

## **‘Like the Palm of my Hand’: Children and Public Space in Central Athens**

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### **Introduction: Children’s Participation and the Urban Public Space**

Public space can be seen as an early and significant, if not uncontested, entry point of children’s participation into the public sphere. Indeed, as a number of studies carried out in urban settings suggest, children consider outdoor places to be highly meaningful.<sup>1</sup> Despite the importance placed by children on the outdoors their access to it in many urban areas is generally very limited, contested and precarious.<sup>2</sup> Children’s views and voices are frequently not heard in discussions over the planning of public space reflecting a wider absence from decision-making processes that affects their lives. Pugh has very poignantly highlighted the costs of ignoring childhood in the theorization of social life.<sup>3</sup>

Children’s participation in public life and decision-making, has become a central theme of childhood studies literature in the last quarter of the century, following the UN Convention for the Rights of the Child (1989), in which Article 12 states that children have a right to be listened to and to be consulted on decisions that affect them. In childhood studies there has been an early and lively response to this declaration, expressed by an interest to de-code, assess and evaluate the proclamation made by Article 12 and its actual effect on policy making and children’s inclusion<sup>4</sup>

Despite repeated assertions that children’s capacities increase in contexts where they are active participants and despite many institutional attempts to include children’s views in policy making few steps have been made towards achieving actual children’s participation in public life and debate.<sup>5</sup> Much of the literature produced over the past twenty years spells out a multi-faceted critique to policy makers and to the UNCRC about the failure of fulfilment of their proclamations. According to these critiques, at best, attempts for participation and inclusion of children, end up in mere consultation, often with doubtful results.<sup>6</sup>

Scholars have identified a set of issues in attempts to include children in decision-making processes. For instance, according to Thomas, public debate still focuses more on children’s ‘needs’ (however defined) than it does to their wants and wishes.<sup>7</sup> According to Cockburn, one of the main difficulties is that of ‘the labels that are attached to children by adults’.<sup>8</sup> Begg criticizes children’s councils in Norway on the grounds that they are not designed and

conducted on children's terms, but, '[i]nstead, children are praised when they behave like small adults and put in their place when they do not'.<sup>9</sup> Percy-Smith in addressing children's participation in neighbourhood planning, points at a number of difficulties that emerge, such as the failure to reach a diversity of voices, to the 'tension between children having the responsibility for decision making and enjoying their childhood' and to the fact that 'children's voice often doesn't reflect the reality of their place experiences'. Instead, active participation, according to such critics, should move beyond 'adults allowing children to offer their perspectives', and instead should involve young people confronting adult authority and challenging adult assumptions about their competence to make decisions about issues that concern them.<sup>10</sup> According to Woodhead if we are to develop fully the potential for children and young people to participate in society, we may need to focus more directly on the meaning of participation in everyday life and on how young people (can) practice active citizenship.<sup>11</sup>

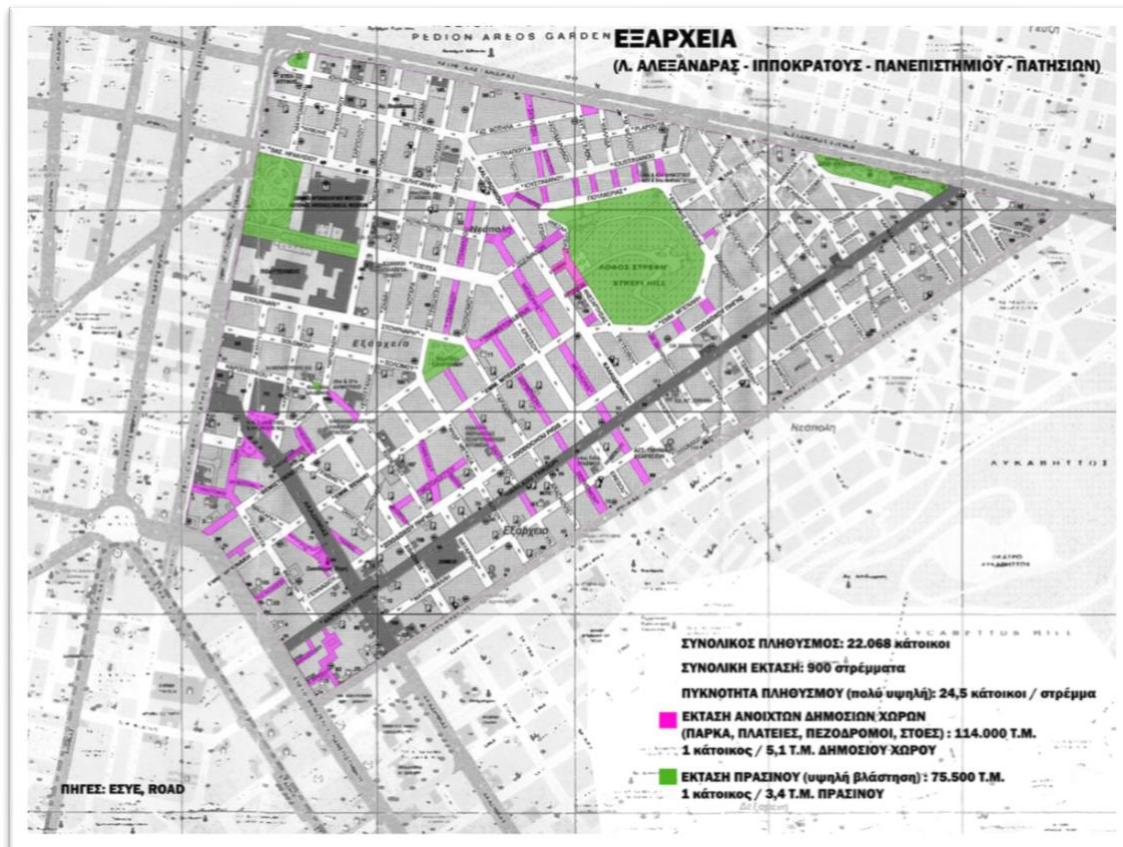
Within the context of the Connectors Study, we consider that the conceptual framework for childhood and participation is highly relevant to children's relationship to public space highlight that children and adults are continually involved in a process of negotiation in cities, from where to play to land use.<sup>12</sup> These negotiations reflect conflict between adults and young people over the use of public space and is a common feature of many neighbourhoods.<sup>13</sup> Public spaces are regarded as highly important by children themselves, places to meet and hang out with friends, to simply walk, to play or engage in various activities.<sup>14</sup>

For adults though, the use of 'the street' by children and young people and their presence in non-specifically-designated spaces may be seen as a threat and as a nuisance.<sup>15</sup> In an uncanny enactment of adult's fears – or their desire to provide the best for their children, children in urban contexts are often outlawed from public spaces and effectively corralled within institutions specially designated for them.<sup>16</sup> Such sets of restrictions and contexts of control, militate against children being regarded as autonomous citizens.<sup>17</sup> Nevertheless, our study makes evident that 'children's skills and competence in their use and understanding of public space have been underrated and that children's spatial activities often extend far beyond their parents' awareness'.<sup>18</sup> This indicates the 'potential mismatch' that Elsley notes, between adult ideas about children's relationship to public space and the children's actual experiences.<sup>19</sup>

According to this view, the collision between adults' and children's shared environmental perceptions is inevitable when respect is not given to children's perspectives. It is therefore important that children's and young people's experiences and views on public space are explored within the context of their agency.<sup>20</sup> An exemplary place to address this question is the district of Exarcheia in Athens.

### **The Exarcheia district of central Athens**

Exarcheia is a district of central Athens with an estimated population of twenty thousand. As well as being an area of high population density, it is also an area of limited, and highly contested public spaces. Furthermore, it has a reputation for being a very lively, rebellious and semi- autonomous district.<sup>21</sup> Following the uprising against the Dictatorship in 1973



**Figure 1:** Map of Exarcheia. (Exarcheia Citizen's Initiative).

<http://exarchia.pblogs.gr/2008/09/kapota-stoiheia-gia-ta-exarcheia.html>

which took place in local university buildings, the area has attracted leftists and anarchists, as well as several of the underground cultures of Athens. As well as bohemians, artists and intellectuals, the area is a hangout for junkies – and, often for drug dealers too.

Parliamentary and extra-parliamentary left-wing parties have their headquarters here and the district hosts several squatted buildings, leftist and anarchist publishing houses, cafes and bookstores, rock clubs and other autonomous spaces. It was here in November 1985 that the murder of 15-year-old Michalis Kaltezas fired a large wave of protest. In December 2008 the murder of the 15-year-old Alexandros Grigoropoulos set the city on fire, giving way to widespread riots.<sup>22</sup>

The area has often been the site of violent clashes between police and protesters but the district's radical political character and lively cultural life cannot be defined merely by these conflicts, and certainly not by the grotesque and exoticised representations perpetuated by the mainstream media.<sup>23</sup> The district has very powerful local residents' committees. There are several occupations, co-operative cafes, a volunteer-run health centre, many groups for auto-education, offering seminars and discussion sessions, a self-organised open-air cinema, a citizen-run weekly fair, regular open assemblies in the main square, and a citizen-run park, the self-managed, anti-hierarchical, anti-commercial Navarinou Park, which I shall discuss later.

The neighbourhood lends itself well to an enquiry into how children's perceptions of space which, at least in the eyes of adults, is contested', is affected by an intense activist presence

which stresses community participation. Our interest in the Connectors study is to investigate how children participate in public life, not just within institutional contexts but rather in their everyday interaction with their environments.<sup>24</sup> The focus on the district of Exarcheia, where provides a valuable opportunity for a discussion of how issues of children's participation and active citizenship are treated not only in official municipal urban planning, but also in alternative, citizen-led initiatives. As such, it allows us to consider children's participation within wider processes of social change.<sup>25</sup> The Greek context, where in the course of the past few years strong grassroots movements have emerged as responses to the financial crisis, constitutes a very interesting setting to address such questions.<sup>26</sup>

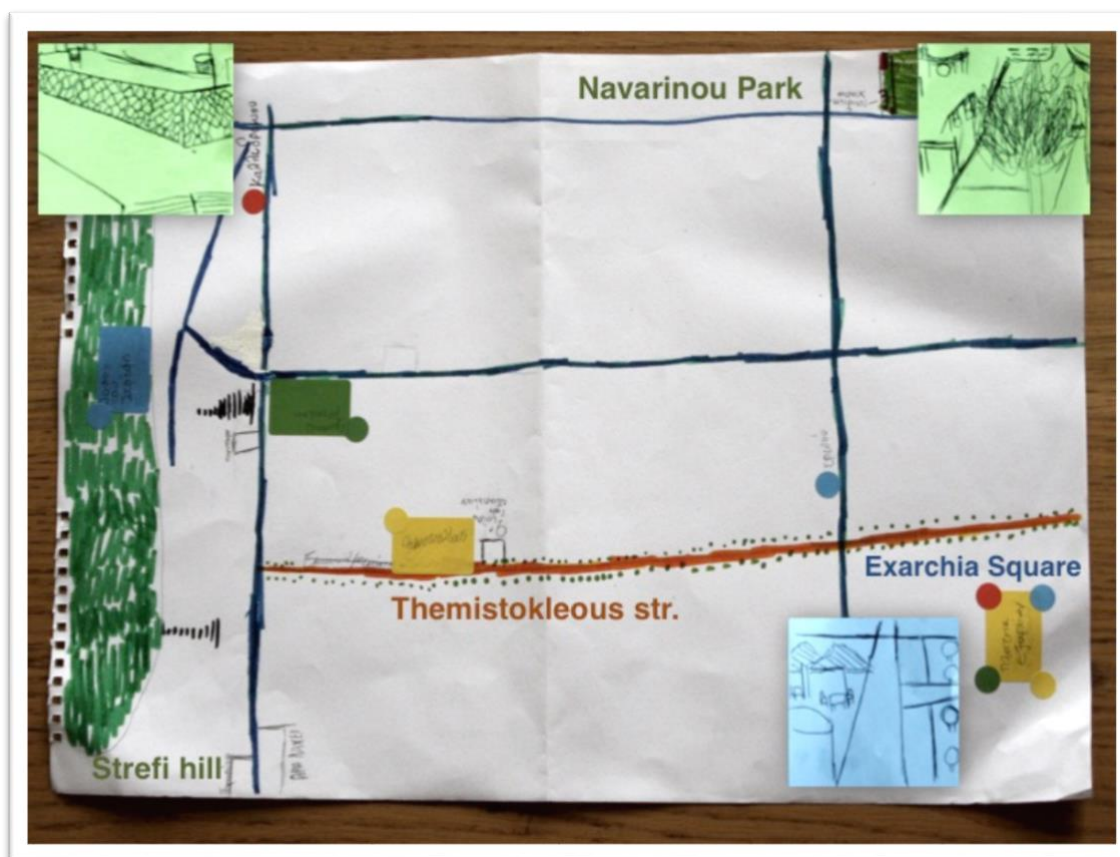
I will present and discuss data collected in a session with Iason (a pseudonym), who was ten years old at the time of the research. In addition to an open interview and discussion, the session included a child-led walk in the district in which he took me to his favourite places, the making of a map, the use of photography and drawing.<sup>27</sup>

Iason grew up in this neighbourhood and exhibits a striking familiarity with it. He knows each street by heart, and rarely thought twice about how to get around. He told me that sometimes he experiments and walks for a while with his eyes closed. I was particularly struck by how often he would use his hands to connect to his surroundings, both literally and in metaphors in his speech. He often touched and felt things with his fingers, including posters, trees and leaves, benches and other surfaces. He repeatedly used metaphors like 'I know this neighbourhood like the palm of my hand' or 'I play the streets on my fingers' – expressing an existential bodily connection to the environment he inhabits.<sup>28</sup>

Iason, provides a suitable case for an in-depth exploration of the *connections* between children's participation, public space and public life. I attempt to explore what Iason understands as the mismatch between children's and adults/societal views on and uses of public space, and to bring forth a child's own understanding and ways of relating to his or her environment, which hints on children's geographies which are often invisible. The study allows us to address questions of actual children's citizenship and agency.<sup>29</sup>

### Iason's Exarcheia

Figure 1 depicts what may be seen as an official view of Exarcheia. It is a good starting point from which to explore the difference between the views of Iason and that of the municipality of the same area. For example, the main square of Exarcheia is considered to be a green space in the official map (Figure 1) and other documents, and shown as a small park. Indeed, intense efforts have been made in the past by the municipality to redesign the square as a park. In his own map, Iason preferred to paint it yellow (Figure 2) and then to use a blue sheet to draw a detail of it. When I asked about this, telling him that there are some trees in the square, he told me that they are 'not worth mentioning'. He used different coloured stickers to signify the multi-faceted character of the square. He remarked that 'it's a lot of things, but not a park.'



**Figure 2:** Map of Exarcheia drawn by Iason.

By contrast, the park that does appear on Iason's map, and of which he is particularly fond, is in Navarinou Street. As previously mentioned, it is a self-organised park. It is worth remarking here that the spot where the park stands is regarded by the municipality as an illegally occupied space. I will return to this point in more detail later. Furthermore, in the official map (Figure 1), streets are shown in purple to signify that they are public space, i.e. pedestrianised streets. In sharp contrast, Iason's map (Figure 2) acknowledges just one street (Themistokleous) as a pedestrian street.

When I asked him about the pedestrianised streets, Iason reassured me that Themistokleous Street is the only one. I pointed out some other streets that are clearly paved for pedestrians. He counter-suggested that, although not paved with asphalt these are not *real* pedestrian streets since motorbikes, even cars, continue to pass by as well as park there. In reality, he told me, Themistokleous is the only pedestrianised street. Themistokleous Street is on a hill and has many stairs, which make it practically impossible for cars to cross. Iason's perspective challenges both official designations of pedestrianisation as well as the materials used for pedestrianisation (the paved street). His own view remains truthful to the phenomenological reality he experiences - if cars cross a street, it is not a pedestrian street.

But apart from the contradictions and mismatches that emerge over views on pedestrianised streets, we ought to look also at Iason's appreciation of the one pedestrian street he

recognises. He told me several times that he likes this street very much. In his own map, he chose a different colour to signify that it was different, a special road - a pedestrian one. At first, he chose the red marker. But when he started drawing the road, he suddenly stopped and told me that he should use another colour, not red. I asked him why and he answered that 'red is kind of forbidding. Like in the traffic lights, or in the stop signs. And a pedestrian street is anything but [forbidding]...' He finally chose orange, just because it is his favourite colour.

Indeed, during the tour of the neighbourhood which we did with Iason, we hung out a lot on Themistokleous Street. We talked a lot about the street's graffiti and posters - and Iason likes most of the graffiti there. He likes some parts of the street a lot, he just wishes that it was taken better care of. I asked him what he meant, and he brought up the example of the leaves falling from the trees. He thinks that it would be much better if someone would brush away the leaves every once in a while. When I asked him who should be doing that, he told me that the neighbours themselves should. I asked about the municipal cleaners, and he said that yes, perhaps them too, but the neighbours can do it by themselves.

At some point, Iason showed me an empty house that he and his friends had once broken into. He told me that he and his friends sometimes enter empty houses. He is very good in picking locks. He told me it is his 'special ability'. I asked more about entering empty houses, and he told me that he considers it to be real fun. It is one of his favourite games, because of all the exploration and the mystery. I enquired about permissions to do so. He responded that he knows that he is not supposed to, but doesn't consider it to be a problem actually, because these houses are empty. In his view, they don't disturb anyone.<sup>30</sup>

During our tour, Iason wandered around in an idiosyncratic manner. For instance, as we were walking on the pavement, he would climb the first steps of a building's entrance, or walk over a short wall, playfully. He told me that he always walks like that, that he likes to meander in unusual ways. He would walk around an entire square, just to avoid going 'through the same road again.' I encountered a characteristic example of his alternative ways of walking and being on the street, at Strefi Hill, a green hill near his home. On the edge of the hill there is an open-air basketball court. He told me that, quite often, when there's no training taking place, he goes there with his friends to play. However, they play *kinigito* (a chase game), or football, rather than basketball. He told me that the court is usually locked when there is no training, but there is an opening in one side of the fence, so they get in through this opening. He took me there, going in and out a couple of times to demonstrate the alternative access to the court. As we walked further, I noticed that actually the door of the court was open, not locked. I didn't say anything.

### **A Self-organized park and the question of active citizenship.**

A place that Iason really likes in his neighbourhood is the park on Navarinou street. It was the first place he brought me to, when I asked him about his favourite places. Since the beginning of 20th century, in the spot where the park is today, there used to be a clinic, which closed down in the seventies, when the Technical Chamber of Greece bought the property and later demolished the building.<sup>31</sup> Despite promises made by successive governments to build a park on that spot, the space was rented semi-illegally to an individual

who paved it and used it as an open-air car park. In the aftermath of the December 2008 riots, as strong and determined activist and solidarity groups emerged in the city, the open-air car park was occupied in the spring of 2009 by the Exarcheia Residents' Initiative, a group determined to take action and create a park there.<sup>32</sup> The initiative initially invited residents to attend open assemblies where they discussed the actions to be taken. They also defended the space against the riot police who tried to drive them away, on occasions using tear gas. Eventually, resident-led work was undertaken to turn the space into a green park and playground. Today concerts, workshops, theatre performances, film screenings, children's parties and other activities take place there. Local residents do all the watering and gardening and hold open meetings to plan and discuss issues, activities and the cultivation of the park.

The park is an on-going, unfinished project, that changes day-by-day. It was made by the people, as Iason explained to me when we got there. He went on to tell me how the people took over the place and created the park, how they built the benches and planted the trees, how they were working to create the playground and how they have to work hard to maintain and expand it. He had many stories to tell, stories from when things were in the making, stories about how things have changed and so on. He talked a lot about gardening, and after he had finished explaining the fine details of caring for the plants, we played for a while in the playground and then rested in the shadow of some huge trees by the edge of the park. I remarked to Iason that those trees, the big ones, must have existed there before the creation of the park, before the new trees were planted on the residents' initiative. 'Yes,' he agreed, 'but the new ones will also grow.'

I asked him why he liked the park so much. He told me that he liked it because he went there sometimes to play. He also celebrated his birthday there, as did many of his friends and other children in the area. He told me that he likes gardening there himself – but only sometimes, not always. Sometimes he enjoyed participating in other jobs that need to be done in the park. He particularly emphasized the mosaic on the surface of the benches, something he particularly liked. He explained how this was made by breaking and re-using old tiles. He found the process fascinating and he remarked that someday all the benches would be decorated in that way (there were still many parts of the benches standing bare at the time). I asked him whether he has made some parts of the mosaic himself. He turned a little shy, and told me that 'he tried, but the result was not good.' He repeated how beautiful he thought it was, running his hand over the surface of the tiles.

Several activities for children take place in the park and a local parents' association has embraced the attempt and jointly with the Exarcheia Residents' Initiative organizes activities including parties. The extent to which children have participated in the process of the making, design and decision-making regarding Navarinou Park is nevertheless unclear. In order to assess and appreciate children's involvement, we need to keep in mind that the whole project is a continuing grassroots attempt to design public space. Iason's participation is limited and informal – it occurs playfully and at his own terms. His relation to gardening evokes a point made by Percy-Smith about the tension between children having the responsibility for decision making and enjoying their childhood. Additionally, Iason's relation to the making of the mosaic benches resonates with Elsley's comment that participation should occur within the domain of children's agency.<sup>33</sup>

What was different however, and I think this is a main reason why the park is so appealing to Iason, as well as to the other children I talked to in the neighbourhood, is the fact that they were and are present in the making of the park. Iason's preference and indeed attachment to this park-cum-playground – as opposed to other parks and playgrounds in the area, may be understood on the grounds of it not having been remotely designed, built behind construction site signs and later just unveiled to the citizens. Rather, it has been a continuous, work-in-progress run by neighbours. The open process by which the park was made gave Iason and the other children the opportunity to be around in their free time, to connect to the park's making, to come and go, playfully and as desired by them, in accordance with their moods and wishes. Such flows of movement, while falling short of more formal definitions of children's participation and inclusion, are finely tuned with the children's overall relation to their environment.

It was the deinstitutionalised character of the park, the open and improvised ways in which it was created, its anti-hierarchical and organic character, which made the space so appealing for a child to hang around in. It might be what enables a child's playful inclusion and interaction, on his or her own terms, different and less formal compared to those of formal policy-makers and institutions. In this sense, and via such ways of participation, the park affords Iason multiple connections to public space and public life. Such encounters may be a fitting point of departure for rethinking and enquiring into active citizenship in childhood instead of merely the institutionally initiated and often artificial invitations to voice opinions.<sup>34</sup>

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## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> Elsley, S. 'Children's Experience of Public Space', *Children & Society* 18, (2004), pp. 155-164; Horton, J., Christensen, P., Kraftl, P. and Hadfield-Hill, S. '“Walking ... just walking”: how children and young people's everyday pedestrian practices matter' *Social & Cultural Geography*, 15(1) (2014), pp. 94-115; Morrow, V. *Networks and neighbourhoods: children's and young people's perspectives* (2001), (Health Development Agency, London); Percy-Smith, B. 'Contested Worlds: Constraints and Opportunities in City and Suburban Environments in an English Midlands Town' in Chawla, Louise, ed. *Growing up in an Urbanizing World* (2001) (London: Earthscan); Ward, C. *The Child in the City* (1978) (London: Pantheon Books).



<sup>2</sup> Cahill, S. "Childhood and Public Life: Reaffirming Biographical Divisions" *Social Problems* 37 (1990) pp. 390-404; Elsley 2004; Percy-Smith, B. 'Contested Worlds: Constraints and Opportunities in City and Suburban Environments in an English Midlands Town' in Chawla, Louise, ed. *Growing up in an Urbanizing World* (2002) (London: Earthscan); Valentine, G., *Public Space and the Culture of Childhood* (2004) (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing)

<sup>3</sup> Pugh, A. J. 'The theoretical costs of ignoring childhood: rethinking independence, insecurity, and inequality.' *Theory and Society*, 43 (2013) pp 71–89

<sup>4</sup> Hart R. *Children's Experience of Place*, (1997) (Irvington Pub Inc, New York); Hart R. *Children's Participation: From Tokenism to Citizenship* (1992) (UNICEF Earthscan, London); Cockburn, T. 'Partners in power: a radically pluralistic form of participative democracy for children and young people', *Children and Society* 21, (2007), pp 446–457; Nolas, S-M. 'Children's Participation, Childhood Publics and Social Change: A Review', *Children and Society* 29(2), (2015), pp 157–167; Percy-Smith, 2002; Percy-Smith, B. 2006. 'From Consultation to Social Learning in Community Participation with Young People' *Children, Youth and Environments*, 16(2), (2006), pp 153-179; Thomas, N. 'Towards a Theory of Children's Participation' *The International Journal of Children's Rights*, 15(2) (2007) pp 199–218

<sup>5</sup> M. Barrett and E. Buchanan-Barrow *Children's Understanding of Society* (2005), (Psychology Press, Hove); Lansdown 2005, Thomas, N. 2007; Kirby, P. and S. Bryson, 2002. *Measuring the Magic? Evaluating and Researching Young People's Participation in Public Decision Making* (2002), (CYPI, London).

<sup>6</sup> Percy-Smith, B. and N. Thomas (eds) *Handbook of children's participation* (2010) (London: Routledge)

<sup>7</sup> Thomas, N. 2005. 'Interpreting Children's Needs: Contested Assumptions in the Provision of Welfare' in Goddard, J., McNamee, S., James, A. and James, A. (eds) *The Politics of Childhood: International Perspectives, Contemporary Developments*. (2007) (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan)

<sup>8</sup> Cockburn, T. "Children's Participation in Social Policy: Inclusion, Chimera or Authenticity?", *Social Policy and Society*, 4(2) (2015) pp 109–119

<sup>9</sup> Begg, I., 'Participation Rights in Norway' in Crimmens, D. and West, A. (eds) *Having Their Say: Young People and Participation: European Experiences* (2004) (Russell House, Lyme) p 131.

<sup>10</sup> Percy-Smith 2006; Thomas 2007, p 202.

<sup>11</sup> Woodhead, M., Foreword, in Percy-Smith, B. and N. Thomas (eds)(2010) pp. xix-xxii

<sup>12</sup> Elsley 2004; Percy-Smith 2006; Christensen P. and O'Brien M (eds) *Children in the City: Home, Neighbourhood and Community* (2003) (Routledge Falmer: London).

<sup>13</sup> This interaction, and the possible conflicts that it entails, are probably better understood within their material dimensions too. Christensen and O'Brien comment that "living in the city

is as much about negotiating relationships with other humans as it is about living in material places and spaces.” Similarly, Askins, K. and R. Pain, “Contact Zones: Participation, Materiality and the Messiness of Interaction”, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 29(5) (2011), pp 803-821, call for attention to the materiality of social interaction and the physical nature of encounters in fostering or foreclosing interaction. See also Cahill 1990; Elsley 2004; Percy-Smith 2002; Valentine 2004, Ward 1979.

<sup>14</sup> Elsley 2004; Horton et al. 2014; Morrow, V. 2001

<sup>15</sup> Percy-Smith 2002, 2006; Valentine 2004

<sup>16</sup> O'Brien, M., Jones, D., Sloan, D. and Rustin, M., ‘Children’s independent spatial mobility in the urban public realm’, in *Childhood: Special Issue: Spaces of Childhood*, 7 (3) (2000), pp 255-277; Ennew J. ‘Time for children or time for adults?’ in Qvortrup J, Bardy M, Sgritta G, Wintersberger H (eds) *Childhood Matters: Social Theory, Practice and Politics* (1994) (Aldershot Press, Avebury) p. 127

<sup>17</sup> Valentine, G., Angels and devils: moral landscapes of childhood. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 14(1996) pp. 581–599

<sup>18</sup> Elsley 2004: 156. See also Hart R. *Children’s Experience of Place*, (1979) (Irvington Pub Inc, New York); Matthews H. *Making Sense of Place: Children’s Understanding of Large Scale Environments* (1992) (Hemel Hempstead, Harvester); Ward 1979.

<sup>19</sup> Elsley 2004 p 156

<sup>20</sup> Elsley 2004

<sup>21</sup> I have discussed the neighborhood of Exarcheia in an entry in the Connectors Study blog, and most of the information provided in this subchapter originate from it, as do the particular information on the Navarinou Park in the following subchapter. Varvantakis, C., 2014. ‘A Very Particular Kind of Park’, *The Connectors Study Blog* <https://connectorsstudy.wordpress.com/2014/09/11/a-very-particular-kind-of-park/> (Downloaded 12 January 2015)

<sup>22</sup> Dalakoglou, D. and A. Vradis (eds) *Revolt and Crisis in Greece* (2011) (AK Press, Oakland, CA); Karamichas, J. “The December 2008 Riots in Greece”, *Social Movement Studies*, 8(3), (2009), pp 289–293; Mentinis, M., “Remember Remember the 6th of December . . . A Rebellion or the Constituting Moment of a Radical Morphoma?” *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 34(1) (2010) pp. 197–202; Sotiris, P., “Rebels with a Cause: The December 2008 Greek Youth Movement as the Condensation of Deeper Social and Political Contradictions” *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 34(1) (2010) pp. 203–209

<sup>23</sup> Many people in Greece consider that the district is verging on being an independent zone, a no-go area, where the police and the municipality have no real access, and where violence is an everyday phenomenon. To an extent this might be true, and to an extent this may also have happened intentionally, in order to create an ‘inverted state of exception’, that would serve the purpose of keeping all the radical elements of the society in one place. For a discussion see: Vradis, A. ‘Terminating the Spatial Contract’, *Society and Space (Blog)*,

June 2012. <http://societyandspace.com/material/commentaries/terminating-the-spatial-contract-by-antonis-vradis/> (Downloaded 13 January 2015)

<sup>24</sup> Nolas, S.-M., Varvantakis, C. and Aruldoss, V. 'Talking politics in everyday family life', *Contemporary Social Science*, 12(1) (2017) pp 68-83. See also Clark, A. and Percy-Smith, B. 'Beyond Consultation: Participatory Practices in Everyday Spaces' *Children, Youth and Environments* 16(2), (2006), pp. 1–9

<sup>25</sup> Nolas, 2015

<sup>26</sup> Kaika, M. 'The economic crisis seen from the everyday', *City: Analysis of Urban Trends, Culture, Theory, Policy, Action*, (August 2013), 37–41; Sotirakopoulos, N. and Sotiropoulos, G., 2013 ' "Direct democracy now!": The Greek indignados and the present cycle of struggles', *Current Sociology*, 61(4) (2013) pp 443–456

<sup>27</sup> For an extended discussion of the study's multimodal methodological approach, see Nolas, S.-M. and C. Varvantakis (under review) 'Making connections: Ethnographic experiments with multimodal methods.' Submitted to *Qualitative Research*.

<sup>28</sup> Gebauer G. and C. Wulf, *Mimesis: Culture, Art, Society* (1995)(University of California Press: Berkeley); Taussig, M. *Mimesis and Alterity: A Particular History of the Senses* (1991)(New York: Routledge); Varvantakis, C., 'Mourning Deaths, Lamenting Lives: Grief and Transformation in Maniat Laments', *Paragrana*, 20(2) (2011), pp 140-154.

<sup>29</sup> Cockburn, T. *Rethinking Children's Citizenship* (2013) (Palgrave Macmillan, London); Woodhead 2010)

<sup>30</sup> Nevertheless, Iason mentioned one incident when they were trying to force open the window of a house that they thought empty and there was someone living inside after all, which led to a lot of trouble.

<sup>31</sup> Most of the data presented in this section, about the history and present of Navarinou park are collected throughout my field research there. I have been contrasting my own findings to the park's blog, run by the Exarcheia Residents Initiative <http://parkingparko.espivblogs.net/englishfrench/about-the-park/>. For further resources about the Navarinou Park see Ismailidou, E., "Ναυαρίνου: Το Πάρκο-Πάρκινγκ έκλεισε δύο χρόνια ζωής", *To Vima* (Newspaper) 5 April 2011. <http://www.tovima.gr/society/article/?aid=393785> (Downloaded 13/01/2015); Varvantakis 2014

<sup>32</sup> Petropoulou, C., 'From the December Youth Uprising to the Rebirth of Urban Social Movements: A Space-Time Approach' *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 34(1), (2010) pp 217–224; Rakopoulos, T. 'Resonance of Solidarity: Meanings of a Local Concept in Anti-austerity Greece', *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 32(2) (2014) pp 313–337

<sup>33</sup> Elsey (2004)

<sup>34</sup> Woodhead 2010 p xxii; Cockburn 2013; James, A., "To Be (Come) or Not to Be (Come): Understanding Children's Citizenship", *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and*

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Social Science, 633:1 (2010) pp 167-179; Nolas 2015; Nolas and Varvantakis (under review); Woodhead 2010.

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