal ones. Green destinations were more associated with physical well-being, though children dominantly associated green destinations with psychological well-being as well. All groups dominantly associated grey-type destinations with social and cognitive well-being. Using these results, urban planners can develop strategies to improve children’s access to their daily destinations that support their well-being.

Keywords

children’s destinations; children’s travel; focus groups; health and well-being; non-school trips

1. Introduction

Children's travel destinations differ from adults' due to the distance that they can travel, their walking speed, and their autonomy (Cervesato & Waygood, 2019; Cordovil et al., 2015). Therefore, their travel is often much more local. Also, children's travel can be limited by a number of factors, including parents' concerns about traffic safety (Tavakoli et al., 2024; Waygood et al., 2017, 2020), social safety concerns such as "stranger danger" (Fyhri et al., 2011; Mitra, 2013), the existence of sidewalks or the design of streets (Ewing et al., 2004; Mitra, 2013), and the quality of residential blocks (McMillan, 2007; Mitra et al., 2010).

Despite children's trips being more likely to be local, recent research on children's independent travel to non-school destinations suggests that studies should not focus only on school trips (Desjardins et al., 2022). Prior research has found a wide range of destinations where children travel such as outdoor spaces, shopping destinations, relatives' homes, and buildings with indoor activities (Babb et al., 2017). These studies identified a broad range of destinations beyond home and school, emphasizing that access to diverse daily destinations within a reasonable distance enhances children's mobility (M. Kyttä, 2004). Children's destinations can also be viewed as green (natural) or grey (man-made) spaces, allowing different activity types. Green spaces are often open spaces that are predominantly natural. These places promote cognitive functioning, mental health benefits, community engagement, and physical activity (Russo & Andreucci, 2023; Vidal & Castro Seixas, 2022). Also, children's spatial experiences and growth are facilitated by man-made or grey destinations that extend their everyday structured environments (Broberg et al., 2013). In addition to promoting exploration, play, and environmental awareness, natural and built environments can meet children's diverse needs.

Having the opportunity to travel to a variety of daily destinations for children is linked to different aspects of well-being domains (Pollard & Lee, 2003). Those domains include the physical domain (e.g., physical activity and exercise), psychological domain (e.g., mental and emotional health), cognitive domain (e.g., learning and exploration), and social domain (e.g., interactions, social capital, and community connections). The ability to travel to non-school destinations can contribute to different aspects of their well-being.

A prior scoping review (Desjardins et al., 2022) about non-school destinations for children found that researchers have used a variety of methodologies to identify where children travel. Some commonly used methods are: using questionnaires (Badland et al., 2015; Egli et al., 2020), GPS trackers (Babb et al., 2017), mapping activities with SoftGIS (A. M. Kyttä et al., 2012, 2018), or accessibility tools (Badland et al., 2015). However, an important point to note is that many informal destinations may not have been captured in the mentioned methods. These destinations can be gathering spots, hidden play areas, or undiscovered corners of the neighborhood that children frequent, but they do not always receive attention in research studies that use formal classifications. Creating child-friendly environments that promote healthy development and active lifestyles requires an understanding of the types of destinations children prefer, whether they are formal or informal, natural, or artificial. In-depth discussions such as focus groups with diverse stakeholders might be one method that could help give a more comprehensive understanding of where children go.

There are two main gaps in the current literature regarding child-relevant destinations and their impact on well-being. First, there are valuable insights about how children relate to the environment from research on appropriation (how children make their "own space"), children's placemaking (active shaping of

environments; see Lynch, 1981), affordances (environmental features enabling or restricting action; see M. Kytta, 2004), or children's activity spaces or territorial range (Babb et al., 2017). However, those studies mostly relied on mapping activities to identify children's meaningful destinations—something that, as previous studies suggest, can miss destinations that are not documented in GIS data or captured well by a list of formal destinations (Babb et al., 2017; Badland et al., 2015; Broberg et al., 2013; Desjardins et al., 2022). These informal places relate to informal play areas, neighborhood alleys, or friends' houses that likely play an important role in children's daily lives. Therefore, it is necessary to investigate and recognize these types of destinations to gain a fuller understanding of how they impact children's daily experiences.

Secondly, the relationship between child-relevant destinations and all well-being dimensions has yet to be fully explored and categorized in detail in the current state of research. The topics of physical well-being (Yang et al., 2023) and social well-being (Gong et al., 2024) have recently been discussed, but those studies have analyzed only one or two facets of well-being out of several possibilities, and this from the perspective of parents rather than that of children. However, children's perspectives should also be considered since their opinions may differ from parents' (Smeds et al., 2023). Therefore, it is necessary to understand how different child-relevant destinations relate to well-being more holistically and from the perspective of different stakeholders to obtain a fuller understanding of children's experiences and needs. Applying this approach could help urban planning and policymaking to create environments that promote children's development and well-being.

Focus groups with diverse stakeholders offer the opportunity to gain a better understanding of children's destinations and how those destinations might be associated with multiple aspects of well-being. Using this method, several studies have either focused on the perspectives of children (Furneaux & Manaugh, 2019) or both parents and children at the same time (Ergler et al., 2013). Other researchers conducted focus groups with experts or parents to understand their perspectives on child-related topics (Adler et al., 2019; Vogl et al., 2023).

No comprehensive comparison of perspectives from children, parents, and experts has been conducted to cover where children go and how those destinations might be related to multiple well-being domains. In particular, the perspectives of children in terms of the places they visit (especially without supervision) might be different and should be captured. The characteristics of those places are not typically analyzed, in particular whether they are green (natural) or grey (human-made) spaces. In this way, it is possible that parents may focus on children's organized activities, whereas children (when in control) might focus more on less formal, more local destinations. Whether or not there would be differences in the characteristics of those places concerning being formal/informal or being natural or human-made is not typically analyzed. Experts bring specialized knowledge and broader perspectives to studies on children's destinations, but it is not clear how their opinions might relate to parents and children. Experts might identify issues and barriers that parents and children may not mention or be aware of and offer evidence-based recommendations, thus ensuring the findings are based on proven strategies. Therefore, it is crucial to engage a wide range of stakeholders. The results of focus groups can be used to identify important destinations that children would like to access or need to access as well as areas that need specific attention.

The objective of this research is to identify the non-school destinations for children between the ages of 8–12 in a Canadian context. Through these discussions, two key questions are considered:

1. What are the most relevant daily destinations and informal places that children commonly travel to?
2. How might these daily destinations relate to the different domains of children's well-being?

The focus group approach with relevant stakeholders will explore the most relevant daily and informal places frequented by children. This approach should help shed light on previously unaddressed aspects of children's travel destinations. This study focuses on understanding how different stakeholders relate various destinations to well-being dimensions.

This article is organized as follows: The next section presents the methodology for conducting each focus group, followed by the results of each group. Next, a discussion section covers the overall contributions of the research. The article concludes with our findings.

2. Methodology

Focus groups serve as a foundational approach to exploring participant perspectives and enriching our understanding of their needs (Adler et al., 2019). They facilitate an environment where participants are encouraged to present their viewpoints, share experiences, and actively engage in discussion (Adler et al., 2019). Therefore, using focus groups to capture genuine responses could provide a deeper understanding of children's needs in terms of identifying their daily destinations.

Focus groups were conducted separately with the different stakeholder groups: the primary stakeholders—children, their guardians or parents, and experts who are actively involved in children's independent travel and built environment impacts on children's mobility. The focus groups enhance participant interaction and discussion beyond individual interviews, thus providing a platform for diverse perspectives (Adler et al., 2019). Figure 1 summarizes the process (details of each step are described below).

2.1. Design of the Focus Groups

Selecting stakeholders with significant input on children's destinations was the first step in designing the focus groups (Banville et al., 1998; Marais & Abi-Zeid, 2021). Given the multiple stakeholder groups (Banville et al., 1998), both "standard" and "fiduciary" stakeholders have an important role in addressing children's travel and accessibility to their daily destinations:

1. "Standard stakeholders" are individuals directly affected by and influencing the problem who have a substantial influence on solutions (Banville et al., 1998). We primarily involve planners, parents, and children between the ages of 8–12 because of their direct connection to the research.
2. "Fiduciary stakeholders," representing individuals acting on their behalf (Banville et al., 1998). While they may influence how a problem is solved, they are not personally affected. An example of this type of stakeholder could be individuals who are engaged in the decision-making process (planners or local child-safety associations; see Banville et al., 1998). Through their involvement, the findings of the study can be translated into practical, actionable strategies to improve children's access to destinations that are beneficial for their health and well-being. Often, experts are directly involved in formulating and implementing policies, which makes their participation important to understand the practical implications of research findings, as well as to develop interventions that can be effectively integrated

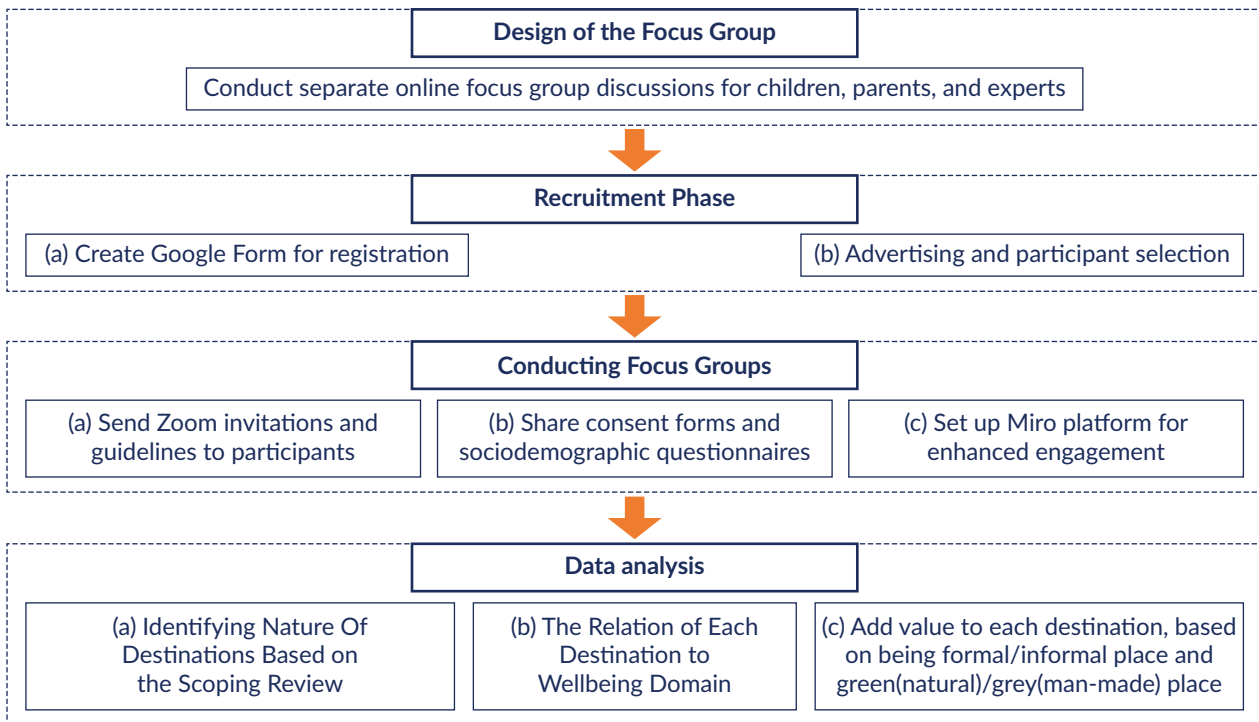


Figure 1. Summary of focus groups' process.

into existing frameworks. Also, since experts are exclusively adults, it is important to understand the differences between their perspectives and children's perspectives. Getting such feedback can improve professionals' understanding of the topic. Furthermore, since previous research had not related destinations to well-being domains, part of the objective of this research was to find out whether there were differences in how experts, compared to children and parents, assigned destinations to well-being.

Including both "standard" and "fiduciary" stakeholders ensured a comprehensive view, incorporating the perspectives and influence of those directly affected and those advocating for them.

Five online focus groups were conducted in May–June 2023, with children (age 8–12) and parents of children (age 7–13) in English and French, and with experts from various Canadian cities in English.

2.2. Recruitment Steps

Participants were recruited through various social media platforms including Facebook, LinkedIn, and Twitter (now X) in March and April 2023. Parents and children were offered a \$CAD 25 certificate compensation, while experts were not offered a certificate. Two separate Google form surveys were used: one for children and parents to gather information on location and children's ages with the aim of including respondents with varied experiences; and another for experts to identify their roles as professionals, academics, advocacy, etc. To obtain different professional perspectives, experts were asked to specify fields like engineering, urbanism, geography, psychology, sociology, politics, education, etc. It was possible to go from one form to the other.

Overall, 166 responses were received from French and English parents. Parents and children were then randomly selected from different urban areas and age groups. Thirty-seven expert responses were gathered. Doodle polls facilitated the scheduling of separate focus groups for children, parents, and experts, ranging from 4 to 10 participants each. The focus groups were recorded with participants' permission.

An online whiteboard and presentation tool called Miro was used to facilitate active participation in the discussions along with Zoom to allow for verbal communication. For all groups, a short demonstration on using Miro to add "sticky notes" was given, followed by a few minutes for participants to practice, ensuring everyone could provide input. When needed, alternatives such as typing in the Zoom chat were used, and an assistant input the ideas on Miro.

At this point, an issue arose with the initial broad "cast the net wide" recruiting approach for parents and the children's discussion groups. Despite requiring computer participation for better Miro facilitation, many individuals joined the first meeting on mobile phones, thus limiting their engagement. This only resulted in some limitations in the amount of information that could be gathered. As the information was valid, it was retained. In contrast, in the children's focus group, participants were adults on phones rather than the expected children. It became evident some joined just to claim the gift certificate and were not "honest" participants. Therefore, the recruitment approach changed, and the data from that children's session was not included. Parents who had participated in a recent study on children in Montreal by researchers not involved in this research were solicited. Also, using the researchers' networks, friends were requested to advertise to people that the researchers did not know (to limit bias).

All stakeholders were tasked with assigning the different destinations to the well-being domains to (a) test whether they understood this categorization approach and (b) examine how they saw these destinations impacting children's lives.

In all five sessions, the moderators encouraged all participants to actively contribute to the discussion. Participants were invited to use as many sticky notes as they wanted to list different destinations, and they could return to add new places if they remembered any additional ones. The approach used (an online whiteboard) allowed for parallel contributions, meaning that participants could contribute at the same time without being unduly influenced by others. The moderators then asked the participants to expand on contributions that were not evident. The moderators further made a point of directly asking participants who were not voicing their contributions as frequently (everyone contributed quite a few sticky notes in each round).

2.2.1. Parents' Focus Groups

Using the second approach, separate meetings took place with 10 French-speaking parents from Montreal and four English-speaking parents from Vancouver (1 person), Montreal (2 persons), and Saskatoon (1 person). The parents' sessions lasted approximately 90 minutes. Table 1 provides the description of participants in the meeting with parents.

Table 1. The description of participants in the meeting with parents.

| Parents (n = 14) | Percentage |
|---|------------|
| Location | |
| Montreal | 85.7% |
| Saskatoon | 7.1% |
| Vancouver | 7.1% |
| Parents' Age Range* | |
| 35–44 | 57% |
| 45–54 | 36% |
| Child's age* | |
| 7 years old | 7% |
| 8 years old | 14% |
| 9 years old | 14% |
| 10 years old | 29% |
| 11 years old | 21% |
| 12 years old | 7% |
| Gender* | |
| Female | 71% |
| Male | 14% |
| Other | 7% |
| Education Level* | |
| Certificate or diploma from a college, CEGEP, or other non-university institution | 7% |
| Bachelor's degree | 50% |
| Master's degree (for example MA, MSc, MEd, MBA) | 29% |
| Doctoral degree (i.e., PhD) | 7% |
| Ethnicity* | |
| Other North American origins | 7% |
| European origins | 50% |
| Latin, Central, and South American origins | 7% |
| Work Status* | |
| Full time | 86% |
| Student | 7% |
| Total annual household income before tax* | |
| I prefer not to answer | 7% |
| \$30,000 to \$49,999 | 21% |
| \$75,000 to \$99,999 | 21% |
| \$100,000 to \$150,000 | 14% |
| Parents' residential location in urban setting | |
| Center of the city | 64% |
| Periphery | 36% |
| Preferred language | |
| English | 29% |
| French | 71% |

Note: * As a result of respondents not answering all questions, the total percentage does not equal 100% in some cases.

The first question asked about the diversity of destinations related to children's travel was (quoted from the questionnaire):

Where do your children typically go during a week (excluding vacation trips and such)? We would like to know about the diversity of the destinations!

To build on each other's ideas, the question was asked three times to collect as many responses as possible. To prevent parents from influencing one another at the start, they were given five minutes to enter their ideas before their notes were shown to others. The scoping review summary was then shown to parents (Desjardins et al., 2022). Parents were then asked if any new ideas had occurred to them.

The second part of the discussion explained how different destinations could support children's well-being. Four main dimensions of well-being that relate to children's travel were introduced (Waygood et al., 2017, 2020):

1. Physical well-being: Anything that involves movement contributes to physical well-being, with a preference given to activities that raise the heart rate and physical health development.
2. Psychological well-being: Refers to individuals' emotions and feelings as well as their mental health development.
3. Cognitive well-being: Children's cognitive well-being includes discovering their world (formal and informal) and developing their intellectual abilities.
4. Social well-being: Includes concepts such as social connections with friends and the wider community.

Finally, parents were asked to categorize the destinations based on their perceptions.

2.2.2. Children's Focus Group

Interviews were conducted separately in two sessions with seven French-speaking (from Montreal) and four (2 from Saskatoon, one from Montreal and one from Vancouver) English-speaking children. Group discussions with children designed for one hour. Table 2 provides the information about children who participated in the discussion.

The children's focus group sessions needed a specific methodological and ethical approach. In terms of methodology, we made sure children felt comfortable and were able to express themselves freely. To facilitate understanding and keep the children interested, we used simple language and engaging slides. Also, interactive activities (such as asking questions within the context of games) helped facilitate discussion. To meet ethical standards, it was mandatory to obtain the informed consent of the children and their parents before each session. As the focus groups were online, this likely gave parents a greater sense of safety as the child remained at their home, the parent was the one who received the link, and they could keep "one ear open" to judge the appropriateness of the discussion.

The research questions were simplified and asked through games to encourage children's participation. Two different questions were asked about places children like to go (quoted from the questionnaire):

It's a game! Please tell us what are your favorite places that you go to. You have 2 minutes to reply!

Are there places you would like to go to that we didn't mention? These need to be real options for a normal week—so nothing like "Disneyland!"

Table 2. The description of participants in the meeting with children.

| Children (n = 11) | Percentage |
|---------------------------------------|------------|
| Location | |
| Vancouver | 9.09% |
| Montreal | 72.73% |
| Saskatoon | 18.18% |
| Child's age | |
| 8 years old | 9% |
| 9 years old | 9% |
| 10 years old | 45% |
| 11 years old | 27% |
| 12 years old | 9% |
| Gender | |
| Female | 36% |
| Male | 64% |
| Residential location in urban setting | |
| Central neighborhoods | 55% |
| Periphery | 45% |
| Preferred language | |
| English | 36% |
| French | 64% |

For each well-being domain, children were asked specific questions to identify how various destinations contribute to their well-being (quoted from the questionnaire):

Social well-being: Other than school, where are the places you meet and hang out with your friends to have some fun, play or talk? Where are the places that you meet other people? Like neighbors or even adults that you don't really know but maybe you chat with.

Psychological well-being: Where are the places that make you happy? Where are the places that make you relaxed? Where are the places that make you excited?

Cognitive well-being: Other than school, where do you learn about things? Or discover your surroundings? This can be by yourself, with friends, or learning from adults.

Physical well-being: Of the places we talked about, where do you move a lot? We mean, more than just walking—it can be dancing, hiking, anything that makes you breathe a little hard.

2.2.3. Experts' Focus Group

Six people participated in the expert meeting. The experts worked in the domains of public transport, community engagement, and active travel. They were a mix of professionals (4) and academics (2). A 90-minute discussion was held with the expert group. Using the “hidden” sticky note approach, the first question gathered diverse destination perspectives from the experts (quoted from the questionnaire):

Where do children typically go during the week (excluding vacation trips and such)? We would like to know about the diversity of the destinations.

Experts were also asked about informal destinations for children. The objective was to focus on non-structured places that children use for play or leisure that are not (generally) identified by GIS. The previous review about non-school destinations was discussed (Desjardins et al., 2022), and accordingly, experts were asked if there were additional destinations that they could think to add.

Next, the discussion focused on how the mentioned destinations could support children's health across the four well-being domains. The experts assigned destinations to the domains and discussed any ambiguous or multi-domain ones.

2.2.4. Data Analysis

The qualitative focus group data analysis proceeded as follows in the next sections.

2.2.4.1. Categorization of Destinations

Participants frequently mentioned specific names of places (e.g., parks, grocery stores, ice cream shops) in different discussions. Data was categorized and grouped based on the categories identified in the scoping review's typology (commercial, leisure, educational, green, social/cultural, sports, public transport). This step ensured that the data reflects the real conditions as expressed by the stakeholders. Accurate categorization was ensured by multiple rounds of verification.

2.2.4.2. Assignment to Well-Being Domains

Participants assigned each destination to one or more well-being domain(s): physical, psychological, cognitive, and social. A multi-domain classification was allowed to capture the diverse impacts of each destination. The assignments were reviewed with participants' when it was not clear.

2.2.4.3. Examination of Destination Characteristics

Destinations were assessed to determine if they were formal (structured activities) or informal (unstructured activities). Destinations were also classified as green (natural spaces) or grey (human-made environments).

3. Results

3.1. Identifying the Nature of Destinations Based on the Scoping Review

This step aimed to categorize the destinations by their nature following a previous scoping review of children's non-school destinations (Desjardins et al., 2022). The nature of locations was determined by the descriptions from parents, children, and experts. For places children identified by name—such as Crèmerie (an ice cream shop), Renaissance (a thrift store), and Volcano Island (a natural play park)—they were asked follow-up questions about the purpose and activities there to determine the appropriate category. Figure 2 shows the Miro application board where parents, children, and experts wrote their ideas.



Figure 2. Miro board related to the question about where children go on for parents (left), children (middle), and experts (right).

Next, the classification results of destinations are presented by stakeholder type.

3.1.1. Parents' Focus Group

The destinations most frequently mentioned by parents were recreational activities, leisure places, children's sports activities, and various types of commercials. The destinations are presented by category in Figure 3.

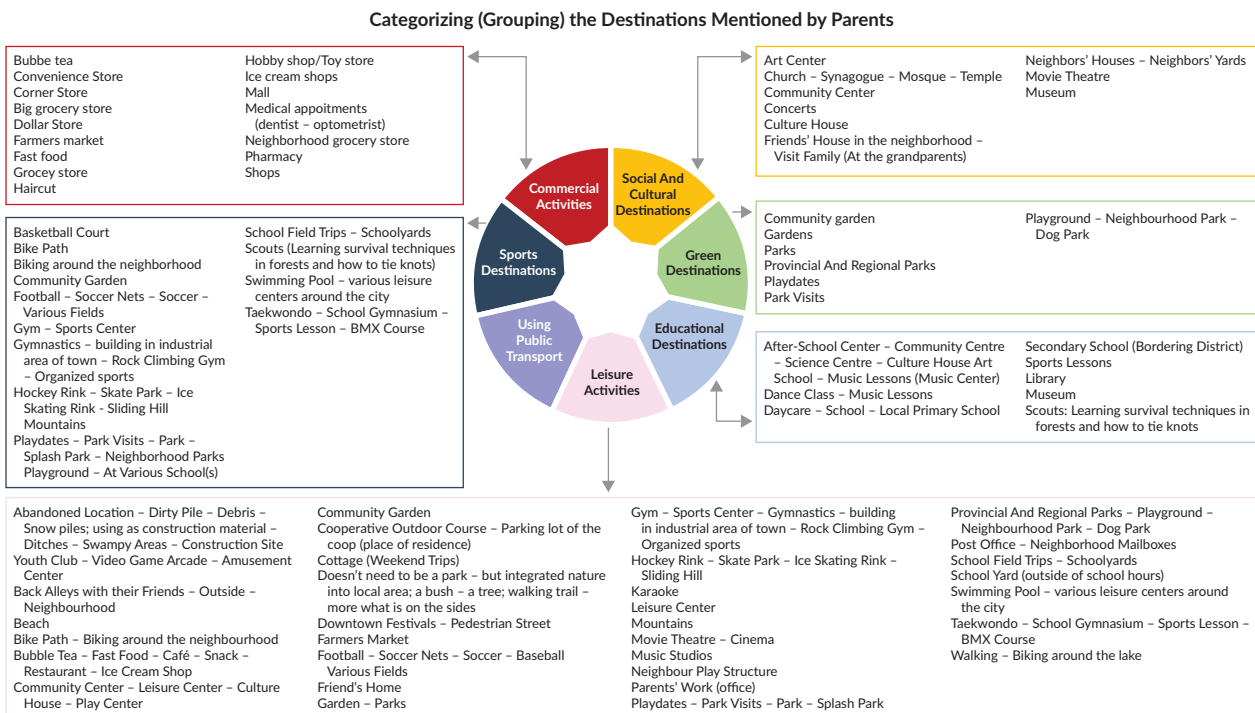


Figure 3. Categorizing destinations mentioned by parents.

3.1.2. Children's Focus Group

Children predominantly mentioned leisure places and green destinations like parks, playgrounds, fields, and rinks for sports activities. Figure 4 presents the destinations mentioned by children.

Categorizing (Grouping) the Destinations Mentioned by Children

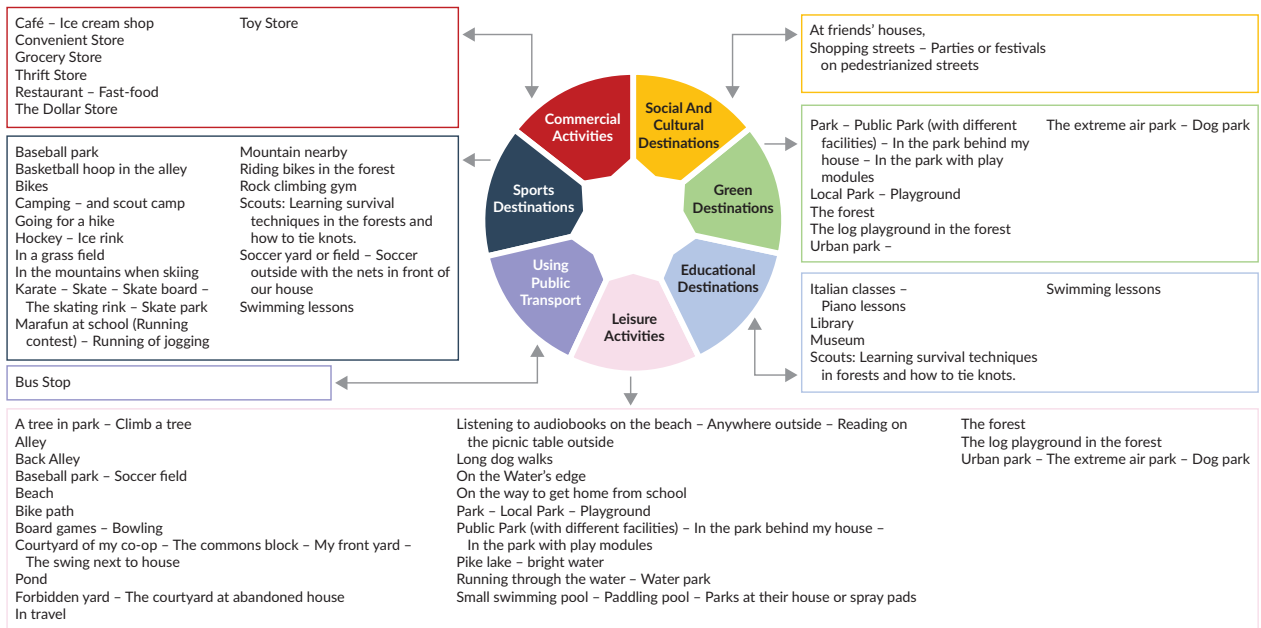


Figure 4. Categorizing destinations mentioned by children.

3.1.3. Experts' Focus Group

The expert discussion analyzed formal destinations children routinely visit for specific purposes (e.g., schools, grocery stores), and informal destinations children visit like empty lots, woodlots, yards, groves of trees, etc. The categorization of destinations mentioned by experts is shown in Figure 5.

Categorizing (Grouping) the Destinations Mentioned by Experts

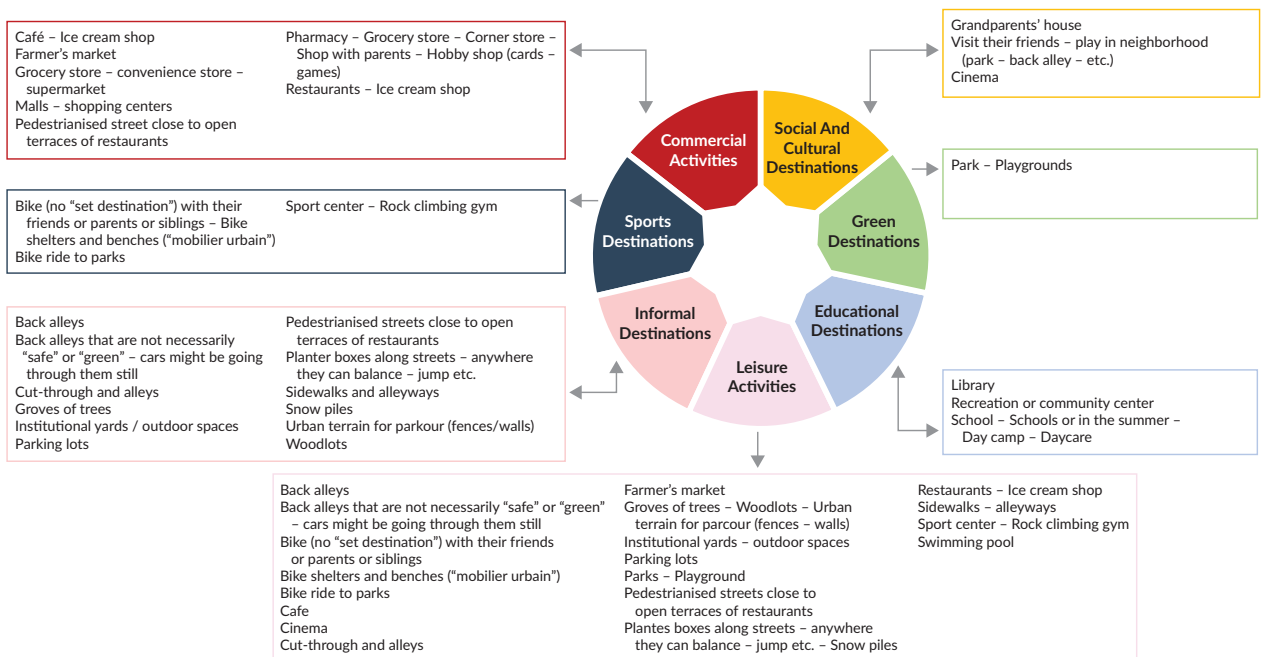


Figure 5. Categorizing destinations mentioned by experts.

3.2. The Relationship Between Destinations to Well-Being Domains and Identifying Formal/Informal and Green/Grey Destinations

3.2.1. Parents' Focus Groups

Parents predominantly mentioned formal locations which are primarily in grey (human-made) contexts. Across the different domains of well-being, formal destinations were consistently the most common (such as dance class, school, daycare), but the second most common was informal in the physical well-being domain (such as friend's home, snow piles, mountains), though some of those are a mix of formal and informal (e.g., sports such as hockey rink, skate park, soccer nets can be both).

For psychological destinations, they mentioned playing in playgrounds, back alleys, parking lot of the residence, or going to the places regarded as "their [children's] space," which were mostly associated with green and natural places.

Cognitive well-being was associated with grey and formal places like educational experiences such as school field trips, and library visits, as well as artistic pursuits such as visiting museums.

For social well-being activities, parents assigned community events at local centers, and having outdoor playdates to that section. Figure 6 presents the results of the discussion with parents and the category of each destination that it is assigned to.

3.2.2. Children's Focus Groups

Children associated physical well-being with informal places such as a basketball hoop in the alley, climbing on trees (in the alley), abandoned places (called forbidden yards), bike paths, beaches, and public parks: "In the park behind my house, in the play modules, in the mountains when skiing, the bike path, the pool, the park, the skating rink, at the pool, at the beach." In the physical domain, children primarily mentioned informal locations, but it was followed by transport-infrastructure and "destination" type places (typically requiring parental involvement and long-distance travel), without citing formal locations.

For social well-being, children again mentioned engaging in less formalized interactions than their parents by visiting friends' houses, parks, randomly meeting people in the neighborhood, using playgrounds, and common areas within their residences. Destinations such as areas for shopping, food, and drink were typically found in predominantly grey locations.

As for psychological well-being, children discussed going to a *café* or *ice cream shop* with their parents, meeting a friend at a park that makes them happy, or lying on the ground at the park to feel relaxed. Children's associations were linked to social connections (friends, family) and relaxation (alone or with friends). Nature- and water-type destinations such as lake, hiking, camping, and being in a grass field were the most commonly associated and were dominantly green. Other destinations are places to relax (on the water's edge), shopping (convenience store or toy store), and some more formal places (museum).

For cognitive well-being, some children named day camps (involving learning activities in a forest), libraries, Italian classes, Karate class, skating parks to observe others and learn from them, and outdoor ice rinks. These

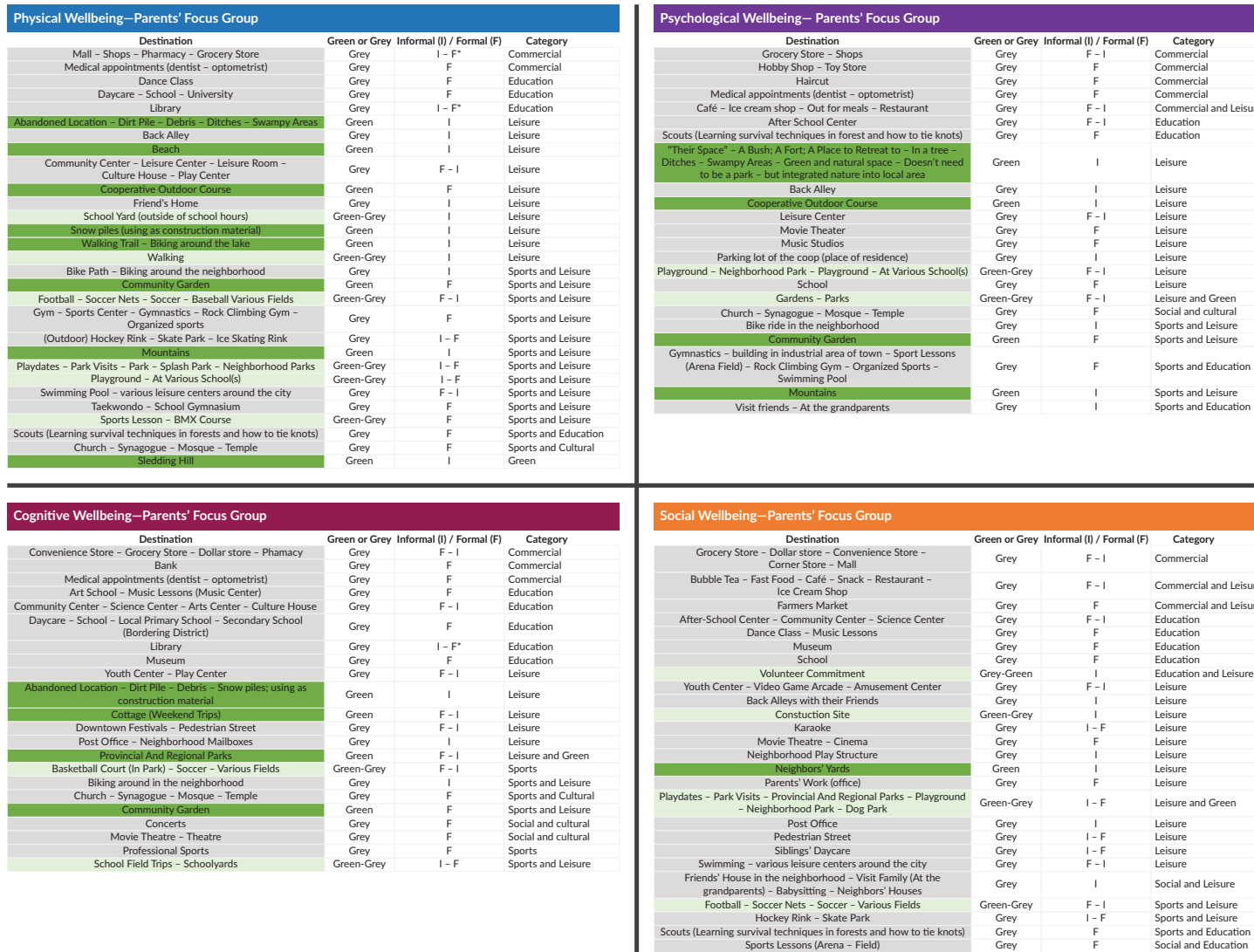


Figure 6. The color-coded categorization of children's destinations mentioned by parents, relating to well-being domains.

are a mixture of formal and informal learning environments where they can observe others and learn from them. These locations were more likely to be formal and grey.

Children's responses to each question regarding activities that support their well-being and the category of each destination where they were assigned are shown in Figure 7.

3.2.3. Experts' Focus Group

Responses of the experts and the category of each destination are shown in Figure 8. Overall, experts highlighted more grey-type destinations than the previous two groups, but also more informal destinations than the parents group.

Physical well-being included many formal destinations where sports or athletics can be learned and practiced, but this was nearly balanced by informal destinations. Those informal destinations often involved children occupying transport infrastructure such as alleyways, parking lots, and sidewalks. Places where children's affordance might be different than adults also came up such as using urban shapes to run and do "parkour." The destinations in this group are greyer than the previous two.

Cognitive well-being was a major topic in the experts' group. They discussed how children's cognitive well-being is enhanced through exploration at various destinations which were mainly transport-related (bus stops, bike rides to parks) and a few commercial ones (grocery store, corner store). Like the other groups, these destinations were primarily grey locations, though experts were more likely to mention informal places.

The other two domains of well-being were more mixed. Social well-being included multiple types of destinations (ice cream shops, back alleys), with only a few classified as formal (school). Only a couple of destinations that could be termed formal were assigned to the psychological well-being domain (schools, day camps). Experts discussed the psychological and social aspects of different destinations, including how an "ice cream place" can be associated with tradition, emotions, and reconnection with friends. Similar to the other two groups, most destinations here were grey.

4. Discussion

The article presents the outcome of focus group discussions on non-school destinations involving children, parents, and experts. The results demonstrated that the diversity is much larger than captured by a systematic review of literature on such destinations (Desjardins et al., 2022). Further, the destinations were classified as informal or formal, and natural (green) or human-made (grey) which highlights differences in the perspectives of those three stakeholders. Then, it discussed how those destinations might be related to physical, psychological, cognitive, and social well-being from the perspectives of children, parents, and experts. The conceptualization and categorization of destinations by their relationship to well-being domains is a significant theoretical contribution as it directly links the objective of improving children's lives with the potential impact of specific destinations. The combination of these layers (different stakeholders), characteristics, and relationship to well-being provides unique contributions that showcase the differences in perspectives. Using this approach planners can better understand how built environments affect children beyond simple categories like educational, leisure, and commercial.

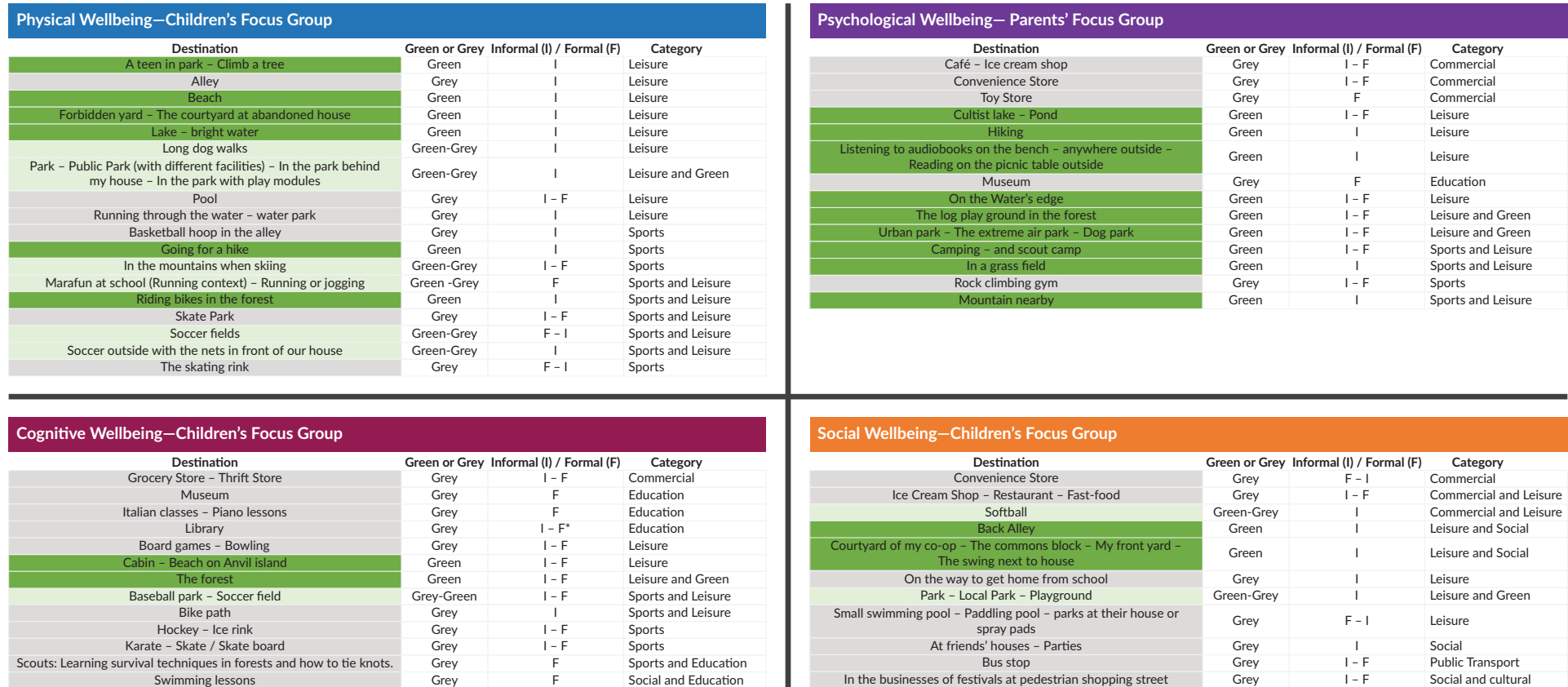


Figure 7. The color-coded categorization of children's destinations mentioned by children, relating to well-being domains.

| Physical Wellbeing—Children's Focus Group | | | |
|---|---------------|---------------------------|------------------------|
| Destination | Green or Grey | Informal (I) / Formal (F) | Category |
| Grocery store – convenience store – supermarket | Grey | I – F | Commercial |
| Cafe | Grey | I – F | Commercial and Leisure |
| Pedestrianized streets close to open terraces of restaurants | Grey | I – F | Commercial and Leisure |
| Library | Grey | I – F* | Education |
| Recreation or community center | Grey | F – I | Education |
| School | Grey | I | Education |
| Back alleys that are not necessarily "safe" or "green" – cars might be going through them still | Grey | I | Leisure |
| Institutional yards – outdoor spaces | Grey-Green | I | Leisure |
| Parking lots | Grey | I | Leisure |
| Planter boxes along streets – anywhere they can balance – jump etc. | Grey-Green | I | Leisure |
| Sidewalks | Grey | I | Leisure |
| Snow piles | Green | I | Leisure |
| Swimming pool | Grey | F – I | Leisure |
| Urban terrain for parkour (fences – walls) | Grey | F – I | Leisure |
| Parks – Playground | Green-Grey | I – F | Leisure and Green |
| Grandparents' house | Grey | I | Social |
| Bike (no "set destination") with their friends or parents or siblings – Bike shelters and benches ("mobilier urbain") | Grey | I – F | Sports and Leisure |
| Sport center – Rock climbing gym | Grey | F – i | Sports and Leisure |

| Psychological Wellbeing— Experts' Focus Group | | | |
|---|---------------|---------------------------|------------------------|
| Destination | Green or Grey | Informal (I) / Formal (F) | Category |
| Malls – shopping centers | Grey | I – F | Commercial |
| Café – Ice cream shop | Grey | I – F | Commercial and Leisure |
| Schools or in the summer – Day camp | Grey-Green | F | Education |
| Back alleys | Grey | I | Leisure |
| Groves of trees – Woodlots | Green | I | Leisure |
| Urban terrain for parkour (fences – walls) | Grey | I | Leisure |
| Parks | Grey-Green | I – F | Leisure and Green |
| Grandparents' house | Grey | I | Social |

| Cognitive Wellbeing—Experts' Focus Group | | | |
|---|---------------|---------------------------|------------------------|
| Destination | Green or Grey | Informal (I) / Formal (F) | Category |
| Pharmacy – Grocery store – Corner store – Shop with parents – Hobby shop (card – games) | Grey | I – F | Commercial |
| Farmer's market | Grey | I – F | Commercial and Leisure |
| Restaurants | Grey | I – F | Commercial and Leisure |
| Library | Grey | I – F* | Education |
| School | Grey | F | Education |
| Cinema | Grey | F | Leisure |
| Cut-through and alleys | Grey | I | Leisure |
| Play in the neighborhood (park – back alley – etc.) | Grey-Green | I | Leisure |
| Sidewalks – Alleyways | Grey | I | Leisure |
| Urban terrain for parkour (fences – walls) | Grey | I – F | Leisure |
| Bus stop | Grey | I – F | Public Transport |
| Visit their friends | Grey | I | Social |
| Bike ride to parks | Grey-Green | I | Spprts and Leisure |

| Social Wellbeing—Experts' Focus Group | | | |
|--|---------------|---------------------------|------------------------|
| Destination | Green or Grey | Informal (I) / Formal (F) | Category |
| Malls – shopping centers | Grey | I – F | Commercial |
| Restaurants – Ice cream shop | Grey | I – F | Commercial and Leisure |
| Library | Grey | I – F* | Education |
| School – Schools or in the summer – Day camp – Daycare | Grey-Green | F | Education |
| Back alleys | Grey | I | Leisure |
| Cinema | Grey | F | Leisure |
| Play in the neighborhood (park – back alley – etc.) | Grey-Green | I | Leisure |
| Urban terrain for parkour (fences – walls) | Grey | I – F | Leisure |
| Woodlots | Green | I – F | Leisure |
| Visit their friends | Grey | I – F | Social |

Figure 8. The color-coded categorization of children's destinations mentioned by experts, relating to well-being domains.

Focus group discussions highlighted the importance of leisure destinations in children's daily travel. Children prefer common spaces over backyards for social interactions with friends and the wider community which confirms previous research with children (Furneaux & Manaugh, 2019). They mentioned visiting neighbors when shopping or returning from school and going to ice cream shops or dollar stores for social activities. In less urban areas, parents mentioned children collecting mail with friends from centralized mailboxes as a social activity. This aligns with research showing neighborhood involvement promotes children's social skills and frequent socialization (Prezza et al., 2010; Waygood et al., 2020). Back alleys, biking around the neighborhood, and playgrounds were frequently mentioned in leisure activities in all groups. Experts noted shared spaces like alleys and common blocks promote intergenerational connections and enhance the sense of community.

The results show while parents may view a certain destination as offering opportunities from a structured perspective, children will perceive a particular destination based on their enjoyment, social influences, and interactions and experiences (Loebach & Gilliland, 2014; Veitch et al., 2006). Children's responses were mostly categorized as informal destinations such as alleys, abandoned areas, beaches, and public parks for physical well-being activities like climbing trees or playing basketball in an alley. In most cases, these informal destinations were grey or human-made environments such as alleys or in front of their houses. While not necessarily designed for play, grey spaces provide opportunities for independent mobility, exploration, and creative use of the urban landscape for children which was also highlighted by Villanueva et al. (2013). As the informal spaces provide opportunities for meeting friends and engaging in unstructured play, the spaces also contribute to the development of social connections and psychological well-being which is also argued by Summers et al. (2019). These informal destinations are mainly within their territorial range and they are socially, emotionally, and functionally important for children (Broberg et al., 2013). These results align with the concept of affordance—that meaningful places for children are assessed according to the functional quality of the environment that may enable or impede their actions (Desjardins et al., 2022).

In contrast to children, parents mostly mentioned formal destinations like libraries, classes, and structured learning environments were more commonly associated with cognitive well-being which is aligned with prior research (Gemmell et al., 2023). Experts also highlighted informal destinations, but they were more likely to mention grey destinations. This contrast between children's preferences for informal, grey, and green spaces with adults' responses highlights how it is important to get children's input. The results point to the importance of considering both green and grey along with informal places to support the diversity of destinations that link with child well-being.

This study provides a more holistic view of well-being than previous studies, which focused more on physical health (Gong et al., 2024), physical and social (Christensen et al., 2015), and psychological development (Summers et al., 2019). According to our findings, various destinations simultaneously contribute to a variety of aspects of well-being in a complementary approach. Children's activities often involve socializing with friends or visiting neighbors (social well-being), walking or playing with other kids (physical and social well-being), and exploring the neighborhood (physical and cognitive well-being). This result aligned with a prior study's findings that recreational spots could contribute to children's social and physical health (Gong et al., 2024). Parents and children mentioned sports facilities like hockey rinks and soccer fields which provide opportunities for physical activities which aligns with previous research (Egli et al., 2020). This study also highlighted that those destinations are associated with cognitive and social well-being through learning

and social interactions. Parents identified parks, nature walks, alleys, and areas near swamps as key locations for children's psychological well-being, noting that these places provide solitude in distressing times, rest after school, and opportunities for quiet play. Such findings support previous research with children (Janssen & Rosu, 2015; Loebach & Gilliland, 2014). Through increased walking and movement, these destinations can encourage children to explore, have adventures, and engage in unstructured play, contributing to their physical well-being as these destinations may provide children with a sense of adventure, exploration, and opportunities for unstructured play, which could contribute to their physical well-being through increased walking and movement (Loebach & Gilliland, 2014; Veitch et al., 2006). This aligns with research on the positive impact of natural environments on children's psychological development (Summers et al., 2019). Also, according to a prior study, these "local places" have a direct impact on children's physical well-being due to their affordability and the fact that they are near places that are familiar to children (Christensen et al., 2015). Experts and parents agreed that destinations such as toy stores, dollar stores, commercial streets, and grocery stores support cognitive well-being by providing opportunities for exploration and learning through new adventures (for example they need to do calculations) and problem-solving. The multifaceted approach aligns with recent calls for better assessments of children's well-being in urban areas (Brown et al., 2019).

Informal destinations and their relevance to well-being domains are further supported by Lynch with four key aspects (Lynch, 1981): *presence* (access to local public/semi-public areas); *use and action* (possibility to play there freely); *appropriation* (perception of possessing that street with a group of others by frequently using/modifying spaces); and *disposition* (possibility for new children to join).

Our research demonstrates this through the wide variety of local destinations children use (*presence*). The use of informal locations that do not have rules and thus allow them to freely play how they want (*use and action*). Destinations where children frequently visit and manipulate objects to make it "their place" (*appropriation*), such as building snow structures or exploring abandoned spaces. Inclusive play in communal areas like streets, alleyways, and courtyards (*disposition*) that can be seen in previous research on social well-being (Waygood et al., 2021).

Parents' perspectives were often related to Lynch's (1981) concept of appropriation, where children feel ownership over unstructured places with no set rules, contributing to cognitive (creating their own games), social (playing with friends in yards/alleys), or psychological well-being (peaceful spaces to be alone). Playing in open spaces such as empty parking lots allows for creative games (cognitive well-being) or places that are special for children to be alone and feel more peaceful (psychological well-being) like a little corner of the backyard. Experts, children, and parents discussed unstructured destinations like trees, construction sites, swamps, common spaces, and abandoned areas that allow for Use and Action. This is consistent with the findings of a prior study that found children preferred green spaces for emotional experiences and action activities (Desjardins et al., 2022). According to experts, children can also make play spaces out of transitory places, like sidewalks, benches, or even bus stops. These destinations allow children to discover their surroundings through play (Rissotto & Tonucci, 2002; Villanueva et al., 2012), learn about risks (Bento & Dias, 2017), interact with peers (Waygood et al., 2020), and encourage social connections within their community (Waygood et al., 2020).

This research identified child-relevant formal and informal destinations from the perspectives of parents, children, and experts. The findings show that it is crucial for urban design and placemaking to ensure

children have access to safe and engaging spaces that are not always already structured for them (Derr & Tarantini, 2016). Children can interact with their peers in a child-friendly neighborhood through a variety of structured and unstructured activities that support their well-being (Prezza et al., 2010; Waygood et al., 2020). From a spatial analysis perspective, while informal places are important to children, it is difficult to directly measure accessibility to important destinations as such places are often not documented in GIS data.

This research further showed that important formal and informal destinations are both green (nature) and grey (human-made). Children's inputs differed from parents, often being much more about the informal than formal locations. Therefore, this research demonstrates the importance of children's involvement in shaping child-friendly public spaces that support their well-being. It is important for decision-makers to prioritize both formal and informal spaces that respond to children's needs. Additionally, innovative methods for documenting informal spaces in GIS data should be explored to improve children's walking accessibility measurement (A. M. Kytta et al., 2012). As a result of involving children and the main stakeholders in the planning process, urban design can be more effective and inclusive, creating environments that promote children's physical, social, cognitive, and psychological development.

4.1. Limitations

This study focused on differences between children, parents, and experts, not differences within these groups caused by socio-economic or cultural factors. Although children were asked whether there were destinations that they did not go to but that they would like to go to, the diversity of destinations will be influenced by their lived context, physical capacity, economic situation, and social expectations. As such, there is an opportunity in the future to develop a more exhaustive list of all destinations or an analysis of how participation might differ within a group (i.e., the heterogeneity of children and parents). In other cultures, different destinations would probably exist, and future research could employ our methodology of identifying the characteristics (informal/formal and green/grey) to study how they might differ. As a result of recruitment challenges, participants may have been less diverse and representative. Moreover, when humans respond to other humans in person, there may be a possibility of socially desirable response bias, which results in participants responding in an expected manner (socially acceptable) rather than providing their true opinion. As a result, places not considered appropriate or socially desirable may not have been mentioned. However, the children and parents in our study mentioned places that may not have been legal, such as abandoned lots. Results may also be affected by cultural factors. The types of destinations that children might mention if they are closely supervised and discouraged from exploring unfamiliar places on their own would likely be limited to those they are escorted to.

5. Conclusion

This article reports on focus groups that explored the diversity of children's destinations and their potential impact on children's well-being. The focus groups were held with children (aged 8–12), parents (with the children aged 7–13), and experts. This is the first such approach to categorize children's destinations with respect to the different domains of well-being.

The results highlighted the significance of leisure destinations as places with high levels of affordance (Chaudhury et al., 2017) in children's daily travels, encouraging their social interactions, play, and community

connections. Among the different categories of destinations, parents mentioned mostly formal places like libraries for cognitive development while children mostly referred to informal destinations like alleys and parks for physical play, social connections, and psychological well-being. Experts discussed the importance of a wide variety of destinations for supporting children's cognitive development through active learning. This contrast underscores considering both green natural areas and grey urban spaces and including informal places to support children's diverse well-being needs through independent mobility, exploration, and unstructured play opportunities. Unstructured destinations were described as allowing children to explore and interact with their surroundings while developing cognitive, social, and physical skills.

The study makes several contributions: First, it identifies a diverse range of child-friendly destinations, both formal and informal, from the perspective of children, parents, and experts as key stakeholders. Children's insights about the places they travel daily were essential since their unique experience as the main actors may differ from adults.' Furthermore, the study assessed how various destinations may affect children's health. These results may aid future studies in developing tools to measure children's mobility and accessibility. It demonstrated how both green and grey destinations are important for children's diverse needs. The findings also emphasize the need for inclusive urban planning that takes children's perspectives into account. This systematic approach can be applied to different contexts to integrate formal and informal spaces into urban design, promoting holistic child development. The study clearly highlighted how a diversity of destinations beyond simply schools and parks are related to various aspects of health and well-being. As the use of destinations might vary culturally, future studies in diverse locations are recommended to better understand what is stable and what might be culturally anecdotal.

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Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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