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**Social disadvantage and the role of Physical  
Education and Sport-for-All in young people at  
Cyprus and Greece: discourse of social class,  
gender and race**

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## **Abstract**

Global austerity and prolonged recession have made social disadvantage prominent in young people's lives, thus the call for the prevention and tackling of the phenomenon appears urgent (Dagkas, 2018). In particular, evidence suggests that Physical Education (PE) as well as Sport-for-All programmes (SfA) can have a life-changing impact on young people who experience social disadvantage (EU EDUHEALTH, 2017-2019; Dagkas and Hunter, 2015). Although investment in these two 'sections' of sport has been extensive, not all countries have access to them and at times, the desirable 'life-changing' impact does not emerge (WHO, 2013). This research study seeks to explore the views of young people living in Nicosia/Cyprus and Athens/Greece on PE and SfA programmes with the aim of addressing relevant issues linked to social disadvantage and particularly to social class, gender and ethnicity. It examines how such programmes change, shape, influence and impact upon young people's social disadvantage. This cross-cultural, qualitative study follows a case-study research design complemented by ethnographic elements. Intersectionality is the research paradigm of the study and the theoretical framework that informs this study is rooted in the theories of Pierre Bourdieu, Judith Butler and Critical Race Theory. The qualitative data was collected from research work in two 'disadvantaged', secondary schools in Athens and Nicosia, by employing focus-group interviews with students, PE lesson observations, analysis of policy documents and the diary of the researcher. Thematic Analysis was the primary tool for data analysis. Findings indicate that: (a) young people interpret social disadvantage in multi-faceted ways; (b) the role of PE and SfA is positive, yet under certain circumstances; (c) effective PE and SfA programmes are suggested to be 'for-all', free-of-charge, complemented with modern and trendy activities delivered by appropriately-trained PE teachers.

*young people, social disadvantage, PE, SfA, intersectionality, Pierre Bourdieu, Critical Race theory, Judith Butler, thematic analysis*

## Abbreviations

AARE	American Educational Research Association
AfPE	Association for Physical Education
A.Γ.O./AGO	Αθλητισμός για Όλους (i.e.Sport-for-All)
BAME	Black, Asian, and minority ethnic
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CPD	Career-long Professional Development
CRT	Critical Race Theory
CY	Cyprus
DCSF	Department for Children, School and Families
DfE	Department for Education
EIGE	European Institute for Gender Equality
EU	European Union
FP 7	7 <sup>th</sup> Framework Programme of European Communities
GR	Greece
H2020	Horizon 2020
HEPA	Health – Enhancing Physical Activity
HL	House of Lords
NVIVO	Qualitative data analysis Software
NCPE	National Curriculum for Physical Education
PA	Physical Activity
PD	Professional Development
PE	Physical Education
PESS	Physical Education and School Sport

PESSCL	PE, School Sport and Club Links strategy
PESSYP	PE, School Sport for Young People
PLC	Professional Learning Communities
PYD	Positive Youth Development
Q	Questionnaire
SfA	Sport-for-All
WHO	World Health Organisation
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNFICYP	United Nations Peace Keeping Force in Cyprus
UK	United Kingdom
USA	United States of America
YS	Youth Sport
ZEP	Education Priority Zones

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*This piece of work is dedicated to my mother Salicetti and my father Elias –  
your endless love is my driving force.*

## **Chapter I - INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1. Introduction**

This chapter introduces the thesis by outlining the main points of its overall content. Hence, it initially presents a brief background to the areas under examination. The chapter presents the key areas of investigation, which is young people's social disadvantage, Physical Education (PE) and Sport-for-All (SfA). Global crisis and the worldwide recession have spread extensively and social disadvantage is now prominent in the lives of many young people; its appropriate timing therefore to take action to prevent social disadvantage from escalating appears urgent (Dagkas, 2016). Sport and forms of it (i.e. PE and SfA) are claimed to be a powerful way of moving forward and away from social disadvantage (Hill et al., 2018; Ovens et al., 2018; Dagkas, 2018; Walton-Fisette and Sutherland, 2018; Bailey, 2018; Azzarito et al., 2017). In particular, evidence suggests that PE as well as SfA can have a life-changing impact on young people who experience social disadvantage (Dagkas and Hunter, 2015; Bailey et al., 2009). Not all countries however, can achieve the desirable 'life-changing' impact (Neyland, 2018; McEvoy, MacPhail and Enright, 2016). This research study seeks to explore the views of young people living in disadvantage at the capital cities of Cyprus and Greece who attend secondary state education. Starting from this point, PE and SfA programmes, aiming at addressing forms of social disadvantage, are examined and the young people's views are considered with links to their social class, gender and race/ethnicity. Further, this research study seeks to explore how PE and SfA programmes set the way forward and how specific elements of such programmes break the barriers of social disadvantage in young people. Hence, this chapter first introduces issues related to disadvantage faced by young people such as being in adolescence (i.e. years of 11 to 16), attending PE in secondary state education and simultaneously experiencing social disadvantage—during their adolescent years. Secondly, the chapter introduces my personal position as the researcher along with key concepts in considering the role of PE and SfA for young people in general and hence particularly to socially disadvantaged young people. Subsequently, relevant ideas on the theoretical

framework that underpin the research paradigm and the methodology of the research study are presented. This chapter then proceeds to summarise the rationale for the study, whilst at the same time identify gaps in the relevant research areas. Finally, an overview of the organisation of the thesis is presented along with brief chapter summaries.

## **1.2. ‘Anything but a smooth journey’: my personal stance**

*Educating the mind without educating the heart is no education at all*

*Aristotle*

Greek philosophy and societal-topics related have always intrigued me. Undertaking this research study was not only a matter of ‘mind’, but also a matter of ‘heart’; it has encompassed education, knowledge, heart, love and passion (Day, 2004). Bearing in mind my experiences, my ideas and my professional position, I embarked on this research project and embracing what my life actually consisted of at the time of the study. Thus core issues of this endeavour comprise social disadvantage, young people, PE, SfA, the locations of Athens/Greece, Nicosia/Cyprus (areas of fieldwork) and Canterbury/England (area of study).

Looking back in time, my school years were perhaps one of the happiest periods in my life; they certainly affected my personal career and life choices. Later, during my university and work years, my ideology was shaped through wanting children, young people and adults to participate in the activities that I taught, to add to their learning experience and ultimately to enjoy and grow with that learning. Furthermore, I found discussions with colleagues stimulating and motivating focussing on our perceptions of professional issues and specifically on what we could do [more] to engage everyone in our lessons and activities. This was with crucial emphasis on socially disadvantaged children and those who exhibited disengagement from the educational process and with ‘challenging’ behaviours. Also I am very interested in the significant social issues in relation to sport and PE; hence my postgraduate studies focused on PE, topics of Sociology of Sport, covering issues such as the ‘body’ and young people’s disaffection and further, social disadvantage. I studied at prestigious universities in Greece and England and

was working in Greece, England and Cyprus when I decided to continue my studies towards my doctoral research. I was lecturing in the sociology of sport to cohorts of young people wishing to become PE teachers and Sport coaches; furthermore, when I worked as a Sports Officer, I managed and organised diverse Sport-for-All activities for all University students. Currently, I work for the Pedagogical Institute of Cyprus and deliver several professional development seminars to pre-school, primary and secondary education teachers in Cyprus. These (seminars) are mainly focused on crisis management within educational contexts and on managing disruptive behaviours. While teaching theory and practice, I always focus on the need to adapt my teaching to current social situations and inform my students by providing multifaceted explanations and perspectives. Currently, I deliver professional development seminars to teachers [and at times, to parents and young people], who encounter ‘disadvantage’ and ‘disengagement from education’. Their priorities are always on practical solutions (within theoretical perspectives) - not only that are theoretically correct, but also that are in line with policies and social reality and most importantly, are current and relevant to what works best with young people – sounds complicated to deliver all this effectively? Indeed, it is.

Front and centre of this research has been the young people. I presented myself as a ‘a white, female, professional and a student’ who lives and works in two countries with deeply rooted ideas on family, religion and ethnicity. Being an international student, I argue that when I engaged with the research study, I was at all times prepared to remain flexible to accept new challenges, to take on new roles that might be beyond that of being purely a doctoral learner and hence to negotiate new identities that may emerge when undertaking cross-cultural and international doctoral research. The matter of being and becoming an intercultural doctoral student is not only to become related to the new knowledge I learn and contribute to, but also to engage with the values and experiences I would gain in the process of pursuing my professional and personal goals by working with people in diverse and socially disadvantaged environments. It is thus imperative to place empowerment and agency at the heart of the intercultural element of my study, and perhaps of any research study.

In conclusion, undoubtedly, I myself and my personality have influenced my study. I would characterise myself as being consistent, systematic, with a very strong will and a concrete belief in knowledge and research; furthermore, with a commitment to affect in ‘my way’ social change for social justice. My strong presence and assertiveness have coloured the research process and enabled it to be dynamic with multiple strands, at times reflecting my personal identity, not constrained and static, but flexible and ever changing. My determination to conclude this study successfully has been the vital pulse in overcoming any barriers. For me, this research study is not only my personal achievement but also a contribution to the international research into social disadvantage, PE, SfA and overall, a contribution in seeking social justice.

Whilst one cannot generalise from this brief autobiographical recount, there is potential to influence the student’s capacity for social research, whatever background, history, experience. Whilst conducting this qualitative research, I have developed a deeper understanding of my own identity which arguably has enabled me as a social researcher to be more fully engaged in the process in order to address social disadvantage and the role of PE and SfA in tackling and eliminating it. Having disclosed my personal stance in the study, I conclude that my research work is influenced by my subjectivity and that my work has contributed and will contribute to social research. And now, the background of the study.

### **1.3. Background**

Worldwide research has widely documented the employment of PE along with SfA as a medium to promote pedagogies related to health and physical culture and that can address and tackle social disadvantage in contemporary societies (e.g. Dagkas, 2018 and 2016; Bailey, 2018; Dagkas and Hunter, 2015; Curry, Dagkas and Wilson, 2017; Quarmby, 2014). Sport is often characterized as a physical activity involving excessive competition and financial investment such as in elite sport (Sport Accord Council, 2019), yet it can additionally be found in PE within the school context and in SfA. Further, Bailey et al. (2009) highlight ‘sport-for-all’ to be an ‘inclusive, generic descriptor for those structured, supervised physical activities that take place at school, and during the (extended) school day’ (p.2). In parallel, there has been a

general disposition that such sport programmes hold the potential to influence young people positively and to counter social disadvantage (e.g. Dagkas, 2018; Walton-Fisette and Sutherland, 2018). In addition, there exists the overarching argument, and indeed necessity, for PE and SfA to be examined through the lenses of the intersectionality of social class, gender and race/ethnicity (Flintoff, 2018; Stride et al., 2018; Watson and Scraton, 2013) where these appear prominent, especially in areas that currently experience severe crisis and deprivation, such as in Southern Europe and in Greece and Cyprus, where these topics are also under-researched; calls therefore for systematic research engaging intersectionality hold critical impact to inform future practices and policies (e.g. Simien, Arinze and McGarry 2019; Speidel, 2014; Strand, 2014). A holistic understanding of the implications of these differences emerges as crucial if policies, targeted to improve the effectiveness of such programmes in tackling social disadvantage, simultaneously promote social justice. This research study seeks initially to draw and build upon the views of young people through the discourses of ‘social disadvantage’, ‘physical education’ and ‘sport-for-all’. Within the broad field of sport and psycho-social sciences, young disadvantaged people have been approached and researched in the attempt to define, identify, appropriately comprehend and ultimately construct the foundations for an effective role for all sectors of sport (e.g. PE and SfA) in confronting social disadvantage and promoting social justice. Social disadvantage in young people has become a global concern (Zembylas, 2019c; Zembylas, 2018b; Toft, 2018; Osler, 2015) and empirical research holds the potential to address relevant issues effectively. Furthermore, gender, social class and race/ethnicity have previously been at the core of research in social sciences and sport (Booth, 2016; Azzarito and Hill, 2013; Assari et.al., 2016) but research in locations that endure severe socio-economic crisis and recession, and on how these simultaneously impact on their interdependency and are linked to the fields of PE and SfA appears to be limited. Factors that illuminate issues of social disadvantage are multi-layered and incorporate not only economic, but also political, historical, geographical, social and cultural factors (Jones and Ahrens, 2019; Casey and Larsson, 2018; Brooks, Matt and Isais, 2017; Zembylas, 2017; Zembylas, 2014b; Zembylas, 2011). Thus, societal fields such as the family, the school context, urban environments in different countries and how sport is delivered in multifaceted contexts, play an important role in the construction of

youth identities (e.g. Jenkins and Finnerman, 2018) that currently undergo significant transformations among those with social disadvantage (Azzarito et al., 2017; Azzarito, 2016; Quarmby and Dagkas, 2015). Young people are often called upon not only to embrace the disadvantage imposed on them, but also to overcome it in order to adapt and engage effectively with the society. Research exploring social disadvantage, young people, PE and SfA would benefit from the provision of a wider focus on issues related to these topics and hence inform action research and subsequent relevant and future interventions.

#### **1.4. Research Questions**

The research questions that informed this research study are the following:

**Main: Can Physical Education along with Sport-for-All contribute in addressing and tackling social disadvantage in young people?**

Sub-questions:

- How do young people in Athens and Nicosia experience their social disadvantage? What are the relationships between their social class, gender and race/ethnicity when participating in PE and SfA?
- What discourses on social class, gender and race/ethnicity do circulate in activities of PE and SfA programmes (in Nicosia/Cyprus and Athens/Greece)?
- How do current practices in PE and SfA in Athens and Nicosia respond to young people's social disadvantage?
- How do young people structure the 'ideal' [i.e. one that breaks the barrier of social disadvantage] lesson of PE and SfA?
- What are the implications for practice and policy?

## **1.5. Rationale for conducting this research study**

According to the ‘classification of the purposes of enquiry’ (Robson, 2002), the purposes for conducting this research study were exploratory, descriptive and explanatory (p.59). In terms of *exploration*, the study aimed to seek new insights and to assess the topics under investigation in a new light, and furthermore, to generate future research into young people’s social disadvantage, PE and SfA, intersectionality and the theoretical framework of employing two theorists and a theory (i.e. P. Bourdieu, J. Butler and Critical Race Theory). In addition, in terms of *description*, the particular study attempted to portray an accurate profile of the participants – people and schools – relevant to the topics of examination. Lastly, in *explanatory* terms, it sought to find an explanation for the situations reported and described by the participants. It was determined, therefore, that the employment of a cross-cultural, qualitative case study research design that was complemented with ethnographic elements would form an apposite and effective way to answer the research questions appropriately.

## **1.6. On the Authenticity, Originality and the Aims of this study**

Research on young people and social disadvantage, PE and SfA is extensive and developing (e.g. Dagkas, Azzarito and Hylton, 2019; Quarmby, Sandford and Elliot, 2018; Scraton, 2018; Azzarito et al., 2017). However, research is limited when considering intersectionality as a research paradigm and when considering Bourdieu’s, Butler’s and Critical theorists’ ideas to discuss and address issues of socially disadvantaged young people, their gender, social class and race/ethnicity along with PE and SfA. This research study is original and unique not only because it seeks to utilise and combine effectively the topics under investigation with the theories mentioned earlier, but it also builds on the existing research to provide implications for the future in disadvantaged areas of Southern Europe. It is a qualitative research study situated in a cross-cultural context, particularly in the contexts of the capital cities of Cyprus and Greece – Nicosia and Athens. However, it seeks to investigate and document the way in which young people experience and personify social disadvantage in these two specific cities that currently experience

crisis, prolonged recession, deprivation and conflict. Moreover, it seeks to explore how PE and SfA programmes can maximise the claimed beneficial potential for disadvantaged young people. The findings of such a research study are expected to influence and impact on future PE curricula and specific SfA programmes for socially disadvantaged youth both in these two countries and elsewhere, since it is the first research study to explore these topics in Cyprus and Greece. However, this is expected to be complex and challenging because within the Greek and Cypriot context the education system appears to be inflexible and resistant to change with Curricula that are in need of update. Finally, this research study emerges as crucial and up-to-date with the calls of EU policies (i.e. FP7 (2014-2020) and H2020) as well as with the current refugee crisis. For example, the prolonged refugee crisis has changed the landscape of PE, SfA and education in these two countries; for example, refugee children are included within the state education system although there is no particular teacher training on how to teach these young people. This study also attempts to shed light in the ways that PE and SfA reach out in order to counter social disadvantage that phenomena such as the refugee and illegal immigration crisis have provoked, such as poverty and labour precarity. It felt natural therefore that this qualitative, cross-cultural research study employ ‘intersectionality’ as the research paradigm in order to address and analyse appropriately the elements of social class, gender and race/ethnicity and to further discuss its findings while drawing on the Pierre Bourdieu, Judith Butler and Critical race theories. By employing these theories, the research study aims to delve in depth to the dominant discourses of socially disadvantaged young people with reference to their gender, race/ethnicity and social class, as these are probably reflected in PE and SfA. They are drawn upon to demonstrate not only the intersection, but the fluidity and perhaps the contradictory nature of these three factors as they impact on the participation of young people who are socially disadvantaged. The chapter concludes with providing a summary of the overall structure of the thesis.

## **1.7. Organisation of the thesis**

Chapter I introduces the main focus and the structure of the thesis. It also outlines the research questions that this study seeks to address. Chapter II presents a critical overview of the existing literature with regard to the main areas of investigation:

- Social disadvantage in young people.
- PE's and SfA's role in addressing and tackling social disadvantage in young people.

Chapter III explores the theoretical framework that was built upon the theorists P. Bourdieu, J. Butler and Critical Race theory. It further provides a literature review of significant elements of the main ideas of Pierre Bourdieu and Judith Butler and of Critical Race theory; these are employed to inform the discussion of the findings. Chapter IV explores methodological issues in the research study, that is to say Intersectionality as this study's research paradigm and the research methods for data collection and analysis. Chapter V reports the findings whilst Chapter VI elaborates on the study's findings through a thorough 'discussion'. Finally, Chapter VII presents an overview of the outcomes and concludes by referring to some limitations and restrictions of the study as well as to some implications and recommendations for future practice.

## Chapter II – LITERATURE REVIEW

### 2.1. Introduction

This chapter extends the discussions initiated in Chapter I in order to provide the contextual and theoretical understandings that underpin this research study. Broadly, relevant research areas of investigation include:

- a. issues of social disadvantage among young people during adolescence and secondary education.
- b. Social disadvantage and the links/interrelations to gender, social class and race/ethnicity.
- c. The role of PE and Sport-for-All in addressing issues of socially disadvantaged young people in research and policies.

The chapter begins by introducing the term ‘social disadvantage’. Hence, it critically examines the ways in which social disadvantage has been defined and discussed in the literature, as well as some of the policy measures that have been implemented to address it in recent years. As Dean (2016) states:

social disadvantage is poverty [...] poverty is a socially constructed concept that has been perennially discovered and rediscovered as a form of disadvantage concerned not only with material deprivations [...] but with meanings and implications of society as a whole (pp.3-4).

Throughout its sections, the chapter explores issues surrounding the main group of participants that provided the relevant data-young and socially disadvantaged people during the years of secondary education and adolescence. Further, it examines social disadvantage through references to the personal and social identities (e.g. embodied) during the current neoliberal era as well as to notions such as that of ‘privilege’ (e.g. Bhopal, 2018) within the discourse on gender, social class, and race/ethnicity. The considered perspectives are rooted in the fields of psychology, sociology, PE and SfA and, as various viewpoints are examined, they are expected to generate a holistic understanding of this complex topic. In order, therefore, to set the appropriate context, a brief background on psychological and

sociological theories related to the period of adolescence is provided. Further, a multi-dimensional approach to the issues of socially disadvantaged young people is discussed; this emerges essential in enhancing the attempt to appropriately define the term ‘social disadvantage’ in relation to social class, gender and race/ethnicity. Furthermore, the chapter identifies PE’s and SfA’s role in young people’s lives and in the lives of socially disadvantaged individuals. Having addressed the topic of social disadvantage, past and current initiatives using PE and SfA to address social disadvantage are discussed, with the main focus being on their provision in Greece and Cyprus. As the discussion develops, a broad understanding is sustained regarding the impact that PE and SfA can have on young people’s lives. The chapter concludes with the summary of the whole chapter, which additionally provides links to Chapter III.

## **2.2. Defining Social Disadvantage**

Disadvantage is not as simple as it was once assumed to be. There is much more to disadvantage than low incomes and high levels of unemployment, [...] Community disadvantage emerges out of the interplay between the characteristics of the residents in a community (e.g., employment, education levels, drug and alcohol use) and, over and above this, the effects of the social and environmental context in which they exist (i.e., “place effects” such as weak social networks, poor role models and a relative lack of opportunity)

(Price-Robertson, 2011, p.2).

Internationally, there is no clear definition of what exactly ‘disadvantage’ means or of what it comprises, although primarily it is linked with elements of ‘economy’, such as ‘poverty’ (Dean, 2016) and ‘unemployment and income’ (Price-Robertson, 2011; Darton and Strelitz, 2003). Indeed, policy and research documents provide a variety of definitions (La Noue, 2012). However, factors of disadvantage appear to be similar in all resources: ‘poverty’ (Dean, 2016); social exclusion (Chadderton and Edmonds, 2015); marginalisation (Zembylas, 2014b); lack of employment (Hannon and Tims, 2010); disengagement from education (Zembylas, 2019b). In addition, Bhopal (2019; 2018) argues that in current societies race constitutes a form of disadvantage when associated with privilege and whiteness. Overall, ‘heavy’ transitions are prominent in young people as a reflection of postmodernity

and neoliberalism and the currently prevailing global economic recession (Bauman, 2010; 2007). Whilst there is no strict definition as to what constitutes ‘social disadvantage’, Vinson (2007) for example, measured five main domains of disadvantage - social distress, health, community safety, economic, and education.

Research has raised concerns about social disadvantage among young people (e.g. Wizard, 2009; Gonzalez and Cabrera-Rodriguez, 2008; Attwood and Croll, 2006). Social disadvantage during the years of adolescence has raised concerns over adolescents’ own and society’s future (Newburn and Shiner, 2005). In England and elsewhere in Europe, statistical measurements show what may be characterised as the roots and consequences of social disadvantage; examples include wars, migration (including that of refugees), financial problems, gender and social class issues as well as race/ethnicity issues (Tinson et al., 2016; Burkad and Cleford, 2010; Harrison et al., 2004; Harris and Penney, 2000). The term ‘social disadvantage’ has emerged as particularly prominent in the discourses of the so called ‘crisis’, ‘recession’, ‘austerity’ and worldwide phenomena presented through forms of severe poverty, deviance and people’s overall disengagement from societal structures. The current levels of social disadvantage have been established and remain persistently high not only in Greece (e.g. The City at a time of Crisis, 2013/Appendix 8) and Cyprus, but internationally. In addition, austerity politics across the World and particularly in Greece and Cyprus have affected the lives of its populations along with children and young people disproportionately through reduced family work-incomes and cutbacks due to heavy taxation, education, health services and general welfare.

In parallel, the notions of ‘neoliberalism’ and ‘privilege’ appear to contextualise social disadvantage appropriately. Bhopal (2018) argued that the:

concept of neoliberalism ... generally refers to the systemic privileging of a free market as the mechanism best suited to manage the movement of all capital, goods and services...the concept of neoliberalism has been used in different ways but it has mainly been incorporated into economic frameworks, policies and thinking (p.18).

Report on Poverty (Tinson et al., 2016) stresses that 13.5 million people live in poverty in the UK – in particular, 4 million children. This report has also highlighted that:

The number of people in poverty in a working family is 55% – a record high. Four-fifths of the adults in these families are themselves working, some 3.8 million workers. Those adults that are not working are predominantly looking after children (accessed via [www/20.10.2017](#)).

Tinson et al. (2016) finally acknowledged the three factors that are believed to be falling with regards to poverty and disadvantage; a) state support for many of those on low incomes is falling in real terms; b) rents are increasing; c) employment is no longer reducing poverty. Recently, Hirsch (2018) argued that:

A combination of rising prices, benefits and tax credits freezes, the introduction of the benefit cap and two-child limit, the bedroom tax, cuts to housing benefits and the rolling out of universal credit have hit family budgets hard. Life has been getting progressively tougher for families on low or modest incomes over the past ten years, with families on in-work and out-of-work benefits hardest hit. (accessed via [www/13.04.2019](#))

He further discusses that families are struck by the huge amount of money needed to make ends meet.

United Nations (UN) have lately reported that in September 2017 in the United States of America (USA), more than one in every eight Americans were living in poverty and almost half of those (18.5 million in total) were living in deep poverty, with reported family income below one-half of the poverty threshold. Other than that, in 2016 about 13.3 million children were living in poverty (approximately, 32.6% of all people in poverty). At the same time, unemployment in Greece remains over 20% for 8<sup>th</sup> consecutive year since 2010 (Greek Statistics Authority, 2018). It is also important to state that the number of economically inactive people is more than three (3) million. In Cyprus, the unemployment rate is 10% as reported in 2018. Nonetheless, since the global financial crisis of 2008 and the subsequent years of austerity politics, there is now a broad understanding and appreciation of the 99% being ruled, fooled and exploited by the 1%, as for example was represented by the banner on myriad anti-austerity marches and demonstrations, 'We are the 99%'. (Matthews, 2019). In addition, Price-Robertson (2011) highlight the fact that social disadvantage's main features consist of economic factors, such lack of income. Recent influential and prominent approaches to disadvantage view social disadvantage as a multifaceted problem that demands a sophisticated approach to how is handled and conceptualized. Quarmby and Dagkas (2010) for example suggest that the family

structure holds the potential to ‘advantage’ or ‘disadvantage’ their children’s life in children’s engagement with physical activity. In 2013, EIGE argued that in contrast with stereotypical gender attitudes, such as discrimination against women, women are not vulnerable by nature yet suffer from imposed disadvantage. Similarly, Toft (2018) reported that in comparison with affluent populations, disadvantaged people are more geographically mobile and less spatially isolated.

EIGE (2013) described as ‘disadvantaged’ people who experience a higher risk of poverty, social exclusion, discrimination and violence than the general population, including ethnic minorities, migrants, people with disabilities, isolated elderly people and children. Hence, vulnerability to disadvantage (e.g. discrimination and marginalisation) appears to impact on social, cultural, economic and political conditions. In particular, women and girls belonging to disadvantaged groups are often subjected to multiple discrimination and gender-based violence (Metcalf, 2018; Veenstra and Patterson, 2016; Francis and Paechter, 2015; Brown, 2005). Still, they appear to have limited access to protection and support when their rights are violated. Similarly, children who experience severe conditions such as famine or are refugees of war are named disadvantaged but even with all the initiatives to tackle such situations, the fact that Border Agencies around the World repeatedly fail to safeguard children’s rights is striking, for example, policy decisions to detain their parents or to separate children from their parents with unknown consequences for the children. In parallel to the disadvantage associated with social class and gender, the phenomenon of social disadvantage is prominent when linked with race/ethnicity (Thorjussen and Sisjord, 2018; Zembylas, 2011). Although, there exist attempts to construct advantageous, beneficial, fair and equal environments free of racism in post-racial societies, in reality social disadvantage and inequalities are prominent among populations of specific race/ethnicity (Dagkas, Azzarito and Hylton, 2019; Simon and Azzarito, 2019; Bhopal, 2018; Pang and Hill, 2018a).

In conclusion, social disadvantage is a phenomenon that has existed in humanity throughout the centuries in multifaceted ways; in 2003 however, Darton and Strelitz urged that disadvantage does indeed currently matter and called for focused attention especially in light of such worldwide deprivation. Young people have long been recognised as a group facing many challenges yet playing a crucial role in

society (The Council of EU, 2009). In 2015, the approximate number of people ‘escaping war and poverty seeking a new home in Europe was about 1.2 million people’ (Barbieri et al., 2016, p.3). In 2007 (until 2013, further until 2020/EU Strategy 2020), the European Commission introduced the programme ‘Youth in Action’ in order to provide funding to European countries for implementing non-formal learning activities for young people. Among others, it was further designed to support the ‘Youth on the Move’ initiative of the EU 2020 strategy, which set to put young people at the heart of the EU agenda:

[...] The Europe 2020 Strategy sets ambitious objectives for smart, inclusive and sustainable growth. Young people are essential to achieve this. Quality education and training, successful labour market integration and more mobility of young people are key to unleashing all young people’s potential and achieving the Europe 2020 objectives (2010, p.3).

Furthermore, the EU Youth Strategy 2010– 2018 set a framework for cooperation with two main objectives: a) to provide more and equal opportunities for young people in education and in the job market; b) to encourage young people to actively participate in society. Following the aims of these ‘youth actions’ and within the European Union, a priority emerges to provide access to young people experiencing social disadvantage. ‘Youth in Action/Programme Guide’ (2013) in particular, defines them as:

[...] people with fewer opportunities are young people that are at a disadvantage compared to their peers because they face one or more of the situations and obstacles mentioned in the non-exhaustive list below. In certain contexts, these situations or obstacles prevent young people from having effective access to formal and non-formal education, transnational mobility and participation, active citizenship, empowerment and inclusion in society at large (p.5).

In the same guide, it is referenced that problems they may face can be categorised according to the following:

- Social Obstacles: discrimination because of gender, religion, ethnicity, sexual orientation, limited social skills and in precarious situations (e.g. family issues).
- Economic obstacles: low living standards and low income, dependence on social welfare system, long-term unemployment, in debt or severe financial problems—even poverty.

- Disability: young people with mental, physical, sensory disabilities.
- Educational difficulties: young people with learning difficulties, early-school leavers and school drop-outs, with poor school performance and low qualifications.
- Cultural differences: young immigrants or refugees, young people belonging to ethnic minorities, with linguistic adaptation and cultural inclusion problems.
- Health problems: with chronic health problems and/or psychiatric conditions.
- Geographical obstacles: young people living in remote or rural areas, from small islands and or peripheral regions, from urban problem zones, from less serviced areas (p.5).

Having explored social disadvantage, I move on to address policy perspectives.

### **2.3. Social Disadvantage: Policy Perspectives**

Young people [...] are in a particularly unstable position: there are real inequalities within their generation as well as between them and older cohorts. They are also poised to inherit a set of chronic social, economic and political challenges that their national governments will be unable to solve without their energetic engagement

(Hannon and Tims, 2010, p.14).

Within the current neoliberal policies and the attempt to construct fair, inclusive and equal social environments for all, the European Commission (2010-today) has hugely invested on children's wellbeing with policy initiatives such as the 'Investing in Children: Breaking the Cycle of Disadvantage' (2018). The specific policy argues that:

breaking the cycle of disadvantage in early years and investing in children through a preventative approach allows reducing the risk of poverty and social exclusion. This implies not just providing children with adequate living standards: it also means helping them live up to their full potential through an integrated approach bringing them the best educational and health outcomes' (Investing in Children, 2018).

The European Union (EU) focuses on policies which are 'preventative' and address challenges. Following this, the specific policy highlights the importance of early intervention and preventative approaches. Hence, EU countries are required to:

- ✓ support parents' access to the labour market and make sure that work 'pays' for them;
- ✓ improve access to affordable early childhood education and care services;
- ✓ provide adequate income support such as child and family benefits, which should be redistributive across income groups but avoid traps of inactivity and stigmatisation;
- ✓ step up access to quality services that are essential to children's outcomes – improve access to early childhood education and care including for children under 3, eliminate school segregation, enhance access to health, housing, social services;
- ✓ support children's participation in extra-curricular activities and in services and decisions affecting children such as within social services, education, alternative care.

The initiative 'Youth in Action' started in 2013 yet it is still active and with a future perspective. The Commission expressed its commitment and devotion to pursue the monitoring and the establishment of the section '**Recommendation**'. Key policies are planned to be implemented through the strategy Europe2020. In particular:

- ✓ EU countries should secure and employ funding to invest in children, such as the 'New Fund for European Aid to the most Deprived' or the 'European Social Fund';
- ✓ collect and disseminate innovative practices through the European Platform for Investing in Children;
- ✓ test the effectiveness of conditional cash transfers and their impact on children through research financed by the PROGRESS policy;
- ✓ set the agenda with the EU countries on how to improve EU-wide indicators related to children.

Similarly, in another part of the world - in Australia - there are programmes and policies that have effectively tackled the causes and effects of social disadvantage (e.g. The Life Course Centre, 2019). In parallel, in the UK, the distribution of socially disadvantaged populations primarily has a geographic dimension. There exist the poorest neighbourhoods where jobs are rare or under threat and poverty is the everyday norm in contrast affluent areas. The government has launched regeneration policies (between 1998-2010), which focused on the most deprived neighbourhoods and local authorities. Then, regional bodies were given an

enhanced role, particularly in relation to economic development. However, it is also important to note that the establishment of Regional Development Agencies in the UK suggested that the focus of the new regional approach has not been to address poverty and social disadvantage. Nevertheless, following the financial crisis of 2008, the UK government established a number of market-based interventions to address public problems, such as social disadvantage. Implementing new types of interventions caused problems in the public sector and has opened up discussions about implementing an intervention along with the methods and costs involved. A significant example is the initiative of ‘Social Impact Bonds’ (2012). This intervention involved drawing together investors with delivery agencies, the third sector and national and local government, coordinated by a commissioner. Much has been discussed about the opportunity they represent to introduce competition, efficiency, efficacy, private sector thinking and investment to a range of different social problems. For example, it has been argued that it is a market-based intervention; although it aims at transforming the life of socially disadvantaged children, it is characterized by the complex nature of stakeholders’ contracting arrangements in an investment through Social Impact Bonds (Roy et al., 2018).

In Greece and Cyprus, there are current policy initiatives in place with the aim of tackling and eliminating social disadvantage. Following the years of severe economic crisis, currently the two countries are characterised by high levels of unemployment and severe recession followed by the prolonged period of the refugee crisis. Examples of initiatives that are currently popular in Greece are:

- ✓ All refugees and migrants are entitled to state education from day 1, although there are barriers such as the language one. This is a decision of the Ministries of Education in Greece and Cyprus.
- ✓ ‘Γκόλ στη Φτώχεια/Kick-out-Poverty’ (2013), which utilises football as a way to tackle social disadvantage. The project is implemented by the Non-Governmental organisation SHEDIA, an organisation that overall supports homeless, refugees, migrants and people experiencing severe disadvantage. It is sponsored by organisations such as UEFA for Children and Stavros Niarchos Foundation as well as from individuals who serve as volunteers.

- ✓ ‘Respect on Diversity/Σέβωμα τη Διαφορετικότητα’. ‘Respect on Diversity’ is sponsored by Samsung in cooperation with Olympic Truce organisation and the organisation of Greek Olympic Winners. In brief, the project involves organising workshops with children having as main theme the notion of ‘respect’ and ‘diversity’.
- ✓ EU funded projects: ASPIRE (2017), ERASMUS (2019), HEPA (2014) and BEACTIVE (2019). For example, ASPIRE (2017) only focuses on including Refugees and/or Migrants and in tackling their disadvantage through sport.
- ✓ Projects such as the project ‘UrbanDig’ that addresses how sport and arts can co-create urban space (Chatziefstathiou et al., 2019).
- ✓ Volunteer organisations, either supported by individual actions and/or financially supported by the official church of Greece - the Christian Orthodox Church.

In Cyprus, there are similarities in projects that were and are currently run to tackle social disadvantage. Prominent among these are the initiatives for socially disadvantaged children named ‘Z.E.P.’ (2010), ‘A.G.O.’ and ‘DRASE’ (2014-2020). They are under the ‘umbrella support’ of the Ministry of Education and are delivered at the facilities of specific schools or other indoor and outdoor facilities. Further, there are EU funded programmes such as Erasmus, BeActive and Aspire. In addition, there exist volunteer organisations and individuals that support disadvantaged populations, such as the local Orthodox churches. In addition, the Pedagogical Institute of Cyprus organises and implements seminars and workshops associated with young people’s social disadvantage in the education context where the participants are students, teachers and parents. However, there are currently no seminars addressing the issues of social disadvantage through PE, Physical activity and Sport. Finally, very significant is the initiative ‘Peace Players/Cyprus’. ‘Peace Players’ is supported by the United Nations and constitutes the only year-round-bi-communal youth sports organisation on the island. Their aim is to:

bring together the young people of the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot communities in order to ‘play, learn and build meaningful friendships leaving behind generations of mistrust for a future of peace and unity (accessed online/[www.peaceplayers.org/location/cyprus](http://www.peaceplayers.org/location/cyprus)).

Nonetheless, policy initiatives can indeed be effective in tackling and eliminating social disadvantage given certain criteria and circumstances (Price-Robertson, 2011). Stewart (2016) however argues that policymakers who are concerned to create and sustain equal opportunities for all children must pay attention to children from disadvantaged family backgrounds. Morsy and Rothstein (2015) also note critically that policymakers typically resist accepting that non-school disadvantages necessarily depress outcomes – ‘rather, they look to better schools and teachers to close achievement gaps, and consistently come up short’ (p.4). Hence, when school improvement is not complemented by policies to narrow social class differences, students’ chances of success are greatly diminished. To sum up, in order for policy to be realizable, achievable and effective, it should be examined bearing in mind the following:

Policy by definition arises out of ideas and struggles of the past and seeks to shape social developments in the future. In the real-world policies originate, operate and are made effective by ensembles of institutions or agencies and the actors working within them (Fitz et al., 2006, p.17).

I now continue to the section where I discuss socially disadvantaged young people during the age of secondary education and adolescence. Socially disadvantaged young people stand at the core of this research and it is considered crucial to discuss issues that are linked with their ‘phase’ (i.e. attending secondary education during the period of adolescence) and with elements of their ‘disadvantage’ (i.e. social class, race/ethnicity and gender).

## **2.4. Socially disadvantaged young people in adolescence**

Youth is an important life stage in human development. It covers a wide age range, with young people entering as children and moving through adolescence on their way to becoming independent adults. It is a significant period of development - physically, psychologically, emotionally and socially

(National Strategy for Young Australians, 2007, p.2).

To begin with, the considered perspectives are rooted in the fields of psychology, sociology PE and SfA. According to Adams and Berzonski (2005), the term ‘adolescence’ is used to describe the period of physical, psychological and social

transition to adulthood. Adolescence though, is not a ‘one-way’ road leading from childhood to adulthood. It is considered to be one of the most significant and complicated phases in a person’s life as well as a ‘turmoil period, characterised by unhappiness, stress and confusion’ (Roeser et al., 2001, p.428). Historically, philosophers, educators, psychologists and sociologists such as Plato, Aristotle, Comenius, Jean–Jacques Rousseau, along with Hull, Mead, Freud and Erikson in the 20<sup>th</sup> century probed in depth and wrote about adolescence and its characteristics (Palmer, 2001). In the period after World War II, adolescence was perceived to start early (at about nine years old) and end at about eighteen years old. In recent years, adolescence has been viewed as a complex phase, extending beyond traditionally perceived boundaries. For example, Hendry et al. (1993) suggest this extended adolescence is rooted in a long–term education period, a late transition into work and possible delays in acquiring income and becoming independent from the parental home. Overall, it is widely accepted that adolescence is a complex phase of life, during which a young person has to cope with rapid biological changes (e.g. puberty), psychological challenges (e.g. issues of self-esteem) and social changes (e.g. family, peers, school, and globalization) (Wizard, 2009; Erricker, 2008; Harber, 2008).

There have been two broad theoretical approaches to analysing adolescence, divided in four parts; these are the psychological (e.g. developmental, cognitive) and the psycho-social/sociological (Eysenck, 2004). To put it briefly, developmental theories attempt to explain certain adolescent behaviours in terms of physical maturation. They tend to explore the developmental and cognitive phases that an adolescent may face in order, for example, to achieve a stable identity, high self-esteem and autonomy (Capoella, 2008; Eysenck, 2004). Further, psycho-social and sociological approaches perceive adolescence as a period of transition, when not all the changes depend on the adolescents’ personality, behaviour and attitudes; rather, they are influenced by factors such as gender, ethnicity, family, peers, school and social class (Azzarito, 2016; Quarmby and Dagkas, 2015; Chadderton, 2015; Azzarito and Hill, 2013; Chadderton and Colley, 2012). Perspectives of relevant theories are briefly discussed in turn.

#### ▪ **BIOLOGICAL/DEVELOPMENTAL THEORIES**

Physical changes are a key feature of adolescence. For example, body composition changes in terms of redistribution and/or increase of body fat; additionally, hormones change dramatically and pubertal changes in both boys and girls become obvious (Schave and Schave, 1989). The changes that mark adolescence with regard to physical growth and sexual characteristics are believed to be responsible for the inspiration of both 'joy and anxiety' in boys and girls (Roediger et al., 1996, p.409). Psychological theories based on these developmental changes include the works of Gesell and Arnes. In 1956, Gesell and Arnes, argued that, due to these changes, adolescence is characterised by fluctuations between integration and balance, moodiness and tension. In parallel, they pointed out the disharmony in the adolescent caused by incredible bodily and hormonal changes. These are often reflected in their attitude and behaviours: critical attitudes, nervousness, anxiety and impulsivity may be exhibited. Crooks and Stein (1991) also stated that these changes may make adolescents feel concerned about how other people view them. Hence, boys may become aggressive and rebellious, whereas girls may feel 'uncomfortable, less sociable and less poised' (Roediger et al., 1996, p.413).

#### ▪ **PSYCHO-SOCIAL THEORIES**

Sigmund Freud (1943/1998) proposed a complex theory of human development based on instinctual drives and argued that during adolescence the basic drives of sex and aggression are re-awakened and the young person has to face conflicts between desires inactivity and 'societal rules'. In recent years, therefore, a great deal of research has been conducted in order to explore aspects of adolescent behaviours from a psychological point of view. For example, Ezinga et al. (2008) highlighted the fact that, in the early adolescence period, low self-control has an important link to the exhibition of misbehaviour and delinquency.

In Margaret Mead's book 'Growing up in Samoa' (1928/1943), she identified 'social environment and culture' as the main factors influencing adolescents' attitudes towards delinquency. According to Mead, Samoan adolescents hardly exhibited any personal or social conflicts associated with stress. Their behaviours and attitudes were positive and cooperative because of the area and social

environment in which they were growing up and living. Similarly, Vygotsky (1978) refers to the cultural context in which a young person evolves as an important factor in enabling him/her to acquire ideas and shape opinions about 'real life'. The way an adolescent chose to live was considered to be the outcome of the interaction between one's physical characteristics and the environment (e.g. family, school). In 1964, Bandura (quoted in Eysenck, 2004) linked stress in adolescence with poor socialization stemming from poor parent/child relationships, mainly ones based on the concept of the exercise of power.

#### **2.4.1. Identity Formation during Adolescence**

Of utmost importance to theories on adolescence, self-concept and identity formation is that of Erik Erikson (1950). He addressed the concept of identity formation and its development within the social context. In his seminal work 'Childhood and Society' (1950), he identified eight 'Ages of Man' - from infancy to old age. Each 'age' was characterized by a task that he called a 'normative crisis', consisting of a central conflict that had to be resolved in order to be successfully prepared for the transition from one stage to another. In the fifth 'stage' of adolescence, he argued that the adolescent's main concern was how they appear to others. He stated:

ego identity is the person's confidence that the inner similarity and continuity prepared in the past are matched by the sameness and continuity of one's meaning for others (p.235).

Erikson argued that a significant aim for the adolescent was to define his/her peer group. That derived from the developmental task of physical maturation, emotional development, membership in a peer group and the maturation of sexual relationships. Overall, Erikson's theory is believed to be unique because it recognised the impact of society, history and culture on an individual's personality and employed the concept of the 'identity crisis' (Crooks and Stein, 1991). As a result, in recent years the concept of identity has been broadly explored (e.g. Kustatscher, 2012; Seng et al., 2012; Azzarito, 2009; Murakami, 2008; Fitzclarence, 2004; Paechter, 2003). Wilkes (1990) explained the notion of 'identity' as follows:

identity is about belonging, about what you have in common with some people and what differentiates you from the others [...] it gives you a sense of personal location, the stable core to your individuality. But it is also about your social relationships, your complex involvement with others and in the modern world these have become ever more complex and confusing (p.88).

These words highlight the complexity of the identity formation process for young people in contemporary societies; it no longer appears to be simple and straightforward. Yet various interrelated factors influence this process, such as education, social class, gender and family (Ball and Connolly, 2000). Furthermore, peers' engagement in activities such as sport and physical education is believed to influence the development of the adolescent's identity. Conflicts that perhaps emerge between such factors and the young person may lead to the massive impact that social disadvantage can have on young people and their future lives.

Within the procedure of the identity formation and establishment, the physical body and its embodied identity plays a seminal role in the process of self-becoming and of experiencing social disadvantage (McLaren, 1991). Erving Goffman worked on addressing how social identity is produced and maintained (Goffman, 1959). His work did not only focus on the 'body' as the interaction between self and society, but on the interactively produced social self as a presentation and performance (1959). He therefore viewed body as 'a material property' and added that individuals could use their bodies to assist with their social interactions and manage their appearances and movements. In the era of postmodernism and neoliberalism in which identities appear to be tremendously fluid (Bauman, 2007), in terms of aesthetic strategies and cultural forms there appears an overarching interest in issues of the embodiment of culture (Shilling, 2018; Wellard, 2012).

Furthermore, in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century Marx and Engels (Marx, Engels and Arthur, 1977) were writing about the body being a source of 'productive' work focused on the necessities of life. Today, scholars argue that we tend to experience the body the body as a multidimensional 'wall' where one's identity is 'engraved' (Wellard, 2012; Zarrett et al., 2008; Wellard, Pickard and Bailey, 2007). As Shilling (2005) discusses, the shift to industrialization brought about major changes by imposing new rhythms, demands and differences on the human body. Hence, the importance is on image, signs and symbols to be embodied in individuals (Wellington and

Bryson, 2001). Consequently, the human body is expected to adopt certain 'identities' according to the requirements of the educational and overall societal environment in which it belongs and to the social burden which carries.

Following Bourdieu's ideas (Bourdieu et al., 2000; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1900; Bourdieu, 1981), given that current social life is not governed by a single overarching culture, but is constituted by organized spaces with their own principles, embodied identities can be formed in every field of society. Therefore, social fields such as schools, professions, social classes and external factors – e.g. the opposite sex, family and peers – influence individuals in forming their body identity. Nowadays, almost every young person – no matter what the circumstances – asks for a “visible” body and a ‘particular’ appearance. In this visual age, the school is conceptualized ‘as a stage’ where – for example - females have to ‘execute an aesthetically pleasing performance’ (Hamermesh and Biddle, 1994, p.1179). Harvey (1989) argued that image consultancy is symbolic of the contemporary socio-economic transition and as such has experienced considerable expansion in the UK and USA during the past decade. Personal sport trainers, image consultants, beauticians, dieticians, plastic surgeons and personal shoppers are all in the service of contemporary people. In this new political economy of ‘insecurity’ (Beck, 2000), in which the foundations of stable jobs and certain ‘futures’ have broken down, individuals seem to feel not safe and no longer content with their body. Thus, they use digital technologies, lifestyles, fashions, and beliefs in order to create new identities for their bodies (Monaghan, Rich and Bombak, 2018). Moreover, from a feminist perspective, under the present ‘cult’ of thinness in Western societies, discourses on the ‘ideal’ body affect women and men of every class (Ward et al., 2017; Wellard, 2006a; Bordo, 1993), since the desire for being slender has become so self- sustaining and so internalised (Garrett, 2004). Moreover, Ward et al.’s work (2017) focused on points such as the physical power – that is mostly accorded to men – has both physical and social dimensions and the significance of space in comprehending marginalized masculinities and young men’s transitions to futures characterized as ‘safe’ and ‘successful’.

Among the range of the sociocultural factors that have been found to impact on body image, the role of the family, the peer groups (both of same and opposite sex)

and the media seems to be very important (Wellard and Secker, 2017). Research has shown that family influences children's body image during the developmental years. Young (2002) stated that children pick up from their parents the pattern of gestures, postures, attitudes and inflections, hence offering children models of how to be embodied in the form of corporeal dispositions. In parallel with the family, research has found the importance of peer groups in the embodiment of a person's identity. Finally, media appear to influence significantly one's body image and especially women's body image. The media along with advertising constantly represent perfected bodies, something that focuses on the stimulation of desires. Recently, Pang and Hill (2018a and 2018b) highlighted contemporary forms of media sites (i.e. Google News, LiveJournal, Medium, WordPress) as influential sociocultural force and transmitter of information about gender, health and bodies for young people in this digital age. Chinese young people, they argue, are often represented and positioned in different ways to other (minority) ethnic groups. For example, Black young people are usually perceived as having low academic motivations and aspirations but as 'natural' athletes; on the other hand, Chinese young people, are seen as the 'model minority' who excel in subjects other than PE, are 'fragile, reserved and disinterested in physical movements'. These public forms of representation may influence their embodied identity as misrepresentations may be internalised so aggressive attitudes and racism may have an impact on young people's (i.e. Chinese) embodiment and overall health. Pang and Hill (2018b) urged for change because how these young people are represented influences 'how we understand, represent, and discuss - in this instance Chinese - young people on media sites; this can cause perhaps disadvantage or a negative impact on how young people from China engage and perform their embodied identities in western societies where English language is prominent.

After having discussed major aspects relevant to adolescence, I go on to discuss briefly the terms 'Gender', 'Social Class' and 'Race', that is because I am going to come back to the terms in Chapter III. It is important to repeat that this research study has been designed around these key terms, since they are perceived to influence significantly the social construction and maintenance of the young people's social advantage and disadvantage.

## 2.5. Introducing the concept of Gender

Nowadays, there is a growing concern over the ‘gendered’ body when experiencing social disadvantage and the way young people develop dispositions toward PE, SFA and broadly towards physical activity and physical culture. Judith Butler’s ideas (2017; 2010; 2004; 1999; 1995; 1990) are employed and have enormously informed this study’s perceptions, additionally discussed later in Chapter III.

In the past, ‘gender’ was believed to be either synonymous to ‘boy’ and/or ‘girl’. In ancient Greek mythology however, there was the first hint of the existence of something more complicated than the duality of a human being ... something different. This was Hermaphroditus, a beautiful young person, who was the son of Hermes and Aphrodite. The nymph of the fountain of Salmacis fell in love with him and requested from the gods whether she could be forever united with him. The result was the formation of Hermaphroditus who was half man and half woman within a single body. Nowadays, although many people still believe that gender is indicated by the boy and the girl, ‘gender’ is perceived to be constructed (Butler, 1990). WHO (2017), and in particular as recently stated:

*Gender* can be understood as ‘socially constructed characteristics of women and men – such as norms, roles and relationships of and between groups of women and men’. It can be different from one society to the other and can be changed/altered. While most people are born either male or female, they are taught appropriate norms and behaviours – including how they should interact with others of the same or opposite sex within households, communities and workplaces. When individuals or groups do not “fit” established gender norms they often face stigma, discriminatory practices or social exclusion – all of which adversely affect their overall ‘health’/condition/situation.

WHO further highlights that it is important to be sensitive to different identities that do not necessarily fit into binary male or female sex categories. Gender norms, roles and relations influence people’s susceptibility to different health conditions and diseases and affect their enjoyment of good mental, physical health and wellbeing (Ward et al., 2017). They also have a bearing on people’s access to and uptake of health services and on the health outcomes they experience throughout the life-course. Nonetheless, ‘gender’ is central to the discussion of social disadvantage

since there are often misconceptions about relevant terms that constitute danger to equity and to human rights (Paechter, 2019; Paechter, 2006b; Paechter, 2003).

## **2.6. Introducing the concept of Race and Ethnicity**

Dagkas and Hunter (2015) urged for an overwhelming concern on ‘race’ and particularly on the ‘racialised’ body and the way young people develop dispositions towards physical culture. Race is one of the most complex concepts in sociology (Dagkas, Azzarito and Hylton, 2019; Assari et.al, 2016). To start with, there are many people who believe in the division of the world into biologically distinct ‘races’. Theories of racial difference based on scientific methods were devised in Europe during the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries and used to justify the emerging social order – in which European nations came to control overseas territories through colonialism. Such generalisations have today been discredited, but they have been extremely influential. Significant examples are the formation of the Nazi ideology during the 30s and 40s in Germany as well as the ideology of racist groups such as the Ku Klux Klan in the USA.

Joseph Arthur de Gobineau (mid-19<sup>th</sup> century) is named the ‘father of modern racism’ and is admitted with the proposition of the existence of just three races – white (Caucasian), black (Negroid) and yellow (Mongoloid). According to Gobineau, the white race possessed superior intelligence, morality and willpower, and these properties explained their technical, economic and political superiority, while the black race was the least capable race – possessing the lowest intelligence, an animal nature, and a lack of morality, which served to justify their position in the American society as slaves. Many biologists however (e.g. Darwin), reported that there are no clear-cut races, just a range of physical variations within the human species. Differences in physical type arise from population inbreeding; the genetic diversity shares visible physical traits (such as skin colour) and is as great as the genetic diversity between populations. Nevertheless, people ‘in power’ have believed these differences exist and prevail and have made everything possible as well as having constructed the societies in ways so as to establish their strategies of

domination; they have perpetuated social orders (i.e. the slave system in American history, the contemporary situation of African Americans and generally, Black, Asian and minority ethnic (BAME) along with racial segregation and racial ideologies have systematically disadvantaged (in the case of European-colonial history) non-white people (Booth, 2016; Delgado and Stefancic, 2001). Because of social action against racism in 1978, UNESCO declared:

All human beings belong to a single species and are descended from a common stock. They are born equal in dignity and rights and all form an integral part of humanity (Declaration of Race and Racial Prejudice).

Giddens and Sutton (2017) refer also to ‘racialisation’ as the process through which race is employed to classify people. ‘Racialisation’ evolved in institutions backed up by legal structures, such as the slave system in the United States or the Apartheid system in South Africa. In racialised systems, the life chances of individuals are shaped by their position in that social structure. For example, in European societies, one would expect white people to have more and important opportunities in relation to education, health, overall well-being while non-white people perhaps not. ‘Racialisation’ emerges as a seminal term in the reproduction of power and inequality in a society, overall, in social disadvantage. Racism therefore can be exhibited and imposed in the form of ‘structural discrimination’ — taking place on a systematic, repetitive, embedded nature within particular social structures such as schooling.

Concluding, it is of utmost importance to highlight that due to the problems surrounding the employment of the term ‘race’, there are social scientists who also employ the term ‘ethnicity’ when referring to people of colour and/or others who are perhaps white and with distinctive cultural heritages (US Census Bureau, 2018). Within this context, ethnicity refers to shared social, cultural and historical experiences, stemming from common national or regional backgrounds. Subgroups of a population can therefore be different from one another, and as such are called ethnic groups. An ethnic group therefore is a subgroup of a population with shared social, cultural, and historical experiences as well as with distinctive beliefs, values, behaviours and with sense of identity of belonging to the particular subgroup. Therefore, terms such as ‘ethnicity’ and ‘ethnic group’ appear to avoid the

biological connotations linked with the concept of race. In this research study, both terms – race and ethnicity – are employed interchangeably; this happens mainly because both terms are found in the literature examined and because the children who participated in the study were from diverse cultural backgrounds.

## 2.7. Introducing Social Class

Classes are large groups of people differing from each other by the place they occupy in a historically determined system of social production, by their relation to the means of production, by their role in the social organisation of labour, by the dimensions of the share of the social wealth of which they dispose and their mode of acquiring it (Lenin, 1919/1965, p.421).

According to BBC (2013), the ‘Classification of Seven Classes’ in the UK is divided in:

- ✓ **Elite:** the most privileged class in Great Britain who have high levels of all three capitals.
- ✓ **Established Middle Class:** Members have high levels of all three capitals although not as high as the Elite. They are a gregarious and culturally engaged class.
- ✓ **Technical Middle Class:** a new, small class with high economic capital but seem less culturally engaged.
- ✓ **New Affluent Workers:** there are medium levels of economic capital and higher levels of cultural and social capital.
- ✓ **Emergent Service Workers:** there are low economic capital but has high levels of 'emerging' cultural capital and high social capital.
- ✓ **Traditional Working Class:** scores low on all forms of the three capitals although they are not the poorest group. The average age of this class is older than the others.
- ✓ **Precariat:** the most deprived class of all with low levels of economic, cultural and social capital. The everyday lives of members of this class are precarious.

The term ‘Social class’ holds a particular significance when elaborating on social disadvantage and reflects major social, economic, and cultural differences in income, status, education, and lifestyle. Social classes impact perhaps on the ways in which people are treated within the societies they live and in all societal structures such as schools/teachers, families and peer groups. Nonetheless, the

dominant [in terms of power] classes are the elite and middle class, whereas the majority of populations around the world belong to working class.

The disadvantaged young person and its 'body' is located in social classes (Wacquant, 2018; Wacquant, 2013). A social class employs style, dress and body posture in order to distinguish and construct people's identities (Entwistle, 2000). Classes such as the elite and the middle classes are financially able to produce 'bodily' forms of high quality, since for example they are able to keep their children in 'elite' education (consequently in PE) for the longest time, release them from the need to work full or part time and encourage them to engage in activities, (such as fitness training and often participation in pre- and extra-school activities such as ballet, tennis or horse riding); hence, these are likely to increase their acquisition of a socially valued body (Shilling, 2018; 2003). Furthermore, Wilkes (1990) noted that they tend not to be overly concerned with producing a large, strong body but they care to produce a slim body better suited to a world, in which economic practice is constituted more strongly by the presentation of the self. Research has shown that socially advantaged women have a smaller average body size and a lower prevalence of obesity comparing to socially disadvantaged women; however, this particular relationship is not as strong among men, although nowadays this has started changing (Hill, 2013; Hill and Azzarito, 2012). Moreover, Calnan (1987) suggested that members of the middle class are considered to have more control over their own health, control which can be exercised by choosing a 'healthy' lifestyle. In contrast to the elite and middle classes, the working class tends to develop an instrumental relation to its body (Bourdieu, 1981.) The working class develops bodies marked both by the immediate demands of 'getting by' in life, and moreover by the forms of temporary 'release' they seek from these demands (Wacquant, 2013). Working class men and women adopt the perception that the body is a 'machine' used by working class women and men (Rogers, 1991). Shilling (2003) argued that they usually have little time free 'from necessity' and less money than the higher classes. Gender divisions within the working class and lower classes are more evident, too. Finch and Groves (1983) argues that working class women tend to develop an even more instrumental relation to their body than men. In addition, working class women tend to have little time or no time at all for sporting - leisure activities apart from those compatible with work; they develop orientations

to their bodies that are strongly marked by the need to earn more money (Shilling, 2003). Finally, the choices of sports made by working class people such as football, show that the body is primarily a means for the experience of excitement even though the physical investment in these sports can involve considerable effort and risk of injury (Shilling, 2005).

Nonetheless, Bourdieu (1984) stated that one's body bears the indisputable imprint of the individual's social class. This happens due to three main reasons: the individual's social location, the formation of their 'habitus' and the development of their tastes; further, the factors above serve to naturalise and perpetuate the different relationships that social groups have towards their bodies (Bourdieu, 1984). Last but not least, he also argued (1984) that bodily orientations vary across the social classes and that the relationship between someone's class location and these practices may change between societies and over time. In particular, 'class embodiment' has its roots in the fact that dominant groupings always try to define their bodies and lifestyle as superior and worthy of reward, which is why – as Shilling further explains (2003) - dominant classes invest substantially in their body. In sum, the social class one lives in exerts a profound influence on the ways in which s/he develops her/his body and on the symbolic values attached particularly to bodily forms. Having set the foundation for my study, the discussion on Physical Education and Sport-for-All for disadvantaged young people now follows.

## **2.8. Physical Education (PE) and Sport-for-All (SfA): defining the terms**

Schools are a social field, where children – as the citizens of tomorrow – embody their identity.

A school's ideology may be seen as a construction in a mirror through which images are reflected. The question is: who recognizes themselves as being of value? What other images are excluded by the dominant image of value so that some students are unable to recognize themselves? (Bernstein, 2000, p. xxi).

In addition, Kirk stated that:

Contemporary physical education and sport in schools has only recently been forced to come to terms with this legacy of corporeal normalization and regulation brought about mainly by an acceleration of interest during the 70s, 80s and 90s (1994, p.174).

Since the 90s and as a result of this process of change and evolution, PE has been accompanied by educational reforms (Evans and Davies, 2004). The role of PE and SfA in tackling issues of social disadvantage in young people has been a major international concern. Worldwide, research has documented that in the context of PE and SfA, disadvantage can be experienced in ways similar to those expressed within the general context of education (Azzarito et al., 2017). Furthermore, it is important to bear in mind that:

Physical Education has two major components: practical physical activities and subject matter knowledge. Each of these components can be categorised in various ways. What makes PE educationally worthwhile is the integration of learning in, about and through physical activity.

(Kirk et al., 2002, p.12)

PE clearly includes the following elements: 'physical' (i.e. in terms of activity), 'education', 'school' and 'sport'; that is why there are academic texts that employ the term 'Physical Education and School Sport (PESS)' (e.g. Bailey et al., 2009). However, sport as an element of sport-for-all can be characterised as a physical activity sometimes involving excessive competition such as in elite sport. Furthermore, according to Almond (1997), PE can include various activities within the four areas: sport, dance, outdoor and adventure-based learning and individual forms of exercise. Crucial to this research study are the thoughts of Kirk (2010) that 'what people say and do in the name of physical education in the present, provides a context for understanding what it might be possible to aim for in the future' (p.16). All elements of PE and SfA, therefore, should not be divided, but unified and orientated towards young people's learning, enjoyment, development of their critical consciousness and their overall empowerment as learners (Wellard, 2012; Freire, 1974/2010; Wild and Everley, 2010). In attempting, therefore, to adopt a broad view, this research study employs the terms PE and SfA as interlinked; a major reason for this is the fact that PE and SfA in Greece and Cyprus are mainly

implemented within the same school environment/context and consist of activities from the current PE Curriculum (i.e. rarely, SfA activities take place in facilities other than in school; rarely, SfA activities are different to the ones of the PE Curriculum).

In USA, Sport-for-All is defined and emerges as an important concept that embraces various athletic activities and are ‘for all’; often, such activities take place outside the school hours, hence outside PE. In particular, the initiative ‘Fitness/Be Active’ states for SfA:

The value of sports goes beyond reaching the recommended levels of physical activity. Participation in sports can support social and personal development and health throughout life [...] This effort focuses on emphasising a core theme of “sport for all, play for life” through encouraging people of all ages, genders, ability levels, and backgrounds to participate in sports (Accessed 20/01/2019/[www.hhs.gov/fitness/be-active/sport-for-all-initiative/index.html](http://www.hhs.gov/fitness/be-active/sport-for-all-initiative/index.html)).

Another significant initiative that refers to SfA is ‘Project Play’, which is in the report *Sport for All, Play for Life: A Playbook to Get Every Kid in the Game* (2015). There are eight suggested strategies for making sports participation meaningful, accessible and safe for all young people. Utilising these eight strategies one can engage with elements that synthesise SfA, such as fun, unstructured neighbourhood play, coaches who are appropriately trained to work with young people. In brief, the eight strategies are reported as follows:

- Ask Kids What They Want*: Identifying and incorporating ideas generated by the young people on what makes sports fun.
- Reintroduce Free Play*: Encouraging unstructured neighbourhood play.
- Encourage Sports Sampling*: Promoting young people’s participation in multiple sports and avoiding early specialisation.
- Revitalize In-Town Leagues*: Creating more pathways to sport-specific local leagues to supplement school and after school programmes.
- Think Small*: Rethinking use of sports fields and facilities to allow more kids to play.
- Design for Development*: Adopting coaching and training practices that are the best fit for the developmental needs of young people (ex. American Development Model).

*-Train All Coaches:* Ensuring coaches are equipped with the appropriate training to mentor young people and assist with skill development.

*-Emphasize Prevention:* Protecting the safety of young people and limiting risk of injury.

Furthermore in 2013, Wolff and Hums stated that Sport for All makes us more fully human' (accessed via WWW, 25/2/2018 - [huffpost.com/entry/sport-for-all-makes-us-more-fully-human](http://huffpost.com/entry/sport-for-all-makes-us-more-fully-human)). They urged that Sport-for-All should be used to promote sport and physical activities programmes as a vehicle for social inclusion and participation from all – especially for those young people who are marginalised. In addition, by nurturing the SfA community, sport settings can foster and unite people through the 'ethos that sport-for-all promotes'. SfA, they conclude, should embrace the elements of enjoyment and fun and aim at providing exciting and welcoming activities. Nonetheless, SfA should and, if provided appropriately certainly empower everyone and especially young people to look at the future of sport with mind, body and heart wide open for the future to be shaped in building safe and healthy communities that embrace social justice.

In the UK and in 2018, Sadik Khan the Mayor of London published the report 'Sport for All of Us – The Mayor's Draft Strategy' for Sport in London. In the report, Mayor Khan refers to the initiative 'Sport Unites', inferring that SfA holds 'unity' at its core. Khan announced that community sport would be delivered through this new £8.8 million-pound community sports programme (p.7). The investment would focus on three themes: Sport for Social Integration, Active Londoners and Workforce & Capacity Building. The programme would also provide investment via the Mayor's £45m Young Londoners Fund. Mayor Khan emphasised that the vision would not look at sport in narrow terms; this London strategy would not limit SfA to organised physical games and events that often include an element of competition. SfA can then be defined as including various kinds of physical activities that bring people together providing entertainment, enjoyment and relaxation through dance, yoga and running (p.10). In addition, through this SFA strategy, Khan was inviting programmes through which 'Londoners of every gender, ethnicity, faith, culture, age, sexual orientation and socio-economic background would live, not just side by side, but truly connected lives' (p19).

However, PE and further SfA appear to be the vehicle for school and communities to make the body acquire techniques and identities that characterise particular societies and the social order of these societies (Azzarito, 2016). In contemporary societies, ‘perfection’ appears to be the ‘magic’ word. During PE for example, the body is expected to be slim, slender, toned and athletic, in short, the ‘right’ one for the lesson. Hence, ‘hierarchies of the body’ develop in PE and SfA - overall in schools - that can lead to discriminations based on notions such as ‘body-ability’, ‘body-gender’, ‘body-class’, ‘body-ethnicity’, ‘body-size’, ‘body-shape’ and ‘body-weight’ (my emphasis). Consequently, these hierarchies mean that, while some bodies are regarded as ‘perfect’ for the lesson, others that are seen as not conforming to the ‘body ideal’, may be perceived as less worthy (Evans, Davies and Wright, 2004).

Hence, the role of PE and SfA in tackling social disadvantage among young people should be a major international and national (i.e. UK, Greece, Cyprus) concern. International research has documented the employment of PE along with SfA in tackling elements that constitute social disadvantage in young people. Bailey et al.’s (2009) stated that:

purposeful engagement with the potential to engender positive social behaviours (such as cooperation, personal responsibility and empathy) in young people and to address a number of contemporary social issues relating to problematic youth behaviour [...] (p.9).

As such, PE and SfA has attracted much focus in policy agendas relating to issues surrounding youth disadvantage (e.g. Kick-Out-Poverty/GR, 2018; DRASE/CY, 2016; Building Canada Fund, 2010; PESSCL and PESSYP-UK, 2003/2008). Such policies relevant to PE and SfA reflect the strong belief in the role of sport and physical activity along with physical education in addressing, changing and improving attitudes and ways of thinking. Thus, popularised information and shared intergroup definitions should be used in order to enable critical awareness of the personal and socio-cultural reality (Freire, 1975/2005; Freire, 1997/2005). Enhancing PE and SfA should include revising the curriculum and the critical consideration and implementation of PE, Physical Activities (PA) and Youth Sport (YS) as Sport-for-All (SfA) always, though, in connection to real life and with an attitude towards tolerance and diversity in society. As Kirk (2010) argued ‘what

comes first should be an investigation of the state of play, of current practices and the residual influence of the past' (p.24). Consequently, PE professionals (e.g. teachers, scholars, policy makers) should collaborate and perhaps, draw upon research projects and scholar texts, successful and effective past and current policies in order to adapt significant points into everyday practice (as it happens) and/or to create new ones (i.e. in the form of interventions), which could meet the needs of current contemporary social issues of disadvantage (e.g. ethnic minorities/multicultural society, unemployment, the world economic recession and migration, including that of refugees) (Pang and Hill, 2018b; Hartmann, 2012; Kirk, 2006; Hylton, 2005).

Engagement with PE and SfA has been associated with the development of positive outcomes such as goal-orientation (Papaioannou et al., 2004), coping strategies (Holt and Jones, 2008; Holt, Hoar and Fraser, 2005), positive behaviour, academic gains (Fox and Avramidis, 2003) and responsibility (Hellison, Martinek and Walsh, 2008; Hellison, 2003). Academic reviews on the benefits of Physical Education and School Sport (PESS) (e.g. Bailey et al., 2009) have confirmed that participation holds the potential to contribute to young people's development in physical, social, affective and cognitive domains. Further, Danish, Taylor and Fazio (2005) suggested that physical activities are one of the most significant social arenas after family and school, which influences young people positively. In addition, Zarrett et al. (2008) stressed that indicators positively affecting the physical, social and psychological side of adolescents, along with the feeling of 'achievement' and development, have been positively linked to PESS. Furthermore, in recent years, the concept of Positive Youth Development (PYD) has been used to highlight the importance of viewing young people not as 'problems', but as having the potential to develop positively (Holt, 2008). Although there is no particular definition for this term, Damon (2004) described it as follows:

the positive youth development perspective emphasizes the manifest potentialities rather than the supposed incapacities of young people— [...] the positive youth development vision of the child as naturally competent and inclined toward pro-social engagements (p.17).

In relation to PYD, research conducted by Zarrett et al. (2008) argued that PYD can be achieved only when participation is intense and continued for over a year. Moreover, they stressed that there are particular positive links to participation in youth outdoor activities and adolescence. In addition, research by Hellison, Martinek and Walsh (2008) reported significant links to promoting youth leadership with PYD. However, it has also been argued that participation in sport activities can have a negative impact on young people. According to Kavussanu, Seal and Philips (2006), characteristics may include the exhibition of anti-social behaviours and competitiveness. Similarly, Flintoff and Scraton (2001) argued that such environments can be both alienating and humiliating for some young people – particularly for those with little aptitude for being physically active. They referred to gender and the process of changing and issues surrounding PE kit as aspects that may be alienating and at times humiliating for young people. Holt and Jones (2008) argued that in the United States, participation in physical activity is closely related to alcohol use and smoking – although not regular but occasional smoking, and especially smokeless products. They stressed that the way programmes are delivered is of great importance. According to Theokas et al. (2008), in order for PE not to have a negative impact, the quality of the structure, the content and the context of activities should be ensured, since their benefits cannot be transmitted by just participating. At this point, the role of PE teachers as potential role models for young people appears important for programmes to have an effective impact on young people. The discussion, therefore, now turns its attention to PE in policy initiatives and then further to the role of PE teachers.

PE (Gray, Treacy and Hall, 2019; Dagkas and Hunter, 2015) along with SfA constitute a ‘tool’ to promote pedagogies related to health and physical culture that can tackle social disadvantage in contemporary societies. In parallel, there has been a general disposition that such sport programmes hold the potential to influence young people positively to and counter social disadvantage (Spaaij, Oxford and Jeans, 2016). Within the broad field of sport and psycho-social sciences, young disadvantaged people have been engaged in research in the attempt to define, identify, appropriately comprehend and ultimately construct the foundations for an effective role of all sectors of sport (e.g. PE and SfA) in tackling social disadvantage and promoting social justice (Curry, Dagkas and Wilson 2017).

Relevant to this research study and prominent is the role of the delivery of the PE curricula and SfA programmes in Greece and Cyprus. As mentioned earlier, in Cyprus there is PE, A.G.O (=Sport-for-All in Greek), Z.E.P. (=Zone of Educational Priority for disadvantaged young people) and DRASE (=DO/ACT!) (all are Sport Programmes at schools and English acronyms are translated from the original Greek). The specific policy initiatives are mainly funded by the European Union and are implemented within the school facilities. The European Youth Portal supports 'Sport in Cyprus' and calls for all young people to participate in sports and physical activity that 'will allow them to become stronger, not only physically but also mentally'. The European Youth Portal describes A.G.O as 'the Cyprus Organisation Programme that aims at healthy occupation of people with sports offering joy, wellness, entertainment, fitness and health'; however, SfA programmes that are exclusively targeted to counter social disadvantage are limited and are mainly delivered through the programmes Z.E.P and DRASE. Furthermore, the organisation 'Youth Power', organises activities to promote peacebuilding and sustain multiculturalism in Cyprus. 'Youth Power' is a network of twelve diverse Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot organisations made to promote youth activism. In parallel, Peace Players employ Basketball as a 'tool' to promote Peace between the Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots. Such camps are supported by the UN and funded through the European Union's Cypriot Civil Society in Action IV financial assistance package. This operates within the framework of the 'Promoting Peace and Wellness in Cyprus' project with the co-funding and support from the Embassy of the United States in Cyprus, the Laureus Sport for Good Foundation, Adidas and Jotun. Peace Players particularly advocate that 'children who play together, can live together'.

In Greece, PE holds a prominent role within the school context with volleyball, basketball, football, athletics and traditional Greek dance being at the core. At the same time, SfA programmes for socially disadvantaged youth often are not exclusively organised by the Central Authority for Sport and/or the Ministry of Education – EU also funds relevant projects such as ASPIRE (2017). Local Municipalities and the private sector organise SfA activities that target social disadvantage; these however, are reported to be limited. SfA initiatives such as the EU funded 'Be Active/Move Week' are organised once per year, but not with a

specific target of addressing and tackling social disadvantage; often it has to do with promoting overall well-being. Further, as mentioned earlier, projects such as ‘Kick-Out-Poverty/Γκολ στη Φτώχεια’ employ football to tackle disadvantage whereas ‘Κιβωτός του Κόσμου/Ark of the World’ employs basketball to tackle disadvantage. Nonetheless, although both Greece and Cyprus are EU countries and employ the same PE curricula, as well as engage with similar PE and SfA policies, there are differences in the policy initiatives that are implemented. Hence, young people experience them differently in Greece and differently in Cyprus as it is discussed later in the section of ‘Findings’ and ‘Discussion’.

Additionally, it is further suggested that PE teachers – both as role models and educators – have a unique contribution to make to young people’s lives (Dagkas, 2007). O’Sullivan, Tannehill and Hinchion (2010) highlight the important role of contemporary teachers:

we need active and dynamic teachers to critique our current practices, challenge existing values and seek to create and deliver relevant and meaningful physical activity experiences for the current generation of children and young people – the future of our profession depends on such enquiring professionals (p.62).

Hence, it is crucial for the programmes that are targeted to socially disadvantaged young people to be delivered from specialised teachers and/or coaches/trainers. Their training and professional development on issues that form social disadvantage and ways to tackle and prevent it through PE and SfA should be enriched with contemporary knowledge and practices (Walton-Fisette and Sutherland, 2018).

## **2.9. PE Teachers as the facilitators**

Teaching adolescents can be a rewarding, yet a challenging and a demanding task (Tang and Choi, 2009). Darling – Hammond (2006) also highlighted:

Education matters more than it ever has before; the social and economic demands for education grow – so do expectations for teachers’ knowledge and skills – parents and policymakers alike are asking how to find the extraordinary teachers, who can help all children acquire the increasing knowledge and skills they need (p.4).

In a world where knowledge is not compartmentalised, education systems tend to keep a distance from a subject-based approach and focus on a more integrated approach to the curriculum. Moreover, the inflexibility of the secondary school timetable has created obstacles for teachers by preventing pupils from finishing off tasks and developing ideas, as well as hindering them in getting to know and understand their pupils more (Stobart and Stoll, 2005). As mentioned earlier, the age of adolescence is one of the most complex periods in an individual's life; when combined with disadvantage this can cause emotional disequilibrium, moodiness as well as attitudinal conflicts with significant adults (e.g. teachers). The teaching-learning relationship emerges as highly significant in the educational process and may result in 'changes to both students and teachers' (Hodge et al., 2004, p.396). Thus, teaching and learning is a reciprocal process, which - if it is to be appropriate and effective - according to Day (2004) - needs passion. For him, passionate teachers:

are those, who are committed, enthusiastic and intellectually and emotionally energetic in their work with children, young people and adults alike (p.2).

Biddle and Ekkekakis (2005) also supported the significance of the PE teachers' role. MacFadyen and Bailey (2002) stated that 'skillful teaching is a difficult and complex job' (p.69), and that PE teachers have a vital role to play in encouraging, fostering and refining capabilities for the PE lesson' (p.25). Further, Graber and Locke, (2007) stated that:

physical educators stand at an historical point in time at which they can either seize the opportunity and contribute to developing the health of the nation's children through quality physical education [...] (p.422).

Additionally, they stressed that PE teachers should be able to cope with a numerous and diverse range of pupils.

Nevertheless, theories and research have examined the PE teachers' role in depth. Examples have employed the theories of socialisation (e.g. Lawson, 2005), figurational sociology (e.g. Green, 2006) and legitimate peripheral participation

(Lave and Wenger, 1991) which provided a viewpoint on how PE teachers take decisions about their role, their training and their professional development. Green (2006) argued that although PE teachers do their work bearing certain viewpoints for their role, the practical aspect of the context in which they work, additionally affect their role and furthermore their work. In any case and according to Tsangaridou and O’Sullivan (1997), PE teachers’ ideas, beliefs and experiences appear to influence their everyday practice. PE teachers and SfA coaches hold the roles of educators and role models thus are important in tackling social disadvantage; PE initial training and their CPD therefore, hold a prominent role in enhancing their teaching practice along with pupils’ learning. PE teachers need to be appropriately trained for coping with socially disadvantaged young people. Although, PE initial training and CPD are considered to be very significant elements of PE and SfA, relevant [to problems arising from social disadvantage] initial training and CPD programmes are delivered in Cyprus by the Pedagogical Institute whereas in Greece relevant professional development appear to be limited and at times non-existing.

## **2.10. Summarising Chapter II**

Literature reveals that PE and SfA along with their elements play a crucial role in tackling social disadvantage and further address issues of gender, social class and race/ethnicity. The 2018 AERA Annual Meeting Opening Plenary Session, ‘Imagining Radically, Practicing Hope: How Public Education Could Disrupt Racial Injustice’, focused on public education’s central role in the struggle for justice and highlighted the topical role of tackling phenomena relevant to social disadvantage – such as racial injustice. Brooks, Matt and Isais (2017) further argue that sports are not only extracurricular activities. For the majority of young people – especially the disadvantaged ones - PE and SfA are central to their identity, development, and peer and familial relationships. Therefore, the appropriate delivery of relevant programmes is both necessary and potentially very significant, yet it is complex and challenging. Thus, bearing young people’s social disadvantage in mind, this research study was designed and conducted with the intention of

contributing to the broad discussions on social disadvantage. All preceding sections sought to provide, overview and synthesise relevant knowledge from which this systematic research study was informed. What emerged as evident from the review of the literature is that all areas of investigation are contested and understood in different and various ways. However, by considering all these in combination, this chapter attempted to provide broad and multidimensional understandings, as well as insights into the areas that this research study sought to examine. Having set out the review of the relevant literature, the following chapter attends to issues of situating and framing this research study's theoretical framework based on the theories of P. Bourdieu, J. Butler and Critical Race theory. Hence, the employment of these ideas is justified and further discussed.

## **Chapter III - THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

### **3.1. Introduction**

The previous chapter reviews the relevant literature on the key points that synthesize this study, such as the social disadvantage in the lives of young people along with the elements of gender, race, social class and PE and SfA. In Chapter III, the theories of Pierre Bourdieu, Judith Butler and Critical Race Theory which informed the study's theoretical framework are discussed. Hence, information from literature is contextualised throughout the chapter.

### **3.2. Building up the theoretical framework**

The theorists Pierre Bourdieu (2000; 1990; 1984; 1981) and Judith Butler (2017; 2010; 2004; 1999) along with the theory of Critical Race (CRT) (Dagkas, Azzarito and Hylton, 2019; Rankin-Wright, Hylton and Norman, 2019; Chadderton, 2018b; Harrison and Clark, 2016; Hylton and Long, 2016; Hylton, 2012) informed the study's theoretical framework. When deliberating on the design of the theoretical framework of the study, I bridged the ideas of the two prominent theorists (i.e. P. Bourdieu and J. Butler) and the theory of Critical Race. I considered them to be appropriate since social class, gender and race/ethnicity are key points of the study. Except for responding to the research questions, this study should enable not only me but also the reader to improve one's worldview and praxis, so, one may broadly and effectively understand the phenomenon of social disadvantage when educating young people and when delivering PE and SfA. This study therefore focuses not only on informing research, but in enhancing the everyday praxis and current knowledge on how aspects of gender, social class and ethnicity/race intersect. Both theorists and Critical Race Theory are believed to constitute a robust foundation upon which the study is built. Finally, bringing together such theories and ideas enabled me to provide the study with an innovative perspective since their combination in examining young people's social disadvantage and the role of PE and SfA in Greece and Cyprus is applied in research for the first time. I now go on

discussing major ideas of P. Bourdieu and J. Butler along with main aspects of Critical Race Theory.

### **3.2.1. On Pierre Bourdieu – Challenging Social Class**

In this section, I examine the concepts of Pierre Bourdieu (1999; 1986; 1984; 1981) that informed the element of young people's 'social class'. When employed in social research, Bourdieu's views often provide a significant theoretical framework found in numerous studies. His primary concerns were to overcome dichotomies in social theory, such as material/symbolic, empirical/theoretical, objective/subjective, and structure/agency. Seminal theoretical concepts in Bourdieu's theory are: 'habitus, field, taste, capital, symbolic violence and the theory of practice'. In preparing this research study, I concluded in employing the concepts of 'theory of practice' (1990; 1986), such as 'field' and 'symbolic violence', as relevant to examine socially disadvantaged young people. I suggest that these concepts were apposite to assist me in addressing how for example, young people experience disadvantage when participating in PE and SfA in Greece and Cyprus.

#### **Theory of Practice**

'Theory of Practice' provides the research study with lenses through which the research questions can provide a distinct perspective. His theory brings together the four concepts of: 'capital, habitus, field, and symbolic violence'. When considered in an overlapping, yet interdependent way, they hold the potential to explain the process of stratification among the classes which can demonstrate how parents and schooling enable the process of social reproduction, which perhaps leads to social disadvantage. Bourdieu's 'theory of practice' seeks to explain social disadvantage, not only by examining the effects of income, but also by broadening the horizon and exploring other societal and cultural factors that contribute to disadvantage. The potential to provide a path towards understanding such a multifaceted sociological issue is prominent. 'Theory of Practice' enables professionals/educators (like me) to bridge and reconcile (juxta)positions that have

often been regarded as unbridgeable and irreconcilable. Further, it provides access to deep understanding of social disadvantage, through for example, transformation of praxis when in search of practical ways to address any problems. A particular merit of the ‘Theory of Practice’ is that it illuminates institutions and mechanisms that produce socio-economic disadvantage (Whigham et al., 2019) and perhaps lead to societal problems. Hence, institutions such as schools, which were envisioned to reduce social disadvantage, have had the ambiguous and dual effect of actually reproducing this while at the same time fighting against it (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990). In this sense, the merit of utilizing ‘Theory of Practice’ is that it seeks to reveal how stratification is produced and maintained by institutions (Wacquant, 2018). In parallel, ‘Theory of Practice’ would argue that, it may be the habitus of the middle class that is (un)consciously required by teachers to address and tackle the disadvantage of students who do not have that same habitus; hence, this (un)conscious requirement can probably be enforced by legalities that are similarly (un)conscious. When conducting this study and especially the fieldwork, I bore in mind that the schools I examine are shaped by young people experiencing social disadvantage, teachers/educators, policy makers, who deliver PE and SfA to disadvantaged young people. Given that teachers come from specific habitus—for instance, the middle-class habitus—then that habitus perhaps will (un)consciously permeate the culture of the institution.

Nonetheless, employing the ‘theory of practice’ has urged me to re-examine my thinking and praxis. Educators, not unlike myself, shape the entity of the school and the ways in which the school views and treats students from different class/socio-economic backgrounds. Hence, by adopting Bourdieu’s viewpoints as the conceptual framework for researching young socially disadvantaged people’s participation in PE and SfA in both Athens and Nicosia, I have taken the opportunity to address the critical hidden sociological nuances such as the tacit attitudinal and behavioural requirements of schools and/or families, which reside outside or within the school contexts. For example, lack of monetary income alone perhaps cannot explain why the children at school in PE and SfA do not participate or underperform and furthermore, cannot overcome social disadvantage. Bourdieu’s ‘theory of practice’ allows me to uncover and discover other and

perhaps more complicated sociological reasons. Hence, ‘theory of practice’ can effectively explain for children coming from lower socio-economic background in Athens’ and Nicosia’s schools the who, what, where, when, why, and the how of social reproduction. In addition, Bourdieu’s ‘theory of practice’ proves to be a very useful notion to understand PE and SfA in contexts of social disadvantage where gender, class and race/ethnicity intersect. When his theory is applied in PE and SfA, it can present serious implications for the maintenance of social disadvantage among young people. In Bourdieu’s own words, school is an:

institutionalized classifier which itself is an objectified system of classification reproducing the hierarchies of the social world in a transformed form, with its cleavages by level corresponding to social strata and its divisions into specialties and disciplines which reflect social divisions ad infinitum, such as the opposition between the theory and practice, conception and execution, transforms social classifications into academic classifications, with every appearance of neutrality (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 387).

I will discuss the main viewpoints from the four aspects synthesizing the ‘theory of practice’ as they are relevant to the study’s key areas of investigation; these are the: ‘habitus’; ‘field’; ‘capital’ and ‘symbolic violence’.

### **Habitus**

‘Habitus’ is a concept of utmost importance in Bourdieu's theory. Bourdieu (1990) defines habitus as the ‘cumulative collection of dispositions, norms and tastes’, which ‘functions at every moment as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations, and actions’ (p. 82). He then explains regularities of behaviour that are supposed to be associated with social structures, such as social class, gender, and ethnicity, without excluding the individual's agency. ‘Habitus’ is also considered as a way of describing the embodiment of social structures; it is further a set of dispositions, which reflects external social structures and shapes how a person perceives the world and moreover acts in it.

The conditionings associated with a particular class of conditions of existence produce habitus, systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes

without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them

(Bourdieu, 1990, p. 53).

‘Habitus’ is cultivated during childhood and tends to be more concrete than the habitus learned later (e.g. a profession). For example, the gender identity is deeply rooted since early years. The dispositions constituting habitus are also of a certain structure, inevitably reflecting the social conditions in which they were formed. For example, the habitus of a young person who grew up in Nicosia, in the area close to the ‘Green Line’ (i.e. UN buffer zone), in low socio-economic background/working class context may be similar to the habitus of others living in similar environments, yet perhaps different from that of individuals of middle-class backgrounds living at the outskirts of the city. Similarly to gender, Bourdieu believes that the class disposition of the primary ‘habitus’ is durable through the years. In parallel, habitus tends to generate practices that coincide with the social conditions that produced it. In continuing to act in accordance with the structures that helped to create their habitus, people reproduce those structures in practical ways. In other words, habitus appears as ‘the subjective dispositions which reflect a class-based social grammar of taste, knowledge, and behaviour [...]’ (Giroux, 1983, p. 89). Furthermore, Bourdieu (1984) argues that the lower classes are the least aware of how their social origin impacts their class mobility, because they have the least amount of information and awareness, due to their pre-existing marginalized position. Moreover, Bourdieu (1984) elaborates on cases where people who once from lower classes, have managed to ascend in high stages/levels; he argues that the habitus of their original class is still ‘present’, because it is so deeply embedded. Nonetheless, the flexibility of people’s practice is regulated by the notion of habitus; hence, habitus and practice should be dynamic and fluid. Practice therefore, emerges as the result of the relationship between an individual’s habitus, different forms of capital, and the field of action.

## **Capital**

During the 1960s, Pierre Bourdieu employed the term ‘cultural capital’ in order to explain the discrepancies in education. Bourdieu addressed three forms of capital: ‘economic, social, and cultural’ (1984; 1986). He additionally argued that these three forms of capital can be converted from one form into another. ‘Capital’ for Bourdieu engages with an economic metaphor to elucidate abstract social factors, such as beliefs, ideas, and habits. It is regarded as a form of currency that can be exchanged among individuals. Bourdieu defines ‘capital’ as ‘accumulated labour, which when appropriated on a private basis by agents or groups of agents, enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labour’ (Bourdieu, 2000, p. 83). Capital therefore, is a desired commodity that gives a distinct advantage to the individuals and groups who may possess its preferred forms, while disadvantaging those who may not. However, particular types of capital may be considered desirable in one setting, yet not desirable in other (Swartz, 1997). In this study, data collection and analysis showed that all three forms of capital matter. Cultural capital for example, ‘requires the investment of time by parents, other family members, or hired professionals to sensitize the child to cultural distinctions’ (Swartz, 1997, p. 76). The young people who participated in the fieldwork addressed the different forms of capital they have, how they use and accumulate it and perhaps, how it is denied in their everyday praxis. The majority of the children experience social disadvantage; either they are of a particular type – single or no parent and/or experiencing unemployment. For example, those who come from disadvantaged families may disrupt the socially constructed form of the family as father, mother, and children. This perhaps can diminish their symbolic capital significantly and attribute "negative" symbolic capital in the form of stigma on them. Hence, social class along with gender and race/ethnicity can shape their everyday praxis; the organisation of the economy (i.e., a capitalistic market economy) shapes for example, the ‘exercise habitus’ of young people coming from specific types of families in this study; such influences can later be reflected in their preferences and attitudes towards PE and SfA and their social disadvantage.

Delving deeper into the concept of cultural capital, Bourdieu determined that it exists further in three forms: embodied, objectified, and institutionalized. The place they live in or what they called ‘home’ for example, becomes a critical setting for

social reproduction (Koca, Atencio and Demirhan, 2009). To the children in the study, ‘home’ was synonymous to the obstacle of their participation in SfA. In Nicosia, the majority of children had to return home immediately; certainly, it was not only about time, it was also about type of the family, money, knowledge and viewpoints of parents for their participation in SfA; this for them denied their participation. In essence, cultural capital is perceived as ‘wealth in the form of knowledge or ideas, which legitimate the maintenance and status of power’ (Palmer, 2001, p. 15). In line with Bourdieu’s ideas, since the cultural capital that they engaged with did not match that of the dominant class, then they would end up being disadvantaged. Furthermore, parents transmit to children forms of capital similar to the forms that s/he acquired; parents therefore reproduce the social cycle. Consequently, families that do not value education or in this instance do not value PE and SfA, instilling the same viewpoints in their children, who will subsequently instil it to future generations.

### **Field**

‘Field’ refers to settings in which interaction and competition among individuals occur. Bourdieu (1998) described field as being ‘a network, or configuration, of objective relations between positions’, where the “positions are ‘objectively’ defined in their existence and in the determinations they impose upon their occupants, agents or institutions, by their present and potential situation in the structure of distribution of species of power (or capital) whose possession commands access to the specific profits that are at stake in the field.” (p. 97). In addition, Bourdieu described ‘field’ thoroughly as:

a separate social universe having its own laws of functioning independent of those of politics and the economy, and this autonomous universe is endowed with specific principles of evaluation of practices and works (1990, p. 162).

Not all fields however, are similar and each field has its own unique unwritten rules (Bourdieu, 1984), which require individuals and groups to understand and conform to in order to function successfully in the given field; this was called ‘doxa’. For Bourdieu (1990) ‘doxa’ appears equivalent to mastery over unquestioned codes which are required to understand particular fields. Apple (2004) argues that ‘doxa’

is synonymous to the notion of 'hidden curriculum'. This perhaps implies that we tend not to think actively about our experience of doxa, but rather accept it without reflection as a matter of established fact. Each field therefore, demands a different form of 'doxa' or class-based code; participants then come into each field with different forms of doxa-related habitus.

Significant implication is that there is competition for power within each field. Bourdieu (1984) argues that 'the more legitimate a given area, the more necessary and profitable it is to be competent in it, and the more damaging and costly to be incompetent' (p. 86). Considering such a power struggle, there are several strategies that the dominant class considers in order to preserve its dominance over a given field. Bourdieu (1984), for example explains that the dominant class will block the dominated lower classes from joining their exclusive social clubs by deliberately forcing potential members from the lower class to pay high membership fees that are typically outside their budget. Bourdieu (1984) emphasises the severe difficulties for the lower class in moving into different fields by stating:

the hysteresis effect is proportionately greater for agents who are more remote from the educational system and who are poorly or only vaguely informed about the market in educational qualifications (p. 142).

Lastly, Bourdieu (1984) describes this perception of legitimacy by different social classes as 'class-centrism'; the dominated classes tend to perceive this as 'natural' (perhaps, both as a matter of course and a part of 'nature'). This way of perceiving is one among other possible ways and is 'acquired through education that may be diffuse or specific, conscious or unconscious, institutionalized or non-institutionalised' (p. 217).

### **Symbolic Violence**

'Symbolic violence' is a concept that Bourdieu employed to theorise social inequalities that can eventually lead to social disadvantage. For Bourdieu, symbolic violence can be found in 'every power which manages to impose meanings and to impose them as legitimate by concealing the power relations which are the basis of its force' (1998, p. 4). 'Symbolic violence' can be more dangerous than physical violence, because it is subtly installed in social structures in order to maintain the

hierarchy of classes. This covert nature of symbolic violence contributes to the reproduction and maintenance of social hierarchies, because those hierarchies are unquestioningly regarded by the dominant and dominated classes as natural and legitimate. Therefore, the ones who impose and/or exhibit symbolic violence are rarely challenged (Grenfell, 2008).

Hence, there can be a two-way path in which the dominant class exhibit symbolic violence. Firstly, for example, when young people are excluded from particular fields because of their habitus and/or capital, forms of symbolic violence are being imposed. Exclusion from certain fields and activities for example, limits the access of the lower classes to economic, political, and social resources. In this study, children who are perceived 'not body-abled' or who believe that the field of PE is dangerous to their 'health' and 'body' are excluded from PE. Secondly, the maintenance of the stratified social structure becomes another form of symbolic violence directed towards the lower classes by the upper class, as it seeks to sustain its dominance. From such a point of view, it can be argued that schools are settings constructed to enact symbolic violence on the lower classes. In this study for example, both schools, and in certain incidences, appeared to exclude and perhaps marginalise students from lower classes in order to maintain the domination structure. The PE teacher would decide who would participate and which sport would take place and in which facility. In addition, SfA was to take place in particular facilities within the school, which that excluded certain sports from happening, and only delivered certain sports, predominantly football. In such an instance, Bourdieu would perhaps argue that by not valuing the cultural capital of children from the lower classes, the school potentially excludes them from gaining upward social mobility.

### **Concluding on Bourdieu**

My fundamental thoughts and intention for this study is not to assimilate, but to emancipate. Bourdieu's standpoint emerges as an enlightening perspective for me as the researcher who is interested in understanding and explaining social disadvantage through the experiences and views of young people in education settings and within PE and SfA in Athens and Nicosia. The element of endurance

within Bourdieu's theory continues because social disadvantage (e.g. in terms of delivery of PE and SfA) is prominent, in spite of new and costly policy initiatives that have been put in place to narrow social disadvantage among young people in the two cities. Recent financial and budgetary pressures as well as reform of educational policies in both Athens and Nicosia (in effect, widely in both Cyprus and Greece) demand funding formulas to provide opportunities for socially disadvantaged young people, and eliminate social disadvantage by for example, increasing the participation of children from diverse race/ethnicity, gender and low socio-economic backgrounds in an effort to justify the expenditure of vast funds for example, for refugees.

When I inter-connect Bourdieu's concepts, the notion of social disadvantage becomes robustly comprehensible. For example, cultural capital can be formatted in many ways, which collectively formulate habitus. Bearing in mind that different classes have different forms of habitus, it goes without saying that they transmit forms of habitus to their children. In other words, these children can be marginalised, and this marginalisation constitutes symbolic violence that is imposed on them. Throughout the processes of data collection and analysis, such 'pictures' became apparent. A child in Nicosia, who while not being body-abled (i.e. he suffered cerebral palsy) was encouraged by his parents and supported by state education to attend secondary education and particularly PE even if he was only observing the lesson. The school did not have the 'knowledge' nor the facilities, equipment nor specialised PE teacher to include this child in the PE lesson. Similarly, girls tended to be excluded from participating in activities, such as football, and children were denied access to PE and SfA because of family circumstances. Bourdieu (1984) explained this view through the following: [(Cultural capital) (Habitus)] + Social Field = Practice. When cultural capital is multiplied by a habitus and the resulting product is added to a social field, it produces an equivalent amount of practice (e.g. behaviours that individuals display in a particular environment) (p. 101).

One of the key theoretical premises of this study is that the participants as socially disadvantaged young people engage with PE and SfA and share common values,

needs and desires with other young people of the Cypriot (in Nicosia) and/or Greek (in Athens and Nicosia) society. Hence, they might be perceived as members of a “deviant subculture” or underclass with particular values and practices that separate them from middle and higher class cultures. Along with social class, this study urges that it intersects with the factors of gender and race. What these children practise therefore in PE and SfA is a sign of membership and social status, for example, practising football at school in Nicosia or in Athens marks the student with the status of belonging. At the same time, I embrace Bourdieu’s viewpoint of the role that teachers, in this study PE teachers, play. In 1990, Bourdieu declared that the role of the teacher is central in the process by which education reproduces inequalities leading to social disadvantage; such social reproduction applies to all social classes. He compares teachers to priests who (as powerful high hierarchy figures), are regarded pure and infallible. Given that ‘the teacher, like the priest, has a recognised authority, because s/he is an agent of a moral body greater than himself, teachers’ pedagogical strategies and curricular choices go unquestioned by students and are regarded as objective and neutral’; I would add as ‘always right’ (p. 64). Hence, the social reproduction path - a core issue for this study - claims that cultural capital reproduces existing class-based differences (Bourdieu, 2000; 1990; 1986; 1984). Lastly, of utmost importance, is his viewpoint that the practitioner should not engage with theory without drawing on practice and vice versa. Concluding, I anticipate that Bourdieu’s ideas will inform my understanding of how the dynamics of certain educational contexts as well as certain locations/cities/countries – in the study: Athens and Nicosia in Greece and Cyprus - influence the struggles of socially disadvantaged young people who engage (or not) with PE and SfA while intersecting with the factors of gender and race/ethnicity. In my endeavour, Pierre Bourdieu was ‘present’ along with Judith Butler and Critical Race theorists. I now move on to discuss the relevance of Judith Butler’s views in relevance to this research study.

### 3.2.2 On Judith Butler – Challenging Gender

Ontologically, this research study recognises that ‘reality’ is constructed in multiple and numerous ways. Herein, this could mean that young people (boys and girls and their bodies) are not conceived of as separately existing entities, independent of existing realities (Ward et al., 2017) and that our social world is constituted of different realities with all of us viewing, understanding, and interpreting ‘reality’ in multiple ways (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005). By exploring socially disadvantaged young people’s different realities in PE and SfA, I seek to reaffirm the ‘given’ realities, and -through this research process - to disrupt the notion of socially disadvantaged young people being a homogenous category in PE and SfA. Judith Butler provides a very significant lens additional to that of P. Bourdieu. She suggests that gender is always a ‘doing’. Gender does not pre-exist in our DNA or is singularly ‘possessed’, but it is something continually ‘performed’ through sustained social interaction and a series of repetitive acts (1990). Judith Butler further employs the notion of performativity to claim that ‘the substantive effect of gender is performatively produced and compelled by the regulatory practices of gender coherence’ (1990, p. 24). In this research study, it is assumed that no essence or origin of gender can be found, thus gender is constantly (re)performed in multifaceted ways. Under the Butlerian perspective, the employment of the terms ‘young people, boys and/or girls’ should in no way focus on homogenising either boys or girls as well as their performances of gender (Zembylas, 2019b). Consequently, their employment is welcomed in a way that recognises the multiple ways of being a child while describing gendered subjects (i.e. young males/females or young masculinities/femininities). The Butlerian lens also enables me and the study to explore how groups of students do or perform gender when in PE and SfA. By using the term ‘performativity’, I consider that gender comes into existence as boys and girls perform, using the resources and strategies available in a given social setting; that is at their school setting in the cities of Athens and Nicosia. Hence, I choose to define gender as a multiple and socio-historic performance shaped by ongoing discourses.

Judith Butler’s seminal theory of performativity (1990) has significantly shaped individual and collective understandings of gender. Herein, performativity is employed as a framework to critically assess gender performances in patriarchal

environments, such as in families and schools, whilst including the institutional rules and norms that shape young people's behaviours and interactions. Performativity therefore, provides a significant and valuable lens for critiquing boys' and girls' experiences in spaces – such as in facilities and schooling environments doing PE and SfA - where expectations for gender can significantly shape educational life-time experiences perhaps and as well as the notions of success and failure. Her theory of performativity (1999) challenges categorical understandings of gender, addressing that gender is constituted (and re-constituted) through ritualized performances of gender norms. Butler went further when she addressed performativity in terms of the materiality of the body (1993) and within particular contexts, such as hate speech (2017) and additionally, within discourses of persistence and survival in response to discrimination (2010; 1995). Through her viewpoints, Butler explores not only the means through which performativity manifests but also the potential for individual subversion and collective action.

In my research study, Butler's views appear appropriate. When studying Butler's theory which emphasises the school place, it provides me with the opportunity to examine performativity among male and female students in parallel with the institutional rules and norms that shape their behaviours and interactions. In particular, I considered the discourses relevant to the gender that students 'perform' when participating in PE and SfA; further, the performances that may be required from them (during PE and SfA) to function and succeed in a male-dominated field (e.g. football). Butler's theory of performativity therefore, supports understanding the potential and limitations of gender performances within the school contexts of the cities of Athens and Nicosia. Furthermore, this research study adds to existing research on Butler's theory that can indeed be expanded to educational settings/school contexts (Chadderton, 2018a) and be of importance to enhance the potential as well as of the limitations on young people's gender performances within their school context. Gender, she argued:

is not internal but is a repeated performance of acts, gestures, [and] enactments, generally construed, are performative in the sense that the essence or identity that they otherwise purport to express are fabrications manufactured and sustained through corporeal signs and other discursive means

(1990, p.173).

Butler further elaborated that gender performativity is not a person's choice. Those who do not 'do their gender right' (p.178) can become excluded within their own culture, because the [provided] power structure prioritises the maintenance of a gender polarity or binary. However, Butler (1990) allowed for agency on *how* performativity is repeated..., 'it is only within the practices of repetitive signifying that a subversion of identity becomes possible' (p. 185). That is, through repeating acts, behaviours or desires that challenge prevailing gender assumptions, a person can engage with new approaches to doing gender. Further, in her seminal work '*Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of 'Sex'*' (1993), Butler elaborated on her theory of performativity when she discussed the relationship between sex and the materiality of the body. Sex, she argued,

is not something one has or what one is; it is the means through which an individual becomes viable. That is, sex 'qualifies a body for life within the domain of cultural intelligibility (p. 2).

The power of performativity is fundamental and does not represent a single act, yet is a 'reiterative and citational practice' (p. 2) through which discourse produces material effects. Nonetheless, Butler does not perceive performativity as purely limiting. For example, practices that support argument over gender norm/normalisation of gender can mobilise feminist and queer politics. Boys in my research study are perceived as able, 'macho men' and popular among girls when they 'perform in' football; at the same time, a gay boy in Nicosia 'performs in' volleyball with other girls. Thus, volleyball becomes synonymous with a girlish activity where the gay boy is welcome and accepted; the other boys oppose volleyball because a gay boy performs in it and the gay boy does reject football as it does not provide him with the appropriate space to perform his gay identity. Such practices can reconceptualise which 'gendered bodies' matter. Moreover, the notion of the 'bodies that matter' (1993) enabled Butler to revisit the aspect of 'agency'. She considered power structures, suggesting that power cannot act [alone], but there exists a systematic and repetitive acting within the notion of power disrupting it and revealing its instability. Similarly, performativity does not exist as a repetitive set of norms performed in compliance with a particular law, but it is this law that enables the action to begin.

Butler's theory provided me with the 'tools' for gendered categories to be broadly explored and re-discussed within this research study. Although questioning gender norms may be challenging, such an act may provoke the status quo, particularly when the subversive figure is in the public eye or a position of power. Such understandings appear to be a key in the study. This study therefore seeks to explore Butler's position on identity and how power and discourse are constituent in the lives of the socially disadvantaged young people under examination. It considers therefore, the role of context and how boys and girls perhaps act in certain ways within their schools, 'erasing' other types of expression and constituting categories. In repetition of these expressions, however, I bear in mind not to 'trap' people into categories, yet to challenge and reconstitute the coherence of each category. Such an interpretation of Butler's theory seems to support the aspects of Critical Race Theory that focus on illuminating the emancipatory potential of performativity. Through the identification of categories and of how the young people perform within them, individuals have greater potential to subvert them. It is also important to note, that during the data analysis and the reporting of the findings, I attempted to apply the notion of 'performativity' to the interview data. She stated (1990) that the notion of performativity should be supplemented with narrative performance to examine 'relational specificities and the mechanisms through which gender and gender trouble occur' (1990, p. 567). When for instance, participants address elements of their PE and SfA performance, perhaps I am allowed to understand how elements of the performativity theory, such as reflexivity and active imagination, contribute to gender construction of these socially disadvantaged young people.

In addition to the ideas discussed above, this research study draws further on her viewpoints on 'speech' (1997). Butler examined performativity in reference to rhetorical and political acts, addressing not only the concept of 'speech', but also the consequences of speech acts. Butler then suggested that language can enable vulnerability, such as through name-calling and she specifically referred to hate speech. However, she questioned whether linguistic agency can emerge through performative action and elaborated that speech exists not in simple contexts; rather, a potential injury that can result from speech implies possible loss of context due to the unanticipated aspect of the speech act. Thus, how the body performs a speech act is significant; first, as a threat under certain circumstances; second, as a venue

of power through which performative effects can materialise. This point reinforces a need to address performativity within ‘institutional conditions of utterance’ (1997, p. 13) or how institutions and institutional thinking shape the ways speech acts are developed and presented. In this study, ‘speech’ as well as ‘hate speech’ emerged through the process of conducting the interviews as it also did during the process of the lessons’ observation when I could listen to how the children (as well as the teachers) expressed themselves both through verbal and body ‘speech’.

Last but not least, in 2004, Butler further developed her theory in relationship to persistence and survival, including instances of discrimination related to the construction of gender identity (i.e. transgenderism and transsexuality). She argued that people do not ‘do gender’ alone **but for** one another, even imaginary others (my emphasis). She also addressed a world in which those living outside of gender norms, or confused by gender norms, could ‘still understand themselves not only as living liveable lives, but as deserving a certain kind of recognition’ (p. 207). She, therefore, triggered another emancipatory potential deriving from her work. For example, utilizing the narrative-discursive method within a Butlerian theoretical framework made it possible to elaborate on politics of narration, both on the local or micro level (e.g., in relation to positioning and interactional trouble) and the macro level, with regard to gendered norms and the broader political implications of ‘trouble’ (p. 570).

### **Concluding on Judith Butler**

The study explores social disadvantage and in terms of Butler, how performativity might be exhibited by children experiencing social disadvantage and how young people [and their PE teachers] make sense of these interactions. The study’s research design (i.e. cross-cultural, case-study complemented with ethnographic elements qualitative research design, participant observation, focus group and single semi-structured interviews) is synthesised by relevant methodological choices in order to effectively examine how performativity is exhibited within PE and SfA; the goal then is to make policy makers, practitioners, scholars and any reader aware of the limitations placed upon young people who experience social

disadvantage. In line with theory, such methods prioritise individuals within educational contexts, examine their views, their practice/performance and their attitudes in shaping norms and cultures. By adopting Butler's theoretical stance, I was allowed to look beyond the culturally and societally structured and expected gender roles disadvantaged boys and girls should play. Further, I was provided with the opportunity to consider acts that contribute to the Butlerian assumptions and to further develop ways boys and girls recognise, accept, yet challenge and subvert aspects of their social disadvantage.

Overall, Butler suggests that her theoretical stance provides opportunities for emancipation for those desiring to 'revolutionise' gender norms within existing power structures/contexts. Her work invites a collective response from those seeking recognition of their freedom to live 'livable lives' (Butler, 2004, p. 207). Socially disadvantaged young people [and perhaps their parents and teachers] not only operate within environments privileging masculine heteronormativity, but, through their reporting, they also consistently 'communicate' gender [identity construction] to the outside world. Thus, empowering this group(s) of people could result in opportunities for gender subversion within the contexts of PE, SFA and schools while also potentially inspiring and motivating their educators and policy makers. They may, in turn, resist existing power structures by redefining what it truly means for boys and girls to 'do their gender right' (1990, p. 178).

### **3.2.3. On Critical Race Theory – Challenging Racism**

This research study draws also on Critical Race Theory (CRT) to understand socially disadvantaged young people - especially those of colour and other (than Greek Cypriot and Greek) ethnicities in the secondary school contexts of Athens and Nicosia. In parallel with social class and gender, race/ethnicity is examined through the 'lenses' of critical race theorists. CRT originally emerged in the USA during the '70s in the field of law in order to reject interdisciplinary legal studies' stance in the transformative power of society (Ladson-Billings, 1998). CRT emphasises the element of social construction within race and considers judicial conclusions to be based on inherent and racist social assumptions (Bhopal, 2018).

In parallel, concepts of white supremacy and racism are prominent in contemporary American society and internationally. White supremacy is confronted as a racist ideology based on the assertion that whites are superior to non-whites. Furthermore, terms such ‘segregation’ were attached to the ideology of white supremacy and were imposed on all people of colour in the USA and elsewhere in the world for several generations (Darnell, 2007; Yosso, 2005). CRT fundamentally supports that whites in the American society still exhibit an excessive amount of social and political power as well as having access to the vast majority of American educational and financial resources in contrast to non-white people; moreover, CRT claims that whites use these resources to support social hierarchy founded upon the ideology of white supremacy. In turn, this social hierarchy stresses the idea that white culture is the prevalent US culture, which when coupled with the white supremacy consists of ‘white privilege’ - a set of social and legal advantages - for any and all white Americans. Hence in the context of education, young people of colour are in a way subtly obliged to attend segregated schools within segregated neighbourhoods. It is significant to highlight that the term ‘segregation’ was found inherently unconstitutional by the *Brown v. Board of Education* case in 1954 (i.e. *Brown v. Board of Education* declared that ‘separate educational facilities are inherently unequal).

CRT has been globally employed as a theoretical framework in social research works. Ladson-Billings and Tate’s (1995) study is considered seminal to educational research and CRT; through their study, they argued that widespread and deep-rooted racism exists in American life and that this universal racism damages the educational outcomes of students of colour. They contested structural and institutional racism to the educational pathways of students of colour. Moreover, in her research Delgado and Stefancic (2001), pointed out that students of colour usually feel as if their culture, experience, language, and history are not valued or are absent/omitted in formal educational settings. That is why their knowledge is not seen as ‘valid’, thus it is oriented towards European and/or Anglo-Saxon culture. Savas (2014) highlights the need for academic research and researchers to engage with the notions of ‘race’ in research in education. CRT therefore emerges out of struggle from scholars who, in challenging legal systems, white privilege and power, have developed a transdisciplinary tool for opposing the hegemonic

influence of the white establishment and of ‘powerful ethnicities’. The legal system embodies a site of struggle that reflects who has power and who is privileged in society and the contrary (e.g. Jones, 2018; Deepak, Rowntree and Scott, 2015; Deaner, 2013; Johnston and Longhurst, 2010; Kivel, Johnson and Scraton, 2009). CRT therefore seeks to shape the discourses of minds opposed to ‘race-centred’ perspectives and they also wish to empower and enable ‘change’ (Chadderton, 2018b; 2013).

In line with the ideas of CRT, this research study adopts its perspectives aiming to assist the investigation of the element of race/ethnicity; a basic premise of a critical perception of race/ethnicity is that we live in an unequal society, where resources and power are distributed disproportionately (Hylton, 2015; Strand, 2014; Anderson and McCormack, 2010). Herein, (CRT) also stands as an ontological point. CRT perspective is believed potentially to enable individuals to resist the passive reproduction of established practices, knowledge and resources, which ultimately, marginalise ‘race’ (Preston and Chadderton, 2012). CRT challenges social scientists to (re)interpret the black experience, racial formations and race equality, therefore generating a more liberating and emancipatory discourse (Bhopal, 2018; 2019). Following Aguirre’s views (2000) that CRT stories are topical social events and experiences that place the minority and their voice into the centre rather than the periphery, this study gave voice to people of colour and of other various ethnicities. Hence, their CRT stories provide the study with the minority’s social reality as well as with terms of oppression, racism, discrimination, and victimisation, which are usually overlooked in research in PE and SfA and when examining social disadvantage in young people (Chadderton, 2015).

CRT further contends that people situated in high levels of social hierarchies, not only hold but embrace privilege, power, and prestige (e.g. upper-class white men in western societies, e.g. American). In this sense, it is crucial to understand that CRT is not only a counter-argument to racism but a way to challenge forms of subordination within the American society. Solorzano and Yosso (2002) identified five tenets of CRT in education; in sum, they argued that:

1. Race and Racism to be inter-central to other forms of subordination. Race and racism are seminal, prevalent, everlasting and fundamental to

defining and explaining how US society functions. Hence, CRT is linked with racialised subordination to other forms of oppression such as gender, social class, immigration status, sexuality, and disability.

2. Challenging dominant ideology. CRT challenges white privilege and contests the prerogatives that educational institutions make toward objectivity, meritocracy, colour-blindness, neutrality and equal opportunities. CRT scholars argue that such discourses are made to cover-up white privilege and power.
3. Commitment to social justice. CRT includes the notions of 'practice/action'. CRT scholars are engaged with activism and long for the elimination of racism, sexism, classism and all other forms of oppression in society. Empowerment of people of colour and 'other' are their primary aim.
4. Importance of Experimental knowledge. CRT identifies and values the voices of people of colour as legitimate, proper and critical so as to provide thorough comprehension and analysis of any type of racial subordination. CRT seeks to examine the stories/the lives of people of colour and other employing research methods, such as narratives and biographies/autoethnography.
5. CRT holds a transdisciplinary perspective. That is to say, that it combines historical and contemporary contexts to identify persistent inequalities that lead to social disadvantage.

Consequently, while 'setting the scene' to comprehend 'race' and 'racism' and apply the theory within my research, I follow Bhopal's views (2018) that I should acknowledge the social and physical differences that construct 'race'. As such, it goes without saying that the terms 'racialisation' or 'race' remain integral to PE and SfA, thus cannot disappear nor can its racial formations and structures. In addition, CRT scholars connect the disadvantages of students of colour at predominantly white school contexts to a society in which CRT believes that people of colour are treated unequally, have higher rates of sickness and death, receive a lower quality education and health services, live in poorer social and economic environments, and are more subject to criminal victimisation and incarceration (Chadderton, 2018a). As such, the CRT framework in education and further in PE and SfA considers broader social, cultural and economic conditions of students of colour or other ethnicities and questions the way such factors influence students in their educational journeys.

This study is located in Cyprus and Greece. Currently and at the time of fieldwork, these two locations are characterised not only by the economic recession but also by the refugee crisis and immigration tides from countries of Africa, Middle East, Far East and North-Eastern Europe (e.g. Sierra Leone, Somalia, Libya, Syria, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Russia). In line with CRT, these two locations support that the discourse of ‘race’ is powerful and that when in debate, especially in public policy, the starting point often becomes an unproblematic notion of ‘race’ that implies a clear association with ethnicity. This is often articulated in ‘black or other’, different to white populations that perhaps refuses and renders invisible the experiences of groups being different to black (or white). Herein, the use of CRT does not imply that ‘race’ is being applied without tensions and there is no attempt to deny difference, individuality or identity by not consistently referring to ethnicity, as it is recognised here that people experience ‘race’ and racism (s) in different ways. Nevertheless, and according to Bhopal (2018), the centralisation and theorisation of ‘race’ and racism in research agendas emerges as urgent. Following Fitzpatrick and Santamaria (2015), ethnically diverse young people need to be centralised in research as the focus should be on researching difference. Only recently, Kareem – Abdul-Jabbar (in the Guardian, 2008) stood for sport as ‘one of the few areas in which Americans of all races can talk to each other. Right now, it may be the country’s best hope for meaningful dialogue’.

CRT's political agenda of challenge, change and transformation contributes to the ability of sport and leisure communities to critically re-examine how ‘race’, and racialised processes and formations are incorporated in their theory and practice. The CRT framework is presented here for serious considerations. Currently, many African Americans must cope with obstacles such as racism, hostility, prejudice, discrimination, institutional bias, negative stereotypes, self-doubt, alienation, isolation, and cultural insensitivity (Savas, 2014). At the same time, in Greece and Cyprus the vast numbers of refugees and immigrants can probably feel similarly. CRT challenges traditional dominant ideologies around objectivity, meritocracy, colour-blindness, race-neutrality and equal opportunity (Anderson and McCormack, 2010). Following Hylton and Long’s (2016) recommendation to those in education that a CRT perspective would allow a powerful dismantling of colour-blind and ‘race-neutral’ policies is an invitation that I embraced in my research

study. However, he argues that the challenge is that for a long period of time policies have hidden behind discourses of race (e.g. being black) or others have waited, hoped and fought for change. Now therefore is time for such orthodoxies to be further contested and in a sustained way than they have been in the past. Hence, when CRT focuses on disadvantage in PE and SfA, it enables me to consider a domain that traditionally reflects the power and knowledge interests of privileged white PE and SfA. Hence, the principles of the CRT approach make up an essential framework for examining the socially disadvantaged young people of colour and of various ethnicities in the contexts of Athens and Nicosia, further in Greece and Cyprus.

Overall, the CRT viewpoint allows me through my research to get a clearer understanding of the major structures involved in the organisation of PE and SfA for disadvantaged young people, crucial to tackling disadvantage. A focus on power processes, white hegemony, racism and equality, account for some of the contemporary concerns that have perplexed 'race' scholars and complicated the study of 'race' while consistently being ignored by mainstream theorists. CRT draws on critical epistemologies to ensure that their social justice agenda intersects to highlight relevant oppressive processes that affect gender, social class, age and at times, disability (Azzarito et al., 2017; Chadderton, 2013). In my research, CRT is believed to hold the potential to challenge traditional forms PE and SfA that impose white and herein Greek-dominant ideologies.

Another aspect triggered in this study by CRT is the notion that 'race' changes over context and time, therefore the opportunity for 'race' exists to be revisited when using CRT in order to assert the power of social groups. Carrington and McDonald (2001) contested that sport, just like the law, can be observed as a key tool in the suppression of black people and the magnification of 'race' as a major socially mediating factor. CRT holds therefore the potential to challenge sport, PE and SfA when theorising its transformative capacity. CRT is effectively employed to generate appropriate, theoretical vocabulary for the practice of progressive racial politics in PE and SfA, additional to understanding the formations of racial power and ideologies. In this study as well, CRT seeks to reject orthodoxies and challenge mainstream paradigms (Crenshaw et al., 1996). When studying 'race' and racism

in PE and SfA in Nicosia and Athens, CRT is used to reject the notion of neutral objective detachment from issues, such as race... reducing in this way the chances [for it] to be marginalised or even ignored. Moreover, as the researcher and the writer of this text, CRT encourages me to challenge the notion of race and racism and make this study political rather than neutral as well as transformative rather than merely critical. By engaging therefore with research that is fundamentally political, I position myself within a cause that attempts to identify the criteria for the transformation of racism imposed in the two educational contexts of Athens and Nicosia, broadly in Greece and Cyprus.

### **Concluding on CRT**

Within the process of designing and implementing this research study, I seek to progress from the standpoint that we live in a fundamentally racialised and unequal society where processes systematically limit the potential of people of colour and other ethnicities leading them to social disadvantage. Greece and Cyprus can be societies constructed to be racist, thus leading socially disadvantaged people to the margins; this is evidenced by the hegemony of mainstream agendas in school curricula of PE and in SfA. Solorzano and Yosso's (2001) state that CRT has a clear and strong commitment to social justice, that is to incorporate elements of liberation and transformation. A critical ontology encapsulates the notion that as the researcher, I remain close to the social processes that structure my world, that is, where racism and the distribution of power and resources disproportionately marginalise people of colour and other positions in society, sport, education, PE and SfA and/or any other major social structures, ensuring that such issues stay at the centre of the emancipation agenda.

In conclusion, employing CRT in this study appears to be more relevant and up to date more than ever before. I employ CRT in discussing race and ethnicity where heretofore in research of PE and SfA it is limited and calls for updated research agendas are now prominent (Dagkas, Azzarito and Hylton, 2019; Enright et al., 2014; Dagkas, Benn and Jawad, 2011; Anderson and McCormack, 2010). The challenge to interrogate phenomena such as social disadvantage deriving from whiteness, privilege and 'race' in the historical and contemporary developments of

PE and SfA, as well as how processes within these contexts and society conspire to reinforce or liberate from oppressions (Freire, 1974/2000), emerge as necessary. Seizing the opportunity through my study, CRT can lead the way for PE and SfA in order to broaden out the foci and utilize instructive epistemologies likely to illuminate the multiple intersections of 'race'. Consequently, CRT in PE and SfA is likely to consider 'race' and racisms with reference to converging social markers and processes such as power, gender, class, and how these play out in sport and leisure contexts.

### **3.5. Summarising Chapter III**

In this research study, I chose to employ and combine the ideas of the theorists P. Bourdieu, J. Butler and also Critical Race Theory in order to introduce a novice approach in researching social disadvantage linked to gender, class and race/ethnicity. I also attempt to fill gaps in research and respond to the criticisms levelled upon PE and SfA that call for a concrete theoretical focus and advanced research agendas (Dagkas, 2018; Flintoff, 2018; Chadderton, 2018a). Chapter III provided an overview of the relevant literature and an insight into the theoretical framework underpinning this study. The chapter explored the seminal viewpoints of Pierre Bourdieu, Judith Butler while further engaging with the Critical Race Theory; all these elements constituted the theoretical framework of my study. The theoretical stances were justified and the extent to which these theories were useful for exploring the views and experiences of the research participants was discussed. Although the relevant sections were presented separately, together they provide an overview and holistically synthesise with the knowledge into a solid foundation from which informed and systematic research was designed and further conducted. Having presented the elements in which the theoretical framework is rooted, I now continue to Chapter IV where I attend to methodological topics.

## **Chapter IV – METHODOLOGY**

### **4.1. Introduction**

Chapter IV is focused on presenting and discussing the methodological assumptions and issues of the research paradigm, the research design, data collection and analysis. When constructing and writing this chapter, I wish to create an overview and evaluate critically the selected research methodology along with individual research methods. Throughout the chapter, information from literature on research methodology is contextualised within the specific research study.

### **4.2. Introducing the study's paradigm: Intersectionality**

The paradigm or 'basic belief systems' or 'worldview' (Smith and Sparks, 2016a) influences what can be investigated and discussed, who can probe and examine in depth and how a topic should be examined. Paradigms focus on addressing and replying to the ontological, epistemological and methodological questions of any research study (Falcous and Booth, 2017). Our ontology leads us to formulate the questions that form and inspire our research. Thus, ontology and epistemology are inseparable parts of the theoretical perspective. Furthermore, this research study is grounded in the paradigm of intersectionality and an interpretive epistemology (Smith, 2018; Donnelly and Atkinson, 2015; Tomlinson, 2013). After all, the main question for a research project is the starting point that dictates the choice of a specific research strategy (Berg, 1998); Berg's view has inspired this research study. I consequently begin by asking whether PE along with SfA can contribute to addressing and tackling young people's social disadvantage. Being a researcher, who currently resides in an urban, south-European context during crisis and recession, I have been influenced by the ideas of Denzin and Lincoln (2005) and Mason (2003) in determining how to conduct my research study, rooted in my experiences, readings and social background. Therefore, I pose the research questions and position myself within the appropriate paradigm. Within the current context, I choose Intersectionality, because:

the interplay of multiple social dynamics and power relations that motivates intersectional studies [...] by focusing on structures of power that constitute subjects in particular socio-political formations, we locate sociocultural dynamics in social space and time

(Cho, Crenshaw and McCall, 2013, p.803).

In parallel, I bear in mind that my paradigm includes theories about the nature of reality and knowledge and about the judgments on the validity and authenticity of the research findings (Smith and Sparkes, 2016). While attempting to clarify the notion of ‘paradigm’, Guba and Lincoln (1994) suggested that the basic beliefs defining a particular research paradigm can be illustrated by the responses to three fundamental questions:

the ontological question i.e. what is the form and nature of reality?

the epistemological question i.e. what can be known?

the methodological question i.e. how can a researcher find out whatever one believes that can be known?

Having set the ‘research’ scene for situating the selected paradigm of intersectionality, I ask the research questions and seek to examine them and probe into the issues while positioning the research into intersectionality; in parallel, I consider how the range of methods employed can impact on the successful implementation of my research study (Holt, 2016; Kivel, Johnson and Scraton, 2009; Bryman, 2008; Darnell, 2007). This research study seeks to explore social phenomena linked to social disadvantage in young people; central to this is the idea that multiple realities exist through which understandings are created. Further, methodological procedures within this paradigm assume that:

- Social categorizations, such as class, gender and race are interconnected/intersect
- People’s identities and experiences overlap in order to understand the complexity of the prejudices people face
- People are often disadvantaged by multiple sources of oppression: race/ethnicity; class; gender; sexual orientation; religion and other identity markers (Crenshaw, 1991).

Assumptions, as such, primarily dictate how the research study is carried out; that is for example, the use of cross-cultural design and the choice of the case-study design complemented with ethnographic elements. All participants therefore, are considered to have personal points of view as well as knowledge. However and

according to Cho, Crenshaw and McCall (2013) their views are not ‘simply structural positions’ but are ‘contingent on the particular dynamics under study or of political interest’ (p.803). Furthermore, they are considered to be constrained, yet coloured by certain social structures, such as their current socio-economic, gender, and racial/ethnic position.

In summary, research questions can be addressed in different and multifaceted ways. Adopting specific paradigms, such as Intersectionality, can assist a research study to engage with transformation on all human fields in dialectical praxis; this, in order to influence the world’s future towards a direction that embraces empowerment (Block and Corona, 2014). Smith and Sparkes (2016) highlight that several and various paradigms lead research to engage with all types of questions, designs, and methodologies; consequently, they argue: ‘differences are to be celebrated and valued, because they allow us to know and understand the social world, including that of sport and exercise, in diverse and enriched ways’ (p.3).

### **4.3. Intersectionality**

Intersectionality is founded on the idea that ‘lived realities are shaped by different factors and social dynamics operating together’ (Hankivsky et al., 2014, p.3). The intersectional approach fundamentally argues that members of socially disadvantaged and marginalised groups (e.g. Eliason, Martinson and Carabez, 2015; Fotopoulou, 2012) hold similarities, yet simultaneously being different. The proliferation of intersectionality as a research paradigm to investigate social disadvantage has been exemplified by the rapid growth of and the importance to qualitative research in the fields of PE and SfA (e.g. Robertson, 2017). However, the combined examination of social disadvantage in young people and the role of PE and SfA, when considered in relation to social class, gender and ethnicity/race, appears to be limited; thus, this research study aims to add to the existing research.

It is suggested therefore, that intersectionality highlights how oppression and privilege operate in PE and SfA as well as in the dispositions of the participants while overlapping with their gender, social class and race/ethnicity (e.g. Castiello – Jones, Misa and McCurley, 2013); nonetheless, intersectional approaches arose from feminist scholars who recognised that there were important differences between women and men. Crenshaw et al. (1996), in particular – also, characterised as the ‘leader’ among the theorists of ‘intersectionality’- argued that gender, race and class are interconnected as ‘intersecting oppressions’. Following Hankivsky et al.’s (2010) ideas, this study seeks to be framed within:

conceptual frameworks that can transform the design of research to produce knowledge that captures how systems of discrimination or subordination overlap and ‘articulate’ with one another [...] intersectionality places an explicit focus on differences among groups and seeks to illuminate various interacting social factors that affect human lives, including social locations, health status and quality of life (p.9).

Grant and Zwier (2012) further advocate that intersectionality sheds light on policy discussions by assisting in the comprehension of policies at an individual level. Similarly, intersectionality highlights the fact ‘that multiple marginalisations of race, class, gender or sexual orientation at the individual and institutional levels create social and political stratification, requiring policy solutions that are attuned to the interactions of these categories’ (Hancock, 2007, p.65).

In this research study, social disadvantage in young people is viewed as a complex process arising from the interaction of individual characteristics and external conditions. Dagkas (2016) highlights the relevance of an approach that recognizes the nature of social disadvantage, yet it prioritises individual factors. In such an approach, analysis of young people’s disadvantage should go beyond the people’s idiographic experiences and the temporary or state-based nature of disadvantage. A systemic and group-based social disadvantage should be then emphasized. In parallel, herein intersectionality takes a broader approach and considers the intertwined economic, social, cultural, and political contexts in which the individuals and external conditions interact. Increasingly, worldwide research on social disadvantage calls for intersectional work that not only analyses overlapping social categories, but also provides in depth analyses of structural processes that

create and exacerbate social disadvantage (e.g. Dagkas, 2016). In line with the suggestions of Flintoff, Fitzgerald and Scraton (2008), this study embraces the challenges of intersectionality. Intersectionality offers strategies to explore the similarities and differences across and within social groups that experience intersecting marginalisations (Crockett et al. 2011) and supports the fact that intersectionality in the context of PE and SfA should be researched systematically in order to contribute in the addressing of issues of young people experiencing social disadvantage. In parallel, Dagkas (2016) urged that a resurgence of interest in intersectionality can provide an effective platform to legitimise “non-normative bodies” (diverse bodies) in health pedagogy and physical education by providing space for voicing positionalities on agency and practice. In line with his research, the study focused on the fact that there are several social identities in the pedagogical terrain of Nicosia and Athens; through this research study, these were given the opportunity to be expressed, heard, reported and later legitimised to avoid neglect.

To conclude, shifts and changes in our set of beliefs and in research paradigms are often slower and more difficult than anticipated. Furthermore, structures of long-lived ideas should collapse so new set of ideas can be structured when attempting to support theories to be legitimate (Bohman, 2016; Anderson and McCormack, 2010). For example, while most people have sympathy for the poor, conservative and even some liberal (i.e. left-leaning in the U.S.), political agendas are guided by negative stereotypes of the poor as lazy and deviant. Moreover, low-income home communities are generally socially and spatially segregated due to prevalent negative stereotypes (MacTavish, 2007). Intersectionality can shed light in situations like this and enable social justice (Simien, Arinze and McGarry, 2019). Lastly, YW Boston (2018) suggests that when reflecting on intersectionality to bear in mind the recognition of difference; the avoidance of oversimplified language; the analysis of the space one occupies; the endeavour to hear all points of view and to the act of showing up! This research study embraced these points and engaged with intersectionality to implement this research and analyse social phenomena such as the social disadvantage in young people, PE and SfA in specific educational contexts in Nicosia and Athens.

#### **4.4 Deciding on conducting a Qualitative Research study**

Following Smith and Sparkes (2016), I bore in mind the proliferation of intersectionality and the broad interpretive paradigm along with the theoretical framework already selected to address young people's social advantage along with the role of PE and SfA. Hence, I choose to design two single, in-depth case studies, qualitative and cross-cultural research agenda, complemented with ethnographic elements (since the study was not conducted as a 'straightforward' ethnography). All participants were assumed to have personal points of view as well as knowledge: information expressed through their voices should be collected and reported by the researcher/me; their words however, were assumed to be constrained, yet coloured by elements of their social disadvantage, such as their current socio-economic, gender, and racial/ethnic position.

The current interest in the role PE and SfA to promote social justice and eliminate social disadvantage, along with the EU calls for cross-cultural research studies, make this research study particularly significant. The choice of the qualitative research strategy was clearly in my opinion, the most appropriate and effective. According to Smith and Sparkes (2016) however, 'not just any methodology is appropriate' (2016, p. 3). When asking and later addressing the research questions, I thought that I should keep a 'broad picture' of the situation and focus on my participants in the two cities. My main consideration was to always bear in mind that this project is about socially disadvantaged young people during adolescence, living in precarious conditions of varying social class, gender and race/ethnicity. Interaction and engagement with them in their space over time was critical, so throughout a six-months period I presented in their PE and SfA practice on an almost daily basis.

Listening to the young people and allowing them to share their thoughts was top priority throughout this research study. Furthermore, key philosophical assumptions underpinning qualitative research suggest that 'all types of qualitative research are based on the view that reality is constructed by individuals interacting with their social worlds' (Merriam, 1998, p. 6). This study's central purpose was to explore PE and SfA for socially disadvantaged people and how these intersect with their gender, social class and race/ethnicity. It therefore sought not to emphasise

quantification while obtaining data, but to examine and scrutinise participants' views, overall, their 'worlds' (Bryman, 2008). Hence, the potential for examining and analysing the participants' perceptions within the social context they study and live in could not have been achieved without the use of qualitative research. Nonetheless, significant for this study was the perception that 'qualitative research is a movable and constantly expanding scholarly community of practice and intellectual engagement' (Smith and Sparkes, 2016, p. 2). I now go on discussing the elements of the 'cross-cultural', 'case study', 'ethnography' and the 'ethical'.

#### **4.5. Researching 'Cross-Cultural'**

This research study is situated within the cross-cultural context of two South-Eastern European Union countries in the Mediterranean Sea – Greece and Cyprus and particularly in their capital cities, Athens and Nicosia – where issues of recession, crisis and conflict are prominent. In recent years, there has been a dearth of cross-cultural research in social sciences (e.g. Apostolou, 2015; Deaner and Brandt, 2013; Dagkas, 2007; Dagkas and Benn, 2006). Globally, the growing importance of researching PE and SfA in tackling social disadvantage has finally resulted in the increased attention being given to cross-cultural perspectives in the fields of research that examine the relationships between young people's lives, PE, SfA and social disadvantage in the cities and countries of the young people. Regardless, cross-cultural research can be a 'vehicle' so people and policies can move forward towards effective sport programmes for young disadvantaged people (Dagkas and Benn, 2006). Furthermore, by conducting this cross-cultural study, I sought to combine knowledge with practice that can actually strengthen policy and provide further contextualisation of the ways social disadvantage is perceived and tackled within these two locations. Following Dagkas' ideas (2007), I bore in mind that cross-cultural research holds the potential to theorise young people, sport and social disadvantage by identifying different cultures and their characteristics, from observations made in more than one country.

In parallel, the research design called for collecting and interpreting perspectives from multiple sources, multiple contexts and fields; this perhaps creates a

framework for social disadvantage and for various markers to be addressed. Thus, during the fieldwork I sought to examine the two school environments, in the two different cities, where the curriculum and the policies are similar. Bearing in mind that reality is constructed by ‘individuals interacting with their social worlds’ (Merriam, 1998, p. 6), my aim was to explore the participants’ personal points of view as well as experiences in their locations, which [in a way] were ‘my locations’ as well; here was present the element of ethnography (Atkinson, 2016). The choice of the cities of Nicosia/Cyprus and Athens/Greece is summarized below:

**Nicosia/Cyprus:** Nicosia is the capital city of the Republic of Cyprus. It is located at the centre of the island and is characterised by the fact that it is dichotomised: in other words, it is defined as a city of conflict (Anderson, 2008) and as ‘the world’s last divided capital’ (The Guardian, 2017). The city (especially the south-eastern part of the walled city) is an area that is characterised by long-lasting problems of poverty, deprivation, exacerbated by its proximity to the Buffer Zone that separates/divides the city and further the island in two parts. It is noteworthy that the United Nations Security Council created this buffer zone, which is also called the ‘Green Line’, separating the self-proclaimed and Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus from the Republic of Cyprus which is situated in the south part of the island. The languages of the two communities are Greek (most of the times, spoken in Cypriot dialect) and Turkish. The United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) has been based on the island since 1974 and it is highlighted that although there is conflict between the two communities and although Cyprus exists within War Zones, there has been no actual conflict since 1974. Cyprus is also a member state of the Commonwealth, because the island was a British colony until 1960 and still has two British Armed Forces. Hence, the choice of Nicosia as one of the investigated locations lies in the fact that it is a location characterised by ‘conflict’ and by the attempt to recover from economic recession – especially, after the 2013 severe capital controls. On top of that, Nicosia is an under-explored area of Europe in terms of social research carried out on socially disadvantaged young people, gender, ethnicity/race and social class as well as PE and SfA.

**Athens/Greece:** During the last twelve years, Athens has been described as a city of ‘chaos and crisis’ (The New York Times, 2018), especially affected by the

consequences of the economic recession (Σταματίου και Ψαλτάκη, 2013). There is also an ongoing discourse about ‘the refugee crisis’, ‘extreme migration rates’, ‘economic crisis’, ‘unemployment’, ‘deprivation’, ‘recession’ leading to huge change in social policies (Project: Athens Coordination Programme for Migrant and Refugee issues, 2017). For example, bailout lenders demanded and asked the Greek government to impose pension reforms and taxation that lead to higher monthly contributions from the self-employed and salaried employees. Furthermore, the refugee crisis is rapidly spreading over all the Greek region affecting numerous islands as well as the mainland and the major cities in Greece (Project: Athens Coordination Programme for Migrant and Refugee issues, 2017). Nonetheless, the current government talks about the improvement of the current situation yet everyday life (as it is reported in the media and the Greek Organisation for Unemployment, 2018) reflects that social disadvantage has grown bigger and bigger. Consequently, I considered Athens ideal location to research social disadvantage in young people.

Overall, the cross-cultural elements of the two cities make them significant sites for examining social disadvantage. Moreover, the fieldwork was explicitly situated in two secondary state schools, one in Nicosia and one in Athens, which were explored as ‘case studies’ for reasons of data management. It is also important to highlight that the two state schools follow the Greek PE curricula and are entitled to offer extra-curricular activities (SfA) funded by the State (i.e. Ministry of Education) and/or the European Union. Both schools employ the Greek language as the language of instruction. In Nicosia, the school is situated at the centre of the old city, inside the walls and extremely close to the Buffer Zone/Official point. Poverty and deprivation levels are high and residents in the area are mostly migrants and/or refugees. The school in Athens is situated in a once (prior to recession, which appears to have altered the ‘character’ of the area and the school) ‘middle to high class’ area. Finally, the specific schools were chosen due to their relevance to the study, their school population (e.g. existence of boys and girls, migrants and refugees,) and due to their availability (i.e. official permission to research).

#### **4.6. The schools: designing the two case-studies**

Two secondary schools were selected – one in Nicosia and one in Athens. Case - study research design was selected in order to ensure the rigour of the data collection and the reporting in such a broad and diverse context. Case-study research design has been characterised as ‘a common way to do qualitative inquiry’ (Stake, 2005, p. 443). Furthermore, case studies involve methods that systematically gather information on a particular person or group of people, a social setting, an event or phenomena. These are supposed to ‘permit the researcher to effectively understand how it operates or functions’ (Berg, 1998, p. 212). Thomas and Nelson (2001) argue that ‘a single case is studied in depth to reach a greater understanding about other similar cases’ (p. 280). Case - studies are considered to be the most efficient strategy when questions of ‘how’ and ‘why’ are posed, especially when the focus is on complex contemporary phenomena (Yin, 2003), such as the ones that I examine herein.

Nonetheless, implementing case studies ‘remains one of the most challenging of all social science endeavours’ (Yin, 2003, p. 1). According to Yin (2003), case studies are categorised in exploratory, explanatory and descriptive. This study adapted Yin’s concept of exploratory case studies, yet with elements of description and explanation. The case study’s significant advantage is that it is able to deal with a full variety of evidence – documents, artefacts, interviews and observations (Yin, 2003). Regarding disadvantages, suggestions that Yin (2003) made are the following:

- case studies are generalisable to theoretical propositions;
- case studies do not represent a ‘sample’;
- they take too long and result in massive, unreadable documents  
(p. 10).

Another important point that the fieldwork considered was to maximise four conditions for warranting the quality of the data collection and reporting (Stake, 2005). These are the:

- validity
- internal validity (for explanatory case studies only)
- external validity
- reliability

In respect of this research study, systematic procedures were followed throughout (e.g. case study protocol). Case studies were representative of the population this study dealt with and aimed to acquire every available view. Further, trustworthiness, transparency, thick description and ethnographic elements were also considered when designing the case-studies.

#### **4.6.1. Discussing Validity and Reliability in qualitative research**

In 2001, Schwandt defined ‘validity as a property of a statement, argument or procedure’ and continued:

in social science, validity is one of the criteria that traditionally serve as a benchmark for inquiry. Validity is an epistemic criterion [...] valid is to argue that the findings are in fact (or must be) true and certain. [...] (p. 267).

As a starting point, when designing the case studies, I followed the three conditions that Yin (2003) suggested in order to increase the case studies’ validity; hence, multiple sources of evidence were employed such as interviews, observation and document analysis. A chain of evidence was then established and findings were reported after the data analysis (Smith, 2018; Burke, 2016). Issues of validity and reliability, such as triangulation are now addressed.

#### **Triangulation**

Triangulation involves ‘the use of more than one method or source of data in the study of a social phenomenon, so that findings can be crossed-checked’ (Bryman, 2008, p. 700) and in order for the rigour of the research to be enhanced (Robson, 2002). In this research study, the following research methods were employed: a questionnaire with open-ended questions in order to collect the initial data and identify the participants of the focus group interviews; the focus group interviews; the single/semi-structured interviews; review of (available) documents; observations of PE and SfA lessons and my diary as the researcher. Triangulation was fulfilled by combining the employment of multiple methods of data collection and numerous and various participants (e.g. students and teachers). Findings were cross-examined throughout the process of data analysis.

### **Member checking**

Another strategy applied in order to ensure the validity of the findings was the ‘member checking’ technique. This involved reporting back to the participants with ‘material such as transcripts, accounts and interpretations’ (Robson, 2002, p. 175). In this study, pieces of the findings were shared with few participants to receive their feedback on possible interpretations; discussions took place in meetings at Nicosia and Athens. The reason for selecting ‘a few’ and not ‘all’ was because not everyone showed interest in further participation in the process.

### **Peer debriefing**

‘Peer debriefing’ was undertaken in order to maximise the findings’ validity. It is believed that ‘peer groups can contribute to guarding against researcher bias through debriefing sessions after periods in the research setting’ (Robson, 2002, p. 175). In order to see whether there was a good match between the data and the researcher’s conclusions (Bryman, 2008), these data were shared with the supervisors and trusted peers.

### **Piloting to increase trustworthiness**

‘Piloting has a role to ensure that the research instruments as a whole function well’ (Bryman, 2008, p. 159). For instance, due to my initial hesitation in conducting focus group interviews with disadvantaged children and my priority to achieve data of high-quality data, I piloted the interview schedule with trusted peers in both Greece and Cyprus. Hence, a ‘rehearsal’ interview was undertaken with a colleague and a ‘pilot’ interview took place with students in the form of focus group with the assistance of the PE teacher from each school. These procedures greatly assisted me in identifying any ‘issues’ regarding the interview questions; I also tested my capacity in conducting interviews with disadvantaged children who were disengaged from education and who exhibited a very argumentative attitude; furthermore, it allayed their feelings of anxiety and certainly, enhanced my confidence. ‘Piloting’ informed the whole procedure with additional elements that were not initially employed. For example, the language employed in the interview

questions was made 'simpler' and more time and explanation was provided for their discussion.

### **Elements of Ethnography and Ethnographic 'Thick Description'**

Ethnography takes place in naturally occurring settings by methods of data collection that capture their ordinary activities and the social meanings that are attached to these. Often, the researcher participates directly in the activities s/he is observing with the aim of understanding the situation from the perspective of the research subjects (Heath et al, 2009, p. 99).

As mentioned earlier, I designed the research study as a cross-cultural qualitative study. The selected schools in the selected cities were the sites of fieldwork; for the schools, I chose the 'case study' design. In order to develop the 'case study' design, ethnographic elements were added in the procedure to enhance the rigour of the process of the data collection. For example, both sites of fieldwork had characteristics of social disadvantage, such as deprivation in Nicosia and vast unemployment in Athens; the children participants were disadvantaged being more than 90% migrants or refugees, coming from low income families, disengaged from education with limited language skills (i.e. this especially was a barrier in Nicosia).

In line with Hammersley, I emphasised 'the importance of studying 'at first hand' what people do and say in particular contexts (2018). Hence, I sought to arrange access in the two school settings for a prolonged period of time, taking a break when appropriate. When engaged with the elements of ethnography, I bore in mind that, during data collection procedures, I should consider their views with a broad mind (Leeson, 2014; Chikkatur and Jones, 2013) and when observing their actual behaviours, attitudes and actions in PE and SfA, with a tolerant attitude (Sparkes, Brighton and Inckle, 2018). Reflecting on Hammersley's ideas (1990), I further focused on the fact that I should understand and become familiar with each context and the participants' perspectives as well as the phenomena being studied; at the same time though, I remained focused on systematically reflecting on the data and the daily interaction with the participants. Consequently, ethnographic elements provided me with the potential to investigate beyond the surface of my 'official' and 'formal' role and initially detached 'position'. Indeed, this experience in the two cities and the two schools allowed me to 'dive' into the social world of these

children and the professionals and ‘move’ to understanding ‘how things should happen’ from ‘what is actually happening’.

The fact that I entered their worlds and saw their everyday routine and practice, that I discussed, spent time and felt trusted by both students and professionals, offered new insights not only to the data but also to my practice. Nevertheless, the inclusion of ethnographic elements to my study was advantageous (Heath et al., 2009). For instance, interacting with the participants for a period of 6 months in each school, as well as interviewing and observing them interact within their school contexts, offered a solid foundation to the data collection. I considered them as ‘keys to the study’, infer meanings and explore the cultural (re)production of different versions of masculinity, femininity, ethnicity/race and social class discourses.

Concluding, ethnographic elements provided me with great flexibility and time (Angus, 1986). On the one hand, there was ample time and space to discuss and interact with the participants; by the end of the fieldwork, I almost felt part of the schools and when it was over, I actually missed them all. Additionally, I had the opportunity to experience both ‘pleasant’ and ‘difficult’ situations that perhaps were not originally anticipated and could not have been acknowledged had the fieldwork been short-term/a short visit. In parallel, the ethnographic element of combining observation with other research methods was of utmost importance and offered great insights into the findings (Thorpe and Olive, 2006). Observational methods facilitated and enhanced the use of other methods, particularly interviews. Finally, the ‘multilingual’ aspect was both very interesting and a significant ethnographic element. I had to work in different languages (plus the Cypriot dialect) and cope with different cultural backgrounds. It took a great deal of effort to convey all points covered in English, Greek in Cypriot dialect and Greek to an appropriately written English text.

In parallel, ‘ethnographic thick description’ was an essential element applied during the period of data collection and later during data analysis. Detailed descriptions are essential while collecting data and reporting case studies, in order for the reader to judge the validity and the reliability of any case. Overall, one should reach conclusions about the cases examined, identify similarities with other cases and be able to apply these findings to their own experiences. Although, such a ‘thick

description' allows the readers some autonomy over their interpretations, it is important to provide appropriate reporting and analysis of the data collected from the case studies so that readers do not reach inappropriate nor false conclusions (Yin, 2003). Data analysis and findings are presented in Chapter V. It is important to highlight that 'thick description' enabled me to focus on remaining as objective as possible, yet when writing the relevant text, it is unavoidable for the personal to emerge. I now turn to elements of trustworthiness of the study, such as dependability and credibility, which are critical to ensure the quality of my work.

#### **4.6.2. Elements of Trustworthiness**

**Dependability** refers to our ability to know where the data in a given study comes from, how they were collected, and in what ways these were used (Shank, 2006). Further, qualitative researchers can increase dependability through member checks. Member check was undertaken after data collection as well as during the first stage of data analysis. The data collection choices and procedures selected were thoroughly structured and implemented during the processes of data collection and analysis.

**Credibility** deals with the degree of believability of the research findings. 'Data is consistent and cohesive rather than scattered and contradictory' (Shank, 2006, p. 115). Credibility was established through maintaining daily interaction with the participants, to get to know them better. Furthermore, the use of triangulation in data collection is an important tool because credibility is improved when multiple data sources report similar views (Merriam, 1998). In this study, data were collected consistently; also through the process of triangulation and data analysis, it emerged that participants held similar views on the topics under examination.

**Transferability** advocates the 'degree to which the results of the qualitative study can be transferred to a different or similar setting, even applied on a different or similar population (Shank, 2006). 'Transferability' can be said to have been

achieved where the findings of the particular study are discussed in comparison to other research studies (i.e. Chapter VI).

**Confirmability** explores details of the methodologies used and answers questions on whether a research study has provided enough detail for evaluation of the collected and analysed data to be available (Shank, 2006). I consider this to have been achieved through the discussion of the findings and the final implications of the study. All concepts described above, when considered as a whole, comprise the notion of ‘trustworthiness’ or what is called ‘validity’ in qualitative research methodologies (Guba and Lincoln, 2005).

Finally, **authenticity** addresses the question and need of additional ‘trustworthiness/validity’ (Shank, 2006). Considering the results in comparison to other research and views about past and current policies strengthens the study’s authenticity; such points are further discussed in Chapter VI (i.e. Discussion). In summary, this research study effectively followed the main theoretical points for the successful implementation of a qualitative research study. This was further achieved through the use of appropriate research tools, details of which are further discussed in forthcoming sections. Next, issues regarding case study protocol are addressed.

### **4.6.3 The Case-Study Protocol**

A ‘case-study protocol’ is a document that contains the procedures and general rules that are to be followed throughout implementation of the ‘case study’ (Tellis, 1997). As Yin (2003) noted, it should be composed prior to the phase of data collection and is essential in a multi-case study, desirable in a single-case study. This study’s protocols comprised a convenient agenda for me as the researcher and as part of the systematic procedures used for appropriate and successful collection, analysis and reporting of the data (Hodge and Sharp, 2006). In addition, it was a significant tool in asserting the reliability in case study research (Yin, 2003). According to Yin (2003), the major contents of the ‘case study’ protocol should include:

- introduction to the case study and purpose of protocol

- data collection procedures (p. 68).

In particular, the introduction of this study's case protocol included questions for the open-ended questionnaire and the interviews along with propositions; in parallel, it included the procedures involved, the names of the sites to be visited and details of all contact people. In addition, the data collection schedule covered the calendar period for the site visits, the amount of time employed for each visit, and the level of effort required for each case, that is to say expected preparation time required prior and after the site visits. Nonetheless, the case study protocol offered me great assistance in meeting the requirements of the fieldwork.

#### **4.7. Ethical Considerations**

'Researchers must follow rules for the protection of human subjects' (Stake, 2000, p. 448). Ethical procedures, such as privacy, confidentiality and anonymity to protect participants and put restrictions on the amount and type of data collected were followed from the very beginning (McEvoy, Enright and McPhail, 2017; Palmer, 2016). Initially and prior to collecting any data, I obtained clearance from the Disclosure Barring Service (DBS) and a Risk Management /Assessment Report from the university stating how I would cope with certain incidents related to 'conflict' (i.e. Cyprus is part of War Zone). Subsequently, parental consent was sought for all participants who were under the age of 18. In addition, the Ministries of Education in both Greece and Cyprus provided me with the appropriate permit for entering a state secondary school. Informed consent forms were also signed by the participants prior to each interview. In parallel, specific documents informed the participants on the nature of the study, its overall purpose, the reason for their involvement and the data collection process. I further emphasised that the participants were taking part voluntarily, and as such they could withdraw from the project at any time and without any disadvantage to themselves. In parallel, I informed them about the study and their role in it and encouraged them to ask any questions they might have. All personal and collected data were kept confidential and secure and pseudonyms used throughout the thesis; anonymity and privacy are respected throughout (Bryman, 2008). At all times, participants were treated in a discreet, tactful, polite and gentle manner. Finally, I discussed potential ethical

dilemmas with my supervisors prior to and during the fieldwork. To conclude, copyrights of this research study belong to the Canterbury Christ Church University. The research methods employed for the data collection and analysis now follow.

## **4.8. Methods of Data Collection and Analysis**

### **4.8.1. Introduction**

All data collection procedures took place in 2016, 2017 and part of 2018 and was divided into two phases. Phase One involved the completing of an open-ended questionnaire, comprising seven questions regarding young people's experiences and views on social disadvantage, PE and SfA activities. This phase was designed to get a broad picture of how the situation really is, to get to know the children and most importantly, to find participants for the second phase of the fieldwork. Phase Two consisted of twenty focus-group semi-structured interviews with pupils (i.e. ten focus-group interviews in each school). In addition, in-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted with the two PE teachers (one teacher in each school) and the two Head Teachers of the schools. In parallel with the administration of the survey and the implementation of the interviews, I systematically observed PE and SfA along with reading and analysing documents. Moreover, I kept my research diary. Details of the research methods are thoroughly discussed. However, I first present the participants: the two schools, the children and the adults/educators.

### **4.8.2. The Participants**

#### ***A) The school in Athens***

Case Study One involved a state secondary school, which was located in a northern suburb of Athens in Greece. It is important to note that before the years of great recession in Athens (i.e. prior 2008), the area's population was perceived

to be middle to upper class, mainly inhabited by white residents of Greek origin. In the time of the fieldwork, more than half of the school's population was not of Greek origin. According to the school's policy documents, at the time of the fieldwork the population of the school was about 250 students; the population had decreased from approximately 800 students to 250 (more than 60% less following the economic recession). According to the PE teacher, this was due to families migrating abroad for work. The school delivered the Greek PE curriculum as required by the Ministry of Education. In this school, students were not obliged to wear a school uniform; however, according to the Greek curriculum, a sporting outfit is compulsory for participation in PE. SfA programmes were delivered by the Local Authority/Municipality in the stadium/sport facilities of the area - not at the school facilities. However, these SfA programmes were not targeted exclusively for socially disadvantaged young people but were available to all young people living in the Municipality. SfA included certain activities such as athletics and tennis; anyone could participate after paying a certain (reduced) fee. At school, the language of instruction was Greek and the facilities provided were outdoor and indoor. The PE activities/lessons provided, which I also observed, were basketball, volleyball, football and Greek traditional dance. The Greek PE Curriculum sets out the specific sport activities that should be implemented. As to the structure of the lesson, the first thing a teacher does is call the register to identify present/absent pupils and check out whether the children are wearing PE kit. It is noteworthy that during the period I visited the school, students didn't go to change into a PE kit prior to the lesson; they were either already wearing a PE kit along with sport shoes or were wearing casual clothes, such as jeans and/or shorts with a T-shirt and sport shoes. I would also like to add that during the fieldwork, non-adherence to the wearing of a PE kit was never used to meet out punishment.

### ***The PE teacher and the Head teacher***

#### ***Thales – Head of School***

Thales was the Head of School. He was a man in his late 50s, white, of Greek origin, teacher of mathematics, close to retirement. He warmly welcomed the

fieldwork and assisted immensely with the bureaucracy required from the Greek state for me to be a researcher in the school. He provided me with a single, semi-structured interview that provided an overview of the social disadvantage in his school's young people.

### ***Eleftheria – the PE teacher***

Eleftheria was the only PE teacher for the whole school as well as the Assistant Head of School. She was a woman in her late 50s, white, of Greek origin, close to retirement and had been working in that same school for many years. She loved sport and teaching PE, however, she felt burnt-out and at times demotivated. When asked about it, she referred to the recent salary-cuts, the facilities that needed renewing, the 'same rigid' curriculum she had to teach; she referred to the 'overall sense of depression that is like a cloud everywhere', the 'changing' attitude of young people (i.e. 'having to deal with foreigners/migrants/different cultures; children are more aggressive and at times disrespectful'). She welcomed the research study taking place at the school, although she had never had such an experience before! At the end of the fieldwork, she stated that she would agree to having a researcher again and that she learnt 'a couple of extra things'; she was also happy to hear that the students' overall perception of her was positive, and although she had to teach them trendy activities, she shared with me 'I found a kind of motivation again!'. Overall, she offered valuable insight on the changing context from the past to the present period (of crisis). Finally, with regards to her training and CPD, she attended the School of Sport and Physical Education in Athens but had not attended specific CPD on issues of socially disadvantaged young people. So, she taught these children - as she said - 'according to my experience and the teacher's instinct'.

### ***The young people***

The participants who completed the questionnaires and took part in the focus groups were mainly migrants of 2<sup>nd</sup> generation (i.e. born in Greece from migrant/foreign parents) either living in single parent families, living with the mother, in mixed marriages (i.e. one of the parents was Greek), or living with both parents, who were

foreigners/migrants working in Athens. No child admitted to being a refugee, yet only two children were Greek yet experiencing severe disadvantage. Professions of parents (as reported by the children) included being household keepers at wealthy households (i.e. servants and gardeners); sailors; unemployed; living on benefits/of low income and being ‘entrepreneurs’, who however faced severe job conditions with severe financial problems; consequently their children had to change school and move to state schooling from the private sector. A range of the ethnicities participated in the fieldwork: Asian (i.e. Philippino and Korean); countries of the so-called ‘Eastern Block’ (i.e. Russia, Romania, Ukraine, Georgia); Albanians, and a Greek/ Egyptian– the only participant from an African country. In brief, the background of the twenty young participants in Athens is as follows:

1. Tolis and Loukia: boy and girl; originally from Philippines; 16yrs old; parents working as servants/ staff of household (they stay within the house they live).
2. Natalia and Helen: girl and girl; from Moldavia and Albania; 16yrs old; Natalia’s mother works as seamstress/tailor/single parent family. Helen’s parents work in households.
3. Tanasi and Kostas: boy and boy; 16yrs old; want to become PE teachers. Parents work at any work available – non-specific yet are specialised builders.
4. Elisavet and Ivy: girl and girl; from Russia and Greece; 17yrs old. Elisavet’s parents are jobless; she is financially supported by her grandmother who lives in Moscow; she wants to become a ballet dancer. Ivy’s parents also face unemployment and severe financial crisis. She was attending the French school of Athens, but she had to move to the state school due to severe financial problems of the family.
5. Aggelos and Stathis: boy and boy; from Greece and Albania; their parents faced serious employment issues and consequently financial problems. Aggelos wants to become professional footballer, but he also faces severe opposition from his parents.
6. Eleni and Demetra: girl and girl; from Egypt and Romania; 16yrs old; Eleni’s family face financial problems. She stated that she experienced severe incidents of bullying when she was in primary school due to the fact that her father is Egyptian and [according to her words] that her

‘colour is darker than usual’. Demetra lives with her mum only in a single parent family and faces severe job and financial problems.

7. Plato and Aristos: boy and boy; Plato was Greek-Korean and Aristos Albanian. 17yrs old. Plato was working as a model and at a night club on Saturdays to help the family financially and with his studies/extracurricular lessons. Aristos’ family was working in households doing work such as cleaner, gardener and builder and facing financial problems.
8. Nicos and Eugenia: boy and girl; Greek and Albanian. 17yrs old. Nicos had no parents/both dead. Nicos was financially supported by an uncle, but looked very forward to becoming a captain. He loved sport, because he believed that sports really helped him overcome all his family depressive issues. Eugenia’s parents worked as gardeners and in households.
9. Eva and Katerina: girl and girl; both Albanians; 17yrs old. Parents’ worked in households and reported low-income.
10. Sally and Kate: girl and girl; both Philippino; 16yrs old. Parents worked in households.

In conclusion, it is important to highlight that all the migrant children were born in Greece; only Katerina was born in Albania and came to Athens in the age of 10.

### ***B) The school in Nicosia***

Case Study Two was a state secondary school located in the city centre of Nicosia. It is located extremely close (5mins walk) to the check point/crossing point at the UN Buffer Zone. The school follows the Greek PE Curriculum; also, there is SfA action taking place in the outdoor facility of this school under the names DRASE and Z.E.P. The population in this part of the city is largely characterised as low class, consisting mainly of migrants and refugees. At the time of the fieldwork the population of the school was forty-eight students. The majority of the students and the participants in the study were born in Cyprus as children of migrants or refugees; forty-five students were of non-Cypriot origin with only three Greek Cypriots three. There was also a Special Needs child (with

his carer) suffering from cerebral palsy, who was immobilised in his wheelchair. The ethnic groups these children came from were Asian (i.e. Pakistani); countries of the so-called 'Eastern Block' (i.e. Russia, Bulgaria, Ukraine, Georgia); Africans (i.e. Somalia and Sierra Leone) and a Bulgarian Roma. In this school, students were not obliged to wear a school uniform; however, according to the Greek curriculum, a sporting outfit is compulsory for participation in PE. SfA programmes were delivered by the Ministry of Education at the outdoor facilities of the school in the afternoons and were targeted specifically for socially disadvantaged young people. The whole school population was entitled to free lunch meals and almost all enrolled to participate in these SfA programmes. Not all, however, could attend the afternoon programme. The specific SfA initiative was free of charge and was delivered every day for almost three hours (e.g. 4.00 – 6.30pm) At school, the language of instruction was Greek and Greek-Cypriot dialect in particular. The activities provided and that I observed, were basketball, volleyball, football, Greek traditional dance, badminton, table-tennis and games. In addition to the students, I only interviewed the Head of School and the PE teacher. With regards to the structure of the lesson, the activities began with 'ticking the absents' and with whether the children wore the PE kit. During the period of fieldwork, punishment occurred for misbehaviour and a disrespectful attitude towards the teacher. In conclusion, it is significant to note that the children's ages were from 12 to 17, because the majority of them repeated classes which they couldn't pass the previous years. The school was located very close to an orthodox church and it was even named by the same church/saint. That church played an ongoing role in countering their disadvantage by providing them with clothes, meals and with organising outdoor activities.

## ***The teachers***

### ***Elias – Head of School***

Elias was the Head of School. He was a man in his 50s, white, of Greek-Cypriot origin. He welcomed the fieldwork and I had fruitful discussions with him on

issues concerning the school and the children. He also asked me to prepare an article for the school's magazine about my visit/research at the school.

### ***Georgina – PE teacher***

Georgina was the only PE teacher. She was a woman in her late 50s, white, of Greek Cypriot origin, close to retirement and had been working in that school for a few years. She loved sport and teaching PE, however, she felt burnt-out and at times demotivated. When asked about it, she referred to the (mis)behaviour of the students as well as of the 'low-class' migrant and refugee students. She welcomed the research study taking place at the school, because as she said: "I could not oppose the Head teacher's order". She had never had such an experience before and initially felt I was there to judge her and the school. As I had the Ministry of Education's permit, I was perceived as an employee of the Ministry, there to judge and point out all the wrong things in the school. At the end of the fieldwork, she was very positive about my being in the school; she stated that I had assisted her and she felt she had learned things she would use in future lessons. She was also happy to know that the overall students' views of her were positive; she provided valuable insight on the changing context from the past to the current period of crisis and of living so close to the UN Buffer Zone/check point. With regards to her training and CPD, she attended the School of Sport and Physical Education in Athens but had not attended specific CPD on socially disadvantaged young people.

### ***The Young People***

The brief background of the twenty-two young participants in Nicosia is as follows:

1. Yannis and Chris: Yannis was a boy; 14yrs old; studying still at the 1<sup>st</sup> grade level i.e. he couldn't pass the year); mother (Russian) died from drugs and he also had a sister with special needs. He was disengaged from education and overly aggressive. When I first approached him, he spat at me believing that I was an officer there to take him with me at an Institution/Detention Camp.
2. Chris was 15 yrs old, studying still at the 1<sup>st</sup> grade level (i.e. he couldn't pass the year); of Bulgarian-Roma origin, could speak Greek-Cypriot and

Turkish fluently; his father was working as a builder and mother stayed at home. He was experiencing excessive physical and verbal violence at home.

3. Lea and Chara: Lea was the 16yrs old/Stan's sister; still studying in the 2<sup>nd</sup> grade level, as she couldn't pass the year; of Bulgarian-Roma origin; could also speak Greek-Cypriot and Turkish fluently; her father was working as a builder and the mother stayed at home. Also experiencing excessive violence at home - at the time of the fieldwork, her father had shaved her head after beating her. Chara was 14yrs old and with a criminal record for drug dealing; She was from Latvia and lived in a single parent family - living with mother.
4. Tom and Simos: Tom was a 14yrs old Philippino boy. He was living in a single parent family - living with his mother. Simos was a 14 yrs old Greek-Cypriot boy and was commuting everyday from a Greek Cypriot village to attend the school. Parents were farmers.
5. Aretha and Steve: They were sister and brother from Somalia. The girl was 14yrs old wearing hijab. Steve was a boy of 11yrs old. They lived with their mother, because their father was in Switzerland (at least they said so! Don't know whether this was true or a lie). They were expecting their father to take them with him.
6. Ayis and Tassos: Ayis was a 13 yrs old boy from Sierra Leone; He was born in Nicosia and his parents were working at households. Tassos was a boy from Pakistan; He was 11yrs old and didn't define the exact profession of his parents.
7. Christina and Michael: Christina was Georgian, a girl of 14yrs who liked dance but could not afford to attend a dance school. Michael was 16yrs old from Georgia too. Unfortunately, he couldn't progress through the school years; his parents were doing any work available.
8. Peggy and Malvo: girl and girl of 14yrs old; Peggy was Romanian and Malvo came from the Dominican Republic. They were of low-income families.
9. Meli and Marilena: both girls of 15yrs old. They came from Ukraine and Bulgaria respectively. They didn't tell me what jobs their parents did.
10. Nicos and Maria: boy from Pakistan and girl from Georgia. Both were 12yrs old and their parents work in households; they characterised their families to be of low-income.

11. Chloe and Despo: both girls of 15yrs old and from Bulgaria. They didn't define the exact profession of their parents.

To conclude, these children in the Nicosia school lived in households that were registered for receiving social benefits. They were challenging to work with (e.g. due to barriers of language) and at times hesitant to reveal details of their identities and backgrounds.

### **4.8.3 My Research Diary**

The everyday interaction within the school context and the formal and informal discussions with students and professionals provided many memorable moments. I found it strange when children would ask me: 'Can you please tell her (the teacher) to change this /that; to treat us better [i.e. in a politer manner] perhaps? Can you ask them to talk to us about things we are embarrassed to ask them about and in no way can ask our parents (e.g. sexuality)? Apart from the data collection, I found myself discussing various topics with children and adults - from sport to social disadvantage and at times even very personal issues. Keeping my diary was an inspiring and creative moment in the research procedure (Day, 2016). I wanted to write down 'thick ethnographic' notes and later have access to my notes as well as to code relevant information in detail. Details that may be lost in time and space should be remembered and even reminded somehow because there may be a need to talk about why the research was, became and ended up being the way it is. In order to demonstrate that the research has been conducted rigorously, I needed to be able to provide a clear rationale for the choices that I had made. Furthermore, regarding the research findings, I needed not only to say what was done and why, but also what wasn't done properly and why. Hence, details had to be put back into the research design and I refer back to them, when making the claims about what I had 'found'. For me, the small choices I made became cumulatively important in their effect on what has been discussed, seen and elaborated on from the data. Setting up a research diary not only to highlight, but also to log the on-going decisions made during a research project was central to my research. Overall, it served as a useful prompt that I remain thorough and thoughtful in my research,

focussing on detail and reflection throughout the research process (Nadin and Cassell, 2006).

#### **4.8.4. The Questionnaire**

The first phase's central idea was to collect a large amount of data as well as to find potential participants for the subsequent phase (i.e. focus group interviews). Thus, the most appropriate research method to achieve this was the 'questionnaire' (Thomas and Nelson, 2001). The study's questionnaire was open-ended because the research is qualitative (see Appendix 1, p.188). Hence, it was used, as suggested by Robson (2002), for initial data collection and for the development of themes and key issues for the interviews. However, like all research tools, questionnaires have both advantages and disadvantages. Munn and Drever (1990) stated that they are efficient due to ease of completion and data collection and they can generate a high response rate for much the same reasons. Every participant is represented through his/her responses. Additionally, the questions introduced the topic to the participants, and were short, open and reasonably spaced; the level of the Greek language used was the simplest possible following requests the participants made during the pilot phase. This was achieved by providing a box for respondents to fill in so as to minimise stress, time needed to reply and the amount of data required (Robson, 2002). I designed the questionnaire because there wasn't any available 'model' appropriate to my research study. It was anonymous in respect of confidentiality and ethical issues, and to increase its reliability. The questions were derived from the research questions; they were open-ended. Certainly though, it was influenced by questionnaires from other studies and predominantly by the questionnaire I had designed for a previous research project I had carried out exploring youth disaffection in PE (Papadopoulou, 2016). In Nicosia, forty-six open-ended questionnaires were administered, and forty-three questionnaires were returned. In Athens, two hundred forty questionnaires were administered, and forty-five questionnaires were returned. Demographic data were requested, however not all participants provided these. Out of the total eighty-eight pupils who completed the questionnaires, sixty-two replied positively, indicating they were willing to be involved in the second phase.

#### **4.8.5. The Interviews**

Having reached the second phase of the fieldwork, the complexity of the questions and the need for probing and for detailed clarification of the pupils' views highlighted the necessity for the use of interviews. Twenty focus group interviews and four in-depth, face-to-face, individual, semi-structured interviews were undertaken. The process included initial contact via the open survey and follow-up discussions to arrange each interview. Tape recording and note taking were employed during the interview. Deciding on which questions and secondary follow-up questions would be asked was significant.

Interviews are one of the most important ways of collecting data in qualitative research and 'a powerful method of producing knowledge of the human situation' (Kvale, 2007, p. 9). Nowadays, using interviews to acquire information appears to be so extensive that it has been argued that we live in an 'interview society' (Fontana and Frey, 2005, p. 698). In addition, 'interviewing is one of the most common and powerful ways in which we try to understand our fellow humans' (Fontana and Frey, 2005, p. 697). The use of the interview method enabled the acquisition of interesting, relevant and in-depth information about the topics under examination. Kvale's question (1996, p. 1), 'If you want to know how people understand their world and their life, why not talk with them?' underpinned my whole approach. The interview was formed as a particular kind of conversation, where knowledge was produced through the interaction between the researcher as the interviewer, and the interviewees (Kvale, 2007). The interviewees talked about their 'world' and expressed their ideas. Further attention was paid to identifying whether interviewees had described situations comprehensively and fully.

According to Fontana and Frey (2005) qualitative interviews consist of various and diverse approaches, from structured interviews to the semi-structured and unstructured. In this study, focus-group (see Appendix 1, p.190-191) and single, semi-structured interviews were conducted. Using the other two types of interviewing (unstructured and structured) was not considered feasible because on the one hand, structured interviews would not provide the opportunity for explanatory follow up questions, whilst on the other, unstructured interviews were considered inappropriate (Kvale, 2007).

### **Focus Group interviews with Children and Single Semi-structured with Professionals**

Focus-group interviews are a research method of collecting qualitative data while ‘employing interviews on a specific topic with a small group of people’ (Thomas and Nelson, 2001, p. 336). Through the focus-group interviews, this research study sought to position young people as a diverse group of social agents existing in the same culture and spaces/locations when simultaneously in separate cultures and also as young people able to construct and reflect on their lives and worlds, yet sometimes marginalised, ignored or misrepresented by adults (Gallagher, 2009a). By using this method, information was gathered on the views and experiences of forty pupils – twenty pairs of two students formed the focus-groups. These children, who were experiencing social disadvantage (i.e. thorough information on their social disadvantage was provided in earlier sections). The pilot group consisted of four pupils but even then, and although the pupils were keen to participate, it was difficult for them to discuss and for me to obtain robust and clear data throughout the interview procedure. The main reasons were: a) aggressive behaviour between children of different origin/race/ethnicity that could lead not only to verbal but also to physical violence between them; b) barriers in language (i.e. they had difficulties understanding the questions, thus responding to them was equally challenging); c) issues of focusing on the process – i.e. attention hyperactivity disorder.

As a result, and after a few weeks, I tried a second pilot focus-group that consisted of two pupils. This time, I was aware of triggers that could make them angry and developed strategies to enable cooperation and sharing of views during the process; it is also significant to add that as time passed, the children’s trust in me grew. i.e. when I first introduced myself to them, the majority thought that I was an officer to transfer them to a certain Detention Camp. Hence, I was cautious in grouping the children together (e.g. specific ethnicities) and on the language I employed. Nonetheless, I considered them as ‘experts’ in this complex and controversial topic and as such I gave them the opportunity to express their views and personal stories. The focus-group sessions took place in the beginning, during or after each observed PE lesson – timing dependent on the given situation and on the pupils with whom I had the interview. The school had allocated 45 minutes (i.e. a teaching hour), but because of language barriers the interview could last slightly longer. Both schools

were generous in providing space and time for the focus-group interviews; as the headteachers and the PE teachers shared with me, most of these children spent time outside the classroom, so participating in a group interview with me would keep them ‘safely’ busy, away from potential dangers and would have a ‘calming’ effect.

The focus-group interviews were implemented fully and successfully with sound data collected. The most significant factors in their acquisition were: a) the ethnographic element applied in the case studies, since my school visits were daily over a prolonged period of time; b) I developed a relationship of familiarity and trust not only with the children but also with the professionals while becoming part of the school context; c) as soon as I encountered the problems in the pilot interview, I remained flexible and took into consideration the needs and the nature of the sample while personally stepping back and taking time to reflect on how to approach the children in order for their voices to be expressed and heard; d) my positive manner, my patience and persistence in problem-solving made the procedure work. Nevertheless, the specific research method allowed the development of ‘understanding why people feel the way they do’ and for participants ‘to probe each other’s reasons for holding a certain view’ in relation to the issues under investigation (Bryman, 2000, p. 338).

Before however the implementation of the focus-group interviews, I interviewed the PE teacher and the headteacher of each school. The interview questions were based on the questions of the questionnaire; the interviews lasted for an hour; it is also important to highlight that we had several further informal discussions. Nonetheless, they provided me with information on policies, procedures of implementations of PE and SfA programmes and highlighted several issues that enable and/or inhibit the effective implementation of the programmes. They were also asked for their views on how they perceive social disadvantage and on their experiences in PE and SfA while working with socially disadvantaged young people. Additionally, they were asked to elaborate on their views on the current PE and SfA programmes with regards to the young people’s gender, race and social class. Finally, they were asked to reflect upon their career years, their growth as professionals and their professional development on issues of social disadvantage in young people.

#### **4.8.6. Document Analysis**

Additional data were collected by studying ‘informative documents’, which were provided by the case study schools, from relevant websites and from the Ministries of Education (see Appendix 2). They were about the current PE curricula and possible applications to the crisis - e.g. the refugee crisis; policies for socially disadvantaged young people - e.g. of low or no income; relevant policies of the schools, the aims, programmes, cost, evaluation, places and dates. Moreover, any possible and relevant professional development attended or provided for the PE staff and the Head of the School. Access to these documents was after gaining special permission from the head of each school and PE teacher. Stake’s ideas (1995) that ‘gathering data by studying documents follows the same line of thinking as observing or interviewing’ (p. 68), bore with me whenever I examined a document.

#### **4.8.7. Observations**

For more than an academic year, PE and SfA were observed for the purpose of this cross-cultural ethnographic study. In my research study, a combination of focused and selective ‘structured observations’ were employed in order to conduct the observations appropriately and address the key areas under examination. I designed the observation plan exclusively for this study, as there was no particular sample available; it was further inspired by the observation plan I designed for my research on disaffection in a PE lesson (Papadopoulou, 2016). Nonetheless, theoretical considerations influenced the design of the observation plan as well as the analysis of its outcomes. Angrosino (2005) stated that ‘observation’ can be characterised as ‘the fundamental base of all research methods’ with participant observation to be first ‘created during late 19<sup>th</sup> century as an ethnographic field method for the study of small, homogeneous cultures’ (Tedlock, 2005, p. 467). Moreover, numerous research studies have employed only direct observation with note taking and coding of certain categories, whereas today they employ more use of equipment, like cameras or other recording devices (Thomas and Nelson, 2001, p. 337). In this study, I was present at all activities as a direct observant equipped with my notebook, pens and a digital device for digital notes; the plan did not include photos

or videos because there was no appropriate licence for this. To conclude, ‘observation’ fitted the research fieldwork since it was daily and systematic for a long period of time; it is was indeed about ‘entering’ into ‘a social situation, observing it and then gathering material about this particular social world’ (Tedlock, 2005, p. 643). It is also significant to highlight that both when I designed the observation plan and when I actually observed the activities, I followed Angrosino’s (2005) views on ‘increasing levels of specificity’:

- a. descriptive observation (the annotation and description of all details [...] eliminating all preconceptions and taking nothing for granted;
- b. focused observation (the researcher looks only at material that is pertinent to the issue at hand, often concentrating on well-defined categories of group activity);
- c. selective observation (focusing on a specific form of a more general category) (p. 732).

#### **4.9. Data Analysis**

The methods for data analysis used in this study consisted of the following: the ‘conceptual framework’ for managing and initially analysing the ‘responses of the open-ended survey; the ‘thematic analysis’ (Braun, Clarke and Weate, 2016; Bryman, 2008) (see Appendix 4). Thematic analysis was employed due to the fact that the initial survey questions were formed according to the research questions. Following Maguire and Delahant’s (2017) ideas, ‘the goal of a thematic analysis is to identify themes, i.e. patterns in the data that are important or interesting and use these themes to address the research or say something about an issue’ (p. 3353). Thematic analysis as well as coding, memoing and categorising (see Appendix 4) were conducted while bearing in mind the intersectionality paradigm. NVIVO data analysis software was employed yet not extensively; however, it assisted in the process of data analysis. There were also difficulties due to the weight and diversity of data. It was helpful, therefore, to delve deeper into coding and memoing to create further categories (Saldaña, 2009). The methods are discussed below, beginning with the conceptual framework.

#### 4.9.1. Conceptual Framework and Thematic Analysis

According to Bryman (2008), the term ‘concept’ is defined as what ‘organises observations and ideas by virtue of their possessing common features’ (p. 692). Preliminary findings from the open-ended survey were categorised in frameworks under the title ‘concepts’; in this study the ‘concepts’ used were the questions from the questionnaire. All answers of the survey, therefore, were put into conceptual frameworks. Furthermore, Thematic Analysis is a data analysis method that involves the creation and application of ‘codes’ to data (Braun, Clarke and Wheate, 2016; Bryman, 2008). It offers an accessible and theoretically flexible approach (Braun and Clarke, 2006, pp.77-78). Furthermore, an implicit ‘quantification’ may characterise some forms of thematic analysis, involving an interest in creating ‘bundles’ for example, of social disadvantage. However, thematic analysis assisted me and the study not to ‘get lost’ in data (Bryman, 2008). Additionally, and for convenience, I divided it into phases (Braun and Clarke, 2019). The principles of these phases were applied in terms of the thematic analysis for this project. Furthermore, the phase of interpreting data followed the development and use of a thematic code. Data analysed can be of any type – an interview transcript, field notes and policy documents (Bryman, 2008) and this was the case in this study. ‘Coding’ in thematic analysis can be briefly summarized in the following steps:

- Developing code manual;
- Testing the reliability of codes;
- Summarizing data and identifying initial themes;
- Applying a template of codes and additional coding;
- Connecting the codes and identifying themes;
- Corroborating and legitimating coded themes

(Fereday and Muir-Cochrane, 2006, p. 5).

Quite often, however, the process showed that it was hard to say that code ‘x’ was the same as code ‘y’. Subtle differences in terminology/speech/approach among interviewees made it difficult at times to decide whether interviewee A was saying the same thing as interviewee B. Working through further and detailed coding, it appeared necessary to modify the definition of a number of codes, hence definitions became broader (Nowell et al., 2017). Data analysis methods, such as coding strategy, were employed in order to develop mainly specialised codes. Therefore, the process of data analysis was extended to a more profound level. Additionally,

the concept of the spiral of cycles of data collection, such as ‘coding’, ‘analysis’, ‘writing’, and ‘design’ was addressed. In addition, ‘memoing’ was introduced in order to elaborate categories, define relationships and point out the gaps between them.

Therefore actions, interpretations and influences should be considered by the researcher as explicit within the analyses, interpreted and presented in an appropriate way in order to understand the participants’ beliefs, words and actions from the researcher’s point of view. Furthermore, categories depend on the researcher’s conceptual understanding of the world, rather than on a similarity between characteristics (Charmaz, 2009, p. 169). In summary, by employing elements of the coding procedure in this study’s data analysis, it was made possible to construct new themes even after the data had been thematically analysed. This provided the potential to see and explore ‘new’ themes/ideas after the data analysis, although still remaining attached to the original themes. Issues surrounding the processes of coding, memoing and categorising, which were employed in this study for the construction of ‘new’ themes, are discussed next. These were used as additional to the thematic analysis undertaken and assisted in taking the data analysis further.

#### **4.9.2. Codes, Memos and Categories**

The terms ‘category’, ‘code’ and ‘concept’ are briefly presented and discussed to justify their employment in the specific study.

##### **Coding**

Coding is ‘the process of defining what data is about’

(Bryant and Charmaz, 2007, p. 605).

Star (2007, p. 80) stated that a code ‘sets up a relationship with your data, and with your respondents’. Furthermore, Saldaña (2009) explains that ‘a code in qualitative inquiry is most often a word or a short phrase that ‘symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of

language-based or visual data' (p. 3). Kelle (2007) argued that 'coding emerges as one of the most basic operations that provide the basis for category building' (p. 193). Additionally, Charmaz (2006) indicated that the whole analytic process begins with initial coding and that every code produced should 'stick closely to data', 'word by word', 'line by line' (p. 47). In this research study, 'initial' coding involved naming the concepts in each paragraph of data, by identifying potential categories, concepts and/or labels necessary to account for what was significant in each data excerpt.

Subsequently, in the stage of focused coding, initial codes that 'make the most analytic sense' are used as categories and sub-categories (Charmaz, 2006, p. 57). At this stage, the 'axial coding' functioned as the process that linked categories with subcategories. Relationships between codes and categories can be found through their 'conditions', 'actions/interactions' and 'consequences' (p. 61). The final stage of the analysis is the so called 'theoretical coding'. It 'specifies possible relationships between categories' (p. 63). The results of theoretical coding are usually presented as themes. In this research study the process mentioned above influenced the reporting of the findings, as reported in Chapter V. The process of coding was applied in the same way throughout the data; furthermore, illustrative examples that reflect the procedure mentioned above can be seen in Appendix 5.

### **Memos**

As a methodological strategy, memoing and memos can enhance all qualitative approaches and research studies (Birks, Chapman and Francis, 2008). Glaser (1978) suggested key features for keeping an appropriate memo record:

- Keep memos and data separate;
- Repeat and bring on a memo;
- Do not be afraid to modify memos;
- The memo should be quite clear on data;
- Run the memos open as long as resources allow to develop the rich diversity;
- Do not talk about people – talk about the substantive codes that are theoretically coded;
- Always be flexible with memoing (p. 89).

Hence, making memos and sorting them out was an on-going process throughout

the implementation of the research study (Saldaña, 2009); memos were extensively formed, once categories ‘have been developed, clustered and expanded’ (Noerager – Stern 2007, p. 119). Furthermore, the memos were not modified until the end of the analysis process, which enabled me to remain open and flexible.

### **Categories and Category Building**

The question that ‘conquered’ my mind was ‘what category does x or y or z code identify?’ Consequently, categories were defined which often were related to other categories. Together then, they constructed the findings and assisted in examining codes effectively. In parallel, NVIVO assisted through the use of tree nodes as bases for categorising. Recurring, repeated and forceful themes that could respond to the research questions were of primary interest both within and between the data. This analytical phase enhanced the procedure, enabling the data to be viewed as a whole and for relationships to be developed with multiple dimensions.

### **4.9.3. NVIVO**

Non-numerical Unstructured Data Indexing Searching and Theorising Vivo (NVIVO) is a qualitative data analysis (QDA) computer-assisted software produced by QSR International. It was first developed by Tom Richards in 1999. The latest version of the software was used for stages of coding and was perceived as useful in order to tie excerpts of data to particular themes, to enable a complex search to be carried out and to link research notes to coding. It therefore, allowed me to classify, sort, and arrange the data through free and tree nodes. The use of NVIVO was intended not to block me and although not extensive, I perceived its use as helpful when working on large amounts of text and complex coding scheme with the purpose of the facilitation of depth and rigour. As Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2007) argue: ‘Software ... supports the researcher doing analysis by organizing data and recording codes and nodes’ (p. 489).

#### **4.10. Summary of Chapter IV**

This study adopted a qualitative, cross-cultural and case-study research design complemented by ethnographic elements (e.g. Delamont, Coffey and Atkinson, 2000) and within the frame of intersectionality (e.g. Windsong, 2018; Konstantoni, Kutstatscher and Emejulu, 2017; Yoshida et al., 2014) as the research paradigm. In parallel, the theories of P. Bourdieu, J. Butler and Critical Race theory (e.g. Colley, Chadderton and Nixon, 2014; Cooky, 2016; Flintoff, 2015) set the foundation for the study's theoretical framework. Discussion of the details regarding the rationale of the research design and the methods of data collection (such as the interview and the observation plan), and analysis, (such as coding and categorizing), have been outlined throughout Chapter IV. Consideration can now be given to the study's findings, which are reported in the following Chapter V.

## Chapter V – FINDINGS

### 5.1. Introduction

Chapter V presents the findings of this research study. Following the data analysis, findings are presented through three main themes, which respond to the study's research questions. The questions that informed the implementation of this study are:

**Main: Can Physical Education along with Sport-for-All contribute to addressing and tackling social disadvantage in young people?**

**Sub-questions:**

- How do young people in Athens and Nicosia experience their social disadvantage? What are the relationships between their social class, gender and ethnicity when participating in PE and SfA?
- What discourses on social class, gender and ethnicity do circulate in activities of PE and SfA programmes (in Nicosia and Athens)?
- How do current practices in PE and SfA in Athens and Nicosia respond to young people's social disadvantage?
- How do young people construct/structure the ideal [i.e. that breaks the barrier of their social disadvantage] lesson of PE and SfA?
- What are the implications for practice and policy?

The themes aim to address the topics under investigation through the interpretation and integration of relevant data from the case schools in the cities of Athens and Nicosia. Hence, the first theme is: 'PE and SfA contribute in addressing and tackling social disadvantage in young people yet under certain circumstances'. The second theme is: 'Young disadvantaged people in Athens and Nicosia on discourses of social class, gender and ethnicity that circulate in PE and SfA'. The third theme is 'Current practices in PE and SfA in Athens and Nicosia that address young people's social disadvantage'. A sub-theme that adds to the third theme is 'Young people on the ideal [i.e. that breaks the barrier of their social disadvantage] lesson

of PE and SfA - implications for practice, the school and policy as these were reported by young people and (adults) educators/professionals’.

## **5.2. Theme 1: PE and SfA contribute in addressing and tackling social disadvantage in young people yet under circumstances**

Both schools were visited and examined as multi-layered yet individual case studies while applying elements of ethnographic research (e.g. prolonged period of time; becoming a member of their community). Firstly, children in both cities elaborated on how they experience and define their own social disadvantage while participating in PE and SfA; highlighted both as ‘tools’ to ‘curve the edges’ of their everyday life. Elements of ‘money’, ‘time’, ‘parental and family distress’, ‘gender’, ‘ethnicity’ and ‘opportunity to work during economic crisis’ coloured their views on what shapes their social disadvantage. Their views illuminate the complex intersection of social class, gender and race while making sense of the social disadvantage these young people - who try to navigate into and engage with PE and SfA activities, ultimately with the whole school system - experience

In Nicosia, social disadvantage is defined by the financial situation of the young people’s parents, by the type of families (e.g. single-parent; refugees), time, gender and ethnicity that according to the children’s words ‘goes hand in hand with the opportunity to get a well-paid job’. In Athens, the central issue in children’s social disadvantage is ‘money’, particularly, the family’s financial issues that reflects unemployment. In both cities, neither gender nor ethnicity played a significant part in participating or not in PE and SfA. In Nicosia, Lea said: ‘My father can do all building jobs; but, you know...now with the crisis there are days he doesn’t work at all. My mother sometimes works as a cleaner, but not always. I look forward to reaching the age when I can work to help my household. My brother goes from time to time to work in a petrol station where he helps with cleaning cars’. In Athens, Andrew talked to me about his family’s financial issues and the fact that his father had to become a sailor [again] to financially support the family that stayed in Athens.

Continuing to the role of PE and SfA for the disadvantaged children, almost all children from both schools referred to PE and SfA as a fantastic outlet for ‘letting off steam’. Steve in Nicosia said: ‘PE is my only opportunity of letting off steam; the only time during the day when I feel free and with no pressure!’. Coming from Somalia, he lives with his sisters and mother in Nicosia and his father is not with them—Steve said he lives in Swiss and that he was trying to take them with him there. At the time of the fieldwork, his mother supported the house with few resources and the children had to help the mother with the raising up of the youngest siblings – indeed, his only opportunity of participating in PE and SfA was during the school-time. Hence, he did not attend SfA later in the afternoon, because he had to go back home to help at the household.

In parallel, Chris in Nicosia referred to the fact that his family cannot afford to pay for his gym/fitness classes. ‘My goal is to build a fit and toned body, but I don’t have enough money and time to do this’; ‘Actually, my parents cannot afford paying a gym membership; thus, I do what I can here in school. PE class though, is not body (toning)-focused, because we mainly play football...[laughs] still it’s something though’. In Athens, Tanasi and Kostas also referred to their families’ financial difficulties to support them attending a gym. They also referred to building a fit and toned body. However, they said: ‘our families consider going to the gym as a type of luxury; we managed though, to do an extra job during Christmas and then we asked for a better price at the local gym. The gym said yes to the better price and we now attend. We always take place in PE, because we want to become sport teachers; at the gym we focus on body building’.

Similarly, Lea and Aretha elaborated on the element of ‘time’ that goes along with ‘money’ and the opportunity to participate in PE and SfA. In Nicosia, as soon as the school time finished, Aretha had to return home immediately after the end of school. She helped with several household chores and the upbringing of younger siblings. In Athens, Elisavet complained about the lack of resources and time. Both parents had recently lost their job so she couldn’t continue her ballet classes in the ‘very good ballet school’ where she used to attend; she had to move to a low status ballet school for which tuition fees were paid by her grandma, who resided in Moscow. Elisavet argued that she was scared to participate in PE out of fear of

being injured; she was scared therefore that an injury wouldn't allow her to excel in her ballet routine and she wouldn't be able to attend the entry examinations for the Bolshoi Ballets in Moscow. It is significant to highlight that the PE teacher allowed her not to participate after she made a special request.

Nevertheless, the element of 'body' played a significant role in how young people coped with social disadvantage. In their own words, it was clear that having a fit and toned body appeared 'empowering' to them. Another example is Plato, in Athens, who was facing financial problems due to his father's unemployment; he referred to his [body] image as an essential element of his part-time job; "you know, hm...every Friday and Saturday night, I work in the PPP (i.e. famous Greek) night club". He told me that with the money he earned, he was paying his gym membership and for part of his private lessons for the preparation for the final examination to enter the University. PE he said, 'cannot give me the body I desire'. However, he said he enjoyed PE at school because it is the time of play, no stress! The terms 'body' and 'body image' were employed by all participants in both cities and schools. The ideal body (image) – slim, slender, fit and toned – was what all desired. The students' concern in PE and SfA was not only to be 'for all' and 'free of charge', but also to be appropriate for building 'an ideal body'. Concluding with a more extreme case, Nicos referred to his early years when he was doing sport systematically; his aim was to join the navy and become a captain. However, a sequel of unexpected family events disrupted and ended this routine although he still wanted to attend the school for captains in order to become one. He told me 'I participate in PE when I feel I can; I usually play football with my classmates. I was doing athletics you know; but both parents of mine suddenly and within a short period of time passed away and I couldn't commute to the stadium alone; I was too young and no money as well, although I had my uncle as my carer; a couple of years ago [at his 14], I started going to the training by bus; It helped me a lot letting my sadness go, but then I got bored and tired and stopped everything. Thus, I only do some physical activity only here'.

Social class differences became obvious during peer interactions in emotional and physical ways, with clear implications not only for the peer-peer relationships but

also for the teacher-pupil relationships. Such incidents appeared to illustrate the embodied, emotional and normative processes entailed in exhibiting class identities. Conversations such as the above, which often revolved around objects (e.g. PE kits and equipment) or practices (e.g. games), were also acted out in abstract interactions, such as through role-play during games – e.g. as players or referees. The roles allocated to the children within the game were believed to have been shaped by relationships beyond the game. Meli and Marilena in Nicosia, for example, often operated as a ‘best friend’ dyad, which they believed protected them from being excluded, and generally helped each assume confident positions. Lea and Chara on the other hand, experienced PE as an additional opportunity during their schooling to carry forward the stigma from previous occasions of being excluded and under observation ; this made them vulnerable to being assigned an unpopular role within any game, perpetuating their already excluded status. Even though, the girls involved in several games were from different ethnic and racial backgrounds, a particular hierarchy of gender, class, race and ability (I would add) is also implied in the particular roles of the game. For example, in Nicosia only one girl was attending the informal football match during the PE class; Peggy was perceived – especially from the boys’ – to be very able when playing football. She was a tall, slim girl who was very popular in the school for playing team-sports and therefore accepted by the boys to join their teams. In this way, the various performances entailed in the game work to shape and define the children’s identities in relation to each other. Furthermore, Aggelos emerges from the game as a powerful leader (being a white abled bodied male playing in the team of Olympiacos yet experiencing severe opposition from parents in choosing a career in football), yet Aretha and Christina are considered as hesitant and ‘fragile as girls’ but not to be messed with. Such roles appear to become inscribed onto the children’s bodies and define individuals and groups beyond any game and activity, invested with certain classed, gendered and raced attributes.

### **5.3. Theme 2: Young disadvantaged people in Athens and Nicosia on the discourses of social class, gender and ethnicity that circulate in PE and SfA**

In Athens and Nicosia, PE and SfA acted as a social space that had clear hierarchical structures, with the physical education teacher(s) holding the power and determining the rules of the 'field'. It goes without saying that in physical education, movement and performance are meaningful activities that are differentiated by levels of skill, competence and ability (Bourdieu, 1986). In parallel, Bourdieu stated that in PE pupils are privileged or marginalised based on their accumulation of symbolic capital, including the 'appropriate' clothing, or more importantly, the right kind of 'ability'. Consequently, the pupil's position within the field can be influenced by the accumulation of social capital. Thus, relational networks perhaps allow pupils to maximise their ability to convert capital into different forms. Yannis in Nicosia for example, expressed spending time and 'letting off steam' with friends as the most important reason for engaging SfA. He added that wearing the trendy and labelled outfit in PE empowered his relationships with his friends and made him 'accepted and beloved'. In Nicosia, PE and SfA were available and accessible to all children of the school; SfA in Nicosia took place in the same facilities where PE took place and was supposed to target social disadvantage; the children could perform for example certain embodied identities in familiar places. SfA for disadvantaged young people in Athens was not available; except for PE, children could only attend extracurricular activities where they had to pay privately. Nevertheless, schools and the intersecting relationships on which they function are key sites where social class differences are reproduced. This research study uncovered discourses that are prevalent among educational staff about the relevance of social class, gender and race/ethnicity in children's lives at school and the role of schools and staff in addressing this. Particularly, in Nicosia, the school was believed to be synonymous with anti-racism diversity. However, such practices focused mainly on just recognising different ethnic backgrounds, nationalities, languages and being tolerant and flexible on aspects learning.

Social class characteristics were discussed within the focus groups in both case schools. Trajectories of advantage and disadvantage were stable across the groups

with issues of money, time, household/type of families to prevail. The largest proportion of the sample lived in deprived contexts (i.e. clearly deprived in Nicosia, yet in a privileged area prior to recession and with children and their families now experiencing tremendous financial problems). The Nicosia case school had the highest proportion of children living in socioeconomic deprivation living in a so – called unsafe neighbourhood, attending a school with more than 80% racial/ethnic minority students, and with access in PE and SfA (taking place inside the school), yet limited access to other sport facilities.

In both Nicosia and Athens, children embody the relationship to their family income that's why perhaps they refer to it when talking about PE and SfA. Moreover, they further refer to their racial/ethnic and gender identities as important points when practicing in PE and SfA, fact that sheds light to the intersectionality of these three factors. In other words, the individual-level effects of racial/ethnic identity, gender, and social class in PE and SfA appears not to be disentangled from one another. This demonstrates therefore the usefulness of intersectionality theory for explicating PE and SfA for disadvantaged young people. The following extracts from my research diary include discussions with the young people. Bearing in mind, Bourdieu, Butler and CRT, the schools are sites of social reproduction and in various ways, the lessons I observed seemed to fulfill the aim of 'reproduction' as well as concepts of Butlerian identity formations (i.e. performative identities; gendered and racialized bodies and activities); finally, CRT concepts on race and ethnicity where in the cases of Nicosia showed the inclusive aspect of PE.

*Athens, Year 12 – 1<sup>st</sup> lesson to observe: yesterday, I observed one of the sections of Year 12. All gathered to start the class and looking at me wondering who I am and why I stare at them. Eleftheria introduces me and says I am going to watch today's lesson; then, tells them to choose whatever activity they want to do... 'come on – take a ball and play; just, let me first mark down who is absent!'. The girls chose to play volleyball and the boys chose to play football. 'How predictable', I thought! Nonetheless, the boys were happy to do so – they were self-organised too; she gave them a ball for football...and told them, please play and I will be right here watching over you (element of surveillance to regulate the possible chaos- symbolic control and gendered practices!). 'You can go on with your game as usual [i.e. she obviously had done this before, so*

*the boys were aware of the procedure]. Indeed, their game went on until the end of the lesson. Girls were given a ball to play volleyball. Most of them were wearing jeans and a t-shirt and sport shoes – trendy ones; it seems to me that the young people are identically dressed up these days! They chose to play volleyball in the half of the court-in a circle and in a very relaxed manner. ‘We just want to relax from the stress for the final exams’ they shouted at me; most probably, they noticed my surprise! The PE teacher sat by me and explained...you may remember how this works from your school years too [this was more than 20yrs ago - I said!]. I cannot push them more...they are already under huge pressure with the exams. Referring to the girls, she started telling me...A studies to enter the Law School, B studies to enter the Greek Literature Uni, etc. They come to PE in order to relax and have a nice time/enjoy... the boys were enthusiastic and in full-sweat about to finish their game! A final point struck me ... that I didn’t know who was of Greek origin—there seemed to be no language barrier and different ethnicities treated in absolute equal terms.*

*Nicosia: Year 10 would practise Greek traditional dance. This reminded me of my school and university years. However, in my school Greek traditional dance was girls-only activity. There, I was happy to see boys and girls dancing together. They all seemed happy! Greek dance took place indoors. There was a CD player playing traditional Cypriot songs - found it a bit funny but children not; it appeared to be a ‘normal’ procedure for them. Not all were wearing PE kits, but were comfortably/casually dressed. Two girls were wearing hijabs. The PE teacher danced with them, while giving them guidance on some particular steps.*

In the Athens case-study school, all boys who participated in the focus groups stated that they love sport, thus they participate in PE as much as they can and also try to engage with practice outside school. Tolis would like more [i.e. in number] and more trendy facilities and activities though, as well as a younger PE teacher, although he said she is knowledgeable and engaging. All the boys in Athens (of different ethnicities, such as Albanian, Philippino and Korean yet born in Greece) stated that they didn’t experience ‘racism’ in school and especially in PE, at least directly -they emphasized! The problem was more prominent they told me when they attended primary school! On the contrary, in Nicosia, there were references to the ethnicities of the boys, for example when they played a football game and one made a mistaken/wrong pass. At the same point, another could be worshiped to have done his best in the game. An example was when Ayis achieved a goal and

his team praised him shouting ‘well done our sweet and unique chocolate!’ and hugging him all over.

In both cities, while in PE, both boys and girls tended to categorise the activities as ‘boysh/macho’ and ‘girly’. For example, football was the predominant activity and the most preferred when the PE teacher asked boys to choose what they wanted to play. The second most prominent choice was going to the school’s indoor gym facilities or doing ‘gym activities’ when in PE and SfA. As mentioned earlier, the aim was to ‘build a toned and healthy body’ (their words). Girls expressed that they preferred dance and activities to build a slim yet toned body. In Nicosia, girls participated in dance, table tennis, badminton and volleyball. As mentioned earlier, only one girl participated in football with the boys. In the Athens school, girls participated in dance and volleyball and none in football.

Girls and boys in both cities were critical about their PE teacher, especially in Athens, less so in Nicosia. For PE, the PE teacher was considered as an inseparable part for its success. The PE teacher in both cities was criticised for not being up-to-date with trendy/modern activities, yet she was inclusive and knowledgeable. In Athens, girls preferred activities like modern dance and trendy martial activities, such as KRAV-MAGA and wanted the PE teacher to order gym equipment for their indoor facilities and in order to effectively build their bodies that would usually exist in a gym and to be used free-of-charge.

The boys seem to perform the identity (i.e. gender/race-ethnicity/social class) they feel the teacher perhaps expects. Although, the teacher seems to understand their words and actions (i.e. organise and play a football match or a tournament of table tennis) as a confirmation of stereotypes. For example, one could argue that they play football because the PE teacher orders so...bearing in mind that the boys would prefer play football. Hence an understanding of self as performed supports the view that the boys are challenging the stereotypes and resisting the essentialisation of their identities; thus, the boys perform their racial, class and gendered identities for the teacher and in order the teacher to accept them and treat them favourably. Perhaps, it can be perceived as a practice of improvisation within a scene of constraint. Moreover, one does not ‘do’ one’s gender (I would add and/or class and/or race) alone. ‘One is always ‘doing’ with or for another, even if the other is

only imaginary' (Butler, 2004, p. 1). The teacher appears to respond only to a threat, as her role of teacher is constituted as one of social control. The teacher's perception of young people's voices as threats challenges the authority and a threat to order; this makes sense in the discursive context of young, working class males and females. Rather than viewing boys' comments as a political and social criticism, the teacher responds to the perceived threat that they represent, and the opportunity to debate these constructions and their meaning for the boys' life-chances is lost; the boys' political voice is silenced. Such a situation and interaction can lead to incidents like the one that happened when I happily approached Yannis to introduce myself. In my smiley 'hello, my name is Foteini – I am very happy to meet you", he decided to challenge the system/teacher/school by spitting on me and shouting "hey you hypocrite; I know what you are here for...to take me to the Detention Camp with you ... and to punish me'. My shock was more than words can describe; still I persevered and faced the situation with a calm attitude and embracing the child with no hostility at all. I also stopped the PE teacher from punishing him.

Specifically, the views and experiences of these socially disadvantaged young people living and 'being active and physically educated' in Nicosia and Athens are significant and represent critical cases in the terrain of the wider discourse of social disadvantage within the intersectional approach of social class, gender and race. In parallel, the lenses of Bourdieu, Butler and Critical Race theories provide a sophisticated, yet innovative framework to address social disadvantage in PE and SfA. Importantly, social class, racial positioning and gender identity are not just topics that were discussed in the interviews; they were also played out and negotiated with me while I observed the lessons and was a member of their communities.

When elaborating on discourses of social class, gender and ethnicity/race, the data confirms that PE and SfA should be considered for the position of eliminating social disadvantage and for providing better opportunities not only to improve their physical/corporal health, but to improve their mental condition. The data however demonstrates that this goal is almost impossible at the moment, since PE is drawn with barriers and SfA is limited (in Nicosia) and no (in Athens) SfA is available to

disadvantaged young people. Lack of policies, money/resources, lack of PE teachers-specialised staff, lack of CPD in social disadvantage and lack of facilities prevail. In Nicosia, ethnic minority students appear to be positioned as different from the white Greek norm; in Athens they appear to be part of the whole - furthering the goal of social cohesion. Moreover, notions of gender and race continue to be misunderstood and are made and remade through social interaction; identities of 'difference' are not inherent, rather they are performed onto minority ethnic young people, and thus also made and remade (i.e. incident with the 'chocolate boy').

Findings show the clear influence of race/ethnicity in determining membership to the most disadvantaged classes. Across gender dichotomies, black students were more likely than white boys to be assigned to all classes of disadvantage as compared to the most advantaged class, and this was particularly strong for the most disadvantaged class, which included elements of both individual- and contextual-level disadvantage. Asian boys and girls were also more likely than white boys to be assigned to all the disadvantaged classes, but the strength of the association was much smaller than for black students. Whereas membership in classes of disadvantage appears to be more a result of structural inequalities strongly driven by race/ethnicity, the salience of gender is apparent in the distribution of academic assessment outcomes within classes of disadvantage. Results show a gendered pattern of math, reading and science assessments, particularly in the most privileged class, where girls from all ethnic/racial groups (although mostly from black and Asian racial/ethnic groups) underperform against white boys in math and science, and where black boys score lower, and white girls higher, than white boys in reading.

In Nicosia, SfA for socially disadvantaged people provides them with football only excluding children that may want to join but play a different game. Emphasis is on a certain sport, rather than on eliminating elements of social disadvantage, rather than on teaching social justice. The function of continuing the predomination of football in formal education settings is to legitimise and preclude challenges to the established order. Unfortunately, PE teachers and even policy-makers appear to be trapped in enduring patterns of interactions that lead to perpetuating the gap of

social disadvantage among young people. Greekness translates to coolness as a synonym for whiteness and tends to exclude ethnic minorities. Indeed, ethnic minorities tend to be constituted as a threat to white Greekness. The discourses which exclude these young children are complex, while programmes such as PE (updated curricula) and SfA that are designed and funded for socially disadvantaged young people tend to deny the existence of engendered identities, ethnic characteristics and traditions, family habitus and tastes. The image of Greekness as tolerant and non-racist tends to be presented, whereas there exists the discourse which constructs the ‘other’, which is officially denied by the discourse which silences racism. This means that the ‘othering’ of ethnic minorities is made to seem like ‘common sense’ and thus virtually impossible to challenge. Although Greekness is not mentioned explicitly, an image of Greekness as white and [religious] and monocultural is established as white and monocultural is established through the ‘othering’ of ethnic minorities.

#### **5.4. Theme 3: Current practices in PE and SfA in Athens and Nicosia that address young people’s social disadvantage**

**Sub-theme: on the ‘ideal’ [i.e. that breaks the barrier of their social disadvantage] lesson of PE and SfA. Implications on practice, school and policy as these were reported by young people and (adult) professionals**

Having briefly referred to data from policy documents, observations of PE and the focus groups, excerpts of data from the PE teachers’ interviews are presented in order to shed light on current practices in PE and SfA. Although the teachers were not the main population under examination, their views ‘embellished’ the data collected from the young people and the other sources. To begin with, Eleftheria highlighted that social disadvantage has been alarmingly prominent in the school as well as in the Greek society like ‘a dark cloud over the city and over my soul... So many kids (with their families) I knew have left Greece; once, in this school there were so many children around - we were about 800. This causes me, you know, a sort of depression...first, there is lack of money and work (unemployment). Then, most of the school’s population are migrants now; this, you see, changes how you should deliver a lesson, the education. Then, there are the problems coming

from the state/policy; the curriculum is the same, facilities are the same for years now, there are severe funding cuts - that's why for example, there is no extra PE teacher coming to the school these days; no CPD and no help in general. I am also the Assistant Head here, a fact that really tires me up and leads me to burn out; my salary was cut you know, plus no recognition. At the end of the day, I am thinking, at least, I've got a job. Finally, there is a 'changing attitude' among young people; youngsters today are kind of more aggressive and disrespectful; they won't obey to my instructions...that's why I am trying to remain flexible in my teaching and to be close to them; you know, if you try to be aggressive as well, nothing will come out of this.'

Similarly, Thales argued that: 'Oh, you cannot imagine how the situation has changed; economic crisis, unemployment and depression is everywhere – we have become a 'grey' city. The kids...oh, the kids...Eleftheria told you how many children have left, right?! Today, the school functions due to the existence of foreigners/migrants. It is ok; I don't mind; Children are children everywhere. Just, you have to approach them with nice manners ...and not to be aggressive and over-punishing to them. You know there always exist 'the problematic/disengaged children', but punishment and aggressiveness is not the way. Here – thank God – I also have a good team of teachers ... and I do my best to get on well with them too. Getting on well with children and their parents and supporting your teachers makes a successful school and makes the situation (of social disadvantage) much much better than it really is; the role of school, you know, it should be comforting'.

Eleftheria also elaborated that PE has a superb effect on all children. First, all can participate no matter what; (I said: "Yes, but why are you offering only activities like...football for boys and volleyball for girls?")- "Oh, that's what they want; even, if I offer something different, they won't participate". In Nicosia, Georgina discussed the PE Kit. 'I am flexible with the PE kit; I know that whoever wants to play football for example, will wear his kit; others don't, won't wear it; this applies more though to girls. They usually come with jeans and a t-shirt and don't want to mess up their hair nor to sweat. You know how girls are. In addition, some children may not have the money to buy the kit. It is important to highlight here that the local church helps us financially, so we buy kit for a child in case his family doesn't'.

Back in Athens, Eleftheria also talked about flexibility in PE. 'I offer them options and they also tell me what they want. Here in the school, we try to remain flexible; there is no punitive culture; we prefer it like this because in this way we avoid violence in the school. As for activities, I try to stay updated through the internet and the YouTube'. Eleftheria and Georgina further argued about the role of competition: "Competition is necessary sometimes...but not always because the children tend to feel excluded, especially when they play with the team that loses". They further added though that although PE and SfA are delivered with inherent barriers, PE can have a positive effect given the ways that is structured, and the nature of the subjects delivered. Finally, both PE teachers and head teachers during the fieldwork enjoyed the sharing of ideas and the extended discussions either with me alone and with the children. Not only they stated they felt empowered, but they also felt that someone understood them and that they are not alone when facing problems.

Nevertheless, findings revealed truths and at times 'cultural arbitrariness' to be reproduced as a legitimate culture (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 22) within PE and SfA. Processes of PE and SfA are seen as supporting [types of] attitudes and values presented in a classroom such as ethnocentrism which reinforces discourses of white supremacy and Greek superiority, body excellence, ethnic glorification, gender superiority and class supremacy. An example of how this worked in practice (from the activities I observed), involved choosing to play a game that boys and/or girls preferred thus an overall division in activities for boys and girls. I would dare say that the only legitimate direct communication took place between pupils and teacher, not among pupils, unless the pupils moved or turned around, (against the behaviour code, but which they often got in trouble for doing). When I asked the teacher why she did not seek answers from her students, she said she thought it would lead to chaos and lead to misbehaviour.

Although it could be argued that the teacher would have spoken this way to any pupil regardless of ethnic background, viewing the data through a CRT lens helps me understand the racialising discourses which the teacher (perhaps unwittingly) deploys. Nonetheless, Georgina's use of the words to characterise a young girl of

Somalian origin as ‘foreigner/migrant/not orthodox/non-white/wearing hijab but she is a very nice and polite girl’ demands discourses on colonisation and the destruction of people across the globe in the name of the white race bringing civilisation. She is perhaps positioned as having values incompatible with Greekness (as it is identified through discourses of colour and religion) and perhaps as a threat to a civilised society that is represented by the white, middle class female teacher.

Far from addressing difference and racism, current practices in PE and SfA classes seem to perpetuate it. This of course can appear unsurprising, if the role performed onto teachers by PE is to contain threats to [imagined] Greekness and that ethnic minorities constitute a threat while the presence of ‘other’ produces the boundaries against which the nation defines itself. The findings suggest that in PE and SfA classes, diversity is presented as a problem. Both teachers assumed that pupils identify with one culture or ethnicity, the one of their origin. Racial identities are constructed as static and essentialist and the minority children are seen as having confused identities in contrast with the Greek one. ‘Othering’ therefore, can be very subtle; references are often implicit rather than explicit. However, they can be powerful because they draw on systems of existing ‘knowledge’ about the ‘other’. In parallel, there is also lack of recognition from the teachers of the way in which there is discourses of ‘other’. Contrary to what the teachers claim, to call someone, for example, white, Greek, boy or girl tends not to be the same as calling someone black or Asian or of Eastern (Caucasian) origin. The dominant discourse is that the peaceful, dominant, free, justifiable, western, liberal democracies are meritocracies thus structural barriers such as racism, have been removed. Such a discourse denies structural inequalities and social injustice and thus maintains the innocence of white people, whereas the discussion denies the significance of race and racial ‘othering’.

All data sources suggest the PE and SfA classes are not being handled in a way which would allow pupils to engage with controversial issues. Norms and values locate discrimination in the individual, rather than in the structures of society. This may mean that oppressive structures and discourses are silenced because discrimination is portrayed as unrepresentative. In Nicosia, a boy of Philippino origin and a boy from Pakistan keep their voice silenced and did not confront the

PE teacher or their classmates to express their preference when playing. When I asked them to do so during an activity, their voice came out as ‘shouting’ and not as ‘a discussion’. Discrimination emerges as natural and understandable and based on acceptable fears of the unknown, rather than from what is learnt. In parallel, politics and racism as specific topics only seem to play a small role in the scheme of work in these two schools; the blame should not be placed on the individual schools or teachers; rather as I have explained, it is laid down by the Curriculum Guidelines. Alongside, the low status of the PE lesson and the role of SfA in the two schools suggest that despite the theoretically vast democratic potential of such classes, there is not much possibility for democratic change in education unless PE and SfA gain in importance. By not respecting their needs for full acceptance/inclusion/tolerance, nor the need for varied and up-to-date activities, the teachers constitute the migrants and the refugees, the girls and the boys as ‘undesirable learners’, incapable, uninterested and unwanted by the school. It can suggest that the teachers are first to be influenced by discourses which position young people in general as disengaged and uninterested (despite the fact that the pupils are asking questions, fact that can demonstrate interest) thus consequently, they perform this identity onto these young people. In Nicosia the teachers can be influenced by discourses of the good Greek Cypriot or in Athens by discourses of the good Greek, which tend to be understood as white, middle class, independent learners. The boys and girls, who are from Asian, Rom, African or Arabic backgrounds, struggle with discipline as well as with their reading and writing work. Teachers in PE and SfA consider this to be a problem. Disrespectful remarks may impact more harshly on pupils from minority ethnic backgrounds because they have historically been constructed as deficient and problematic for the education system. Finally, young people’s moments of personal challenge (as are exhibited in PE and SfA) can frequently be interpreted as resistance to a system which marginalises them, but this marginalisation tends to stay invisible to the teachers, who see the school system as fair and promoting social justice. Such patterns of classroom interaction have become so normalised that teachers may be unaware of the way their actions limit democracy, because as Bourdieu (1990) emphasises, they too, were shaped by this same system, which now privileges them.

The girls in the study suggest they are made to feel unvalued, unimportant and worthless by the PE teacher indirectly and by other members of staff directly, who at times treat them disrespectfully and act unsupportively in their learning. Pupils' reactions, as these are illustrated by the language they use to me when talking about incidents, implies that such manners from teachers impact strongly on their sense of self. The data reinforces the notion that some teachers understand their role as one of social control, enforcing compliance and precluding challenges from the pupils. This 'picture' is reflected in the words of Natalia (a girl of Moldavian origin in Athens) 'Girls are very concerned with the lack of respect shown towards students by teachers'. Such manners therefore may impact especially harshly on minority ethnic students because of the cumulative effect of racist microaggressions. To conclude, the findings suggest the young people experienced a pattern of microaggressions: they are continually positioned in negative ways which they have to negotiate. Schools and teachers seem to understand their role as it has been allocated by the state as containing threats to Greekness, Greek language, Greek religion, Greek structure-traditions. Young people, particularly the minority ethnic young people, are continually positioned as threatening, challenging, deficient or outsiders which, as other research suggests, can result in underachievement demotivation, self-exclusion and depression. However, my point is not to focus on their individual moments and incidents in isolation, rather to argue that perceptions, behaviour and interaction tend to be shaped by structures (i.e. in this case the master narrative of Greekness superiority).

## **5.5. Conclusion**

As a conclusion it is important to highlight that the findings illuminated young people's social disadvantage, their identities, behaviours and their bodies in relation to PE and SfA. Furthermore, they illuminated specific ways in which, particularly, the identities, behaviour and bodies of minority ethnic young people of disadvantaged background and of specific gender are regulated and controlled. The key findings indicate that: (a) young people interpret social disadvantage in multi-faceted ways in which gender, class and race/ethnicity intersect and hold a topical role on how they experience and interpret social disadvantage not only in their lives

and schooling but also in PE and SfA; (b) the role of PE and SfA is positive, yet under certain circumstances; (c) future programmes are suggested to be [literally] ‘for all’, free-of-charge, to provide current, varied inclusive activities delivered by appropriately-trained PE teachers. The presentation of the cross-cultural elements (i.e. Nicosia and Athens), the elements of class, gender and race, along with the relevant data, leads to Chapter VI, to the Discussion of this research study’s findings.

## Chapter VI– DISCUSSION

### 6.1. Introduction

Whilst Chapter V presented the findings from the study, this chapter seeks to address the research questions while discussing the study's findings. Prior, however, to continuing with the discussion, it is appropriate to revisit the context of this research study. The discourse on 'Social Disadvantage' has been at the centre of media agendas and social research worldwide (e.g. Guardian, 2018; 2019; Garbin and Millington, 2017). At the same time, education through subjects like Art and PE (MOVE Project, 2014; Street Games, 2014) attempts to tackle social disadvantage and re-engage young people into education and further into society through practice-based projects and interventions. However, current social changes such as world-wide economic recession, wars and poverty as well as neo-liberal educational policies imposed on policies, teachers and students appear to challenge any target initiative to tackle social disadvantage (Phillpots, Grix and Quarmby, 2011; O'Sullivan, Tannehill and Hinchion, 2010; Savelsberg and Martin-Gilles, 2008; Penney, 2008; Beckmann and Cooper, 2004). For example, the economic crisis forced the UK Coalition Government to implement funding cuts of £1.9 billion a year (in terms of the 2010-11 budget) from the Children's Plan. Further, current discussions on BREXIT appear perhaps to 'cast shadows' on the future of EU funding to UK, such as HORIZON 2020 (Khan, 2019). Nevertheless, PE and SfA are considered to be significant in affecting young people's lives positively and, further in reducing social disadvantage in young people (e.g. Sport Matters Strategy/2009-2019). In addition PE teachers and SfA trainers play a crucial role in educating disadvantaged children, thus their further training and professional development could ensure the improvement of conditions for disadvantaged young people along with teachers' teaching styles when teaching such children (Arbour-Nicitopoulos et.al., 2018; Timperley, 2011; Keay and Lloyd, 2011).

This research study is the first to attempt to address social disadvantage in young people within the paradigm of intersectionality, gender, social class and race/ethnicity under the agenda of PE and SfA in Greece and Cyprus; importantly,

the study explores the ideas of disadvantaged young people on their disadvantage and the role of PE and SfA and by the further elaboration of these through the lenses of the ideas of Bourdieu, Butler and Critical Race Theory. Both the disadvantaged pupils and their PE and SfA teachers referred to possible definitions of, possible reasons for and various ways of coping with social disadvantage as well as to issues of PE and SfA. Data analysis suggested that each pupil and teacher defined and recognised reasons and ultimately coped with social disadvantage in the PE and SfA lessons in different and personalised way yet which affected the whole class. Analysis also supported the argument that the pupils and teachers' experiences and ideas were initially constructed according to their personalities and their personal social background and further, according to their gender, class and race/ethnicity. The economic and family situations and the area of the school perhaps constructed their ideas and consequently, affected their participation, personal stance towards the lesson and ultimately, their performance. PE teachers on the other hand, expressed their views on how they would cope with disadvantage in a different and in personalised ways that are perceived to be mindful of their gender, ethnicity and class, and further by their age and area of living. Analysis supported the argument that the children's experiences and ideas (although very young) were initially constructed according to their personalities and, furthermore, through the social context in which they lived. Their age phase, but also the type of the school they were going to, perhaps constructed their ideas. Nevertheless, this research study gathered a large amount of data from multiple sources; data analysis of all sources identified various distinct dimensions of the topics explored (e.g. reasons for disadvantage in PE; PE's role; ways to tackle disadvantage and provide activities 'for-all') indicating where the outcomes support existing research and where they contradict them. Furthermore, the study aimed for new research directions to be identified in order to support future implications and broaden current knowledge; these are discussed herein in Chapter VI.

It is important to note however, that, due to this research study's methodological choices (discussed in Chapter III), and the nature of the selected paradigm of intersectionality, it was not possible to construct future implications based on a tested and evaluated model for change – this for example, could happen with an action research model. Although not tested, implications and practical

recommendations based on the analysis aimed at progression and change were formed. This research identified issues of social disadvantage within PE and SfA in the specified areas of Cyprus and Greece, hence extended current knowledge by providing definitions, discussing reasons and identifying ways of addressing them when in PE and/or SfA. Further, through pupils' voices, it was possible to construct implications for future PE and SfA. For example, PE and SfA was characterised as often inadequate and at times inappropriate and this study highlighted the fact that there is indeed limited provision and often not appropriate activities. In addition, the importance of the teachers/trainers' expertise was illustrated through both young people's and PE teachers' views. Furthermore, the fact that problematic issues still exist suggests that although new educational policies relevant to the key areas of investigation have been introduced, issues of social disadvantage, handling the funds and taking initiatives to implement projects along with controversial issues surrounding PE and SfA's provision remain (Stride et al., 2018; Hill 2013; Penney, 2008). It can be suggested, therefore, that, in PE and SfA, and broadly in the education system, social disadvantage is created and inherent social inequalities are further re-created. This could be as a result of policies perhaps reproducing the inequalities because either the policies preserve the status quo or the policies focus on the surface of the problems (e.g. socially disadvantaged young people – not appropriately dressed for PE or lacking resources in general) and not on the 'real/true' underlying causes; these policies therefore, appear not to be compatible with the needs of the disadvantaged pupils or with their teachers (e.g. family problems; administration and policy issues of schools; a day's CPD training). Furthermore, problematic and at times controversial issues may have not been considered within specific educational policies, for example, how the use of PE kit alienates some children greatly, bearing in mind gender, ethnicity/race and class. The issue of the PE kit arose as a significant reason underpinning disadvantage, a fact that – this study argues - needs to be challenged in the future. It calls for change, if PE and SfA is to have a vision for the future, since the issue of PE kit is not only about the kit per se but can be perceived as a symbol reflecting socio-cultural factors (e.g. gender, socioeconomic background, social class).

Furthermore, this research study focuses attention on issues surrounding social disadvantage within the school context and within PE and SfA and adds particular

definitions to how disadvantage is expressed and its influences on PE and SfA, and also on the intersection of gender, class and race [as elements of disadvantage] in PE and SfA. It addresses, therefore, social disadvantage in young people and, in parallel, highlights the importance of the way PE and SfA are delivered, in either increasing or eliminating disadvantage. It additionally provides illustrative examples showing that PE and SfA's roles can be positive, yet not always, at least, for disadvantaged pupils in secondary education. It highlights characteristics such as excessive competition, predominance of football activities, and the procedure of changing into PE kit as reasons that 'disadvantage' pupils, impair their learning in PE and SfA and ultimately disengage them from PE, Sport and Education. Additionally, the study came to explore the role of the PE teacher as a significant part of the PE and SfA processes when teaching this type of young person. It also shows that teachers educate disadvantaged pupils through their experience, policy, personalities and primarily through the knowledge they had gained during their initial training. Overall, this study has added to the existing body of research in showing that there has certainly been progress made in exploring and delving deeper into socially disadvantaged young people when in PE and SfA while examining the elements of gender, class and race/ethnicity. Additionally, this research added on PE's role for this type of youth and the provision of PE-CPD social disadvantage and the current crisis specific. Nonetheless, pedagogies are expected to change through initiatives and policies (Macrine, McLaren and Hill, 2010; Fernandez-Balboa, 1997), which are focused on core and topical issues that underlie social phenomena and cause certain problems; yet things do not seem to alter since the roots leading to these problems - for example, unemployment and financial issues affecting PE's and SfA's provision, as well as issues of teachers' learning in PE- CPD provision, perhaps are not extensively addressed. Things hence do not actually appear to change; in case they do, they do in a slow pace.

Chapter VI, therefore, questions, identifies and finally sheds light on the issues that surround the key areas of investigation either by demonstrating that opinions similar to those found in previous research continue to exist, and/or by highlighting new information to enhance current research on the key areas of investigation. The main purpose now is to address the research study's questions and sub-questions in order to highlight and discuss the study's main findings. Three broad themes were

identified from the data analysis and are each discussed in turn. These are: (a) young people experiencing social disadvantage in Athens and Nicosia when doing PE and SfA; (b) PE and SfA in Athens and Nicosia: A way to tackle social disadvantage (c) Current Practices and what do disadvantaged children need when in PE and SfA.

## **6.2. Young and Socially Disadvantaged in PE and SfA in Athens and Nicosia**

### *- Disadvantaged Children talking*

Kirk (2010) argued that ‘what people say and do in the name of physical education in the present, provides a context for understanding what it might be possible to aim for in the future’ (p.16). This statement comes into sharper focus when listening to disadvantaged children who provide a context for understanding their experiences and viewpoints. Children are not – at least physically - ‘dominant’ or ‘powerful’, as teachers may be. This position of relative weakness of disadvantaged young people compared to their elders, such as the PE teachers, deepens the question of whether such young people were actually disadvantaged or had simply been characterised as such by their PE teachers, for example because of the deprived area that the school was in. Further, when these children expressed their views on their disadvantage and how this is perceived during PE and SfA, that is for example, issues of everyday practice that are reproduced and remain the same for many years, they can be perceived to be at a risk of remaining disadvantaged, since there may be ‘organisational and national unwillingness to decouple economic benefit from maintenance of the existing system’ (Lumby, 2011, p.261).

Nevertheless, it is believed that disadvantaged pupils’ voices encounter difficulties and limits to being heard. However, “attention must be paid to discourse and negotiation about the meaning of the lived world” (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009, p. 54). Listening to young people and communicating what disadvantage in PE and SfA means for them, therefore, appears to be a challenging and problematic process. Furthermore, through their words young people may appear to challenge the long-standing status quo of the interviewer, the teacher and the society (Zembylas, 2010b). For example, in this research study young people argued: ‘we do not want

a PE teacher (and, perhaps, symbolically, a system) who shouts at us'; and 'we do not want a teacher (and further a system) that is selective and provides us only with football'. Hence, I wonder, 'How can the lesson/activity, the PE teacher (and the system) promote change in PE and SfA with long-term strategies for educating socially disadvantaged young people?

Their words could also raise issues of validity, since these students might be thought to be too young or perhaps too immature and inexperienced to think rationally enough about these issues, a fact that one could argue is not the case when talking and listening with adults. Nevertheless, reflecting on social constructions, one can interrogate how far what is said is shaped by negative experiences in gender, class and race/ethnicity discourses (Azzarito and Sterling, 2010). In parallel, the school context is a societal construction where young people are educated and shaped as personalities, since they are expected to follow the rules and regulations of such a microcosm. The debate, therefore, of the role of the school as a societal institution preserving the status quo on the discourses of gender, race and class emerges as a prominent factor: i.e., are the pupils characterised as being disadvantaged because they do not meet the lesson's, the school's and/or the teachers' standards?

Speaking *with and for* [my emphasis] a group of disadvantaged youngsters creates serious challenges for the researcher, as I may either unintentionally or otherwise use the knowledge and understandings gained in ways which have a negative impact on the group which I examine (e.g. Fitzpatrick, 2013). However, my aim is to listen to these pupils and learn from their struggles to both affirm and question. Such an endeavour is rooted in the belief that pupils' ideas can influence PE and SfA policies and strategies to tackle disadvantage; furthermore, they can play a great role in transforming PE, because elements deriving from disadvantage – such as disaffection perhaps - can be another way of having a voice in order to challenge hierarchies for the young people's benefit (Enright and O'Sullivan, 2012). Findings from the focus group interviews with disadvantaged pupils in both cities reveal that they appeared to enjoy PE and SfA when they consisted of team-orientated activities, not competitive and/or outdoor; also, if they were not excessively structured and taught by PE teachers who were well-mannered and were 'open-minded' in the choice of activities. The latter point highlights the importance of

high-quality staff. Research (Dowling, 2011; Dagkas, 2007; Darling-Hammond, 2006; Bechtel and O’Sullivan, 2006a; 2006b) has shown that a ‘good’ teacher has the potential to promote most if not all of the positive characteristics that PE can give to a young person in the best possible ways. For example, competition could remain at a low level but be portrayed as a positive trait through the learning opportunities a teacher may construct (Taylor, Ntoumanis and Smith, 2009).

- *Disability within a wider consideration of social factors impacting upon young people’s Physical education and Sport-for-all*

Morey, Ennis and Katsiyannis (2018) argued that while engagement in physical activity is crucial for school-age children, barriers to participation in physical education often prevent students with disabilities from engaging in PE – I would add to SfA. Nonetheless, avoiding discrimination on the basis of a disability, accessibility and having an equal opportunity to participate in and benefit from extracurricular activities should be prominent when designing PE and SfA programmes (Rekkaa et al., 2019). Hence, it is of imperative importance for policies and for schools to encourage participation by providing (inspired from the example of the case-study school in Cyprus) all relevant and appropriate equipment and facilities.

Furthermore, Moran and Block (2010) referred to the lack of appropriate programmes offered to young disabled people. This was also the case in Cyprus. The child suffering with cerebral palsy could not actually participate actively in any of the activities in PE and SfA, because there weren’t any facilities and equipment available; moreover, neither was there a specifically qualified coach to train him. Observing him everyday over the prolonged period of the fieldwork, highlighted the barriers to participation and how equal opportunities for inclusion and participation were not being provided for students with disabilities.

To sum up, Beckett (2015) described three types of anti-oppressive pedagogies in relation to disability: studying the person with a disability as The Other in order to celebrate difference (Pedagogy 1; linked with ‘social constructionism’); discussing/understanding the person with a disability as the result of social

inequalities (Pedagogy 2; linked with ‘critical pedagogy’ informed by Paulo Freire and others); and criticising/taking action to change oppressive social understandings and practices in relation to disability (Pedagogy 3; linked with ‘post-critical pedagogy’ informed by post-structuralists such as Michel Foucault and others). In Nicosia, specifically, the PE teacher is mandated to call upon the inclusive curriculum in the lesson for this child. However this question strikes me: does she have ‘help’ from the curriculum? Does she know how to work with the particular child? Does she have the appropriate facility and equipment to follow pedagogies that embrace disability and are inclusive? I am afraid this research study highlighted that the answers are negative. Policy makers should act immediately and effectively for the benefit of the disabled young people.

- *Sexuality within a wider consideration of social factors impacting upon young people’s Physical education and Sport-for-all*

When, within a wider context, considering social factors impacting upon young people’s Physical Education and Sport-for-All, sexuality holds a prominent role in research. Scholars in PE and Sport have illustrated ways that not only gender, but also sexualities are narrowly constructed and reproduced (Fitzpatrick and McGlashan, 2016; Anderson and McCormack, 2010; Azzarito 2009). Dillon (2018) recently researched queer men in PE and argued that (hetero)sexuality and other norms around it (e.g. gender, race, obesity) identify and construct the ‘ideal body’ in PE that is probably unachievable. He concludes therefore that the ideal student is almost exclusively heterosexual.

The gay-boy student in Nicosia viewed PE as the place and the time of the day to work on his body and let-off steam. He also chose to play volleyball with his female classmates a sport that he identified as ‘non-macho’, ‘nice body building’ and ‘not dirty’. He was opposed to the prominence of football by telling me ‘sorry Miss, I cannot play football everyday; I cannot even stand them [the fellow male classmates] sweating and swearing. I prefer playing with the girls here’. The study showed that indeed sexuality is relevant to the embodiment of identity and highlighted the importance of context; for example, Foucault (1978, 1986) argued that sexuality is understood differently when considered in the context of Ancient

Greece. Butler (1990) moreover, considers identities (gendered, sexual, etc.) as not ‘something we are’, but rather ‘something we do’. In conclusion, I emphasise Anderson’s (2015) viewpoints, who suggests the development of an inclusive masculinity theory. Based on his theory, the historical situation and social factors around homophobia in sport would change in ways that serve to secure and broaden understandings of masculinity. Anderson further calls for future research on examining the intersection of decreasing homophobia according to social elements such as race, geography and age.

### - *Definitions*

Vagueness shadows the term ‘social disadvantage in PE and SfA’, yet, this is understandable since there is no official definition for the term in the PE and wider sports literature. As a result, it is suggested that a shared or common understanding may be considered as multifaceted. Nevertheless, *social disadvantage in young people* is a term widely used in education policies and research (e.g. Garratt and Kumar, 2019; Hill, 2015; Gillborn et al., 2012) and within PE and SfA research (Dagkas, 2018). In education, ‘disadvantage’ is often used synonymously with ‘disengagement, and/or marginalisation’ (i.e. Vasiliou, 2010; Machin, 2006). In this study, definition statements regarding social disadvantage in PE varied among participants, yet was mainly focused on lack of resources and limited choices for participation. However, all of them referred to the element of ‘disruption’ of the actual lesson and an overall refusal to participate. Such answers were in line with findings from research conducted by Sandford, Duncombe and Armour (2008), in which the participants exhibited both active and passive forms of refusing to participate in PE (Hartas, 2011). Research has also coupled disadvantage with what Gutteridge (2002) has described as ‘extreme disruptive behaviour’ and Charlton, Panting and Willis (2004) ‘disobedience and physical aggression’.

### - *Reasons*

Young people and teachers attempted to explain how social disadvantage is exhibited during PE and SfA. Young people are assumed not to live their social identities in vacuum, but within social contexts such as families, schools and peer groups. Examples of reasons mentioned included the following: gender issues; PE kit and changing; family, social class, ethnicity; and the PE teachers. All reasons

are considered to be interrelated/intersected. Hence, their performance in a PE and/or SfA lesson/activity is based on investing different identities with perhaps hierarchical values and statuses, such as class-based, while intersecting with gender, race, ethnicity and other. Then they perhaps construct both individual identities as well as wider social groups, that is to say that both academic/research discussions along with practice-oriented initiatives about young disadvantaged people's social class identities cannot take place without taking into consideration other aspects of their identities such as gender, race/ ethnicity, social class and other. In parallel, considering the findings through the contexts of Bourdieu, Butler and CRT theories appears to be appropriate. Such understandings of the phenomenon can be seen to amplify the idea that, in order for learning to be effective, it should be based on understanding what these theories refer to. For reasons of data and text management, they are discussed separately.

**Gender.** Every participant referred to gender as an important factor leading to social disadvantage (e.g. girls have to stay at home and help with the household) and within PE (e.g. boys are for football; boys are naughty; boys are physical; volleyball is for girls). They referred to both girls and boys being disadvantaged, yet with greater emphasis being placed on girls. Such findings are in line with research conducted by O'Donovan and Kirk (2008; 2007) regarding girls and Wellard (2006) regarding boys. O'Donovan and Kirk (2008; 2007) examined what motivates pre-adolescent girls' engagement in PE and the ways that girls position themselves around available discourses in the wider physical and popular culture. Similarly, Wellard (2006) highlighted the importance of identifying social factors to approach sports and ultimately masculinities and embodied abilities; he argued that sport fails to recognise that boys and girls experience these issues differently and suggested that young people indeed develop an early understanding of their own social bodies and become aware of bodily performances; these, therefore, are topical in the young people's attitude to participation in PE and further in sports. Drawing an example from Nicosia, Georgina said: 'differences are between the boys and the girls. Girl, for example, could be turned off by team sports such as football, rather than individual sports.' Clark and Paechter (2007) examined the reactions of girls when participating in sports like football. The consequences were disruptive behaviours

and unequal participation. Their research suggested that this occurred because of boys' power and 'automatic rights' and girls' 'marginal tendency'. Lastly, and in a similar vein, research conducted by Grossbard et al. (2009) revealed that girls reported greater levels of anxiety than boys, whereas boys reported higher disruption of their concentration during sport.

***Getting Changed before and after PE.*** All participants referred to PE kit as a reason for pupils to exhibit disengagement from PE and SfA. 'Body image' discourse appeared to go along with the changing of PE kit and gender, suggesting that the procedure of 'getting changed for PE', but also how a pupil appeared before and after changing, can have a tremendously negative effect on a pupil for PE and the school in general. Above all, the concerns continued with their image - that is to say with how they would appear to others and certainly to themselves. With relevance to this issue, Fitzclarence (2004) has argued that:

The body is first and foremost a material dimension of the self. In this sense, it is the material form of the self that connects to other selves and to the wider cosmos. At the same time the concept of the body is ideological in that it contains sets of socially constituted ideas and concepts (p. 261).

This study suggests, therefore, that the PE kit and the process of changing play a significant role in promoting disaffection in PE. It is also important to note that this reason appeared to go hand in hand with gender, especially with girls. Examples included: 'not bringing the PE kit, because I don't have a nice one [due to lack of money]'; 'cannot borrow because the others don't have one either'; 'slow changing'; 'looking awful with the kit and smell after being sweaty'. Such findings are in line with research conducted by Flintoff and Scraton (2001) and recently by Stride et al. (2018). It is also important to highlight Kirk's research with O'Donovan (2007) who stated that the process of 'changing' (i.e. changing rooms) holds a prominent place in a PE lesson. PE kit and changing are a worrisome procedure for some pupils. O'Donovan and Kirk (2007) have talked about the importance of 'how pupils appear after changing', something that was an issue highlighted in this study as well. Pupils sounded very concerned with how they would look before, during and after changing. Characteristic examples varied and included the following: 'girls did not want to wet their hair'; 'did not want to take

off their jewelry'; 'did not want to show their legs'; 'did not want to take off their make-up'. Findings such as the previous are linked with issues of image; ultimately, all of their concerns were about how they look like to others, but also to themselves.

In similar vein, research conducted by Flintoff and Scraton (2001), revealed that young girls in particular felt 'uncomfortable' in PE when their bodies were 'showing' such as when swimming or when wearing short games' skirts. Additionally, research conducted by Evans, Rich and Holroyd (2004) highlighted the problematic complexities and contradictory experiences of girls regarding their bodies and school sport. Azzarito (2009), while addressing embodied identities and subjectivities, has suggested that there is a need for a comprehension of the construction of girls' and boys' body images with regard to gender and race and that it is necessary to create 'pedagogical spaces in schools to destabilise and subvert the gendered, racialised social norms of the ideal body' (p.19). Overall, the issue of changing and PE kit, alongside gender and body image, suggested that this study echoed previous research (e.g. Azzarito, 2019; Stride et al., 2018; Fitzpatrick, 2013; Azzarito, 2012; Paechter, 2012). However, the findings in this study suggest that the procedure of 'getting changed while being disadvantaged' is perhaps a more powerful influence than imagined and should be reviewed and reconsidered in terms of how it happens (for example, how does it feel not to have money to buy a PE Kit? or how the PE teachers and/or the school should handle/cope with the PE kit procedure?).

***Family and socioeconomic factors.*** Another important factor of disadvantage in PE and SfA was suggested to be the condition of the family context (e.g. living in a single parent family; living with unemployed parents who are perhaps refugees and/or migrants; living in a well-off family but attending the particular school because it is the only choice for a child with cerebral palsy/no other state mainstream school accepted the child). Research conducted by McCrystal, Higgins and Percy (2007) emphasised the role of the family and parental support in the exhibition of disengagement from education during the period of adolescence. In parallel, socioeconomic background and general socioeconomic conditions were considered to be closely linked with the factor of family and were also reported to be very significant for young people's attitudes and behaviours. Similarly,

Quarmby and Dagkas (2012) and Sandford, Armour and Warmington (2006) highlighted family and the socio-economic circumstances they live in as roots to possible attitudes and behaviours linked to disadvantage relevant to PE and SfA. In this study, issues of socioeconomic background were reported as significant in negatively influencing the young people, especially concerning the capital of the family (i.e. resources, job, area of living) (e.g. Wheeler and Green, 2014). However, this research also reported that youth disaffection can be encountered and exhibited within families that are regarded to be ‘upper class’ and in areas which are not deprived.

***PE teacher and SfA trainer/educator: a significant role.*** The findings of this study reveal the importance of ‘high’ quality PE staff in addressing disadvantage and in breaking the barriers through PE and SfA. For example, Thales talked about ‘huge staffing problems that can be encountered in socially disadvantaged/deprived areas’. Additionally, disadvantaged pupils in both countries argued for the necessity of a good and effective PE teacher and SfA trainer/educator to teach the lesson and cope appropriately with disadvantaged young people. Bailey (2008) too has suggested that:

The actions and interactions of coaches and teachers significantly influence the extent to which children and young people experience these positive aspects, and whether or not they realise the great potential of sport (p. 92).

Hilton (2006) additionally suggested that key adults as significant others are important in positively influencing pupils in mainstream schools. Hagger et al. (2009) suggested that PE teachers are at times even more important than the family in addressing problematic situations, such as attitudes and behaviours emerging from disadvantage. Nonetheless, the role of a PE teacher in tackling disadvantage within PESS and SfA appeared to be of utmost importance in this study. The role of PE is discussed in turn.

### **6.3. PE and SfA is positive, yet under certain circumstances**

Physical Education has two major components: practical physical activities and subject matter knowledge. Each of these components can be categorised in various ways. What makes PE educationally worthwhile is the integration of learning in, about and through physical activity (Kirk et al., 2002, p. 12).

The pupils, the PE teachers and the heads of the schools in this study referred fondly to PE and SfA in addressing social disadvantage; however, they highlighted aspects that can also hold a negative role. There is an extensive body of research examining the role of PE (e.g. Dagkas, 2018; Alfrey, Enright and Rynne, 2017; Krave, 2016; McCuaig, 2016; Azzarito and Solomon, 2005; Bailey, 2005; Miller, Bredemeier and Shields, 1997) as well as research on interventions aimed at further enhancing PE's and SfA's positive role (e.g. Singh, Saliasi and van der Berg, 2018; Liu et al., 2016; Designed to Move, 2012 Mouratidou, Goutza, Hatzopoulos, 2007; Sport for a Better World, 2005; Miller et al., 1997; Hellison, 1978). Murakami (2008) argued that:

All these initiatives and projects may have offered a short-term solution and indeed may have made an impact, but the challenge lies in ensuring the sustainable support and special provision and taking a holistic approach to working with young people (p. 3).

Each participant referred to PE and SfA in addressing disadvantage in a unique and personalised way, constructed according to their personal background and the social context in which they operated, further, influenced by their gender, class and race/ethnicity. Despite problems – such as the procedure of changing into kit and/or football being the prominent activity – adults and young people's views endorsed the recent interest in PE as an effective way to tackle and address disadvantage in order to re-engage young people, not only into PE, SfA and education, but in society as a whole (Howells, Wellard, Woolf-May, 2018; Lawson, 2005). Throughout the fieldwork, PE's role was acknowledged as a rich context for promoting young people's psycho-social development. However, suggestions for improvement of its role along with negative elements were highlighted within and across all participants' views.

Data supported this recent interest in the role of PE and SfA. Sport is perceived as 'social capital' and in line with previous research, such characteristics are thought to be developed and/or improved through PE. Holt and Jones (2008), for example, talk about the numerous advantages associated with sport participation and they contended that evidence indicates that the positives outweigh the negatives. Furthermore, Mandigo, Corlett and Anderson (2008) suggest that PE activities can enhance peace in areas of conflict such as El Salvador in Central America. Moreover, Miller, Bredemeier and Shields (1997) suggest that, through intervention and its goals (to promote empathy, moral reasoning, maturity, task motivation, self-responsibility), four (4) components of moral education are developed: Cooperative Learning; Building Moral Community; Creating a Mastery motivational climate; and Transferring Power from teacher to students. Such findings are in line with those of Spence, McGannon and Poon (2005, p. 321) which contended that exercise participation leads to small yet significant increases in 'Global Self Esteem'.

Further, Taylor, Ntoumanis and Snith (2009) argued that PE is an important context with great potential, 'since unlike competitive sport [...] it ostensibly strives to encompass virtually all children' (p. 235). This research also highlighted the element of 'competition' as playing a negative role for this type of youth. Such a view could also coincide with the view that PE may be considered as less commercialised and formalised than sport (Taylor, Ntoumanis and Snith 2009). However, it seems to hold similar characteristics. Competitive goal structures therefore tend to focus attention on the interests of the self – rather than of others – and perhaps result in distorted communication and hostility. However, competition may be an essential feature of any PE and Sport activity, in order to ensure intrinsic motivation and to pursue excellence (DCMS, 2011). Nevertheless, in this research study, and when referring to young people who are characterised as disadvantaged, competition and individual activities were raised as negative traits of PE and SfA. Eleftheria argued that these pupils should play in teams because, as she said, they can hide and not undertake individual activities, where they feel everyone looks at them. In parallel, the activity should not be competitive, because this type of child perhaps would not play/participate if a PE teacher puts him/her against another team and s/he fails. Such a view echoes Miller, Bredemeier and Shields' (1997) ideas:

In competitive goal structures {negative interdependence} = one cannot succeed in a task if others succeed – goals and rewards are mutually exclusive. Individualistic goal structures (no interdependence) occur when individuals work alone to achieve their goals (p.120).

In terms of positive characteristics, PE teachers also reported that PE is a lesson taught out of the classroom environment and consists of no reading and writing. This notion is also linked to research conducted by Miller, Bredemeier and Shields' (1997):

The freedom from desks and books and the chance to be socially interactive and physically expressive, invite different ways of relating interpersonally with peers and teachers. Additionally for some, its connection to sport infuses the PE class with a level of interest unparalleled in other parts of the curriculum (p. 116).

Hand in hand with PE goes the PE teacher, whose role is absolutely topical in effectively delivering the appropriate lesson and activities to these young people. Their training, expertise and exclusive knowledge on how to teach disadvantaged young people and furthermore the ways of learning are of significance in order for them to be appropriately prepared for working effectively with disadvantaged youth in PE. Issues surrounding their training are discussed in turn.

#### **6.4. PE teachers: teaching socially disadvantaged young people**

Every PE teacher/educator referred to issues related to how they were prepared for their profession and, further, for their role working with disadvantaged youth in PE. Each teacher defined and recognised issues and ultimately their CPD needs in a different and personalised way, yet perhaps their experiences and views were constructed according to their own personal and social backgrounds, their gender, class and race/ethnicity. Findings from this study suggest that, although PE teachers had undertaken formal training, they tended to learn informally, that is to say 'on the job' and through everyday teaching. Their teaching experiences were defined by explaining that they learnt through 'trial and error' and through 'discussing, exchanging ideas and the overall sharing of knowledge and experiences with other

colleagues'. It can be argued that dialogue and the overall exchanging and sharing of ideas provides them with the opportunity of presenting problems and criticism, because 'criticising, gives human beings their place within their own reality' (Freire, 1974/2005, p. 110). Their overall opinions led to the idea that *learning* should be rooted in their everyday practice with these particular pupils, being school-based and within networks and communities of learning. Armour and Yelling's (2007) research sheds light on understanding how and why teachers do and/or do not learn from both formal and informal CPD activities. They stressed that, even though effective teacher learning is difficult to define, professional learning communities (PLCs) are the key to effective learning. Although participants in this study did not talk directly of forming formal professional learning communities, they stressed the importance of getting together, exchanging ideas and elaborating on incidents of disadvantage occurring in their lessons.

The findings showed that the PE teachers had not received appropriate and focused training (it was either limited or non-existent) on tackling and further coping with issues of young people's social disadvantage through PE and SfA [although SfA were particularly focused on disadvantaged young people] Hence, they relied on experiential learning from their everyday practice. In the participants' views, the notion of 'collaboration', in the sense of sharing ideas, should be enriched by blending 'the old and the new'. Links can be found in Keay's research (2006), although the situation in her research was quite different. PE departments encouraged CPD for new teachers, although these participants didn't seem to be committed to learning as a group due to the age difference. Keay argued that novice teachers have much to give as well as learn, but that their potential and contributions can be less valued and that they need to be encouraged to help develop current practice. This could be another reason why trainee teachers tend to leave their training full of enthusiasm, but during their career years may become 'burnt out' (Harris, 2007). It is also worth mentioning here that research conducted by Petitpas, Cornelius and Van Raalte (2008), where, in two projects (i.e. PLAY IT SMART and FIRST TEE), the importance of mentor training was recognised as vital. Thus, considerable time and resources were allocated to ensuring that participants benefited from adult mentors.

Relying too much on one's everyday practice may be a barrier, since reflective practices may be absent and/or ignored (Attard, 2007). Additionally, theoretical learning shouldn't be excluded. Research and policy documents suggest that reflective practices are necessary in the process of learning. *Reviewing your School CPD* (TDA, 2007) argued that the process of CPD consists of reflective activity designed to improve an individual's attributes, knowledge, understanding and skills (p.2). It supports the individual's needs and improves professional practice. Research on reflective practice conducted by Attard (2007) highlighted that habitual practice can be challenging, so personal reflection on one's own practice emerges as topical. Attard argued that reflection can be 'corrective to experiential over-learning', as a way to learn consciously from professional experience (p.150). Summarising and following Bechtel and O'Sullivan's ideas (2006b), it is argued that research is needed to further investigate what teachers learn and how it affects their practice and career. They stressed that:

little is known about what teachers learn during PD or the nature of the processes that facilitate learning (p.364).

Finally, findings appear to illustrate the prominent complexity of initial training and of professional development and the need to consider not only what teachers should learn, but the way the learning experience should be structured and ultimately implemented, in order to be as effective as possible. This research study additionally suggests that, for PE, social disadvantage is reinforced/enhanced from the type and structure of the PE lessons, such as the changing procedure, the type of curriculum activities on offer and the PE teachers' manner and knowledge and the current policies. Furthermore, effective PE-CPD training throughout their career emerges as vital and is also acknowledged by Keay and Lloyd (2011); Timperley, (2011); Armour and Yelling, (2007); and Lunenberg and Willemse, (2006). Hence, complex and multidimensional factors must be taken into account when designing future training projects (Stoll and Seashore, 2007).

Findings as such echo Armour and Yelling's research (2007) which stressed that, although PE teachers highlighted what could be important for students, teachers

‘undertook almost no professional development in relevant areas’ (p. 184). They also reported that:

PE teachers continue to practice for many years, perhaps unaware that they may be failing to meet their professional commitments to the pupils in their care (p. 182).

It is furthermore claimed that there often seem to be tensions between PE teachers’ desires and needs, since their needs seem to be imposed from external structures, such as school policies (Harris, 2007), funding and time constraints (Keay, 2006). Nevertheless, an ‘individual’s preparation for learning is before anything else a critical, creative and re-creating activity’ (Freire, 1974/2005, p. 31). Through their sharing of experiences and knowledge, they can have an opportunity for their voices to be heard and might have had an opportunity for reflection upon their own practice and feelings. Darling-Hammond (2006) stressed that:

Seeing teaching practices and student responses in action stimulates important inquiries about what is learnt, how this relates to teaching, and how different students approach learning (p. 197).

Concluding and in an attempt to elaborate on teachers’ and pupils’ experiences and viewpoints, it can be assumed that, ontologically, the nature of what this research intended to explore falls into intersectionality which is stated to be founded on the belief that gender, race and class intersect in multiple ways. While this research study, however, aims at delving deeper in the investigated topics by including multiple participants, it is difficult to ignore the perception that a wider reality is influential where incidents occur such as social events and educational policies that are experienced simultaneously but interpreted individually. As Bhopal (2018) further argues, if ‘people refuse to acknowledge the existence of structural and institutional racism then they can ignore it and don’t have to do anything about it/white privilege’]. Lastly, according to Attard (2007), what additionally promotes change in teachers’ learning should be the ‘examination of one’s own taken-for-granted assumptions’ (p. 153).

## **6.5. Conclusion**

This chapter has addressed and discussed the findings of the study in relation to international research. Previous research (Srandbu et al., 2019; Stefansen, Smette and Strandbu, 2018; Dagkas, 2018; Tredway, 2018; Wellard, 2006b; Bailey et al. 2009) argued that it was important to ensure that in order to address and tackle elements of young people's social disadvantage and further, re-engage disadvantaged young people in PE, SfA and further in education, PE should be challenged and changed to benefit young people and the profession in general. PE in this study was highly valued by pupils; and teachers when taught according to certain structures and under certain circumstances. Chapter VI discussed the main findings in order to answer the research questions that initiated this research study. Consideration can now be given to Chapter VII. Limitations, implications and further practical recommendations are presented as the conclusion of the thesis.

## **Chapter VII - CONCLUSION**

### **7.1. Introduction**

This research study has attempted to address issues raised by Dagkas (2018; 2016) and EU projects such as CORDIS-EDUHEALTH (2017-2019) concerning the necessity for a better understanding of social disadvantage among young people and the roles of PE's and SfA in addressing and tackling disadvantage with regards to gender, race/ethnicity and social class. The present study has showed that the gravity of the phenomenon of social disadvantage in youth has become prominent and PE's and SfA's role is of great importance when addressing and dealing with social disadvantage to break down any barriers relevant to gender, race/ethnicity and class. Nonetheless, the discourse about social disadvantage is increasing across the world (e.g. McCuaig et al., 2016; Wellard, 2012; La Noue, 2012; Price-Robertson, 2011) and education is currently 'under pressure' to follow policies imposed by neo-liberal governments. Within this context and within societies that experience severe crisis such as in Cyprus and in Greece, PE and SfA are considered to have a major role to play in addressing and tackling social disadvantage (Lanas and Zembylas, 2015) while benefiting young people in multiple and various ways from a psycho-social perspective. Further and when thinking of class, gender and race/ethnicity it is important to bear in mind the powerful impact that PE and SfA can have (Dagkas and Hunter, 2015; Evans, 2014). PE and SfA therefore are expected to be appropriate and teachers are expected to be trained appropriately and prepared through their initial training and further during their PE CPD (Timperley, 2011; O'Sullivan, Tannehill and Hinchion, 2010). Through reviewing the relevant literature, collecting, analysing and discussing the data, it can be seen that the issue is complex, since it is a multidimensional phenomenon that can be viewed, examined and interpreted from several and various viewpoints.

Furthermore, key findings from the thesis suggest that although young people experience disadvantaged situations in their everyday life, especially related to class, gender and race/ethnicity, PE and SfA hold a positive and significant role in countering their disadvantage. It offers them opportunity for equal participation in

the activities, in socialising with others in equal terms, in free of charge participation and in participation in physical activity that enhances their physical and mental health. Thus, PE and SfA's role as explored is definitely positive, yet only under certain circumstances when delivered to these young people. Furthermore, the research study stressed that both generally and explicitly PE and SfA can both be described as effective in tackling social disadvantage when they are:

- ✓ rooted and linked with modern and inclusive activities 'for all';
- ✓ school-based;
- ✓ delivered by teachers who are exclusively trained for this.

Primarily, this study explored social disadvantage in Nicosia and Athens within two particular school settings of the cities. Further, it explored PE and SfA as a topic that can be questioned from multiple perspectives (e.g. pupils and educators). The findings showed that social disadvantage among young people is related to social class in terms of 'available resources' due to the impact of unemployment causing financial concerns; moreover, it is related to race and ethnicity due to migration and the refugee crisis; last, it is related to the element of gender, that is, although everyone is allowed to participate, the activities available and the structure of the lesson/activity does not always promote participation from all.

Social disadvantage and especially disadvantage due to gender, race/ethnicity and class perhaps hold a subjective aspect and depend greatly on social constructions and on social phenomena of the current era. That is to say that a specific school (i.e. the PE and SfA, it provides... its structure, policies, and teachers) can have its part in enabling/enhancing social disadvantage and preserve it, not addressing it and ultimately not tackling it. How can the pupils then be protected and further included in PE and SfA? As mentioned earlier, PE can definitely assist these pupils because its role can be overall positive, as previous studies, along with this research study, have shown. Yet, this study adds that PE and SfA should be handled in the correct way for meeting these pupils' needs. In order to be appropriate and effective for socially disadvantaged young people, it has to be taught under certain circumstances and follow theoretical perspectives that address and tackle disadvantage. The notion of gender as socially constructed, elements of Bourdieu's

theory as capital, taste and habitus along with the ideas of CRT theories can inform new projects and the specific training of PE teachers. Further, teamwork, inclusive activities for all, appropriate ways of delivering PE and SfA as well as the manner of the teacher/trainer are inseparable for a project's success. Effective PE training and CPD for this type of young people was suggested to be collaborative and school-based and additionally, to include modern PE activities and be informative on current social phenomena. Nevertheless, this research study explores and probes the topics under investigation under the intersectionality paradigm and ultimately provides a multidimensional understanding of young people's social disadvantage and PE's role for this type of youth. The following section highlights limitations that this research study has faced. Furthermore, it concludes by presenting recommendations and implications in order to inform future research directions concerning PE's role in the field of young people's social disadvantage. Finally, it concludes this thesis by summarising main points of this research study.

## **7.2. Limitations**

According to Thomas and Nelson (2001), all research has strengths and weaknesses, which is why any research study can rarely be perfect. While it is stressed that this study enriched current research, shed light on the topics explored and adapted an appropriate methodology, and more importantly researched and explored the topics in two prominent areas of the Mediterranean that currently experience severe levels of crisis and recession, the following section outlines actual limitations that were encountered during the implementation of the project. The core limitation of this study (depending on the philosophical viewpoint) is the heavy reliance on interpretation – especially when conducted by a single researcher. Although, there has been a great effort towards its thorough implementation, it has been proven as almost impossible for all the data to be collected and analysed without the risk of limiting the findings (Smyth, 2004). Significant and consistent effort was made in order to avoid re-interpreting findings based on my gender, race and class [to couple it with my research], but to present them as objectively as possible. In considering the impact of such a limitation, it is helpful to pause and consider where existing theories are derived from, for example critical race theory

and the ideas of Bourdieu and Butler; whether, for example, when examining the findings through these ‘lenses’, knowledge could be valid and to what extent issues, such as of validity, credibility and trustworthiness would prove to be necessary while theorising and critically addressing the findings. In defence of this research study, these processes have all been deployed as early as possible and throughout the whole process when conducting this research. This study has attempted to demonstrate transparency, trustworthiness and critical perspectives at every stage. For example, the following procedures were followed to ensure thorough research: a literature review, data collection, data analysis, private reflection, member checking, consensus validation, peer-debriefing, clear audit trail and full disclosure of the collected data and the findings after the data analysis. In so doing, it was hoped that the reader will become sufficiently aware to undertake further critical considerations and gain new insights into the topics explored. Further, it is worth noting that this research highlighted possible strengths and weaknesses of intersectionality and the three theorists. Intersecting the three factors of gender, race and class could exclude other factors that emerged as elements of either enhancing and/or limiting disadvantage – for example, the elements of language and religion. It was stressed, therefore, that each participant had formed his/her opinions, for example, according to the family condition and school context at the time of the research study. Additionally, PE teachers appeared to position themselves at the centre of how they teach/deliver and learn. Teachers also stressed that their personality and work experience influenced the way they coped with social disadvantage in PESS. Hence, this research study suggests that, if there is to be progress in the ways in which teachers teach/deliver PE and SfA and also acquire further knowledge, then there is a need for their explicit [i.e. on social disadvantage] training to be situated in their school context and informed by their everyday teaching practice. It is argued that, the ways teachers learn is effective when constructed under learning conceived in the process of ‘becoming a full participant in the socio-cultural practice’ (Lave and Wenger, 1991, p. 29).

Another important limitation was the relatively small body of research on the topics that were explored in combination, i.e. PE and SfA on socially disadvantaged young people and in the areas of Nicosia and Athens. Research referring exclusively to the topics explored (i.e. social disadvantage) widely exists and has been extremely

helpful for informing this research study. Although this study is the first study to investigate young people's social disadvantage and how PE and SfA addresses it in Greece and Cyprus, more research to validate what this study found appears to be necessary. On exploring the criteria for identifying social disadvantage among young people and PE's and SfA's role in addressing and tackling disadvantage, it became clear that these could only be addressed through new data inquiry and especially perhaps through another paradigm and/or from the viewpoint of other theories and/or action research. Therefore, research could possibly be embarked upon in order to examine this study's suggestions and findings, for example, through interventions and/or evaluation projects.

Important limitations could also be found within the selected research design. A primary example could be issues of validity and reliability. According to Rosenthal (1966, in Thomas and Nelson, 2001), a major threat to a research study's validity is the view that certain professionals – in this case, the PE teachers in Nicosia and Athens - would reply in an 'expected' manner. That is to say that PE teachers were expected to be uniformly positive towards the uniqueness of PE in tackling social disadvantage; they were expected to be keen on attending future disadvantage-specific PE courses, since they lacked focused training. This was a threat to the internal validity of the study mainly because the PE teachers perhaps would have given 'socially desirable' responses, approaching the issue from the socially accepted perspective and influenced by hegemonic discourses, for example, 'pupils in this school are socially disadvantaged' or 'I am an experienced teacher, I don't need further training on this issue'. Secondly, the participants' selection could have been a limitation, too. Selection of the PE teachers and the schools was made according to the list of schools in areas experiencing crisis and in areas of crisis such as Athens and Nicosia. Thus, most views were derived from an experience base with deep knowledge of the reality and everyday practice. Lastly, it could be contested that the participants' number [i.e. two case study schools] was relatively small (Flyvbjerg, 2006). Yet, the number of participants and the procedures followed (i.e. documents) as a whole was perceived to be quite large. Moreover, all participants were white Greek, that is to say that individuals from other ethnicities were not represented in the sample. Nonetheless, the study provided rich findings which seek to inform current and future research and policies.

In addition, my/the researcher's personality, professional attitude and personal ideas which were, and still are perceived to be constructed by my gender, class, ethnicity/race, family environment, education and life experiences also had an effect on the construction of the overall research design and on the framework for the analysis and discussion. For example, the fact that I am situated as very positive about education may have influenced the interpretation of the findings, presenting them more positively than they really are. In addition, I come from Greece and speak Greek, hence my ethnicity might have influenced the discussion of the findings. Despite this, I tried to present the data in an objective way (e.g. at times, use of the third person). Finally, analysis was inevitably influenced by personal sensitivity and it is with regards to this that the reader should be critical and aware that a 'small corpus of data may reflect a narrow range of social meanings' (Guendouzi, 2004, p. 1638).

Data tools, such as the questionnaire and interviews, also have limitations. On the one hand, while replying to the questionnaire, participants' attitudes towards the questions could not be observed. The respondents had no other opportunity to express their feelings and expand upon their views; they were supposed to reply to the box given for the 'open' questions, thus space for the respondents to answer may have been limited; they may not have been able to express their full views and elaborate further. On the other hand, during the interviews, the participants' attitudes towards the questions could be observed and they had the opportunity to express their views by the interviewer penetrating deeper into the issues. However, time was perceived to be somewhat limited; additionally, the social context in which the interviews took place may have influenced the participants' views (e.g. in the school; at times, close to the PE teacher). Lastly, answers were centred around a specific number of open questions, a fact that could have been limiting for such a wide topic under investigation. The analysis of the 'open' elements was done by framing themes and categories, a technique that may have threatened the internal and the external reliability of this study. 'Framework' is a construction of knowledge bounded by the life-world experiences of the person developing it (Smyth, 2004). However, gathering a wide range of qualitative data and analysing it might have reinforced the possibilities for the research not to be 'narrow-minded'.

Overall, it seemed advantageous for the research study to ‘capitalise on the strengths of qualitative methods’ (Thomas and Nelson, 2001, p. 349) and explore the participants’ views and experiences more deeply. Lastly, this study had to be of a modest size due to the official word limit for the thesis, and as a consequence, more detailed and broad discussions have not been possible. Still, it is argued that this study provides support for further discussions and critical thinking and informs and enriches research on young people’s social disadvantage and the role of PE and SfA for this type of young people.

### **7.3. Restrictions experienced during the research study**

My doctoral research at the Canterbury Christ Church University aimed at embracing my academic and professional knowledge and life experiences in order to address questions on what can be actually done to benefit socially disadvantaged young people while revealing what was and is actually happening in Greece and Cyprus as well as in many other countries. Despite my great intent, there were many challenges during the execution of this doctoral project.

To begin with, a significant challenge was conducting the fieldwork outside the country of study, actually in two different countries. I had to arrange a great deal of paperwork before starting the fieldwork not only in the UK (i.e. academic institution at the area of study) but in the two selected countries; I had to meet an array of deadlines and get in touch with people from the two ministries viz policy makers. In addition, handling diverse data from the two different countries was a great challenge. Data was not only vast, but was collected in more than one language and from more than one cultural background. Throughout, I sustained motivation, assertiveness, tactful communication, flexibility, and was knowledgeable when handling data successfully and effectively. Certainly though, support from my supervisors and respected public figures of Cyprus and Greece played a critical role in successfully completing this research

Furthermore, I had to balance polarities e.g. the change in my work status, working in isolation for the PhD, managing my time effectively and constructively. At the same time, the complexity of the study ( along with my own work ethic) resulted

in the re-presenting of data, re-writing texts and chapters as well as on self-reflection at the same time as coping with difficult situations either in the case-study schools and/or during the completion of the thesis. However, on each occasion, I become more profoundly aware of the required academic conventions; I acknowledged and addressed my weaker areas as well as becoming more knowledgeable and focused on my research agenda.

Nevertheless, I ask myself - is it a restriction to engage with several identities or not? One thing was certain, I had to mediate the multiple identities emerging during my doctoral study and I worked hard in achieving the balance even when the circumstances were adverse. Being and becoming an intercultural research student and being professional enhanced the process of self-empowerment and reconstruction of myself as a mature, flexible and open-minded human being. Having experienced 'self-marginalisation' during the research process, I constantly created space for agency both within my research and within my 'landscape' of working with and for 'others'. I was driven by the desire to become an expert and intercultural researcher but also to be a champion of young people, PE, SFA and social research, and overall, of society. I sought out knowledge to guide me towards truths. I sought ways to evolve professionally and interculturally while being a researcher who works in the field of education and particularly, in the field of professional development for teachers in all levels of education in relation to social phenomena linked to socially disadvantaged young people.

Another restriction was the tension between my 'UK scholarship', my personal Greek identity and the Greek/Cypriot context of my research. Lastly, the VIVA and the final corrections of the thesis took place during the COVID-19 pandemic, when for example, work precarity and issues of hospitalisation and privatization of health are prominent as well as issues of race, e.g. in 2020, George Floyd's and George Zapantis police assassinations at the US. Nonetheless, I believe I achieved the appropriate balance by the time of the fieldwork. My personality and educational background as intercultural 'factors' moved beyond simply conducting unique research; I adapted and explored new knowledge within the discipline and accommodated unconventional ways of undertaking doctoral research in more than one country. I also learned how to be an effective intercultural learner when as a

doctoral student, I negotiated how to make connections with and draw on my cultural knowledge and life experience. For mature intercultural and international doctoral students like me, this can be intimately linked to a process of negotiating identity-change within the context of transnationalism. I would argue that such a personal experience can change conceptions of research identity trajectories in intercultural contexts; lastly, such an experience can contribute to what restrictions a researcher can face when conducting cross-cultural research in two countries and how to cope with them effectively. But, I embraced all the challenges and transformed them in a positive, rewarding and self-developing experience at both personal and professional levels.

#### **7.4. Implications and Recommendations for Practice**

Findings in this research study sought to answer the research questions, address the topics under investigation and extend current awareness, confirming and broadening what is already known. Recommendations and implications for practice were suggested and for further research into how effective PE and SfA can be in tackling disadvantage in young, socially disadvantaged people in secondary education.

##### ***Socially disadvantaged young people in PE and SfA***

There is a dearth of research that has examined social disadvantage in young people; there is also dearth of research in PE and SfA. However, there have been a few projects looking at social disadvantage through PE and/or physical activity such as Kick-Out-Poverty in Greece and DRASE in Cyprus. In Greece and Cyprus such research is limited, perhaps non-existent. Indeed, if social disadvantage is to be considered important and relevant, their examination along with the role [and the provision] of PE and SfA should be centrally incorporated into rather than marginalised within research. Thus, future research should consider contributing to broader discussions through relating to the multiple dimensions of social disadvantage – not only for example to gender, race/ethnicity and class. Hence, PE programmes should be designed taking account of current forms of social

disadvantage (i.e. refugees; language barriers; modern activities). Further, such programmes should enable change, starting from the roots of the problems that perhaps cause and further reproduce disadvantage, e.g. gender issues, body image and race/ethnicity. Consequently, the creation, the appropriate design and ultimately the implementation of PE and SfA programmes should meet the needs of young people according to current national and international situations. In particular, it is suggested that there should be programmes targeting specific populations (e.g. disaffected young girls), involving PE activities that are of real interest for them (e.g. dance for the girls and/or team activities with little competition) and in specific contexts. Furthermore, there should be programmes targeting specific problems that enable social disadvantage, such as girls issues with PE kit as well as boys trying activities other than football. Possibly, girls could themselves design their PE kit and wear it; hence PE and Art could be coupled to eliminate a significant barrier. Programmes and interventions could be designed, created and implemented in order to be interesting and effective for these young people.

### ***PE and SfA for socially disadvantaged young people***

PE's and SfA's role in youth has been illuminated through research and PE programmes and SfA aimed at young people have been numerous and various worldwide (e.g. *Designed to Move*, 2012; Cale, Harris and Chen 2012; Cale and Harris, 2011). Data relevant to PE and SfA's role in supporting social disadvantage has indicated that there is real potential for a positive impact of PE and SfA. The data presented in this study provides a further step for deeper insight examining PE's role. Apart from all the positive characteristics that characterise PE (e.g. promotion of health, 'letting-off steam', out of class activity), this study serves to confirm that perhaps there is a need to reform the nature and current practice of PE, as experienced especially by disadvantaged pupils. This study suggested that, by using the 'lenses' of young people's disadvantage and problematising the relationship between PE and disadvantaged youth, normative practices of PE and SfA having negative influences on these young people would be clearly apparent and exposed. Examples illustrating this were the provision of the PE activities based on gender, the process of changing for PE and the prevalence of competition in PE

activities. Indeed, PE, as it was experienced by both the pupils and the PE teachers, reflected its positive role but also reinforced difference, marginalisation and possible gaps between pupils, teachers and the lessons' structure and practice. In this respect, a number of initiatives could be undertaken through relevant interventions and/or PE programmes. On top of what was mentioned in the section of socially disadvantaged young people, future PE and SfA programmes could be organised in close cooperation with community settings (e.g. families, schools, municipalities and/or cities) (e.g. Schinke and Blodgett, 2016), policy administrators, PE teachers and the schools. Further, future PE programmes could include disadvantaged youth with their families in specific areas such as in the urban environments in Nicosia and Athens and/or involve various ethnic minorities. Additionally, in these PE programmes, perhaps activities should be introduced according to the needs and views of the disadvantaged pupils (as they were reported in the findings). Thus, primarily, these programmes should include a trendy and modern PE kit along with trendy and modern PE activities, in which pupils would play an active role with regards to the decision making. Also, team PE activities should take place without competition being predominant. Fun, enjoyment, participation, cooperation, teamwork and the boosting of self-esteem should be the main priorities for the activities of such programmes. Moreover, the inclusion of digital elements in a PE and SfA day could be perceived as an 'extraordinary experience by the students' (e.g. Davies and Eynon, 2018). In addition, interventions that draw upon cornerstones of sport projects of the past and adopt their significant points will probably be successful and effective, since they use past knowledge, experience and effectiveness in order to create a new project (i.e. Sport for Peace/Revised). Last but not least, it would be very interesting to implement a programme, which will combine PE and Art. Such a powerful combination of tackling disadvantage could work out for this type of young people and as a result, teachers of these two subjects should work together and collaborate, exchange ideas on what works with this type of young person and create an appropriate programme. So, in what way could a programme combine PE and ART? For example, pupils who would not like to participate in PE could draw and/or take photos of PE scenes from the actual PE activity happening in front of them. Further, another example would be drawing while simultaneously dancing. Another interesting activity would be performing site specific theatre inspired by PE activities – perhaps

without even speaking, only by moving; this bears in mind the barriers in language that these people experience. In addition, designing, drawing and creating a range of PE kits would be an ideal creative activity; these kits could be presented as a fashion show within the school or at the end of the academic year. The best could be voted on and may win a prize. Finally, wearing PE kits that the students themselves have designed may give them great happiness and satisfaction. Taking photos while in PE, writing texts, poems, songs, even humorous ones that may form a comic for PE, would perhaps make pupils who dislike PE and disrupt the lesson find a source of inspiration and a creative outlet. Finally, maybe there will be a game of colours and/or a game of fields of Art (e.g. what game would music and theatre play?). Nonetheless, it should be of great import that the PE and Art environment should be inclusive; fun and creative based on all pupils' own interests in order for everyone to participate. In conclusion, maybe all the artwork, along with PE activities, should be presented in an exhibition at the end of the academic year supported perhaps by the municipality of the area in each city-Athens and Nicosia.

### ***PE teachers and socially disadvantaged youth in PE and SFA***

In parallel to what was mentioned earlier, research should aim at enabling PE professionals to achieve a clear and realistic view of what social disadvantage comprises, along with the role of PE and SFA and how PE's role would be enhanced for tackling and eliminating disadvantage. Consequently, PE teachers and SFA trainers should be prepared and appropriately trained for teaching disadvantaged young people. All PE professionals of various ages, genders, ethnicities (i.e. cultural background) should work in collaboration in order to blend their experiences and views so as to communicate them through training projects for both formal and informal learning to provide practical suggestions based in theoretical and experiential knowledge. Thus, training providers would enhance PE teachers' ways of working with knowledge based on situated practices, thus improving the ways of learning. For example, teachers may need support to develop school networks on working with disadvantaged young people and to design appropriate learning experiences within their schools in order to effectively engage with them.

Elaborating on practical recommendations and implications for practices are explicitly outlined as are earlier suggestions and their possible impacts (if implemented). To begin with, more specific and long-term identification of factors linked to disengaged young people should be established when further research is conducted on disadvantaged young people in PE and SfA. All factors explored could play a crucial role in identifying specific types of schools, areas, and populations (e.g. immigrants; refugees; urban populations) and their relevance to disadvantage as an important element of their disengagement from PE, SfA and overall, from education. Furthermore, shedding light on PE activities in common usage with disaffected youth - such as outdoor education - can inform the design and implementation of future projects in order to be made very attractive to this type of youth so they are effective and successful. Moreover, researching young people in such contexts may establish what factors affect an individual's behaviour and attitude towards PE and SfA; what provokes them and what the factors are that may lead to enjoyment, promote the boosting their self-esteem and confidence as well as providing opportunities 'let off steam'? Finally, PE teachers as tutors of PE and SfA programmes would enhance their knowledge through appropriate and relevant training and also apply their work experience to ensure the success of the project.

In parallel, when future PE and SfA programmes for disadvantaged young people are appropriately designed and successfully delivered they could enhance and establish the role of PE and SfA in projects aimed at eliminating social disadvantage in young populations of Nicosia and Athens. Such programmes therefore, may reinforce rather than disrupt normative paradigms and discourses that currently place great value on PE and SfA. Further, PE teachers' role and initial and further training should be established and secured in order to deliver sport and physical education projects effectively to socially disadvantaged young people. In addition, they would be able to undertake effective training specific to social disadvantage. When this training is situated in their school context and previous knowledge and experience, as well as when it is practice-based, reflective and collaborative, it is most likely that the teachers would experience it as effective and appropriate. Such initiatives could therefore build communities of practice which, apart from

facilitating learning, will reinforce relations between disadvantaged young people, teachers, schools and parents. Additionally, there could be research seminar series or symposia that bring together educators, policy makers and researchers in order to share and produce imaginative cutting-edge work of cultural and social significance.

### **7.5. Looking at the future: research applications and advancement**

Embarking on this study was my initial ‘step’ towards personal advancement and evolution as a learner and a researcher. Reaching the final stages of this study highlighted several issues that needed and still need to be addressed if one wants socially disadvantaged young children to benefit from PE, SfA, and from education as a whole. It is anticipated therefore that this study will trigger future publications, conferences and journals so the knowledge and the expertise that were accumulated regarding social disadvantage, gender, race/ethnicity and social class in PE and SfA, can be disseminated, and also in the conducting of future social research employing intersectionality as a research paradigm and in employing Bourdieu’s and Butler’s views along with Critical Race theory.

Prior to the viva voce, I took action and shared relevant information from the study to the populations I taught viz those who had attended my professional development seminars. By sharing relevant information and by adapting my seminars according to the outcomes of my study, I hoped not only to make them more knowledgeable/inform them but also to make them think critically. For me, provoking critical thinking is a key factor in overcoming barriers that social disadvantage sets against young people. I believe in the power of engaging in discussions and activities where teachers, parents and children [depending on seminar cohort] would critically elaborate and set action for the future to tackle social disadvantage. This would include changes in teaching, in changing attitudes of parents and teachers when coping with issues of gender, class and race/ethnicity. Often disadvantaged populations feel marginalised and unsupported, even when a seminar or any other initiative takes place for their own benefit while at the same time seeking to meet their needs. During my past work in sport and in education

generally, as well in research projects (since 2004), I have had the opportunity to work with diverse disadvantaged populations in Greece, UK and Cyprus with a primary focus on sharing my knowledge and experience for the benefit of the young people. Overall, in my lectures and seminars, I have always shared and elaborated on past data and experiences in order to offer practical advice on what a teacher, a parent and/or a student should do to cope with crisis, disengagement and disadvantage.

Policy makers are expected to implement action after the publication of the findings of the thesis. A key problem and perhaps one of the keys to a solution is that PE teachers and sport coaches are not involved in the development of these children's activity agenda – programmes can be 'ready-made' and greatly influenced by economic agendas. In an ideal world all (e.g. policy makers, teachers, parents, students) should collaborate and perhaps even reach out to more support services such as academics and international research as well as sponsors for the provision of relevant facilities and equipment. Finally, policy makers and school contexts must elaborate on finding ways to incorporate specific sport initiatives (e.g. sport education, sport for peace, teaching games for understanding) in order to increase opportunities for socially disadvantaged young people enabling them to engage effectively with educational contexts and society. Adapting programmes as such can perhaps not only provide the opportunity for physical activity and participation but also for the engagement and the action of the whole community to tackle social disadvantage through activities of PE and Sport-for-All. To conclude, Wolff and Hums (2013) argue that a call for action in SfA and [personal emphasis] in PE would initiate dialogical actions between communities. Reflecting and looking to the future, community is the key word on the agenda of addressing social disadvantage and social justice. Having worked and shared my knowledge and experience within several community settings, I have praised the importance of the notion of 'community' and collaborative action of academia, practitioners, policy makers, parents and children in setting the way for 'change' towards social justice and away from social disadvantage.

## 7.6. Concluding Remarks

The current COVID-19 worldwide crisis along with the economic crisis, the recession, far-right rhetoric, the current debates on race along with market ideologies and managerial structures appear to prevail in contemporary societies (WHO, 2019; Zembylas, 2019a; Wiltshire, Lee and Williams, 2019; Love, Deeb and Waller, 2019; Macrine, MacLaren and Hill, 2010; Beckmann and Cooper, 2004). They appear to be influencing prominent social phenomena, such as social disadvantage among young people. It would appear that PE and SfA are ideal and topical to tackle disadvantage effectively, to break the barriers and eliminate the phenomenon and further re-engage these young people in PE and SfA and in the general school context. Moreover, it has been argued that PE, SfA and the overall PE and education contexts are often centrally imposed and determined by political imperatives (Fitz, Davies and Evans, 2006). Within this context, Dowling (2011) has called for teachers to engage cognitively and emotionally in order to develop a critical and analytical perspective regarding their subjective, performance identities, in this case, when delivering the lesson to a disadvantaged child. This study supports that such identities are to be embraced in order for disadvantaged pupils' needs to be identified and further, fulfilled/satisfied. The notion that good teachers matter more than good courses in inspiring children and stimulating their enthusiasm should remain at the heart of the subject and as a significant factor in ensuring a lesson's success. In this vein, teachers' subject matter knowledge and knowledge of teaching and learning 'actually appear to interact in determining teacher effectiveness' (Darling-Hammond, 2006, p. 31). Nonetheless, according to Holt and Jones

the field requires more studies to evaluate the efficacy and effectiveness of specific interventions – carefully designed studies will enable researchers to establish what types of sport – based interventions work, with which populations and under what conditions (2008, p. 122).

It is furthermore a challenging time for social theory. An example is the limited yet upcoming employment of intersectional approaches in the field of PE and Sport-for-All which are believed to have offered new insights in research and future perspectives. In addition, post/decolonial critiques, intersectionality, class, gender and race have set challenges for us – as researchers – to embrace the so-called sociological imagination in order to embrace a broader range of theorists and

theoretical perspectives, in addition to those coming from Bourdieusian, Butlerian, CRT and other feminist, critical realist and poststructuralist positions; all these are of great significance for the field of sociology. Alongside this, theorists have responded to the aftermath of the economic crisis of 2008 and subsequent rise in right-wing populism with an increased focus on questions of class, power and politics (i.e. US and Russia politics towards militarisation; Wars in Libya, Iran, Syria; Refugee crisis). But social theorists in Britain perhaps write in an environment where COVID-19 crisis, work precarity and death is prominent; Brexit is close and the EU funding for theoretical and academic work is decreasing significantly.

In summary, all the chapters comprising the thesis have reflected on the context of this research study and sought to address issues that surround disadvantaged young children not only in PE and SfA but in the context of secondary education. This last chapter concluded with possible limitations, restrictions, wider implications and recommendations for future research. Social disadvantage in young people certainly needs to be further researched, with research to be located in relevant educational and social contexts, such as in schools in areas of crisis and in urban (i.e. deprived; high-risk) areas. Projects founded in ‘action-research’ agendas and collaborations between communities of interest, at local, national and international levels should be promoted without doubt. This study has not only been the first to explore these topics in Greece and Cyprus together, but it has also demonstrated their complexities and interrelations through the lenses of intersectionality, Bourdieu, Butler and CRT. In addition, it has also problematised the position that social disadvantage holds for young people in PE and SfA, as well as in the PE profession and the school context. Overall, it has attempted to link the topics under examination together in order to shed light on the issues explored and on the findings. This research, therefore, has questioned but has also highlighted positive steps for tackling and coping with young people’s disadvantage and the role of PE and SfA; it sought to address ways of sustaining PE’s positive impact on socially disadvantaged young people. Exploring and understanding the topics through intersectionality and the perspectives of contemporary theories such as those of Butler, Bourdieu and CRT on which any new initiatives can be based, calls for PE professionals, policy administrators, parents, pupils and others involved to engage

actively in future research and practices while ensuring a holistic and critical understanding of the era and societies people live in and simultaneously embracing the current tides of change and evolution.

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# APPENDICES

## Appendix 1

### **Young people, Social disadvantage, PE and SfA**

#### **Student SURVEY**

Dear Student, please enter your comments in the box below each question. There is a blank sheet provided at the end of the questionnaire in case you need more space or have additional comments to make. The demographic data requested at the end of the survey will help to provide some context to your responses, and we should note that *all information given will be treated in confidence.*

- 1. Social Disadvantage is prominent nowadays. Society experiences crisis in multiple levels, such as in economy and education. Can you give a short overview of your personal experience? What forms of Social disadvantage are you experiencing?**

For me, the most important problem ...is BULLYING. My classmates make fun of me, saying that I am Gay.

- 2. In your view, does physical education and/or sport-for-all programmes have a unique role to play in your life? Please explain your answer.**

I love PE and Sport. I love playing with my friends; I like the fact that I am practicing for the benefit of my body; most of all though, when I am playing Volleyball...I forget all my problems.

- 3. What types of athletic activities during PE and SfA, do you feel that they help you in the best way to overcome your problems caused by social disadvantage? Please, explain your answer.**

I love Volleyball. It's fun, I love it and I have the opportunity to play it with my friends, because I love teamsports.

4. **Can you recall attending any specific Sport-for-All programme for addressing any issue focused on [any kind] of social disadvantage? If yes, can you describe the activity and identify the provider?**

Yes, I attend DRASE in the afternoons. There, we play Football and Volleyball.

I have also attended PEACE PLAYERS – I played Basketball then. I am not attending PeacePlayers anymore though, because of time constraints.

5. **Can you please suggest what type of activities you would like to see in a SfA programme focused on social disadvantage? Please, describe the activities and about what social problems you would like to design this sport programme. Why do you think that the suggested activities would bring positive outcomes to the ones, who will participate in the SfA programme.**

TeamGames

Volleyball

Perhaps, something new and trendy

I don't care about a specific focus [of the programme]; I would like just to have a good time/to have fun and work out well-for the benefit of my body/for building my body slim and toned.

6. **Do you have a personal interest in this topic? ( please tick one box as appropriate)**

YES X      NO

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## DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

1. Male  Female  (please tick one box as appropriate)

2. Age: 15

3. Country of origin: Cyprus-Philippines

4. Parents: I don't care about my father; he abandoned us. I live with my mother.

5. How many years are you in Cyprus? I was born here.

Thank you for completing the survey. I really appreciate your help with my research.

Foteini Papadopoulou (fwteini.papadopoulou@gmail.com)



## NOTE on the INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

The interview questions were based on the initial questions of the questionnaire. As a result, each interviewee was asked to expand on his/her initial reply and give further details. Examples of questions were as follows:

- Do you think that your gender, social class and/or ethnicity played a particular role in your participation in PE and SfA programmes?

- Do you think that the PE and SfA programme in which you participate actually form aspects of your identity? And especially, does [your participation] eliminate the social disadvantage you experience...for example, you referred to Bullying on being gay [your sexual identity] in the questionnaire. What happens during your actual participation then?
- So, do you believe that PE and SfA programmes can contribute to address and tackle social disadvantage among young people?
- How does your economic situation or the fact that you live only with your mother [in a lone parent family], or your gender and race/ethnicity influence your disposition towards your engagement with PE and SfA programmes?
- What discourses of social class, gender and race do circulate in activities of PE and SfA programmes? Can you give some examples please?

**Appendix 2 → Focus Group Interviews - selected comments**

Question 1→	Defining Disadvantage	Gender issues	Changing, PE KIT and PE equipment issues	Socioeconomic issues	Behaviour, Attitude	Other reasons	PE teacher
Group 1	<p>Money</p> <p>Parents' separation</p> <p>Time</p> <p>Help at home/Helping my parents</p>	<p>I am a boy and I want to have my body toned and slim;</p> <p>Prefer playing with the girls, rather than in boys; boys swear a lot</p>	<p>I cannot change in this room, because sb may watch me</p> <p>I do PE with whatever I wear on the day; I cannot buy Adidas</p> <p>My parents don't mind; I wear what a find at home...even socks of different colour</p>	<p>Some have got their Nike Airs on... I cannot buy such an expensive shoe</p> <p>I cannot afford joining a gym; so, I m trying to 'build' my body here in PE</p>	<p>Girls accept me and don't make fun of me being gay; so we play Volleyball together</p> <p>I dislike playing football in PE at school , but in the afternoons (in Drase) I m playing (there are fewer children and less swearing/noise)</p>	<p>Bored of PE activities here; nothing new and trendy</p> <p>Dislike attending the school in general</p> <p>Not very competent with the Greek language; so I prefer playing in PE rather than reading and writing</p> <p>Love for certain activity, such as volleyball</p>	<p>PE teacher is a bit rude to us; she is nice in general, but sometimes she's shouting for no reason</p> <p>I would prefer a younger one</p> <p>I would prefer someone to be able to communicate more, like you</p>

<p>Group 2 [girls]</p>	<p>Time We have to help our parents at home after school...with our younger siblings Money [ I have to find a job, but it's illegal for me to work-I am too young] Parents ideas – don't value the role of PE and SFA</p>	<p>When we are on our period, we cannot move; we cannot do anything I don't want my hair to look messy I don't want to get sweat I don't want to show my body</p>	<p>Do PE with whatever I wear; most of the times I wear the PE kit; when we do Greek traditional dance, I do it with my jeans on and a t-shirt Cannot risk someone to enter the PE changing room; I don't change here</p>	<p>Cannot afford joining the GYM; Cannot afford buying expensive labels Cannot afford buying new clothes; so I don't want to get sweat...and having to change afterwards</p>	<p>PE is so noisy.... Sometimes, I want to stay by myself to think of my life Most of the times they swear at each other-its really annoying for me We only play [in peace] when we play table tennis or badminton I like dancing yes-it's fun and we laugh</p>	<p>The activities we do here cannot help us building our body They are boring and not trendy Every lesson is the same I am a type of person, who cannot obey any rules I cannot wait to finish school</p>	<p>She is ok She shouts at us Sometimes, she's rude; she's is right in a way, but it's annoying to me I would like sb who talks to us in a nice manner Someone who can teaches us sth trendy and new Someone to make our body looks nice, slim and toned</p>
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### Appendix 3 → Example/Notes on Assisting the process of Document Analysis

#### **DOCUMENT ANALYSIS**

**Purpose:** The documents examined are expected to ‘shed light’ on the issues explored in the research study. In particular, the aim is to examine relevant documents in relation to the management strategies of social disadvantage; departmental policies and/or any other document relevant to the study

#### **Main Questions to be investigated**

What documents? Why these ones? Under what circumstances and for what purposes were they produced? What policies does the school have to tackle social disadvantage? How does the policy work? Is it applied in the school or in the SfA programme? Is the policy effective?

## Appendix 4 → Example/Conceptual Framework as the starting point of the process of Thematic Analysis

Question	Original Answers (*numbers in front of each answer are the Questionnaires' numbers/C for Cyprus and G for Greece)	Concept - Elements of Social disadvantage
<p><u>How do you personally experience social disadvantage?</u></p>	<p>35C: bullying, making fun of me for being gay            16C: bullying because I've got more kilos on my body/actually, I'm not slim            40C: I help my mother with my little brother and sister, so I cannot stay at school for DRASE in the afternoons. My father works in another country            30C: My mother cannot afford sending me to play football in the local team. My father has abandoned us-so, I'm staying at home playing football at the PlayStation.</p> <p>10G: Both parents have lost their job; so, they took me out of the private school and have brought me here.            12G: I would like to attend KRAV MAGA with my friend (i.e military self defense class), but my parents told me that they cannot afford. In the past, I was attending dance classes and going to track sports. Nowadays, I am not doing much-only what we do in school.            15G: My parents have lost their job; I am training to become a professional ballet dancer – I had to go to a cheaper school ... and my granny sends money, clothes and equipment from Russia in order from me not to give up            25G: Money; Every Friday and Saturday night, I am working at a new night club in Athens...so, I am not studying much for entering the University.            30G: My parents don't understand what I am going through and they are overprotective towards me; also, they don't want me to become a professional football player. Further, my coach talks to us really harsh and I don't like this. I wish they could understand my points of view ...I would be happier.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Bullying in form of verbal harassment accompanied with some movements</li> <li>- Sexual identity [accepted socially or not]</li> <li>- Bullying for Body issues, such as more kilos</li> <li>- Helping my mother, so I cannot stay to play and participate in the SfA programme</li> <li>- Absence of father due to economic and possibly ethnicity/work permit due to ethnicity reasons.</li> <li>- Money issues; Single Parent family; Low income</li> <li>- Money issues due to Unemployment/Job loss</li> <li>- Change of school environment</li> <li>- Money issues as an obstacle for future aspiration of the child</li> <li>- Gap between the aspirations of the parents and the child; manner of the coach towards the child</li> <li>- Digital Aspect of Sport! The importance of PLAYSTATION in a child's life!</li> </ul>

**Appendix 5 → Example/Coding: Initial, Focused, Axial**

Transcription/PE and SFA activities for social disadvantage	Initial Coding	Focused Coding	Axial Coding [relate]
<p>Here at the school, there is only a limited range of activities. They are not very well-structured, too. The teacher just give us a ball to play and I don't like that at all. Actually, it makes me bored. The traditional sports are ok and I love them-like volleyball and badminton for example, but I would like to learn more; I don't know what exactly, but something different would be ok. So, I would like to play team games, in order to be all together, something different and trendy.</p>	<p>School provides limited range of activities            Not well-structured            Teacher gives a ball to play            This makes me bored            I love traditional sport; they are ok            Volleyball and Badminton            I want to learn more, though            Don't have an exact idea, I want something different            Play team games to be all together            Something different and trendy</p>	<p>Characteristics of Activities            [team, traditional, no-diverse and trendy, not well-structured, does the PE teacher follow the curriculum?]</p> <p>PE teacher: provision of a well-structured lesson; try not to make the kids become bored;</p>	<p><b><u>Effective [for social disadvantage] PE and SFA activities should include:</u></b></p> <p>Traditional, team games, all-inclusive, but also diverse and trendy activities; delivered in a well-structured framework</p> <p>Properly implemented by the PE teacher in order not to make children get bored.</p> <p>[she has to change...she has to train/professionally develop]</p>

## Appendix 6 → MEMO/Example from the interview with the PE teacher/Nicosia

Q. In your school and PE department, do you exchange ideas and discuss about an issue that perhaps may come up [because of a child's situation of social disadvantage]?

D: Yes yes, we do. Especially, during the weekly meeting with the other teachers. I also discuss with the Head of the School – even if it is for PE, you know I am alone in the school (no PE department). If we have difficulties with students, sometimes it's a personality thing and the children just will not... - you understand. For children, like xxx ... you've talked with him, you remember ...it's his father fault; the child cannot do much, when he lives in such a disadvantaged situation. The Head of the School has talked to his father so many times, you know...but, still nothing. He is the reason for the child being like this. I and [the rest of the staff] try to help xxx, but we cannot do much-you know. Nevertheless, we are here for the children; but at the same time there are situations, where we have to be professionals and stand back.

### MEMO

Relate personally: I can relate. I was discussing with my colleagues difficulties I faced while teaching; Children won't understand immediately, but I should do. My colleagues were discussing with me too...we were trying to face problems as a team. At university level, I couldn't come close to family problems – only, perhaps when the student was talking to me about his family situation.

Relate to the research question: ways to tackle social disadvantage through school structures; trying to find solutions and help the children

Reflect on code choices: share experiences with colleagues; solve problems through collaboration; help and teach the child; Being a teacher=Being a Professional; become aware of the family situation and help to find a solution

Reflect on connections between other codes: Problems from social disadvantage coming up in PE ...may be relevant to other classes, too; perhaps, applied to the whole school

**Appendix 7: Example of Categorising**

Category	What	When	Where	Why	How	Consequence
PE and Gender	Types of Activities Bullying relevant to body issues Play or participate in girls' activities	1. Prior to the actual lesson 2. During the lesson	Outdoor Indoor	Dislike playing boys' games Dislike the noise and verbal harassment that accompanies boys' games Prefer being with girls/classmate /no participation in the lesson Prefer dancing	Action: opportunity to play girls' games Action: don't play at all; don't participate in the research study, instead of participating in the lesson	At times of no participation...punishment with 'absence' in the absence book  At other times...Allow them to do whatever they want  Try to explain and discuss their thoughts

PE and Social Class	Types of Activities Do you have the time, money, support from parents...to participate? What about the facilities of the school?	During school time During SfA programmes-later in the day	Outdoor Indoor	No money to buy special equipment No money to register in a team Have to be at home in the afternoon to do housework and take care of my brother/sister Single-parent families of low income	Action: Participate in PESS at school	Difficulty in Participation in SfA programmes
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**Appendix 8 → Material relevant to Athens as a choice for fieldwork**

Date	Title	Body	source (link)	Second source (link)	Image	Tags	Category
21/01/08	<i>Stock market downturn</i>	Following US subprime mortgage market crash in 2007 markets take a dip.	<a href="http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/7073131.stm">http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/7073131.stm</a>	<a href="http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/2008/jan/22/marketturmoil.equities">http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/2008/jan/22/marketturmoil.equities</a>			Global
07/09/08	<i>US federal take over of mortgage companies</i>	US Fed takes over of federal mortgage association and home loan corporation Freddie Mac and Fannie Mae.	<a href="http://www.bloomberg.com/apps/news?pid=newsarchive&amp;sid=auCiw0BP4Fyk">http://www.bloomberg.com/apps/news?pid=newsarchive&amp;sid=auCiw0BP4Fyk</a>				Global
15/09/08	<i>Lehman brothers collapse</i>		<a href="http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/2008/sep/15/lehmanbrothers.creditcrunch">http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/2008/sep/15/lehmanbrothers.creditcrunch</a>				Global
30/09/08	<i>Financial crisis spreads to European banks</i>		<a href="http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/2008/sep/30/banking.europeanbanks">http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/2008/sep/30/banking.europeanbanks</a>				Global
06/12/08	<i>Police kills teenager Alexandros Grigoropoulos in Athens</i>	16-year old Alexandros Grigoropoulos is shot dead in the neighbourhood Exarheia in Athens.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2008/12/08/update-1/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2008/12/08/update-1/</a>	<a href="http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2008/dec/13/athens-greece-riots">http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2008/dec/13/athens-greece-riots</a>			Local
06/12/08	<i>Riots break out across Athens in protest against police killing</i>	Riots break out across Athens in protest against police killing.	<a href="http://youtu.be/34qV7wuGTPc">http://youtu.be/34qV7wuGTPc</a>				Local
13/12/08	<i>Clashes spread and begin to involve other issues</i>	Clashes continue and have spread to other cities. They begin to explicitly include other issues as the Ministry of Planning and Public Works is burnt down.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2008/12/13/19-2131-government-offices-burnt-demonstration-from-point-of-death-of-alexandros-is-set-to-start/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2008/12/13/19-2131-government-offices-burnt-demonstration-from-point-of-death-of-alexandros-is-set-to-start/</a>				National
20/12/08	<i>Schools and universities across the country occupied</i>	800 schools occupied in Greece and 200 University buildings. Theater premiere in Athens stopped after banner drop stating "everyone to the streets". People joined impromptu demonstration through the city.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2008/12/20/30-0431-800-schools-and-200-university-departments-occupied-national-theatre-premiere-stopped-international-solidarity-day-is-here/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2008/12/20/30-0431-800-schools-and-200-university-departments-occupied-national-theatre-premiere-stopped-international-solidarity-day-is-here/</a>				National

20/12/08	<i>Solidarity actions in cities across the world</i>	As images of clashes in Athens spread a day of solidarity actions take place in cities across the world.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2008/12/20/30-0431-800-schools-and-200-university-departments-occupied-national-theatre-premiere-stopped-international-solidarity-day-is-here/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2008/12/20/30-0431-800-schools-and-200-university-departments-occupied-national-theatre-premiere-stopped-international-solidarity-day-is-here/</a>				Global
23/12/08	<i>Migrant cleaner attacked with acid by employers</i>	A migrant cleaner and union organiser, Konstantina Kuneva, who worked for Athens Piraeus Electric Railway (ISAP) was attacked with acid to her face. Her attack was possibly ordered by her employers. ISAP headquarters were immediately occupied and many more occupations and actions took place in her support and to inform the public.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2009/01/03/36-1411-new-year-prisoner-solidarity-actions-across-the-country-solidarity-to-k-kouneva-strengthens-build-up-to-jan-9-demonstrations-begins/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2009/01/03/36-1411-new-year-prisoner-solidarity-actions-across-the-country-solidarity-to-k-kouneva-strengthens-build-up-to-jan-9-demonstrations-begins/</a>				Local
03/01/09	<i>Demonstrations in support of attacked cleaner</i>	Demonstrations and actions across the country in support of the attacked cleaner and organiser, Kuneva.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2009/01/03/36-1411-new-year-prisoner-solidarity-actions-across-the-country-solidarity-to-k-kouneva-strengthens-build-up-to-jan-9-demonstrations-begins/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2009/01/03/36-1411-new-year-prisoner-solidarity-actions-across-the-country-solidarity-to-k-kouneva-strengthens-build-up-to-jan-9-demonstrations-begins/</a>				National
05/01/09	<i>Riot policeman shot and raids in Exarheia</i>	Riot policeman shot and injured in Athens in the early morning. Subsequently raids and arrests of approx. 75 people in the neighborhood of Exarheia.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2009/01/05/37-0513-riot-cop-shot-in-eksarhia-athens-tens-of-arrests-in-the-area/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2009/01/05/37-0513-riot-cop-shot-in-eksarhia-athens-tens-of-arrests-in-the-area/</a>				Local
09/01/09	<i>Teachers and student demonstrations across Greece</i>	Large demonstrations in Athens, Thessaloniki and Patras by students and teachers and workers. Heavy teargas and beating of demonstrators by police. Some attacks on police stations.	<a href="http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2009/jan/09/greece-riots">http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2009/jan/09/greece-riots</a>				National

13/01/09	<i>Journalist trade union office occupied</i>	Offices of journalist union ESIEA occupied in protest against biased media reporting and in support of the attacked cleaner Kuneva.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2009/01/13/the-workers-will-have-the-last-word-not-the-media-bosses/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2009/01/13/the-workers-will-have-the-last-word-not-the-media-bosses/</a>				Local
15/01/09	<i>IMF announces global recession</i>		<a href="http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/business/8011907.stm">http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/business/8011907.stm</a>				Global
26/01/09	<i>Protests in Iceland leads to government stepping down</i>	Iceland's government steps down after continuous large protests following the collapse of major banks in October 2008.	<a href="http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/7851415.stm">http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/7851415.st m</a>				Global
24/02/09	<i>Grenade explodes in Exarheia, Athens</i>	Grenade explodes outside the "Migrant Haunt" in the Athens neighbourhood Exarheia. No injuries.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2009/02/25/242-the-haunt-of-migrants-in-exarcheia-attacked-with-hand-grenade/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2009/02/25/242-the-haunt-of-migrants-in-exarcheia-attacked-with-hand-grenade/</a>				Local
03/03/09	<i>Two trains in Athens burnt down</i>	Six carriages on two trains of the Athens railway petrol bombed and burnt down - reported €16 million in damage.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2009/03/04/45-1006-athens-railway-carriages-burnt-16-million-euros-in-damage-reported/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2009/03/04/45-1006-athens-railway-carriages-burnt-16-million-euros-in-damage-reported/</a>				Local
31/03/09	<i>University occupied to put an end to subcontracting cleaning in support for attacked cleaner</i>	Several solidarity actions for the cleaner Kuneva throughout March, including an occupation of Aristotle University, Thessaloniki, lasting for many months, demanding an end to subcontracting of cleaning companies.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2009/03/31/athens-thessaloniki-patras-wave-of-fresh-occupations-as-indications-of-forthcoming-repression-increase/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2009/03/31/athens-thessaloniki-patras-wave-of-fresh-occupations-as-indications-of-forthcoming-repression-increase/</a>				Local
02/04/09	<i>G20 agrees \$5tn stimulus package</i>	The G20 agrees on a 5 trillion dollar global stimulus package to counter the global financial crisis.	<a href="http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2009/apr/02/g20-economy">http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2009/apr/02/g20-economy</a>				Global
22/04/09	<i>PASOK offices attacked and police raid on park in Exarheia, Athens</i>	Offices of political party PASOK attacked. Later police raid and arrest people at a self-organised park in Exarheia, Athens.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2009/04/22/48-0551-the-junta-lives-riot-police-attack-self-organised-park-in-exarcheia-athens/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2009/04/22/48-0551-the-junta-lives-riot-police-attack-self-organised-park-in-exarcheia-athens/</a>				Local

10/05/09	<i>Golden Dawn call for demonstration in central Athens</i>	Far right political group, Chrysi Avgi (Golden Dawn) call for anti-immigration demonstration in central Athens under police protection.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2009/05/10/51-1732-cops-and-fascists-work-together-again/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2009/05/10/51-1732-cops-and-fascists-work-together-again/</a>				Local
20/05/09	<i>Police immigration raid ends in clashes</i>	Police conduct an immigration raid on a cafe in Athens and tear apart a Koran. Two days of violent clashes between police and migrants ending in a large demonstration on the third day.	<a href="http://www.zimbio.com/pictures/yNoYu3qLNDV/Destraction+Koran+Sparks+Clashes+Athens/nYLnfEJrd0C">http://www.zimbio.com/pictures/yNoYu3qLNDV/Destraction+Koran+Sparks+Clashes+Athens/nYLnfEJrd0C</a>				Local
12/07/09	<i>Police evict and burn down a refugee camp in Patras</i>		<a href="http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/8146597.stm">http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/8146597.stm</a>				Local
05/10/09	<i>George Papandreou with PASOK is elected in Greece.</i>		<a href="http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/8289674.stm">http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/8289674.stm</a>				National
18/10/09	<i>Greek deficit double of previously expected</i>	George Papandreou announces Greece's budget deficit will be double the estimates by previous government and will hit 12% of GDP.	<a href="http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/2012/mar/09/greek-debt-crisis-timeline">http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/2012/mar/09/greek-debt-crisis-timeline</a>				National
21/10/09	<i>National head of police forced to resign after police raid in Exarheia</i>	Police enter and lock down the entire neighbourhood Exarheia in Athens. Broadcaster of anti-dictatorial student radio and three others arrested, but released after public outrage - national head of police forced to resign two days later.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2009/10/23/114-one-less-cop-thousands-to-go-the-anti-hoodie-law-is-withdrawn-police-occupation-exarheia-ends/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2009/10/23/114-one-less-cop-thousands-to-go-the-anti-hoodie-law-is-withdrawn-police-occupation-exarheia-ends/</a>				Local
28/10/09	<i>Police station shot at in Agia Paraskeui</i>	Four people on motor bikes open fire against police station in Agia Paraskeui, Athens and wound five policemen.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2009/10/28/116-armed-attack-against-police-station-in-athens-five-cops-wounded/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2009/10/28/116-armed-attack-against-police-station-in-athens-five-cops-wounded/</a>				Local

30/10/09	<i>Explosion outside former ministers office</i>	An explosive goes off outside the former Conservative minister of education's private apartment.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2009/10/30/117-ex-minister-of-education-house-in-athens-and-spanish-consulate-in-thessaloniki-targeted-overnight/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2009/10/30/117-ex-minister-of-education-house-in-athens-and-spanish-consulate-in-thessaloniki-targeted-overnight/</a>				Local
17/11/12	<i>Anti-dictatorial commemorative demonstration in Athens</i>	Large demonstration marks the anniversary of the 1973 Athens student uprising that led to the fall of the Greek dictatorship. Approx. 290 people detained.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2009/11/17/125-277-people-were-detained-in-athens-tonight-all-hail-the-democracy/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2009/11/17/125-277-people-were-detained-in-athens-tonight-all-hail-the-democracy/</a>				Local
24/11/12	<i>Arab neighbourhood Neos Kosmos smashed by group of right wingers</i>	40-50 strong masked group attack a largely Arab neighbourhood - Neos Kosmos, in the south of Athens, shouting "foreigners out", smashing shops, cars and injuring three people.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2009/11/26/132-mass-xenophobic-attack-and-solidarity-demo-in-athens-as-social-tension-rises/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2009/11/26/132-mass-xenophobic-attack-and-solidarity-demo-in-athens-as-social-tension-rises/</a>				Local
06/12/09	<i>Occupations and clashes in commemoration of 2008 killing of Alexandros</i>	Demonstrations to mark the killing of Alexis broken up by mass arrests and teargas. 177 arrested in Athens on the first day alone of what becomes three days of clashes between police and demonstrators and occupations in all major cities in Greece.	<a href="http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2009/dec/06/greece-riots-anniversary-teenager-death">http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2009/dec/06/greece-riots-anniversary-teenager-death</a>	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2009/12/07/147-photos-videos-from-tonight-in-athens/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2009/12/07/147-photos-videos-from-tonight-in-athens/</a>			Local
08/12/09	<i>Fitch downgrades Greece</i>	Fitch ratings agency downgrades Greece from A- to BBB+. Heavy selling of Greek bonds and borrowing costs increase.	<a href="http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2009/dec/08/greece-credit-rating-lowest-eurozone">http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2009/dec/08/greece-credit-rating-lowest-eurozone</a>				Global
14/12/09	<i>Papandreou announces cuts to public sector</i>	Papandreou announces cuts to public sector, a ban on public sector bonuses for executives and 90% taxes on bonuses in the private banking sector.	<a href="http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2009/dec/14/greece-unveils-reforms-to-public-finance">http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2009/dec/14/greece-unveils-reforms-to-public-finance</a>				National

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17/12/09	<i>Demonstrations against cuts</i>	Large strikes and protests against recently announced cuts and against credit rating agencies.	<a href="http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/2009/dec/17/greece-protests-strikes-debt-crisis">http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/2009/dec/17/greece-protests-strikes-debt-crisis</a>				Local
09/01/10	<i>Bomb explodes outside Greek parliament</i>	A bomb explodes outside the Greek parliament after a phone call to a national newspaper minutes before alarms police to cordon off the area. No injuries.	<a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2010/01/10/world/europe/10greece.html?_r=0">http://www.nytimes.com/2010/01/10/world/europe/10greece.html?_r=0</a>				
10/01/10	<i>Bomb goes off by General Bank, Athens</i>	A bomb goes off by the General Bank in central Athens. Several arson attacks on gov. sites and multinational companies take place throughout January.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2010/01/14/169-more-news-from-the-country/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2010/01/14/169-more-news-from-the-country/</a>	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2010/01/31/176-some-more-news-last-week-of-january/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2010/01/31/176-some-more-news-last-week-of-january/</a>			Local
11/01/10	<i>IMF announces technical mission</i>	IMF announces "Technical Mission" to Athens to advise on pension reform, tax, policy and collection and budget controls.	<a href="http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/abd26a98-ff08-11de-a677-00144feab49a.html">http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/abd26a98-ff08-11de-a677-00144feab49a.html</a>				Global
12/01/10	<i>European Commission says Greece falsified data</i>	European Commission states Greece has falsified data on public finances and that deficit is worse than expected.	<a href="http://euobserver.com/economic/29258">http://euobserver.com/economic/29258</a>				Global
14/01/10	<i>Greek government announces Stability and Growth program</i>	Greek gov. announces Stability and Growth Program 2010 - three year plan to cut budget deficit from 12.5% to 2.8% by end of 2012.	<a href="http://uk.reuters.com/article/2010/01/14/greece-plan-idUSLDE60D0V520100114">http://uk.reuters.com/article/2010/01/14/greece-plan-idUSLDE60D0V520100114</a>				National
14/01/10	<i>Farmers across Greece announce blockades</i>	Farmers across the country announce blockades on all major highways starting on the 17th.	<a href="http://uk.reuters.com/article/2009/01/28/uk-greece-protests-idUKTRE50R2PS20090128">http://uk.reuters.com/article/2009/01/28/uk-greece-protests-idUKTRE50R2PS20090128</a>				National

05/02/10	<i>Migrant revolt in detention center</i>	Migrants revolt and start fires in Venna detention centre, in the north-east border of Greece.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2010/02/05/181-migrants-in-the-venna-%E2%80%9Cdetention-centre%E2%80%9D-prison-revolt-%E2%80%93-the-truth-behind-the-government%E2%80%99s-migrant-friendly-mask/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2010/02/05/181-migrants-in-the-venna-%E2%80%9Cdetention-centre%E2%80%9D-prison-revolt-%E2%80%93-the-truth-behind-the-government%E2%80%99s-migrant-friendly-mask/</a>				Local
06/02/10	<i>Golden Dawn attempt demonstration in central Athens</i>	Far right group attempt a demonstration in Athens but are met by anti-fascist demonstrators.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2010/02/06/184-athens-a-city-unwelcoming-to-fascists/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2010/02/06/184-athens-a-city-unwelcoming-to-fascists/</a>				Local
16/02/10	<i>Bomb explodes outside JP Morgan</i>	A bomb explodes outside the doors of JP Morgan offices in Kolonaki, Athens. A warning call prevents injuries.					Local
18/02/10	<i>Minister announces period of unprecedented policing</i>	Bystander killed in shootout. Minister of citizen protection issues statement that Easter will see unprecedented policing.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2010/02/18/shot-with-9-bullets/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2010/02/18/shot-with-9-bullets/</a>				Local
04/03/10	<i>Greece sells bonds</i>	Greece sells 10 year gov debt bonds. Meets high demand in market.	<a href="http://www.telegraph.co.uk/finance/financialcrisis/7370741/Greece-secures-5bn-bond-sale-as-Papandreou-prepares-to-meet-Merkel.html">http://www.telegraph.co.uk/finance/financialcrisis/7370741/Greece-secures-5bn-bond-sale-as-Papandreou-prepares-to-meet-Merkel.html</a>				Global
04/03/10	<i>Greek austerity plan announced</i>	Major austerity plan announced: Pensions frozen, cap on civil servants pay, VAT increase and alcohol, cigarette and fuel tax increase.	<a href="http://www.telegraph.co.uk/finance/comment/jeremywarner/7378428/Greece-is-a-harbinger-of-austerity-for-all.html">http://www.telegraph.co.uk/finance/comment/jeremywarner/7378428/Greece-is-a-harbinger-of-austerity-for-all.html</a>				National
05/03/10	<i>Papandreou tours Europe for financial aid</i>	Papandreou meets with Merkel as part of Berlin/Luxemburg/Frankfurt tour seeking European financial aid.	<a href="http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/2010/mar/05/greece-debt-borrow-merkel-papandreou">http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/2010/mar/05/greece-debt-borrow-merkel-papandreou</a>				National

05/03/10	<i>Day of strikes against austerity in Greece</i>	Day of strikes against austerity. Gov. gazette offices, where laws have to be printed to come into effect is occupied by employees. Employees of Nikaia hospital, Athens decide to occupy ministry of health. Brief occupations of other official buildings through out country, large clashes with police and protesters in Athens.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2010/03/05/204-they-say-austerity-we-say-fight-back-government-gazette-hq-and-ministries-occupied/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2010/03/05/204-they-say-austerity-we-say-fight-back-government-gazette-hq-and-ministries-occupied/</a>				National
11/03/10	<i>General strike</i>	General strike. Large demonstrations in major cities. Extensive teargas and clashes between police and demonstrators.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2010/03/11/212-good-morning-strike-live-updates-from-athens-on-the-general-strike-day/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2010/03/11/212-good-morning-strike-live-updates-from-athens-on-the-general-strike-day/</a>				Local
19/03/10	<i>Bomb explodes outside Golden Dawn offices in Athens</i>	Bomb explodes outside Golden Dawn offices, Athens. No injuries.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2010/03/19/220-bomb-explosion-at-the-offices-of-neo-nazi-group-golden-dawn-in-athens/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2010/03/19/220-bomb-explosion-at-the-offices-of-neo-nazi-group-golden-dawn-in-athens/</a>				Local
20/03/10	<i>Bomb explodes outside Police Directorship for Immigrants</i>	Bomb explodes outside Police Directorship for Immigrants in West Athens. No injuries.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2010/03/20/221-protests-for-lambros-and-bombs-in-athens/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2010/03/20/221-protests-for-lambros-and-bombs-in-athens/</a>				Local
28/03/10	<i>Boy dies as bomb explodes outside National School for Public Administration</i>	Bomb explodes outside National School of Public Administration, killing a 15-year old Afghani boy and blinding his 11-year old sister.	<a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/2010/03/28/us-greece-bomb-idUSTRE62R1T72010032_8">http://www.reuters.com/article/2010/03/28/us-greece-bomb-idUSTRE62R1T72010032_8</a>				Local
29/03/10	<i>Investors buy €5bn worth of Greek bonds</i>	Investors buy 5bn worth of Greek bonds at a record high interest rate.	<a href="http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/8592647.stm">http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/8592647.stm</a>				Global
09/04/10	<i>Workers at courier company “bossnap” management</i>	Workers at bankrupt courier company INTERATTICA in Athens lock all exits of building and hold management inside until compensations are paid to all workers.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2010/04/09/233-kidnap-your-boss-a-greek-premiere/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2010/04/09/233-kidnap-your-boss-a-greek-premiere/</a>				Local

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12/04/10	<i>Eurozone agrees to last minute bailout of €30bn</i>	Eurozone offers €30bn loan at 5% interest to Greece to meet payments at the end of the month.	<a href="http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/business/8614062.stm">http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/business/8614062.stm</a>				Global
22/04/10	<i>Greek deficit worse than expected</i>	FTSE stock exchange index falls. Greek deficit worse than previously projected.	<a href="http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/marketforceslive/2010/apr/22/greece-deficit-eurostat-ftse">http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/marketforceslive/2010/apr/22/greece-deficit-eurostat-ftse</a>				Global
23/04/10	<i>Papandreou calls for EU/IMF rescue package.</i>	Papandreou calls for EU/IMF rescue package.	<a href="http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/2010/apr/23/greece-activates-eu-imf-loans">http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/2010/apr/23/greece-activates-eu-imf-loans</a>				Global
23/04/10	<i>Anti-IMF demonstrations in Greece</i>	Following Papandreou's statement anti-IMF demonstrations erupt across Athens and other cities.	<a href="http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/8639440.stm">http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/8639440.stm</a>				National
27/04/10	<i>S&amp;P downgrade Greece</i>	Standard and Poor downgrade Greece's credit rating to "junk" BB+	<a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/2010/04/27/greece-ratings-sandp-idUSWNA964520100427">http://www.reuters.com/article/2010/04/27/greece-ratings-sandp-idUSWNA964520100427</a>				Global
29/04/10	<i>Eurozone crisis spreads to Spain</i>		<a href="http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/euro-debt-crisis-deepens-as-contagion-spreads-from-greece-to-spain-1957300.html">http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/euro-debt-crisis-deepens-as-contagion-spreads-from-greece-to-spain-1957300.html</a>				Global
29/04/10	<i>Emergency demonstrations against austerity deal</i>	Grassroots unions and left groups call for emergency demonstrations in Athens and Thessaloniki after news that austerity deal will be made the next day.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2010/04/29/269-emergency-demonstrations-in-athens-and-thessaloniki-against-the-imf-imposed-cuts/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2010/04/29/269-emergency-demonstrations-in-athens-and-thessaloniki-against-the-imf-imposed-cuts/</a>				National
01/05/10	<i>Anti-austerity demonstrations</i>	Anti-austerity May day demonstrations in Athens and other cities across Greece. Public mood turns against politicians.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2010/05/01/272-live-updates-from-the-mayday-demonstrations-in-athens-and-thessaloniki/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2010/05/01/272-live-updates-from-the-mayday-demonstrations-in-athens-and-thessaloniki/</a>				National

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02/05/10	<i>Details of new austerity package released</i>	Finance ministers releases details of new austerity package to public: VAT increase, alcohol and fuel tax increase, changes to employment regulation - details here.	<a href="http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/8656649.stm">http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/8656649.stm</a>				National
02/05/10	<i>First bailout package agreed</i>	First bailout: Eurozone agrees €110bn loan package in instalments over 3 years. EU to fund €80bn of that amount.	<a href="http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2010/may/02/eu-debt-crisis-greece-aid-meltdown">http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2010/may/02/eu-debt-crisis-greece-aid-meltdown</a>				Global
05/05/10	<i>Papandreou insists on austerity package</i>	Papandreou insists on austerity package despite large protests across the country.	<a href="http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/8661385.stm">http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/8661385.stm</a>				National
05/05/10	<i>Three workers die in fire at Marfin Bank during large demonstration</i>	Exceptionally large demonstration in Athens comes to an end as three workers die in a fire at Marfin Bank, central Athens.	<a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/2010/05/05/us-greece-idUSTRE6441N620100505">http://www.reuters.com/article/2010/05/05/us-greece-idUSTRE6441N620100505</a>				Local
06/05/10	<i>Demonstrations as austerity package is voted in</i>	Demonstrations as austerity package is voted in parliament. Bank workers on strike in protest about the deaths on the 5th.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2010/05/06/282-protest-in-front-of-the-parliament/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2010/05/06/282-protest-in-front-of-the-parliament/</a>				National
09/05/10	<i>EU establishes the EFSF</i>	EU establishes European Financial Stability Fund, EFSF, in response to crisis.	<a href="http://www.efsf.europa.eu/about/index.htm">http://www.efsf.europa.eu/about/index.htm</a>				Global
13/05/10	<i>Bomb explodes outside Athens prison</i>		<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2010/05/13/291-strong-bomb-explosion-outside-the-prison-of-korydallos-in-athens/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2010/05/13/291-strong-bomb-explosion-outside-the-prison-of-korydallos-in-athens/</a>				Local
20/05/10	<i>General strike in Athens</i>	General strike with demonstrations in central Athens. Reports on politicians being attacked and heckled when in public places.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2010/05/20/296-reports-from-the-general-strike-day-may-20th/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2010/05/20/296-reports-from-the-general-strike-day-may-20th/</a>				Local
02/06/10	<i>Man sets himself on fire in bank</i>	Man sets himself on fire in his local bank in Thessaloniki. Fire brigade arrives and he survives.	<a href="http://greece.greekreporter.com/2010/06/02/man-sets-himself-on-fire-in-greek-bank/">http://greece.greekreporter.com/2010/06/02/man-sets-himself-on-fire-in-greek-bank/</a>				Local

14/06/10	<i>Greek gov. protests against rating agencies</i>	Greek government protest that rating agencies downgrading does not reflect "recent progress"	<a href="http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/2010/jun/15/greece-credit-rating-junk-moodys">www.guardian.co.uk/business/2010/jun/15/greece-credit-rating-junk-moodys</a>				National
14/06/10	<i>Moody's downgrades Greece</i>	Moody's downgrades Greece's credit rating to "junk"	<a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/2010/06/14/us-greece-junkratings-moodys-idUSTRE65D46W20100614">http://www.reuters.com/article/2010/06/14/us-greece-junkratings-moodys-idUSTRE65D46W20100614</a>				Global
23/06/10	<i>Strikes ahead of parliamentary vote on social insurance</i>	Strikes ahead of parliamentary vote on social insurance.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2010/06/23/318-strikes-in-greece-today-continuous-updates/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2010/06/23/318-strikes-in-greece-today-continuous-updates/</a>				Local
24/06/10	<i>Bomb at ministry kills one</i>	Bomb at ministry of Public Order killing one employee.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2010/06/24/319-bomb-hits-ministry-of-public-order-one-killed/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2010/06/24/319-bomb-hits-ministry-of-public-order-one-killed/</a>				Local
25/06/10	<i>19 migrants drown attempting to enter Greece</i>	19 people drown attempting to cross border between Turkey and Greece.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2010/08/09/mass-grave-of-refugees-discovered-in-evros-greece/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2010/08/09/mass-grave-of-refugees-discovered-in-evros-greece/</a>				Local
29/06/10	<i>General strike</i>	General strike with teargas, large clashes, beatings by police in Syntagma metro station and looting of supermarket.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2010/06/29/general-strike-day-in-athens/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2010/06/29/general-strike-day-in-athens/</a>				Local
30/06/10	<i>National Radio and TV station occupied by workers</i>	National Radio and TV station occupied by workers who will lose their jobs.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2010/06/30/324-workers-occupy-the-building-of-the-national-radio-and-television-ert-in-athens/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2010/06/30/324-workers-occupy-the-building-of-the-national-radio-and-television-ert-in-athens/</a>				Local
08/07/10	<i>24h general strike against welfare reforms</i>	24h general strike in protest against social welfare reforms. Workers at the parliament also on strike, making processing of new legislation troublesome.	<a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/2010/07/01/us-greece-strike-idUSTRE66046Y20100701">http://www.reuters.com/article/2010/07/01/us-greece-strike-idUSTRE66046Y20100701</a>				Local

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08/07/10	<i>Parliament passes pension reform</i>	Parliament passes EU required pension reform and reform to employment laws making it easier to hire and fire.	<a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/2010/07/08/us-greece-strike-idUSTRE6674K32010070_8">http://www.reuters.com/article/2010/07/08/us-greece-strike-idUSTRE6674K32010070_8</a>				National
13/07/10	<i>Greece sells €1.6bn of debt on market</i>	Greece sells €1.6bn of debt on market.	<a href="http://journalisted.com/article/litzh">http://journalisted.com/article/litzh</a>				Global
23/07/10	<i>Lorry driver commits suicide</i>	Lorry driver facing financial difficulties hangs himself on bridge in Volos.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2010/08/05/346-little-stories-from-imf-run-greece-67-year-old-debt-ridden-truck-owner-hangs-himself-from-a-bridge-in-the-city-of-volos/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2010/08/05/346-little-stories-from-imf-run-greece-67-year-old-debt-ridden-truck-owner-hangs-himself-from-a-bridge-in-the-city-of-volos/</a>				Local
29/07/10	<i>Lorry drivers on strike</i>	Lorry drivers on strike clash with riot police outside the ministry of Transportation in Athens after being ordered back to work. Army vehicles sent throughout country offering gas supplies.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2010/07/29/340-striking-lorry-drivers-clash-with-riot-police-as-theyre-being-ordered-back-to-work-constant-updates/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2010/07/29/340-striking-lorry-drivers-clash-with-riot-police-as-theyre-being-ordered-back-to-work-constant-updates/</a>				Local
05/08/10	<i>EU and Greece agrees on another €9bn tranche of bailout package</i>	Eurozone congratulates Greece and agrees another €9bn tranche of the €110bn loan package urging to crack down on tax evasion.	<a href="http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/2010/aug/05/greece-can-borrow-more-from-eu-and-imf">http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/2010/aug/05/greece-can-borrow-more-from-eu-and-imf</a>				Global
01/09/10	<i>IMF states Greek default unlikely</i>	IMF states possible Greek default is "unnecessary, undesirable and unlikely".	<a href="http://euobserver.com/economic/30718">http://euobserver.com/economic/30718</a>				Global
10/09/10	<i>Large demonstrations in Thessaloniki ahead of new social policy announcement</i>	Large demonstrations in Thessaloniki for two days in the lead-up to The International Fair where next years social policy is usually announced.	<a href="http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-11271058">http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-11271058</a>				Local

14/09/10	<i>Pakistani workers on strike as Lorry driver strike continues</i>	Pakistani workers on strike, as lorry driver strike continues with blockades on major access roads to Athens and attempts to fill the city with lorries. Small strike on national railway lines and road toll strikes after privatisation led to 100% increase on tolls.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2010/09/14/371-pakistani-workers-go-on-strike-after-police-raid-more-news-about-the-transportation-crash-in-the-country/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2010/09/14/371-pakistani-workers-go-on-strike-after-police-raid-more-news-about-the-transportation-crash-in-the-country/</a>				National
15/09/10	<i>Greek finance minister on European tour</i>	Greek finance minister Constantinou travels to London, Paris and Frankfurt to "win over investors" and stating a Greek default would result in selling of bonds in other periphery countries.	<a href="http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/0a8adde8-c102-11df-99c4-00144feab49a.html">http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/0a8adde8-c102-11df-99c4-00144feab49a.html</a>				Global
21/09/10	<i>Lorry driver blockades</i>	Thousands of lorry drivers stay overnight outside parliament. Blockades the following days.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2010/09/21/376-live-from-syntagma-square-athens-hundreds-of-lorry-drivers-set-to-spend-the-night-outside-parliament/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2010/09/21/376-live-from-syntagma-square-athens-hundreds-of-lorry-drivers-set-to-spend-the-night-outside-parliament/</a>				Local
29/09/10	<i>Strike breaking lorries shot at</i>	45 lorries breaking the strike shot at with shotgun while driving under police protection.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2010/09/29/383-scab-lorries-have-been-shot-at-with-a-shotgun/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2010/09/29/383-scab-lorries-have-been-shot-at-with-a-shotgun/</a>				Local
08/10/10	<i>Anti-fascist demonstration in Athens</i>	Anti-fascist demonstration at Attiki sq, Athens, against right wing attacks on migrants in central Athens neighbourhoods. Later in the night migrants beaten by police as they continued with an informal demonstration.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2010/10/09/387-riot-police-violently-attack-migrants-after-tonights-anti-fascist-demonstration-photos/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2010/10/09/387-riot-police-violently-attack-migrants-after-tonights-anti-fascist-demonstration-photos/</a>				Local
14/10/10	<i>Workers of Akropolis occupy museum</i>	Workers at the Acropolis stay overnight demanding 2 years of backpay and permanent contracts. Police enter, beat and chase the employees out.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2010/10/14/393-for-anyone-still-in-doubt-if-this-is-a-junta-riot-police-storm-the-acropolis/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2010/10/14/393-for-anyone-still-in-doubt-if-this-is-a-junta-riot-police-storm-the-acropolis/</a>				Local

16/10/10	<i>Bangladeshi mini market attacked by right wing</i>	Bangladeshi owned mini market at Attiki square attacked by a crowd shouting anti-immigration slogans. People chased into nearby mosque.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2010/10/17/397-fascist-anti-migrant-pogroms-continue-at-attica-square-in-athens/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2010/10/17/397-fascist-anti-migrant-pogroms-continue-at-attica-square-in-athens/</a>				Local
02/11/10	<i>Small explosives in letters to embassies found</i>	Small explosives concealed in letters found over two days at the Swiss, Bulgarian, Chilean, German, Russian, Dutch and Belgian embassies as well as two at the Athens airport addressed to the offices of Nikolas Sarkozy and Angela Merkel. No injuries.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2010/11/02/305-two-more-suspicious-packages-at-athens-airport-raise-the-booby-trap-bombs-to-nine/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2010/11/02/305-two-more-suspicious-packages-at-athens-airport-raise-the-booby-trap-bombs-to-nine/</a>				Local
05/11/10	<i>Medicins du Monde: "Athens in severe humanitarian crisis."</i>	Medicins du Monde: "Athens in severe humanitarian crisis."	<a href="http://www.athensnews.gr/portal/9/33151">http://www.athensnews.gr/portal/9/33151</a>				Local
14/11/10	<i>20-year old Polish migrant dies at police station</i>	20-year old Polish migrant dies at Aghios Panteleimonas police station. Police statement says he jumped from 3rd floor trying to escape.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2010/11/14/415-20-year-old-polish-migrant-dies-in-the-police-station-of-ayios-panteleimonas-athens/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2010/11/14/415-20-year-old-polish-migrant-dies-in-the-police-station-of-ayios-panteleimonas-athens/</a>				Local
15/11/10	<i>Anti-IMF demonstrations in Greece</i>	Anti-IMF demonstrations lead to clashes between protesters and police.	<a href="http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/2010/nov/15/greek-deficit-bigger-than-thought">http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/2010/nov/15/greek-deficit-bigger-than-thought</a>				Local
15/11/10	<i>Greece's deficit worse than expected</i>	Greece's 2009 deficit worse than originally estimated after revision by Eurostat. Gov. debt also higher than previously estimated. Making debt as well as deficit the highest in Europe.	<a href="http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/business-11755320">http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/business-11755320</a>				National
15/11/10	<i>EU and IMF officials visit Greece</i>	EU and IMF officials visit Greece to determine whether to release next tranche of €110bn loan.					Global

17/11/10	<i>Annual commemorative anti dictatorship demonstration</i>	Large annual demonstration marking 1974 poly-technic uprising. Teargas and clashes with close to 100 people detained.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2010/11/17/419-more-than-50000-march-today-in-athens-more-than-thirty-detentions-so-far-pictures-from-the-demo/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2010/11/17/419-more-than-50000-march-today-in-athens-more-than-thirty-detentions-so-far-pictures-from-the-demo/</a>				Local
25/11/10	<i>Trade Union demonstration against austerity measures</i>	Trade Union demonstration against austerity measures introduced in 2011 budget.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2010/11/25/425-todays-demonstrations-in-athens-four-in-a-single-day/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2010/11/25/425-todays-demonstrations-in-athens-four-in-a-single-day/</a>				Local
06/12/10	<i>Clashes across Greece marking day Alexandros was killed by police in 2008</i>	Demonstrations and clashes across Greece marking day Alexandros was killed by police in 2008.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2010/12/06/435-demonstrations-and-actions-in-17-greek-cities-mark-two-year-anniversary-of-the-state-assassination-of-alexandros-grigoropoulos-police-announce-unprecedented-traffic-ban-in-central-athens/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2010/12/06/435-demonstrations-and-actions-in-17-greek-cities-mark-two-year-anniversary-of-the-state-assassination-of-alexandros-grigoropoulos-police-announce-unprecedented-traffic-ban-in-central-athens/</a>				National
09/12/10	<i>More than 1000 prisoners on coordinated hunger strike</i>	More than 1000 prisoners on coordinated hunger strike across the country.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2010/12/09/438-more-than-1000-prisoners-on-mass-hunger-strike-in-greece-three-quarters-of-the-entire-prison-population-abstaining-from-prison-meals/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2010/12/09/438-more-than-1000-prisoners-on-mass-hunger-strike-in-greece-three-quarters-of-the-entire-prison-population-abstaining-from-prison-meals/</a>				National

13/12/10	<i>Riots against the construction of landfill in Keratea</i>	First of several days of riots by local residents against construction of a landfill in Keratea, Greater Athens.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2010/12/14/444-third-day-of-rioting-in-keratea-attica-against-waste-burial-site-construction-sees-riot-police-van-and-policeman-set-alight-court-orders-temporary-halt-to-the-works-greece-counts-hours-to-it/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2010/12/14/444-third-day-of-rioting-in-keratea-attica-against-waste-burial-site-construction-sees-riot-police-van-and-policeman-set-alight-court-orders-temporary-halt-to-the-works-greece-counts-hours-to-it/</a>				Local
15/12/10	<i>General strike</i>	General strike with large demonstrations, teargas and clashes in Athens and cities across Greece.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2010/12/16/452-more-photos-from-the-general-strike-athens-16-12-2010/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2010/12/16/452-more-photos-from-the-general-strike-athens-16-12-2010/</a>				Local
05/01/11	<i>Roma girl run over and killed by police motorcycle in Menidi, Athens</i>	A police's DIAS motorcycle force runs over and kills Roma girl on motorcycle in Menidi neighbourhood of Athens. Sparks violent clashes between police and local residents followed by two days of demonstrations in cities across Greece.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/01/05/462-policeman-of-the-dias-motorcycle-force-runs-over-and-kills-6-year-old-girl/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/01/05/462-policeman-of-the-dias-motorcycle-force-runs-over-and-kills-6-year-old-girl/</a>				Local
10/01/11	<i>Court approves landfill in Keratea sparking clashes</i>	Court ruling for landfill in Athens area of Keratea to go ahead sparks attacks by local residents on police station and more clashes.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/01/11/467-greek-high-court-gives-green-light-for-keratea-landfill-to-go-ahead-locals-continue-their-struggle-solidarity-actions-planned/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/01/11/467-greek-high-court-gives-green-light-for-keratea-landfill-to-go-ahead-locals-continue-their-struggle-solidarity-actions-planned/</a>				Local
13/01/11	<i>Transport workers on strike in Athens</i>	Athens transportation workers on strike despite court ruling declaring strike illegal.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/01/13/469-workers-in-athens-public-transportation-defy-court-order-and-go-ahead-with-their-strike/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/01/13/469-workers-in-athens-public-transportation-defy-court-order-and-go-ahead-with-their-strike/</a>				Local

14/01/11	<i>Fitch downgrades Greece</i>	Fitch downgrades Greek debt to junk status.	<a href="http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/2011/jan/14/ratings-agency-downgrades-greek-sovereign-debt-junk">http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/2011/jan/14/ratings-agency-downgrades-greek-sovereign-debt-junk</a>				Global
25/01/11	<i>300 migrants on collective hunger strike</i>	300 migrants in Athens and Thessaloniki start collective hunger-strike against racist attacks and discrimination.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/01/27/483-decision-by-the-assembly-of-the-300-hunger-strikers-of-the-law-school/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/01/27/483-decision-by-the-assembly-of-the-300-hunger-strikers-of-the-law-school/</a>				Local
01/02/11	<i>Strikes and actions against hikes in transport prices, Athens</i>	As transport prices set to rise by 40% workers in one line in Athens go on strike, and many blockades at local stations to prevent passengers from paying the increased fares.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/02/01/491-as-tickets-in-athens-public-transportation-go-up-people-get-rid-of-tickets-together-in-practice/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/02/01/491-as-tickets-in-athens-public-transportation-go-up-people-get-rid-of-tickets-together-in-practice/</a>				Local
02/02/11	<i>Doctors occupy ministry of health in protest against privatisation</i>	Doctors occupy ministry of health and union calls for indefinite strike in protest against privatisation of health care.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/02/04/492-medical-doctors-occupy-the-ministry-of-health/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/02/04/492-medical-doctors-occupy-the-ministry-of-health/</a>				Local
23/02/11	<i>48h general strike</i>	48h general strike, extending to a third day independent of political parties and trade unions. Clashes at Syntagma sq and across central Athens with very large quantities of teargas. Inspired by Tahrir sq, large amount of demonstrators try to stay at Syntagma sq outside parliament but are repeatedly teargassed and detained.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/02/23/513-live-updates-from-the-general-strike/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/02/23/513-live-updates-from-the-general-strike/</a>				Local
28/02/11	<i>Ministry of Labour occupied in support of the ongoing hunger strike by 300 migrants</i>	Ministry of Labour occupied in support of the ongoing hunger strike by 300 migrants.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/02/28/524-communique-and-photos-from-the-ministry-of-labour-occupation-this-morning/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/02/28/524-communique-and-photos-from-the-ministry-of-labour-occupation-this-morning/</a>				Local

09/03/11	<i>ELSTAT releases youth unemployment figures of 39%</i>	ELSTAT releases figures showing increase in youth unemployment in Greece from 28.9% to 39% since December 2009.					
14/03/11	<i>Teachers union calls for strike</i>	Ministry of education announces merging of approximately 1000 schools putting at risk jobs of approx. 4000 teachers. Teachers union calls for strike.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/03/15/541-little-stories-from-imf-run-greece-1000-schools-to-close-and-3500-4000-teachers-to-be-fired-as-education-cuts-kick-in/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/03/15/541-little-stories-from-imf-run-greece-1000-schools-to-close-and-3500-4000-teachers-to-be-fired-as-education-cuts-kick-in/</a>				National
22/03/11	<i>Politicians meet increasing abuse when in public spaces</i>	Politicians meet increasing abuse when in public spaces. PM Papandreou has Athens riot police defend him at the island of Syros days after gov. vice- president had yoghurt thrown at him.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/03/22/545-funny-times-for-politicians-in-public-view-clashes-as-pm-papandreou-visits-the-island-of-syros/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/03/22/545-funny-times-for-politicians-in-public-view-clashes-as-pm-papandreou-visits-the-island-of-syros/</a>	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/03/17/542-tough-times-to-be-in-power-government-vice-president-has-yoghurt-thrown-at-him-boed-near-keratea/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/03/17/542-tough-times-to-be-in-power-government-vice-president-has-yoghurt-thrown-at-him-boed-near-keratea/</a>			National
25/03/11	<i>Students and teachers demonstrate against school closings</i>	Students and teachers demonstrate against school closings, leading to many school occupations across the country.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/03/26/547-national-marches-turn-to-protests-across-the-country/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/03/26/547-national-marches-turn-to-protests-across-the-country/</a>				National
27/03/11	<i>Town hall in Athens occupied by workers on temporary contracts</i>	Town hall in Athens and several other cities occupied by workers on temporary contracts.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/03/27/548-is-this-the-start-of-the-occupy-everything-season/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/03/27/548-is-this-the-start-of-the-occupy-everything-season/</a>				Local
14/04/11	<i>Motorway in Keratea dug up by protesters</i>	Motorway leading to Keratea dug up in latest development in ongoing violent clashes between police and Keratea locals resisting the construction of landfill for three months. Four days later police and machinery are withdrawn from area and negotiations with municipality are opened.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/04/14/554-two-meter-deep-ditch-dug-across-the-keratea-highway/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/04/14/554-two-meter-deep-ditch-dug-across-the-keratea-highway/</a>	<a href="http://www.ekathimerini.com/4dcgi/_w_articles_ws/ite1_1_03/04/2011_386078">http://www.ekathimerini.com/4dcgi/_w_articles_ws/ite1_1_03/04/2011_386078</a>			Local

22/04/11	<i>EUROSTAT figure shows Greek deficit worse than expected</i>	Figures released by Greece to EUROSTAT shows deficit at 13.6% - once again worse than expected.	<a href="http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/business/8637270.stm?utm_source=twitterfeed&amp;utm_medium=twitter">http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/business/8637270.stm?utm_source=twitterfeed&amp;utm_medium=twitter</a>				Global
05/05/11	<i>Anti-IMF demonstrations in Athens</i>	Anniversary of the arrival of the 'Troika' last year, and the death of three workers at Marfin bank sees demonstrations in Athens.					Local
10/05/11	<i>Man killed in Athens, sparks pogroms against migrants</i>	44 year old man robbed for his camera and killed in Athens. Right wing groups put blame on migrants starting a pogrom against migrants in central Athens. Anarchists from local squats step in. Clashes between police, anarchists and far right groups.	<a href="http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2011-05-11/greek-police-detain-24-in-athens-immigrant-clash-after-murder.html">http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2011-05-11/greek-police-detain-24-in-athens-immigrant-clash-after-murder.html</a>	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/05/10/567-fascists-attack-migrants-and-anarchist-squats-in-central-athens-following-the-murder-of-44-year-old-father-to-be-for-his-camera-report-and-videos/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/05/10/567-fascists-attack-migrants-and-anarchist-squats-in-central-athens-following-the-murder-of-44-year-old-father-to-be-for-his-camera-report-and-videos/</a>			Local
11/05/11	<i>48h general strike</i>	48h general strike sees large demonstrations across thirteen cities in Greece. Athens demonstration ends violently with police injuring several demonstrators, one in intensive care with severe head injuries.	<a href="http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-13356762">http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-13356762</a>	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/05/12/574-photos-and-videos-from-the-lethal-police-attack-against-demonstrators-in-athens-today/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/05/12/574-photos-and-videos-from-the-lethal-police-attack-against-demonstrators-in-athens-today/</a>			Local
12/05/11	<i>Bangladeshi killed, sparks clashes between migrants, right wing and police</i>	Migrant from Bangladesh killed in the Athens neighborhood of Ano Patisia. Later in the afternoon extensive and violent clashes between migrants with anti-fascist activists and right wing groups with police in central Athens.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/05/12/577-breaking-news-pakistani-migrant-assassinated-in-athens-unconfirmed-reports-this-is-a-fascist-attack/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/05/12/577-breaking-news-pakistani-migrant-assassinated-in-athens-unconfirmed-reports-this-is-a-fascist-attack/</a>	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/05/12/581-updates-from-athens/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/05/12/581-updates-from-athens/</a>			Local
13/05/11	<i>Violent attacks on migrants continue for four days</i>	21 year old Bangladeshi migrant stabbed to death as violent attacks on migrants continue throughout Athens for four days. Also small demonstration elsewhere against police violence during the May 11th general strike.	<a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2011/05/14/world/europe/4briefs-Greece.html?_r=0">http://www.nytimes.com/2011/05/14/world/europe/4briefs-Greece.html?_r=0</a>	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/05/14/murder-instrumentalised-by-fascist-groups-for-new-pogrom-against-migrants/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/05/14/murder-instrumentalised-by-fascist-groups-for-new-pogrom-against-migrants/</a>			Local

14/05/11	<i>Explosion at Exarcheia police station causes injuries</i>	Attack on police station in Exarcheia Athens, leads to explosion and several injuries in nearby streetmarket.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/05/14/586-attack-against-exarcheia-police-station-sees-one-street-vendor-injured-scores-of-delta-motorcycle-police-roaring-through-the-neighbourhood-at-the-moment-breaking-news/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/05/14/586-attack-against-exarcheia-police-station-sees-one-street-vendor-injured-scores-of-delta-motorcycle-police-roaring-through-the-neighbourhood-at-the-moment-breaking-news/</a>				Local
24/05/11	<i>Greek gov. announces privatisation plans</i>	Greek gov. announces plan for large-scale privatisation including telecoms, railway networks, water, ports and airports.	<a href="http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/f7b4829a-85a1-11e0-ae32-00144feabdc0.html">http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/f7b4829a-85a1-11e0-ae32-00144feabdc0.html</a>				National
26/05/11	<i>People take to Syntagma Square</i>	Inspired by the Spanish Indignados movement and the Arab spring people "take the squares" in Athens and Thessaloniki.	<a href="http://teacherdudebbq.blogspot.co.uk/2011/05/greece-los-indignados-indignant-take-to.html">http://teacherdudebbq.blogspot.co.uk/2011/05/greece-los-indignados-indignant-take-to.html</a>				Local
06/06/11	<i>European day of action sees 150.000 people gather at Syntagma</i>	Est. 150.000 people gathered at Syntagma square in a "European day of action" after 11 days of occupying the square.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/06/06/611-athens-sees-its-biggest-gathering-in-years-more-than-150000-at-syntagma-square-as-the-build-up-for-the-general-strike-of-june-15th-begins/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/06/06/611-athens-sees-its-biggest-gathering-in-years-more-than-150000-at-syntagma-square-as-the-build-up-for-the-general-strike-of-june-15th-begins/</a>				Local
13/06/11	<i>S&amp;P downgrades Greece</i>	S&P downgrades Greece from B to the lowest ranking of CCC.					Global
15/06/11	<i>Papandreou announces gov. reshuffle and vote of confidence</i>	Papandreou announces gov. reshuffle and vote of confidence on after widespread anger within his party PASOK.					National
15/06/11	<i>General strike against austerity</i>	General strike against upcoming austerity package.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/06/15/618-updates-from-the-may-15-day-of-action/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/06/15/618-updates-from-the-may-15-day-of-action/</a>				National

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17/06/11	<i>Venizelos to become new finance minister</i>	Papandreou replaces finance minister Papaconstantinou with former defence minister Venizelos					National
22/06/11	<i>Papandreou wins vote of confidence to implement new austerity bill</i>	Papandreou wins vote of confidence to implement new austerity bill.					National
22/06/11	<i>Police attack Syntagma sq occupation with teargas</i>	Police attack Syntagma sq occupation with teargas.					Local
28/06/11	<i>48h general strike</i>	48h general strike, sees large-scale violent clashes in Athens.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/06/30/our-coverage-of-the-48-hour-general-strike-of-june-28-29/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/06/30/our-coverage-of-the-48-hour-general-strike-of-june-28-29/</a>	<a href="http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-13935400">http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-13935400</a>			Local
30/06/11	<i>Second austerity package passed at Greek parliament</i>	Second austerity package passed at Greek parliament.	<a href="http://www.euronews.com/2011/06/30/second-austerity-bill-approved-by-greek-mps/">http://www.euronews.com/2011/06/30/second-austerity-bill-approved-by-greek-mps/</a>				National
01/07/11	<i>Syntagma re-taken by demonstrators</i>	Thousands of people re-occupy Syntagma sq after clashes with police for the 28th -29th of June general strike.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/07/01/648-and-this-is-how-the-people-fight-back-syntagma-square-flooded-with-demonstrators-once-again">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/07/01/648-and-this-is-how-the-people-fight-back-syntagma-square-flooded-with-demonstrators-once-again</a>				Local
03/07/11	<i>EU hesitates on new bail-out</i>	EU hesitates on new bail-out. Markets fall rapidly and borrowing costs rise for Italy and Spain.	<a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2011/07/04/business/global/04euro.html?pagewanted=all">http://www.nytimes.com/2011/07/04/business/global/04euro.html?pagewanted=all</a>				Global
21/07/11	<i>EU agrees to second bailout package of €109bn</i>	EU agrees to second bailout fund of €109bn staving off a Greek default in the following weeks.	<a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/07/21-us-eurozone-idUSTRE76I5X620110721">http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/07/21-us-eurozone-idUSTRE76I5X620110721</a>				Global
25/07/11	<i>Moody's downgrades Greece</i>	Moody's downgrades Greece to CA, one level before default.	<a href="http://www.europolitics.info/moody-s-downgrades-greece-to-near-default-2011-07-29.html">http://www.europolitics.info/moody-s-downgrades-greece-to-near-default-2011-07-29.html</a>				Global

24/08/11	<i>Education reform bill passed</i>	Education reform bill passed limiting participation of students in governance of higher education institutions as well as eliminating 'academic asylum' which prohibits police from entering university grounds.	<a href="http://chronicle.com/article/Amid-Protests-Greece-Enacts/128795/">http://chronicle.com/article/Amid-Protests-Greece-Enacts/128795/</a>	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/08/24/greek-parliament-votes-in-education-reform-bill-abolishing-academic-asylum-free-course-readers/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/08/24/greek-parliament-votes-in-education-reform-bill-abolishing-academic-asylum-free-course-readers/</a>			National
31/08/11	<i>Students occupy more than 87 university buildings</i>	Students occupy at least 87 university buildings across Greece in protest against the recently passed education bill.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/08/31/at-least-87-departments-under-student-occupation-across-greece-with-the-number-increasing-by-the-hour/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/08/31/at-least-87-departments-under-student-occupation-across-greece-with-the-number-increasing-by-the-hour/</a>				National
10/09/11	<i>Clashes in Thessaloniki for the International Fair</i>	Large demonstration and extensive clashes in Thessaloniki for the International Fair where the PM traditional presents fiscal policy for the coming year.	<a href="http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-14866641">http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-14866641</a>				Local
10/09/11	<i>Papandreou announces fiscal policy for the coming year at the Thessaloniki International Fair</i>	PM Papandreou announces fiscal policy for the coming year in speech in Thessaloniki.	<a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/09/10/us-greece-economy-idUSTRE7891M020110910">http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/09/10/us-greece-economy-idUSTRE7891M020110910</a>				National
12/09/11	<i>Police car set on fire outside Ministry of Culture</i>	Police unit car set on fire outside Ministry of Culture in Athens and spreads momentarily to the building.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/09/12/police-van-set-on-fire/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/09/12/police-van-set-on-fire/</a>				Local
16/09/11	<i>55 year old sets himself on fire in bank</i>	Protesting his mounting debt a 55 year old man sets himself on fire outside his bank in Thessaloniki.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/09/16/thessaloniki-55-year-old-man-sets-himself-alight-in-front-of-a-bank-in-protest-for-his-mounting-debt/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/09/16/thessaloniki-55-year-old-man-sets-himself-alight-in-front-of-a-bank-in-protest-for-his-mounting-debt/</a>				Local
18/09/11	<i>Protest against property taxation added to electricity bill</i>	We Won't Pay movement gathers in Syntagma in protest against the highly controversial property tax imposed through electricity bills.	<a href="http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/2011/sep/11/greece-emergency-property-tax">http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/2011/sep/11/greece-emergency-property-tax</a>	<a href="http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/jul/31/greece-debt-crisis-anti-austerity">http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/jul/31/greece-debt-crisis-anti-austerity</a>			Local

22/09/11	<i>Approximately 300 university buildings occupied across Greece</i>	Approx 300 university buildings occupied, student demonstrations in cities across Greece.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/09/12/300-university-departments-occupied-by-students/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/09/12/300-university-departments-occupied-by-students/</a>	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/09/22/thousands-marching-in-athens-education-marches/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/09/22/thousands-marching-in-athens-education-marches/</a>			National
27/09/11	<i>Parliament votes in new property tax</i>	Demonstrations at Syntagma as parliament votes in controversial property tax.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/09/27/greek-parliament-votes-in-latest-austerity/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/09/27/greek-parliament-votes-in-latest-austerity/</a>	<a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2011/09/28/business/global/german-leader-reaffirms-backing-for-greece.html?_r=0">http://www.nytimes.com/2011/09/28/business/global/german-leader-reaffirms-backing-for-greece.html?_r=0</a>			National
29/09/11	<i>Ministry employees occupy workplaces in protest against Troika</i>	Employees at gov. ministries occupy their workplaces as Troika representatives visit Athens.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/09/29/governments-ministries-occupied-by-their-employees/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/09/29/governments-ministries-occupied-by-their-employees/</a>				Local
30/09/11	<i>Neighbourhood reconnects electricity</i>	Neighbourhood reconnects electricity themselves after being disconnected as consequence of the enforcement of new property tax.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/09/30/little-stories-from-imf-run-greece-people-in-the-northern-greek-city-of-veria-re-connect-disconnected-electricity-and-they-explain-why/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/09/30/little-stories-from-imf-run-greece-people-in-the-northern-greek-city-of-veria-re-connect-disconnected-electricity-and-they-explain-why/</a>				Local
05/10/11	<i>General strike</i>	General strike sees demonstrations in Athens.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/10/05/videos-from-todays-general-strike-demonstration-in-athens/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/10/05/videos-from-todays-general-strike-demonstration-in-athens/</a>				Local
09/10/11	<i>Minister of Interior Affairs attacked with yoghurt</i>	Students storm cinema after spotting Minister of Interior Affairs Kastanidis to shout and throw yoghurt at him.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/10/09/students-storm-cinema-where-a-governments-minister-was-spotted/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/10/09/students-storm-cinema-where-a-governments-minister-was-spotted/</a>				Local
11/10/11	<i>Demonstrations by public sector, hospital and oil refinery workers</i>	Workers at Athens hospitals march towards parliament as public sector workers occupy municipal buildings, ministries and workers at public oil refineries go on strike.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/10/11/marches-and-occupations-all-around-athens-today/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/10/11/marches-and-occupations-all-around-athens-today/</a>				Local

13/10/11	<i>Workers at electricity company on strike against new taxation included in electricity bills</i>	Workers at state electricity company occupy building that issues bills in Athens in protest against new property tax imposed via electricity bills.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/10/13/electricity-corporation-union-occupies-building-issuing-property-tax-in-athens-tonight-as-wildcat-occupations-and-strikes-spread-across-the-country/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/10/13/electricity-corporation-union-occupies-building-issuing-property-tax-in-athens-tonight-as-wildcat-occupations-and-strikes-spread-across-the-country/</a>				Local
14/10/11	<i>Rubbish collectors strike declared illegal</i>	Attorney general of Athens declares strike by rubbish collectors illegal and a threat to public health ordering police to find striking workers and to reopen landfills.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/10/page/3/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/10/page/3/</a>				Local
19/10/11	<i>Parliament votes through new austerity package</i>	Parliament votes through new austerity package with narrow majority.	<a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/10/20/us-greece-idUSTRE79H1FI20111020">http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/10/20/us-greece-idUSTRE79H1FI20111020</a>				National
19/10/11	<i>38h general strike, 53 year old man dies</i>	48h general strike sees large demonstration, severe clashes between anarchist and communist groups, teargas and stun grenades in Athens. 53 year old demonstrator is killed by excessive teargas in clashes.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/10/19/live-updates-from-the-general-strike-day-one-october-19/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/10/19/live-updates-from-the-general-strike-day-one-october-19/</a>	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/10/20/53-year-old-demonstrator-dead/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/10/20/53-year-old-demonstrator-dead/</a>			Local
20/10/11	<i>EU and ECB report: Greek debt levels worse than expected</i>	EU and ECB release report from recent 'Troika' mission to Greece. Debt worse than expected.	<a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/10/20/eurozone-troika-idUSL5E7LK2Z020111020">http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/10/20/eurozone-troika-idUSL5E7LK2Z020111020</a>				Global
20/10/11	<i>EFSF granted powers to buy government bonds</i>	Document released outlining guidelines for the EFSF grants it powers to buy gov. bonds if countries request it. Seen as success by Brussels. Markets marginally better.	<a href="http://www.cnbc.com/id/44971139/EFsf_to_Be_Allowed_to_Buy_Sovereign_Bonds_Guidelines">http://www.cnbc.com/id/44971139/EFsf_to_Be_Allowed_to_Buy_Sovereign_Bonds_Guidelines</a>				Global

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26/10/11	<i>Merkel blocks ECB to be guarantor for EFSF</i>	EU summit to reach a deal to bail out European banks and increase capacity of EFSF. But Merkel insists the ECB is not to guarantee EFSF.	<a href="http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/oct/26/eu-summit-eurozone-crisis-leaders">http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/oct/26/eu-summit-eurozone-crisis-leaders</a>				Global
27/10/11	<i>EU negotiates 50% write-off of Greek debt</i>	EU negotiates 50% write-off of Greek debt with creditors which include Greek pension funds. Markets rise.	<a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/10/31/us-greece-referendum-idUSTRE79U5PQ20111031">http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/10/31/us-greece-referendum-idUSTRE79U5PQ20111031</a>				Global
28/10/11	<i>Annual military parade disrupted</i>	Annual military parade in Greece disrupted by public throwing eggs and punching officials in several cities.	<a href="http://athens.cafebabel.com/en/post/2011/10/28/Greeks-punching-and-throwing-eggs-against-the-politicians-during-the-national-holiday">http://athens.cafebabel.com/en/post/2011/10/28/Greeks-punching-and-throwing-eggs-against-the-politicians-during-the-national-holiday</a>				Local
31/10/11	<i>Papandreou announces referendum on austerity package</i>	PM Papandreou announces referendum on austerity package recently agreed as part of new bailout agreement with the troika. Political turmoil follows.	<a href="http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/oct/31/greece-euro-bailout-fresh-crisis">http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/oct/31/greece-euro-bailout-fresh-crisis</a>				National
31/10/11	<i>Value of Euro falls following statement by Papandreou</i>	Value of Euro falls after PM's announcement. Politicians angered.	<a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/10/31/us-greece-referendum-idUSTRE79U5PQ20111031">http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/10/31/us-greece-referendum-idUSTRE79U5PQ20111031</a>				Global
03/11/11	<i>Papandreou cancels referendum</i>	Papandreou cancels referendum after revolt in his party PASOK and calls for his resignation from opposition parties.	<a href="http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/blog/2011/nov/03/greek-crisis-referendum-eurozone">http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/blog/2011/nov/03/greek-crisis-referendum-eurozone</a>				National
03/11/11	<i>Group loots supermarket and distributes food</i>	A group of people loot a supermarket and distribute the food at a market in the Athenian suburb Zografou.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/11/03/you-say-national-unity-we-say-loot-robin-hoodies-strike-again-in-athens/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/11/03/you-say-national-unity-we-say-loot-robin-hoodies-strike-again-in-athens/</a>				Local
05/11/11	<i>Papandreou wins vote of confidence</i>	Papandreou wins vote of confidence with very slim majority.	<a href="http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/nov/05/greece-papandreou-likely-resignation">http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/nov/05/greece-papandreou-likely-resignation</a>				National

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10/11/11	<i>Papandreou resigns and VP Papademos announced as unelected leader until elections</i>	Papandreou resigns and former ECB vice-president Papademos is announced as unelected leader of national unity gov. until elections next year.	<a href="http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-15671354">http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-15671354</a>				National
13/11/11	<i>At least 10 municipalities refuse to pay tax imposed through electricity bills</i>	At least 10 municipalities refuse to pay tax imposed through electricity bills. Video released of how to reconnect.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/11/13/grassroot-s-resistance-to-austerity-grows-wildly-as-at-least-10-municipalities-in-greece-call-for-civil-disobedience/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/11/13/grassroot-s-resistance-to-austerity-grows-wildly-as-at-least-10-municipalities-in-greece-call-for-civil-disobedience/</a>				Local
17/11/11	<i>Commemorative anti-dictatorial demonstration</i>	Large annual commemoration demonstration of polytechnic uprising. Clashes, one demonstrator severely injured.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/11/17/then-with-the-tanks-now-with-the-banks-live-coverage-of-commemorative-demonstrations-for-the-nov-17-uprising-in-athens/">blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/11/17/then-with-the-tanks-now-with-the-banks-live-coverage-of-commemorative-demonstrations-for-the-nov-17-uprising-in-athens/</a>	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/11/17/reports-of-seriously-injured-demonstrator-in-todays-demo-in-athens/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/11/17/reports-of-seriously-injured-demonstrator-in-todays-demo-in-athens/</a>			Local
21/11/11	<i>Trade unionists occupy building that issues electricity bills in protest against property tax</i>	Trade unionists occupy building that issues electricity bills in protest against property tax.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/11/21/the-trade-union-of-greece%E2%80%99s-public-power-corporation-genop-dei-has-occupied-and-holds-the-building-issuing-electricity-disconnection-orders-%E2%80%93-full-statement/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/11/21/the-trade-union-of-greece%E2%80%99s-public-power-corporation-genop-dei-has-occupied-and-holds-the-building-issuing-electricity-disconnection-orders-%E2%80%93-full-statement/</a>				Local
01/12/11	<i>General strike</i>	General strike sees demonstrations, factory and university occupations.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/12/01/general-strike-marches-and-blockades-of-workplaces/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/12/01/general-strike-marches-and-blockades-of-workplaces/</a>				Local
03/12/11	<i>Solidarity actions across Athens for worker occupation of the Athens Halivourgia steel factory</i>	Solidarity actions and collections across Athens for worker occupation of the Athens Halivourgia steel factory.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/12/04/solidarity-motor-demonstration-to-the-strikers-of-halivourgiki/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/12/04/solidarity-motor-demonstration-to-the-strikers-of-halivourgiki/</a>				Local

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06/12/11	<i>Clashes across Athens commemorating the police killing of Alexis in 2008</i>	Clashes and commemorative demonstrations on anniversary for killing of Alexis in 2008.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/12/06/three-years-from-the-death-of-alexandros-grigoropoulos-news-videos-and-photos-from-the-athenian-streets-today/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2011/12/06/three-years-from-the-death-of-alexandros-grigoropoulos-news-videos-and-photos-from-the-athenian-streets-today/</a>				Local
18/12/11	<i>Greece has highest suicide rates in Europe</i>	Greece has highest suicide rates in Europe.	<a href="http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/dec/18/greek-woes-suicide-rate-highest">http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/dec/18/greek-woes-suicide-rate-highest</a>				National
09/01/12	<i>78 year old man sets himself on fire and dies in island of Lefkada</i>	78 year old man sets himself on fire and dies in island of Lefkada.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2012/01/10/little-stories-from-imf-run-greece-78-year-old-man-sets-himself-alight-and-dies-from-his-wounds-in-the-island-of-lefkada/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2012/01/10/little-stories-from-imf-run-greece-78-year-old-man-sets-himself-alight-and-dies-from-his-wounds-in-the-island-of-lefkada/</a>				Local
17/01/12	<i>Independent and self-organised unions demonstrate in Athens</i>	Demonstration in Athens with independent and newly formed self-organised unions, inspired by recent action by steel workers.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2012/01/17/athens-sees-its-first-city-wide-strike-as-workers-begin-to-break-away-from-the-control-of-reformist-trade-unions/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2012/01/17/athens-sees-its-first-city-wide-strike-as-workers-begin-to-break-away-from-the-control-of-reformist-trade-unions/</a>				Local
27/01/12	<i>Unregistered soup-kitchens outlawed</i>	Health minister issues decree forbidding unregistered organisations from running soup kitchens - many of which have opened since crisis began to deal with increasing homelessness and poverty.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2012/01/27/the-government-attacks-to-the-free-soup-kitchens/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2012/01/27/the-government-attacks-to-the-free-soup-kitchens/</a>				National
27/01/12	<i>Greece's creditors to take 50% cut, Troika demands for further austerity measures</i>	Negotiations on deal where Greece's creditors (including national pension funds) take 50% cut on bonds in exchange for cash and new bonds. Deal stalled by EU ministers and Troika who demand further austerity cuts.	<a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/01/24/us-eurozone-ministers-idUSTRE80L10520120124">http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/01/24/us-eurozone-ministers-idUSTRE80L10520120124</a>	<a href="http://www.telegraph.co.uk/finance/financialcrisis/9055437/Greece-nears-debt-deal-with-banks-but-EU-clash-looms.html">http://www.telegraph.co.uk/finance/financialcrisis/9055437/Greece-nears-debt-deal-with-banks-but-EU-clash-looms.html</a>			Global

06/02/12	<i>Health workers take over and run Kilkis hospital</i>	Health workers take over and run Kilkis hospital independently stating long lasting problems with national health system will not be resolved.	<a href="http://greekleftreview.wordpress.com/2012/02/06/greek-hospital-now-under-workers-control/#more-2101">http://greekleftreview.wordpress.com/2012/02/06/greek-hospital-now-under-workers-control/#more-2101</a>				Local
07/02/12	<i>PM Papademos meets with Troika to discuss new austerity measures</i>	Unelected PM Papademos meets with Troika representatives to discuss new bailout conditions.	<a href="http://www.businessweek.com/news/2012-02-07/greece-troika-work-on-final-rescue-draft-before-leader-talks.html">http://www.businessweek.com/news/2012-02-07/greece-troika-work-on-final-rescue-draft-before-leader-talks.html</a>				Global
07/02/12	<i>24h general strike</i>	24h General strike demonstrations in Athens. Police close Syntagma metro - a usual strategy for crowd control, but reopen it after protests.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2012/02/07/people-take-to-the-streets-syntagma-metro-station-re-opens-after-popular-pressure-emergency-general-strike-underway-against-20-wage-decreases-and-other-shock-doctrine-measures/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2012/02/07/people-take-to-the-streets-syntagma-metro-station-re-opens-after-popular-pressure-emergency-general-strike-underway-against-20-wage-decreases-and-other-shock-doctrine-measures/</a>				Local
08/02/12	<i>Electricity workers lock Minister of Development in his offices</i>	Electricity workers lock Minister of Development in his offices, protesting privatisation of state electricity company DEI.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2012/02/08/the-minister-of-development-locked-in-the-ministry-by-the-union-of-the-public-company-of-electricitydei/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2012/02/08/the-minister-of-development-locked-in-the-ministry-by-the-union-of-the-public-company-of-electricitydei/</a>				Local
08/02/12	<i>Papademos meets Greek coalition party leaders to discuss new austerity measures</i>	Papademos meets with Greek coalition party leaders to discuss new austerity package.	<a href="http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-16941929">http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-16941929</a>				National

10/02/12	<i>Four days of protests and severe clashes during 48h general strike against new austerity measures</i>	Four days of widespread protests, severe clashes and riots as 48h general strike against new austerity measures becomes mass demonstrations across the country. Ministries and local town halls occupied or burnt. Over 40 banks, cinemas, shops and offices set on fire in central Athens.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2012/02/10/people-rise-up-against-the-latest-round-of-austerity-measures-48-hour-general-strike-full-occupied-london-coverage/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2012/02/10/people-rise-up-against-the-latest-round-of-austerity-measures-48-hour-general-strike-full-occupied-london-coverage/</a>	<a href="http://rt.com/news/athens-burn-clashes-riots-145/">http://rt.com/news/athens-burn-clashes-riots-145/</a>			Local
12/02/12	<i>New austerity measures voted through in parliament</i>	Dissent in parliament nevertheless result in Greek MPs voting through new austerity measures.	<a href="http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2012/feb/12/greece-austerity-cuts-euro-bailout">http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2012/feb/12/greece-austerity-cuts-euro-bailout</a>	<a href="http://www.scribd.com/doc/81046399/Memorandum-of-Economic-and-Financial-Policies-February-8">http://www.scribd.com/doc/81046399/Memorandum-of-Economic-and-Financial-Policies-February-8</a>			National
15/02/12	<i>Two workers from Organisation for Council Estates threaten to commit suicide</i>	Two workers from the soon to close Organisation for Council Estates threaten to commit suicide by jumping off of roof of their offices.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2012/02/15/employee-s-of-the-organisation-of-council-estates-are-threatening-to-commit-suicide-jumping-from-the-organisatins-balcony/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2012/02/15/employee-s-of-the-organisation-of-council-estates-are-threatening-to-commit-suicide-jumping-from-the-organisatins-balcony/</a>				Local
21/02/12	<i>EU finance ministers agree new austerity measures for 2<sup>nd</sup> bailout package</i>	EU finance ministers agree new measures as conditions for 2nd bailout of €130bn. "Greece will be placed under permanent surveillance by an increased European presence on the ground." Reuters	<a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/02/21/us-greece-idUSTRE8120HI20120221">http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/02/21/us-greece-idUSTRE8120HI20120221</a>				Global
24/02/12	<i>Greek gov. announces debt swap deal to be made with creditors</i>	Greek gov. announces details of debt swap deal to be made with creditors that would stave off default in March.	<a href="http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2012/feb/24/greece-debt-swap-private-creditors">http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2012/feb/24/greece-debt-swap-private-creditors</a>				Global

01/03/12	<i>Man made redundant holds co-workers hostage after shooting his old boss</i>	Man made redundant holds co-workers hostage after shooting his old boss at factory.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2012/03/01/little-stories-from-imf-run-greece-an-armed-man-holds-hostages-in-the-factory-where-he-used-to-work-until-he-was-made-redundant-a-few-months-ago/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2012/03/01/little-stories-from-imf-run-greece-an-armed-man-holds-hostages-in-the-factory-where-he-used-to-work-until-he-was-made-redundant-a-few-months-ago/</a>				Local
02/03/12	<i>Greek high court rules that enforcing property tax by cutting off electricity is unconstitutional</i>	Greek high court rules that property tax included in electricity bill is constitutional but enforcing the tax by cutting off electricity is unconstitutional.	<a href="http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2012/feb/24/greece-debt-swap-private-creditors">http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2012/feb/24/greece-debt-swap-private-creditors</a>				National
09/03/12	<i>Greek gov. finalises debt swap deal with creditors and further austerity</i>	Greek gov. finalises debt swap deal with creditors and further austerity as part of conditions for 2nd Troika bailout of €130bn.	<a href="http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/business-17308804">http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/business-17308804</a>				Global
13/03/12	<i>Greece legalises reduction of wages on collective agreements</i>	Greece legalises reduction of wages on collective agreements.	<a href="http://www.grreporter.info/en/greece-has-legalized-reduction-wages-collective-agreements/6288">http://www.grreporter.info/en/greece-has-legalized-reduction-wages-collective-agreements/6288</a>				National
14/03/12	<i>Self-organised initiatives spread in Greece, Tutorpool launched</i>	Self-organised initiatives like the potato movement spreads. Organisation for providing free tutoring for children who cannot afford it, Tutorpool, launches in Greece.	<a href="http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/blog/2012/mar/18/greece-breadline-potato-movement-farmers">http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/blog/2012/mar/18/greece-breadline-potato-movement-farmers</a>	<a href="http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/blog/2012/mar/14/greece-breadline-pooling-education-resources">http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/blog/2012/mar/14/greece-breadline-pooling-education-resources</a>			Local
19/03/12	<i>70 year old man shoots in Athen's tax office</i>	70 year old man storms into Athen's tax office shooting a shotgun. No injuries.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2012/03/21/little-stories-from-imf-run-greece-81-year-old-woman-sets-herself-alight-man-drowns-in-the-port-of-piraeus-after-driving-his-car-into-the-sea-70-year-old-man-storms-tax-office-with-a-shotgun/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2012/03/21/little-stories-from-imf-run-greece-81-year-old-woman-sets-herself-alight-man-drowns-in-the-port-of-piraeus-after-driving-his-car-into-the-sea-70-year-old-man-storms-tax-office-with-a-shotgun/</a>				Local

20/03/12	<i>Greek gov. bonds worth €14.5bn mature</i>	Greek gov. bonds worth €14.5bn mature.	<a href="http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/2012/feb/24/eurozone-crisis-live-uk-german-fourth-quarter-gdp">http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/2012/feb/24/eurozone-crisis-live-uk-german-fourth-quarter-gdp</a>				Global
25/03/12	<i>National day turns into mass anti austerity protests</i>	National day turns into mass anti austerity protests.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2012/03/25/day-of-nationalist-celebration-turns-into-spontaneous-anti-memorandum-anti-authoritarian-rampage-as-people-clash-with-police-across-greece/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2012/03/25/day-of-nationalist-celebration-turns-into-spontaneous-anti-memorandum-anti-authoritarian-rampage-as-people-clash-with-police-across-greece/</a>				National
30/03/12	<i>Mass arrests of non-Greek looking people in Athens</i>	Mass arrests of non-Greek looking people in Athens areas.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2012/03/31/nazis-and-police-have-started-a-mass-operation-in-the-centre-of-athens-targeting-people-of-colour-and-antifascists-30-new-detention-centres-to-be-built-by-the-government-in-greece/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2012/03/31/nazis-and-police-have-started-a-mass-operation-in-the-centre-of-athens-targeting-people-of-colour-and-antifascists-30-new-detention-centres-to-be-built-by-the-government-in-greece/</a>				Local
04/04/12	<i>77 year old man, Dimitris Christoulas, shoots and kills himself at Syntagma square</i>	77 year old man, Dimitris Christoulas, shoots himself at Syntagma square in protest against the government leaving this suicide note.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2012/04/04/little-stories-from-imf-run-greece-pensioner-commits-suicide-on-syntagma-square-the-2nd-person-committing-suicide-within-14-hours/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2012/04/04/little-stories-from-imf-run-greece-pensioner-commits-suicide-on-syntagma-square-the-2nd-person-committing-suicide-within-14-hours/</a>				Local
05/04/12	<i>Police close metro at Syntagma square after calls to rally following Christoulas' suicide</i>	Police close metro at Syntagma square after calls to rally following Christoulas' suicide.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2012/04/05/calls-for-rally-at-syntagma-square-again-tonight-at-1800/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2012/04/05/calls-for-rally-at-syntagma-square-again-tonight-at-1800/</a>				Local
06/04/12	<i>Dockworkers on strike, clashes at Athens central bank</i>	Dockworkers on strike after writedowns of bonds affecting their pension fund clash outside Athens central bank.	<a href="http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-17639839">http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-17639839</a>				Local

07/04/12	<i>Day of Christoulas' burial policeman has his clothes forcibly removed</i>	Day of Christoulas' burial people at Syntagma sq forcibly remove clothes of a nearby policeman and hang them at the spot of the suicide.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2012/04/07/people-attack-policeman-in-syntagma-athens-remove-his-clothes-and-place-them-at-the-point-of-the-death-of-dimitris-christoulas/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2012/04/07/people-attack-policeman-in-syntagma-athens-remove-his-clothes-and-place-them-at-the-point-of-the-death-of-dimitris-christoulas/</a>				Local
10/04/12	<i>Pawnshops smashed in Athens neighborhoods Pagrati and Vyronas</i>	7 pawnshops smashed in Athens neighborhoods Pagrati and Vyronas in protest against "black marketeers."	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2012/04/10/7-pawnbroker-shops-smashed-overnight-athens/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2012/04/10/7-pawnbroker-shops-smashed-overnight-athens/</a>				Local
11/04/12	<i>Greek sailors on 48h strike</i>	Greek sailors on 48h strike against the integration of their insurance fund NAT into the new national health care system EOPPY.	<a href="http://www.keeptalkinggreece.com/2012/04/02/greek-seamen-on-strike-apr-10-112012/">http://www.keeptalkinggreece.com/2012/04/02/greek-seamen-on-strike-apr-10-112012/</a>				Local
20/04/12	<i>Video released of Athens police beating up migrant unprovoked</i>	Video released of Athens police beating up migrant unprovoked.	<a href="http://youtu.be/RG4Cf1T8bR4">http://youtu.be/RG4Cf1T8bR4</a>				Local
21/04/12	<i>Left wing activist and school teacher, 45 year old Savas Metoikidis hangs himself</i>	Left wing activist and school teacher, 45 year old Savas Metoikidis hangs himself and leaves long manuscript against austerity measures.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2012/04/22/savas-metoikidis-text-on-the-uprising-of-december-2008/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2012/04/22/savas-metoikidis-text-on-the-uprising-of-december-2008/</a>				Local
06/05/12	<i>PASOK loses major share of votes in elections</i>	Greek elections see Nea Demokratia at 18.85% and Syriza at 16.75% with PASOK losing 65% of their own share and ending third at 13.18%	<a href="http://www.guardian.co.uk/news/datablog/interactive/2012/may/06/greece-elections-results-map">http://www.guardian.co.uk/news/datablog/interactive/2012/may/06/greece-elections-results-map</a>				National
14/05/12	<i>Collective bargaining agreements expire allowing for wage reductions of 32%</i>	Collective bargaining agreements expire allowing for renegotiations and wage reductions of 32%.	<a href="http://www.grreporter.info/en/greece-has-legalized-reduction-wages-collective-agreements/6288">http://www.grreporter.info/en/greece-has-legalized-reduction-wages-collective-agreements/6288</a>				National
15/05/12	<i>Attempts to form national unity government fails, new general elections called</i>	Attempts to form national unity government fails. New general elections called. Fears of Eurozone exit.	<a href="http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2012/may/14/greece-hold-more-coalition-talks">http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2012/may/14/greece-hold-more-coalition-talks</a>				National

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15/05/12	<i>Markets down, Euro at lowest against dollar since Nov 2008</i>	Markets down, Euro at lowest against dollar since Nov 2008.	<a href="http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/2012/may/15/eurozone-crisis-gdp-greek-government-talks#block-46">http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/2012/may/15/eurozone-crisis-gdp-greek-government-talks#block-46</a>				Global
15/05/12	<i>Strikes and protest in Athens</i>	Strikes and protest in Athens.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2012/05/15/strike-of-bookshop-and-publishing-house-workers/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2012/05/15/strike-of-bookshop-and-publishing-house-workers/</a>				Local
16/05/12	<i>Half of police force vote for extreme right party Golden Dawn in elections</i>	Half of police force vote for extreme right party Golden Dawn in elections.	<a href="http://rt.com/news/greek-police-vote-nazis-350/">http://rt.com/news/greek-police-vote-nazis-350/</a>				National
17/05/12	<i>Doctors issue statement refusing Ministry of Health directive to stop treating illegal immigrants</i>	Doctors issue statement refusing Ministry of Health directive to stop treating illegal immigrants. Violent attacks against migrants increasing across all of Greece.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2012/05/17/hospital-doctors-announce-decision-to-ignore-the-ministry-of-health-directive-and-to-continue-treating-undocumented-migrants/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2012/05/17/hospital-doctors-announce-decision-to-ignore-the-ministry-of-health-directive-and-to-continue-treating-undocumented-migrants/</a>				Local
22/05/12	<i>30 year old man killed, some hundreds Golden Dawn members attack abandoned factory housing undocumented migrants</i>	30 year old man killed after which some hundreds Golden Dawn members attack abandoned factory housing undocumented migrants.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2012/05/22/patras-neo-nazis-gather-from-around-greece-and-storm-ex-factory-space-undocumented-migrants-use-for-shelter/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2012/05/22/patras-neo-nazis-gather-from-around-greece-and-storm-ex-factory-space-undocumented-migrants-use-for-shelter/</a>				Local
23/05/12	<i>Golden dawn candidate Themis Skordeli tried in court for stabbing a migrant</i>	Golden dawn candidate Themis Skordeli tried in court for stabbing a migrant in Agios Panteleimonas, Athens.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2012/05/23/justice-the-people-deliver-far-right-politician-pleuris-assaulted-by-people-outside-the-athens-courthouse/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2012/05/23/justice-the-people-deliver-far-right-politician-pleuris-assaulted-by-people-outside-the-athens-courthouse/</a>				Local
07/06/12	<i>Golden Dawn MP Ilias Kassidiaris physically attacks MP on live TV</i>	Golden Dawn MP Ilias Kassidiaris goes into hiding after physically attacking an MP on live TV.	<a href="http://greece.greekreporter.com/2012/06/07/greek-parliament-member-attacks-and-slaps-another-mp-on-tv-video/">http://greece.greekreporter.com/2012/06/07/greek-parliament-member-attacks-and-slaps-another-mp-on-tv-video/</a>				Local

12/06/12	<i>Golden Dawn members attack four Egyptian fishermen</i>	Golden Dawn members break in and attack four Egyptian fishermen, severely injuring one, in area of Perama close to Athens.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2012/06/12/neonazi-thugs-of-the-golden-dawn-break-into-the-house-of-egyptian-fishermen-in-the-working-class-district-of-perama-heavily-injuring-one/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2012/06/12/neonazi-thugs-of-the-golden-dawn-break-into-the-house-of-egyptian-fishermen-in-the-working-class-district-of-perama-heavily-injuring-one/</a>				Local
17/06/12	<i>Nea Demokratia wins elections, closely followed by Syriza and Golden Dawn at 7%</i>	New Greek elections sees pro-austerity New Democracy win closely followed by anti-austerity Syriza. Far right Golden Dawn win 7% of votes.	<a href="http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/greek-election-blog-2012/2012/jun/17/greek-elections-greece-polls-live">http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/greek-election-blog-2012/2012/jun/17/greek-elections-greece-polls-live</a>				National
17/06/12	<i>Relief amongst European elite over Greek election results</i>	European leaders express relief over Greek election results seen as potentially threatening to Euro.	<a href="http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/greek-election-blog-2012/2012/jun/17/greek-elections-greece-polls-live">http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/greek-election-blog-2012/2012/jun/17/greek-elections-greece-polls-live</a>				Global
17/06/12	<i>Following election results Golden Dawn members beat up migrants and Syriza supporters</i>	Following election results Golden Dawn members beat up migrants and Syriza supporters.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2012/06/18/wave-of-anti-migrant-nazi-attacks-hours-after-election-results/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2012/06/18/wave-of-anti-migrant-nazi-attacks-hours-after-election-results/</a>				Local
21/06/12	<i>Greek gov. asks for two year extension from Troika</i>	Greek gov. requests from Troika two year extension of deadline for being self-financed.	<a href="http://www.telegraph.co.uk/finance/financialcrisis/9346979/Greek-govenment-seeks-two-year-extension-to-bailout.html">http://www.telegraph.co.uk/finance/financialcrisis/9346979/Greek-govenment-seeks-two-year-extension-to-bailout.html</a>				Global
02/07/12	<i>Golden Dawn supporters attack migrants at their workplaces</i>	Golden Dawn supporters attack migrants at their workplaces. A dramatic rise in violent attacks on migrants reported from hospitals.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2012/07/02/working-immigrants-threatened-by-pogroms/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2012/07/02/working-immigrants-threatened-by-pogroms/</a>				Local

20/07/12	<i>Strike at steel factory Elliniki Halivourgia raided by riot police.</i>	Strike at steel factory Elliniki Halivourgia that has been ongoing since November 2011 was raided by riot police.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2012/07/10/you-cant-we-can-workers-at-mining-industry-factory-in-northern-greece-vote-for-and-prepare-for-self-management-of-their-factory-victory-to-the-workers/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2012/07/10/you-cant-we-can-workers-at-mining-industry-factory-in-northern-greece-vote-for-and-prepare-for-self-management-of-their-factory-victory-to-the-workers/</a>	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2012/07/20/riot-police-raid-greek-steelworks-factory-arrest-striking-workers-and-break-the-strike/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2012/07/20/riot-police-raid-greek-steelworks-factory-arrest-striking-workers-and-break-the-strike/</a>			Local
25/07/12	<i>Prostitutes in Athens rounded up for enforced HIV tests</i>	Prostitutes in Athens rounded up for enforced HIV tests, publicly named and locked up in national health scare initially naming illegal migrants as perpetrators and then naming HIV positive prostitutes as threat to Greek households.	<a href="http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/the-women-greece-blames-for-its-hiv-crisis-7973313.html">http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/the-women-greece-blames-for-its-hiv-crisis-7973313.html</a>				National
05/08/12	<i>Police launch new operation Xenios Zeus, largest ever mass round up of migrants in Athens</i>	Largest ever mass stop and search and detention of migrants in Athens under Xenios Zeus police operation. More than 6000 migrants detained over two days.	<a href="http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/thousands-of-illegal-immigrants-rounded-up-in-greece-8010219.html">http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/thousands-of-illegal-immigrants-rounded-up-in-greece-8010219.html</a>				Local
06/08/12	<i>Troika visits Greece to review progress with austerity before new instalment</i>	Troika visits Greece to review progress with austerity before new instalment.	<a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/08/05/us-greece-imf-idUSBRE87405A20120805">http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/08/05/us-greece-imf-idUSBRE87405A20120805</a>				Global
12/08/12	<i>Iraqi stabbed and killed in central Athens by four men on motorcycles</i>	Iraqi stabbed and killed in central Athens by four men on motorcycles. Racist motive suspected.	<a href="http://www.huffingtonpost.com/huffwires/20120812/eu-greece-immigrant-murder/">http://www.huffingtonpost.com/huffwires/20120812/eu-greece-immigrant-murder/</a>				Local
13/08/12	<i>Golden Dawn offices set on fire in Athens</i>	Golden Dawn offices set on fire in Athens.	<a href="http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/08/13/greece-golden-dawn-firebombed_n_1773505.html">http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/08/13/greece-golden-dawn-firebombed_n_1773505.html</a>				Local

24/08/12	<i>EU announces delay on new bailout instalment</i>	EU announces decision on new bailout instalment to be delayed until Troika report	<a href="http://www.cnbc.com/id/48787989/Greece_Must_Be_Tackled_PostTroika_Report_Hollande">http://www.cnbc.com/id/48787989/Greece Must Be Tackled PostTroika Report Hollande</a>				Global
25/08/12	<i>Number of migrants temporarily detained reach a total of 11,949 after a month of the Xenios Zeus police operation</i>	Number of migrants temporarily detained reach a total of 11,949 after a month of the internationally condemned Xenios Zeus operation.	<a href="http://www.ekathimerini.com/4dcgi/w_articles_wsite/1_1_25/08/2012_458245">http://www.ekathimerini.com/4dcgi/w_articles_wsite/1_1_25/08/2012_458245</a>	<a href="http://www.athensnews.gr/portal/9/57607">http://www.athensnews.gr/portal/9/57607</a>			Local
06/09/12	<i>ECB announces un-limited buying of troubled gov. bonds</i>	ECB announces un-limited buying of troubled gov. bonds.	<a href="http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/2012/sep/06/debt-crisis-mario-draghi">http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/2012/sep/06/debt-crisis-mario-draghi</a>				Global
10/09/12	<i>Intense clashes in Northern Greece over gold mining by Canadian company</i>	Intense clashes between local residents and police in Northern Greece over the commencement of gold mining by Canadian company Eldorado Gold.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2012/09/10/thousand-slash-with-police-resisting-gold-extraction-in-the-village-of-skouries-in-chalkidiki-northern-greece/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2012/09/10/thousand-slash-with-police-resisting-gold-extraction-in-the-village-of-skouries-in-chalkidiki-northern-greece/</a>				Local
21/09/12	<i>Greek finance minister meets Troika to discuss €12bn cuts as condition for new instalment</i>	Greek finance minister meets Troika to discuss €12bn cuts as condition for new instalment.	<a href="http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/2012/sep/21/eurozone-crisis-italy-monti-leaders-bailouts">http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/2012/sep/21/eurozone-crisis-italy-monti-leaders-bailouts</a>				Global
26/09/12	<i>Greek gov. drafts €12bn worth of austerity cuts in areas of wages, pensions and welfare</i>	Greek gov. drafts €12bn worth of austerity cuts in areas of wages, pensions and welfare, after demand from Troika.	<a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/09/26/us-greece-austerity-idUSBRE88P0HN20120926">http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/09/26/us-greece-austerity-idUSBRE88P0HN20120926</a>				National
26/09/12	<i>General strike</i>	General strike in Greece against new austerity bill sees massive demonstrations in Athens.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2012/09/25/occupied-london-coverage-of-the-september-26-general-strike-live-ticker/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2012/09/25/occupied-london-coverage-of-the-september-26-general-strike-live-ticker/</a>	<a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/09/26/greece-strike-idUSL5E8KQ1BD20120926">http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/09/26/greece-strike-idUSL5E8KQ1BD20120926</a>			Local

28/09/12	<i>Golden dawn members smash up Tanzanian community center in Athens</i>	Golden dawn members smash up Tanzanian community center in Athens.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2012/09/28/tanzanian-community-centre-by-amerikis-america-square-in-athens-vandalized-by-neonazis-immediate-response-with-anti-nazi-demonstration-by-anarchists-migrants-and-people-in-solidarity/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2012/09/28/tanzanian-community-centre-by-amerikis-america-square-in-athens-vandalized-by-neonazis-immediate-response-with-anti-nazi-demonstration-by-anarchists-migrants-and-people-in-solidarity/</a>				Local
30/09/12	<i>Anti-fascist demonstrators arrested and tortured by police</i>	Anti-fascist demonstration around Agios Panteleimonas, Athens ends with many arrests and injuries. In the days that follow incidents of torture by police is revealed.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2012/09/30/police-attack-the-anti-fascist-motorcycle-demo/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2012/09/30/police-attack-the-anti-fascist-motorcycle-demo/</a>				Local
04/10/12	<i>Workers at Skaramanga shipyard, Athens, clash with police</i>	Workers at Skaramanga shipyard, Athens, protesting 6 months of delayed payments clash with police.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2012/10/04/workers-at-the-skaramangas-shipyard-in-athens-storm-the-ministry-of-defense-farmers-in-heraclion-crete-raid-the-heraclion-airport-as-tension-ahead-of-the-voting-of-new-austerity-cuts-intensifies/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2012/10/04/workers-at-the-skaramangas-shipyard-in-athens-storm-the-ministry-of-defense-farmers-in-heraclion-crete-raid-the-heraclion-airport-as-tension-ahead-of-the-voting-of-new-austerity-cuts-intensifies/</a>				Local
08/10/12	<i>18 members of Public Electricity Company union arrested at occupation</i>	18 members of Public Electricity Company union arrested at occupation.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2012/10/08/18-members-of-public-electricity-companys-workers-union-were-arrested-for-occupying-the-centre-of-informatics-of-the-company/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2012/10/08/18-members-of-public-electricity-companys-workers-union-were-arrested-for-occupying-the-centre-of-informatics-of-the-company/</a>				Local
09/10/12	<i>Evidence of torture of anti-fascist demonstrators while detained by police emerge</i>	Evidence of torture of anti-fascist demonstrators while detained by police emerge.	<a href="http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2012/oct/09/greek-antifascist-protesters-torture-police">http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2012/oct/09/greek-antifascist-protesters-torture-police</a>				Local

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09/10/12	<i>Angela Merkel visits Greece</i>	German PM Angela Merkel visits Greece and is greeted with large protests.	<a href="http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/2012/oct/09/eurozone-crisis-angela-merkel-visits-greece">http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/2012/oct/09/eurozone-crisis-angela-merkel-visits-greece</a>	<a href="http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/2012/oct/09/eurozone-crisis-angela-merkel-visits-greece">http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/2012/oct/09/eurozone-crisis-angela-merkel-visits-greece</a>			National
18/10/12	<i>65-year old demonstrator dies during clashes</i>	65-year old demonstrator dies during clashes and teargas as people go on strike in Athens.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2012/10/18/65-year-old-xenophon-lougaris-dies-during-todays-general-strike-demonstration-in-athens-heart-failure-following-tear-gas-inhaling-flagged-as-most-probable-cause-of-death/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2012/10/18/65-year-old-xenophon-lougaris-dies-during-todays-general-strike-demonstration-in-athens-heart-failure-following-tear-gas-inhaling-flagged-as-most-probable-cause-of-death/</a>	<a href="http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/2012/oct/18/eurozone-crisis-eu-summit-greece-strike#block-50800186c0e361310bc6d167">http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/2012/oct/18/eurozone-crisis-eu-summit-greece-strike#block-50800186c0e361310bc6d167</a>			Local
28/10/12	<i>Journalist arrested in Athens after publishing 'Lagarde list' of tax evaders</i>	Journalist arrested in Athens after publishing 'Lagarde list' of tax evaders.	<a href="http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-20116548">http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-20116548</a>				National
03/11/12	<i>Egyptian worker tortured by employer</i>	Walid, an Egyptian worker kidnapped tortured by employer for 18 hours in Greek island Salamina, barely escaping alive.	<a href="http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/world/2012/11/13/1224326523978.html">http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/world/2012/11/13/1224326523978.html</a>	<a href="http://news.radiobubble.gr/2012/11/walids-story.html">http://news.radiobubble.gr/2012/11/walids-story.html</a>			Local
06/11/12	<i>48h general strike</i>	48h general strike in Greece against new austerity measures being voted on in parliament.	<a href="http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/video/2012/nov/06/48-hour-strike-under-way-greece-video">http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/video/2012/nov/06/48-hour-strike-under-way-greece-video</a>				Local
07/11/12	<i>Greek parliament approves new austerity measures</i>	Greek parliament approves new austerity measures in order to release €13.5bn while still waiting for a delayed instalment of €31.5bn since August.	<a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/11/07/us-greece-idUSBRE8A61CZ20121107">http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/11/07/us-greece-idUSBRE8A61CZ20121107</a>				National
11/11/12	<i>Greek parliament votes in 2013 budget</i>	Greek parliament votes in 2013 budget including heavy austerity measures required to receive new instalment.	<a href="http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/2012/nov/11/greece-2013-budget-vote">http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/2012/nov/11/greece-2013-budget-vote</a>				National
12/11/12	<i>Troika agrees to two year extension of financial relief but once again delays decision on new instalment</i>	Troika agrees to two year extension of financial relief but once again delays report on Greece and EU delays decision on new instalment.	<a href="http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/2012/nov/12/eurozone-crisis-greece-bailout-funds-budget">http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/2012/nov/12/eurozone-crisis-greece-bailout-funds-budget</a>				Global

17/11/12	<i>Annual commemorative demonstration of the polytechnic uprising against the dictatorship</i>	Annual commemorative demonstration of the polytechnic uprising against the dictatorship.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2012/11/17/7000-police-guarding-athens-and-record-number-of-metro-stations-closed-as-november-17-polytechnic-uprising-anniversary-demonstration-set-to-start/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2012/11/17/7000-police-guarding-athens-and-record-number-of-metro-stations-closed-as-november-17-polytechnic-uprising-anniversary-demonstration-set-to-start/</a>
20/11/12	<i>Credit rating agency Moody's downgrades France to AA1</i>	Credit rating agency Moody's downgrades France to AA1.	<a href="http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2012/nov/20/moodys-downgrades-france-credit-rating">http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2012/nov/20/moodys-downgrades-france-credit-rating</a>
21/11/12	<i>IKEA workers on wildcat strike in Greece against redundancies</i>	IKEA workers on wildcat strike in Greece against redundancies.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2012/11/21/ikea-workers-are-on-strike/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2012/11/21/ikea-workers-are-on-strike/</a>
26/11/12	<i>Long delayed agreement between IMF and EU about new instalment approved with new conditions</i>	Long delayed agreement between IMF and EU about new instalment: Delayed instalment of €31bn + €13bn to be paid in three tranches with new conditions. Greece to reduce debt/GDP ratio to 124% by 2020.	<a href="http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/2012/nov/26/eurozone-crisis-greece-aid-eurogroup-meeting#block-50b3ef7d95cb3640bc6e4776">http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/2012/nov/26/eurozone-crisis-greece-aid-eurogroup-meeting#block-50b3ef7d95cb3640bc6e4776</a>
06/12/12	<i>Extensive riots in Exarheia on the anniversary of the killing of Grigoropoulos</i>	Extensive riots in Athens neighborhood of Exarheia on the anniversary of the 2008 killing of the student Alexandros Grigoropoulos.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2012/12/06/extended-riots-in-exarheia-four-years-after-the-killing-of-alexandros-grigoropoulos-by-police/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2012/12/06/extended-riots-in-exarheia-four-years-after-the-killing-of-alexandros-grigoropoulos-by-police/</a>
16/12/12	<i>Eurostat report states one third of Greek population in poverty</i>	Eurostat release report revealing 3.4 million, a third of Greek population living below poverty line.	<a href="http://www.ekathimerini.com/4dcgi/w_articles_wsite_1_1_03/12/2012_472690">http://www.ekathimerini.com/4dcgi/w_articles_wsite_1_1_03/12/2012_472690</a>
19/12/12	<i>Amnesty: conditions of migrants in Greece is a humanitarian disaster</i>	Amnesty releases report stating conditions of migrants in Greece is a humanitarian disaster.	<a href="http://euobserver.com/justice/118590">http://euobserver.com/justice/118590</a>
20/12/12	<i>One of Athens oldest squatted social centres, Villa Amalias evicted by police</i>	One of Athens oldest squatted social centres, Villa Amalias evicted by police.	<a href="http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2012/12/28/police-raid-villa-amalias-updates/">http://blog.occupiedlondon.org/2012/12/28/police-raid-villa-amalias-updates/</a>