PARTISPACE

SPACES AND STYLES OF PARTICIPATION

Non formal and informal possibilities of young people's participation in European cities

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Claiming spaces and struggling for recognition: Youth participation through local case studies

Janet Batsleer, Kathrin Ehrensperger, Demet Lüküslü, Berrin Osmanoğlu, Alexandre Pais, Christian Reutlinger, Patricia Roth, Annegret Wigger, Dominic Zimmermann

Manchester Metropolitan University, United Kingdom; Yeditepe University, Turkey and FHS St.Gallen, University of Applied Sciences, Switzerland

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Contact details

Prof. Dr. Andreas Walther

Professor for education, social pedagogy and youth welfare
Goethe University of Frankfurt/Main
Institut für Sozialpaedagogik und Erwachsenenbildung
Theodor-W.-Adorno-Platz 6, PEG
D-60629 Frankfurt am Main

a.walther@em.uni-frankfurt.de

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1. INTRODUCTION

"The crisis consists precisely in the fact that the old is dying and the new cannot be born; in this interregnum a great variety of morbid symptoms appear."

(Antonio Gramsci, *The Prison Notebooks*)

The PARTISPACE research reported on here occurred between September 2015 and October 2017 and involved all the teams working on the project. During this period, teams undertook a detailed mapping of formal, non-formal and informal activities, settings, actors, infrastructures and issues of youth participation in eight major European cities; followed by an in-depth analysis of youth participation in different settings and the reconstruction of local constellations of youth participation and participation biographies. For the first phase of the project – the mapping – each city team carried out 20 or more expert interviews (EI) with key persons in the urban context; 10 or more group discussions (GD) with a diverse range of young people; the setting up of local advisory groups including policy makers, practitioners and young people; numerous city walks as well as other data collection strategies (participation in youth events, online monitoring, exploration of literature about the city among others). For the second phase each city developed 6 in depth-case studies of practices, taking advantage of the data collected and contacts already developed during phase one, and applying an ethnographic approach which generated rich and "thick" data about the different dynamics affecting youth participation in each city. Concomitant with the ethnographic approach, each city team undertook 12 or more biographic interviews, which provided the material to reconstruct 12 participation biographies by city. The analysis of all this data, which followed the general indications of grounded theory and qualitative multilevel analysis, allowed for the elaboration of local constellations of youth participation in each city. The headlines of these local constellations are reported in section 3.4 of this report and linked to the development of cross-cutting themes.

This report therefore synthetises this work in a description and initial multi-site clustering and thematic analysis of the research findings. In undertaking this synthesis the research team has drawn on the eight national reports, direct transcriptions of the data from each city; the two guidelines documents which provided the broad research instruments; the templates for summaries which enabled sharing of research findings; the online and consortium discussions which provided for a development of shared understandings and coding of data as it emerged.

PARTISPACE aims to reconstruct how and where young people participate differently across social milieus and youth cultural scenes across eight European cities. Crucially, we have been concerned with what *styles* of participation they prefer, develop and apply, and in which *spaces* participation takes place. This relates to the identification and analysis of potential participatory activities as well as related styles and spaces, in addition to the identification of articulations to social milieu, youth cultural scenes, city and possibly other case specificities. A considerable part of the work has led to the production of detailed descriptions of these settings (including activities, actors and issues). This material was coded and analysed in each city using methods inspired by grounded theory and combined with the analysis of the

expert interviews, group discussions and biographic interviews to form the eight national case study reports. Guidelines for the development of the city case studies were elaborated and shared across the consortium from the earliest stages of the project. The Gothenburg and Manchester consortium meetings in 2016 were largely occupied with sharing and aligning approaches to ethnographic research and the coding of data. Whilst the first guidelines included general descriptions of grounded theory and ethnography, the second guidelines were more specific and focussed on the fieldwork that characterised the second phase as well as on the coding of the respective data.

When deficits in youth participation and/or the benefits of youth participation are the object of policy initiatives, including 'voice' based initiatives in education, most of the evidence is taken from large scale social surveys in which indicators such as voting and volunteering are used. Such surveys were the focus of analysis in earlier PARTISPACE reports, which also considered the local and national policy contexts. Once the comparative studies of national contexts and of European survey data were completed[1], the following questions were raised as matters for further enquiry. On the one hand, policies seemed to give a rather rhetorical and tokenistic reference to youth participation in the cities and countries involved in PARTISPACE. Programmes and policies of youth participation shared an instrumental and ideological meaning. Very often, in what were described as formal programmes, youth participation seemed to mean teaching young people to participate in a specific, institutionalized way once they are adult citizens (democracy education). It also seemed to mean participating in activities which have already been defined and set up (normally by adults and/or institutional representatives) rather than initiating own activities, including the initiation of political protest. Furthermore, in the context of the activating welfare state, the rhetoric of participation increasingly serves to redefine responsibilities for life chances in terms self-entrepreneurship.

On the other hand, however, the earlier research in the project noted the repercussions of unequal living conditions (unemployment and poverty) as well as of different structures of welfare, education and youth policy. For example, young people enjoy broader options for choice in Sweden and Switzerland. At the same time, in Bulgaria or Turkey youth policy structures are currently developed through EU programmes and funds, for which a participatory agenda is a condition for receiving funds. In these cases, although reference to participation shares the general ambivalence discussed above, at the same time an increase of possibilities of expression and experimentations of young people can be witnessed, and this, in Turkey, in the context of what are perceived as life threatening risks in terms of some overt expressions of political dissent.

In terms of the further research there were also some key groups which the research teams wished to engage: especially those young people who were not already attached to groupings and we wondered whether there were variations in the national meanings associated with

1 These reports are available at www.partispace.eu.

such ‘failures’ to participate. We wondered too whether international declarations and European frameworks concerning children and young people’s rights to participation were to be found differently present in different national contexts and to what extent we would find evidence concerning EU discourses at grass roots level. In particular we were interested in how discourses of activation and self-entrepreneurship were present or not across a range of spaces. Discourse analysis and secondary analysis revealed the ambiguities of participation. We wondered how these ambiguities might be reflected in concrete practices and in biographies of young people. Ambiguities such as an emphasis on being there/taking part in public life *versus* involvement in decision-making; on self-directed initiatives *versus* involvement in adults‘ spaces; on participation in terms of debate *versus* participation in terms of action; on engagement motivated by individual and/or private aims *versus* engagement for public and/or collective aims (but what makes issues public?); on political participation *versus* social participation (but where does the political begin).

These questions are returned to in various iterations in the presentation of findings (Section 3. of the report), and then finally in the conclusion of the report.
That there is a crisis of the old forms of democracy is certain and made very evident in the material presented in this report. This has of course been analysed previously extensively and the significance of the material here has been thought about by political, educational and social philosophers whose work informs the thinking of members of this research team. Here we mention Gramsci and his interpreter Stuart Hall first of all, whose conceptualisation of the `conjunctural’ can guide a reading of the evidence in this report. That there are multiple crises facing Europe and that there is a desire to resolve them in a way which does not lead to fundamental shifts in power relationships was Gramsci’s and later Hall’s starting point. *How* struggles over the resolution of crises occur must be attended to conjuncturally: which means that what is at issue for those involved in the current moment must be attended to. This then is a powerful reason for considering the empirical evidence presented here. Interestingly the evidence of the ethnographies does not contain only ‘morbid symptoms’ but many signs of life in forms of civil society and relationality which fly in the face of the fragmentations and isolations of fuelled by neoliberal economics.

There is a sense throughout the studies that the forms of representative democracy into which many educational institutions and existing political systems seek to induct their young people are struggling; they seem to constrain where other processes seem to enable and support; they limit and control. They are easily manipulated by politicians for their own ends. On the other hand, desires for forms of sociality and contributions to the common good are alive. Here the relation between a rejection of existing forms of politics and the misrecognition by many authorities of participation in social spaces as ‘non-participation’ takes the form of a struggle, but one which is a kind of mutual silent refusal of recognition.

It is in this context that a sense of the ‘politics of the social’ emerges here. Rejecting the classic liberal separation between the public and the private and social spheres (wherein is found economic life, education, and family life) many accounts here recall the work of Michel Foucault in which a micropolitics is found even in the most “anti-political” spaces.

Sometimes this "politics of the social" is full articulated. At other times it is implicit and the presence of "politics" is denied even when the spaces are closed down by the authorities or named as "criminal." These micropolitical patterns which take similar forms across the eight cities enable an analysis which suggests how powerfully the local urban and the global intersect, in ways which render problematic and troubled in all cases national forms of belonging. These comparisons and interconnections are we believe apparent in the fact that each of the clusters and themes presented here is cross-national in form.

The extent to which "the young" are present in this report as potential saviours of democracy and the extent to which they are present as disenfranchised as a result of age, or effectively disenfranchised not through age but through a disengagement from politics which they share with others of all ages is also a theme of overarching significance. The trope that "the young are our future" has many rhetorical purposes and is mobilised, negotiated and resisted in spaces throughout this study. Honneth (1996) has pointed out that early theorisations of democracy (for example by Kant or Rousseau or Locke or Wollstonecraft) were accompanied by theorisations of education and that these two spheres are now separated. What sort of learning and inter-generational relation is present in the cases has therefore become a theme of significance.

Summed up in brief, this study shows that:

- The spaces and places of participation and belonging may be social and cultural as much as or more than political in the sense that "politics" is understood in representative democracy.
- They nonetheless participate in a "politics of the social". This is sometimes repressed and often times made marginal.
- The meaning of "being young" and a European/global citizen in those spaces needs to be understood in each case; it may not differ significantly from the meanings which other older citizens experience, and at the same time it may indeed differ, especially in relation to the articulation of power and to enfranchisement.

These issues are explored throughout the report, led by the rich empirical data which has been gathered in the PARTISPACE cities. Research findings are presented in four key sub-sections. Firstly, a report of the mapping and contextualising period; secondly the clustering of cases; thirdly the clustering of biographical narratives; fourthly a presentation of the local constellations which were introduced first in national reports. These form the more substantial section of the project – Section 3. Presentation and Discussion of Findings – which is preceded by Section 2. Where the methods and methodology used in the study are presented. From the presentation of findings cross-cutting themes emerge which are discussed in – Section 4. The report finishes with a summarising conclusion – Section 5. – where we address some of PARTISPACE's major questions.

2. METHODS AND METHODOLOGY

2.1. OVERALL APPROACH

The methodological approach was based on an empirical analysis of different individual and collective practices, their biographical and cultural relevance, their social contextualisation, and their political recognition. As a way to start the field work, we used the terms formal, non-formal and informal to refer to clusters, activities, spaces, milieus, as well as to the qualities of the relationship established between young people, and between these and other adults and institutions. "Formal" may refer to that which is institutionalised and based on inherited forms of democratic participation; where non-formal may refer to that which is facilitated and led but negotiated in which young people have significant influence over the form and nature of the participation; and informal, where the activities and participation are entirely self-directed and organised, and not necessarily labelled as participation. Typically therefore, formal settings might include a school council; a school classroom; a Youth Council at City level; an election for a Youth Parliament; a Student Union in a University. A non-formal setting might include a youth arts group; a youth sports group; an open youth club; a social work based advocacy project. An informal setting might include a graffiti group; a group of skaters; an online feminist network; a fundraising charity flash mob or other large-scale or small-scale activity; a group of autonomous activists; a refugee football league. This differentiation guaranteed that we approached a diversity of groups with different organisational logics. However, we soon realised the artificiality present in the distinction between formal, non-formal and informal, as some groups evidence a fluidity between these three different categories, making it difficult to fully insert them into a well-defined category. For instance, some of the groups, although apparently following a formal structure, end up developing activities that are informal or non-formal. This offered the opportunity to study the intersection between levels of formality within a same group.

Data collection was designed in a way that allowed for young people to co-define what participation is from their perspective, thus avoiding the imposition of pre-established forms of participation. The aim was not to steer young people into a certain kind of participation (that we might think is the best), but to investigate spaces and clusters of participation which may or may not be recognised as such by the entities or authorities that regulate youth. The fieldwork was thus characterised by an openness that allowed finding "unknown" modes of participation that might not be considered "legitimate". This openness, which involves a close working relationship with young people, contributed to a reformulation of what is understood by "participation" – a term in itself highly contested and many times not recognised by young people as a descriptor of their engagement (as we will explore later in this document).

The first step of the research involved a mapping process, where over 160 expert interviews, 80 group discussions and city walks with young people, and 8 local advisory groups were established. Researchers involved in the fieldwork kept a research journal used to document the research process, including notes and impressions taken during the mapping, which were later used to elaborate more structured expanded fieldnotes that complemented the data

gathered through the expert interviews and group discussions. The conduct of one or two biographic interviews allowed for a reconstruction of participatory biographies. Finally, the analysis of this material followed a grounded theory approach through which codes, concepts and categories were generated in city teams and have been used for interpretation and presentation of the main findings. The results of the work developed by each city team are documented in the eight national reports elaborated for internal circulation. These were discussed both in the online platform and during the international consortium meeting in Bologna. The table below resumes the amount of cases, expert interviews, group discussions and biographic interviews carried out in each city.

Table 1: sample of interviewees per local case study

CITY	EXPERT INTERVIEWS	GROUP DISCUSSIONS	CASE STUDIES	BIOGRAPHIC INTERVIEWS
BOLOGNA	20	10	6	12
ESKIŞEHIR	30	7	6	12
FRANKFURT	26	17	6	20
GOTHENBURG	26	11	6	10
MANCHESTER	21	13	6	12
PLOVDIV	21	17	6	13
RENNES	22	13	6	14
ZURICH	22	12	6*	12

* Plus one additional one on Boogie-Woogie dancers that due to time constraints was not finished by the time of the analysis but completed only afterwards, as mentioned in the annex of WP4 Zurich report.

In order to guide the methodological process and to guarantee a certain level of comparability between the different cities two sets of Guidelines were produced, as well as templates to support both the data collection (interviews, group discussions, fieldnotes, biographic interviews) and the analysis of the data (summaries of the different encounters). These are available in the project's platform, where continuous discussion took place about important methodological decisions that needed to be taken during WP4 work. It was indeed the discussion and in the consortium which established a shared understanding of the possibility of finding connection and similarities as well as differences across the cities and the sites. In this sense, it may be that the term 'multi-site ethnography' is preferable to 'comparative study' here. A more detailed explanation of the criteria guiding the comparison between cities is presented in section 3 of this report.

2.2. APPROACHING THE FIELDWORK: MAPPING AND SAMPLING

The first phase aimed at producing a social mapping of actors, infrastructures, activities and issues of youth participation against the background of each city. The concept of mapping is situated within human and social geography or ethnography, and refers to giving an overview of and exploring the construction of territories through social relationships and practice.

Cohen (2014) has suggested a practice of mapping as a way of understanding young people (and others) experience of the city by getting informants to make maps, take photos and go on video walkabouts. Most of the city teams used maps in their encounters with experts and groups of young people to fuel the discussion on issues related with youth participation; others used films, image and videos as a way to produce meaning about the way young people live their cities. These (visual) elements complemented the textual elements that constituted most of the project's data.

For the purpose of mapping we conducted expert interviews with key persons like members of the municipal council, representatives of local authorities, youth workers, principals of secondary schools and representatives of youth organisations, or youth activists in each partner city; group discussions and city walks with a diverse range of young people in different life conditions (in schools, universities, vocational training, second chance schemes and youth centres, among others), which contributed to an overview of spaces and clusters of participation in the urban context. Furthermore, the establishment of local advisory groups composed of representatives from different participation settings including young people, with the task of accompanying the local research process, provided access to key actors and settings, and served as a forum to discuss emerging issues, trends and conflicts.

While expert interviews, city walks, group discussions and local advisory groups constituted the privileged way in which teams engaged with in the fieldwork, other strategies were also used. This diversity of approaches is important because it adapted the data collection methods to the specificity of each city and team of researchers enabling richer accounts to be generated. In some cities (e.g. Rennes and Manchester), the primary source of information came from the knowledge and network of relations that the researchers have been developing during the years in their cities. Some of the researchers in the project have a long history of working with local groups of young people, and this information was important in identifying and giving access to experts and groups of young people. In other cases (e.g. Eskişehir and Zurich) because the research teams were not based in the cities teams started by using internet resources to create a list of potential sites to be investigated; a review of studies of youth-related issues concerning the city; and searched for books (novels and non-fiction books) from and about the city (published in the last 15 years). Other teams also used online monitoring (blogs, Facebook groups, and forms of online sharing were important in particular to communities who struggled with stigma and acute marginality) as a first approach to the mapping of the field; as well as undertaking exploratory observations of the field through participation in events reported or organised by young people (e.g. demonstrations, protests, sport events, arts exhibitions). The Rennes team used students (Masters and PhD) as a resource to organise the local advisory board, to map students' initiatives and to produce a film. The Gothenburg team used the local advisory group as a privileged platform to enter into the field, by gathering a set of people with knowledge about and linkage to different kinds of youth participatory settings, which then provided the necessary information to enter into the field by contacting relevant groups and experts.

All teams followed a snowball approach to sampling, where a small pool of initial informants were invited to nominate, through their social networks, other participants who meet the eligibility criteria and could potentially contribute to the study. As such, an important aspect of the Expert Interviews, the Group Discussions and the Local Advisory Board was to provide information about other people and groups that researchers might not be aware. It was crucial to ensure a diversity of contacts by widening the profile of persons involved in the snowballing exercise. Thus, since we were interested in a broad scope of different clusters and spaces of participation, it was important to look for maximum contrast in the diverse participatory settings (and thus also among experts and group discussion participants) with regard to pre-established sampling criteria. On the other hand, minimum contrast was used when more knowledge on specific dimensions needed to be acquired.

The sampling of the experts and the groups of young people followed a set of criteria (documented in the 1st Guidelines) which aimed to create a diverse sample which included classic and representative participation settings as well as well as access to spaces and clusters of participation that might not be immediately described or narrated as youth participations. A general point of departure was the level of institutionalisation within which experts and groups of young people operate (formal, non-formal and informal). The aim was to achieve diversity in terms of levels of formality, both in the ways the groups operated within themselves and in the relation with other groups and social institutions. Secondly, we included in the sample emerging forms of youth participation by accessing groups of young people whose activities transgress classic representative forms of participation. This was possible by following a logic of saturation, where we continued to gather exploratory data until we received new and unknown information. Finally, there was a set of general criteria that were used to guarantee diversity in terms of:

a) The socioeconomic living conditions, gender, age, mental and bodily conditions (e.g. disabilities), participation capacity, religion, sexuality, family conditions;

b) The respective topic the activities aim at or are related to (e.g. sports, arts, education, religion, politics, activism;);

c) The expected group characteristics such as homogeneity/heterogeneity of groups, decision making structure, and accessibility;

d) The expected spatial relation of participation activity (very local, city, virtual, in public/private, centre/periphery, etc.).

e) The nature of the relationships between the groups and the local institutions (municipality, neighbourhood committee, local educational system and university);

f) The positioning of the groups' practices and discourses on the continuum establishment/anti-establishment.

2.2.1. EXPERT INTERVIEWS

Expert interviews were conducted with key persons such as members of the municipal council, representatives of local authorities, youth workers, principals of secondary schools and representatives of youth organisations, or youth activists in each partner city. Some of the experts had professional roles but we also interviewed persons with key roles in a more informal way, for example leading figures of informal social movements. The expert interviews were very useful in understanding the framework of the local situation. They gave us much information on national, regional and local policies, giving voice to elected people, civil servants, youth and social workers, and different kinds of volunteers. They also permitted us to understand the difficulties in implementing these policies and the limits of public action. Here the interviews with youth and social workers were particularly relevant. The interviews with youth organisations were also meaningful in offering the chance to informants to review their own perceptions of the effects of these policies on the field. In addition, all the interviewees gave their own definition of youth participation and their points of view on the ways it is implemented at the local level.

There was a set of guideline questions that researchers used to guide the interviews. However, these were only indicative, and were not used to break the flow of the conversation or inhibit the interviewee from addressing other issues that were not predicted beforehand by the researcher. As such, the guidelines facilitated the address to the topic whilst at the same time providing the interviewees necessary discursive space in which they could reflect upon issues related to youth participation not formulated in the interview schedule. The researcher (or researchers) conducting the interview also noted reflections and statements that addressed topics not covered by the interview guide. Some teams used maps of the cities to organize the interviews, asking the expert to identify and locate youth participation settings, events and experiences s/he has mentioned.

2.2.2. GROUP DISCUSSIONS AND CITY WALKS

During the mapping phase, group discussions and city walks with a diverse range of young people in different life conditions (in schools, universities, vocational training, second chance schemes and youth centres) contributed to get an overview over spaces and clusters of participation in the urban context. Group discussions are conversations with groups of individuals which are preferably pre-existing rather than artificially composed. As researchers we were interested in how individuals construct issues collectively in conversation rather than responding individually. Therefore questions are introduced aimed at stimulating conversation among participants (cf. Barbour & Kitzinger, 1998; Bohnsack, 2010). In almost all of the cities, city walks were also conducted, as part of an ethnographic method enabling young people to relate individual and collective experiences to concrete spaces (cf. Kessl & Reutlinger, 2010).

The main aim of the group discussions was to provide an initial understanding of what might be the clusters and the spaces of participation that characterise each city. Because it can be difficult to get in touch with informal groups of young people, some city teams decided to first organise groups discussions with young people participating in formal or non-formal

spaces and work with them to reach informal spaces of youth participation. Whenever possible, there were two researchers present in each group discussion. An experienced researcher who served as the moderator, and a second researcher who took notes and observed the dynamic of the group. In a group discussion, the interaction between the members of the group is very important. When group discussions are successful, they are extremely dynamic. Interactions among and between group members stimulate discussions in which one group member reacts to comments made by another. This group dynamism has been described as a "synergistic group effect". The synergy produced allows one participant to draw from another or to brainstorm collectively with other members of the group. One important aspect that we gave attention to refers to the level of participation of each of the participants in a group discussion. There is always the possibility of dominant personalities overpowering the group's responses and it is the task of the moderator to be active so that the role of the dominant personalities are minimised. It is also very important that the moderator encourages the quiet members to participate.

City walks offered one of the forms that the focus groups/discussion groups could take. It is an ethnographic method enabling young people to tie their experiences with concrete places in the city. Moreover, such walks served as a stimulus to describe spatial practices, potentially also practices that are hardly ever verbalised and would therefore probably not become explicit in the other interviews or group discussions. During the walks we asked young people to lead us to, show us and explain us their relevant physical sites. By following young people on their paths, we were able to retrace their modes of use of urban space and reconstruct the different meanings, relevancies and functions city spaces have for young people. The actual paths young people take and things they talk about during the city walks reflect these meanings, social norms as well as individual and collective values. 'Space' thus encompasses more than the sites the young people showed us.

All city teams conducted at least 10 group discussions or city walks, which were fully translated and transcribed. As with the expert interviews, there was a set of indicative questions and themes (from the 1st Guidelines document) guiding the group discussion. The data gathered during these encounters was determinant in mapping the field of youth participation in each city from the perspective of young people (as opposed to the perspective of the experts), as well as in providing the data and the connections for the selection of the final 6 case studies and for the ethnographic study that characterises phase 2 of the work.

2.2.3. LOCAL ADVISORY BOARD

The local advisory boards had different roles in different cities. In the case of Gothenburg it served as the first entrance into the mapping exercise. In other cities, it was only established after some initial mapping have been carried out. The two main aims of the advisory boards were to help the research team in identifying forms of youth participation within each city, and after the process of mapping was concluded, to constitute a forum for the discussion and study of some of the project's results.

2.3. CHOOSING THE FINAL SIX CASE STUDIES

The mapping phase helped the teams to select within each city 6 representative case studies which were further studied during phase two, where a qualitative case study and ethnographic approach was undertaken. The discussion about the criteria for selecting the final six case studies occupied a significant part of the discussions of the group during two consortium meetings, as well as the discussion that took place on the project's platform. A set of indicative criteria for the selection of the groups was included in the 2nd Guidelines document. In a first stage, as mentioned above, it was important to guarantee that the three levels of formality were present: formal, informal and non-formal. As such, a balance between formal, non-formal and informal forms of youth participation was a main criteria when selecting the final cases. However, many of the groups we engaged with work at the boundaries of these categorisations, and other criteria were needed. These criteria emerged from the previous exploratory/mapping phase, where a first contact with the groups allowed us to understand their internal dynamics as well as the different forms of participation that characterise the different groups. Important features to consider when choosing the final six cases were the accessibility in terms of skills/commitment necessary to do group activities (from low to high) and the outreach/orientation of the group (from group oriented to society oriented activities); the social relevance given to the activities of the group by mainstream society and the conforming or non-conforming nature of those activities; whether the activities were linked to a public or a private claim/expression/contestation and whether they happened regularly, occasionally or episodically. These initial features allowed teams to estimate the diversity of each city case and to detect blind spots, which eventually led to further discussions within each team and in the consortium (on the ground of the criteria formality, accessibility, relationship to research questions, important topics to be covered) and to invitations to look for further cases.

In all cities, the selection of case studies for the second phase was done on the ground of the mapping conducted in the first phase. The great majority of the final six case studies (per city) is formed by groups with whom teams already had a first contact during phase 1 (mostly through group discussions or city walks). In some cases (e.g. Zurich), new groups were included based on their potential to broaden the sample and possibly reveal new expressions of participation.

Wherever possible, we decided to include in each city sample at least one group that has a strong connection with municipal or other significant civic institutions (e.g. a youth council, a student union, a political party youth branch). However, in some cities this was not possible due to the absence of these formal youth structures (e.g. Bologna, Eskişehir, Rennes). In these cases, we included other group with some degree of institutionalisation to guarantee a level of comparability.

Altogether, the six groups were chosen as to reflect the existing variety of participation settings in each city, including:

a) The nature of the activity that galvanises the group (e.g. sports, arts, political activism, online participation, charity, humanitarian aid, mobility and migration,);

b) Political diversity (where the group implicitly or explicitly situates itself in the political spectrum);

c) The specificity of the city (for instance, in student cities it was important to have in the sampling a group connected with the university);

d) The public versus private nature of the group's activities;

e) The geographic structuration of the city (centre versus periphery/advantaged areas versus disadvantageous areas);

f) The use of digital tools and virtual spaces;

g) Conventional and unconventional modes of participation;

h) A balance between groups with whom the city team we had quite close links and relationships of trust and groups we did not know before;

i) The different outreach of the groups and its networking (from group to broader society);

j) The frequency with which the group meets;

Appendix A contains a table with a brief description of the each of the 64 final case studies. Below a table with the names of the six case studies per city.

Table 2: Sample of in-depth case studies

Bologna	Eskişehir	Frankfurt	Gothen-burg	Manchester	Plovdiv	Rennes	Zurich
Ultras Centre (UC)	Youth Centre 1 (YC1)	Hoodboys Graffiti Crew (HS)	Formal Youth Organisation (FYO)	Formal Youth Organisation (FYO)	Informal Network for Arts and Debate (CS1)	Formal/Non-formal YOUTH CENTRE	Student Committee
Self-managed Social Centre (SC)	Youth Centre 2 (YC2)	Youth Centre (YCF)	Theatre Group	Social youth (SSSP)	Ecological Organisation (CS2)	Service Organisation (SO)	Youth Job Office (YJO)
Islamic Youth Association (IYA)	Youth branch of Humanitarian NGO (YBN)	Political Cultural Centre (PCC)	Free Sports Association (FSA)	Youth Work (NM)	Youth Section of a Charity Organisation (CS3)	Artistic LaB	Scouts
University Student Network (USN)	Street Musicians (SM)	Youth and Students' Representation (YSR)	The Youth Centre (TYC)	Young Feminist Movement/ Groups (FG)	Student Council at a University (CS4)	DIDA	Street Sports Club
Extreme Sport Centre (ESC)	Local Football Club Fans (LFCF)	Informal "Girls Group" (IGG)	The Youth Group (TYG)	The Box (BOX)	Youth entrepreneurship Foundation (CS5)	NDE	Open Education Collective (OEC)

High School (HS)	Student Initiative Leftist (SIL)	Residential Care Home (RCH)	Dance Group	Music Group (MGM)	Youth Section of a Political Party (CS6)	Web Magazine Endless	Sustainable Food Youth Network

2.4. ETHNOGRAPHY

The second objective is the reconstruction of clusters of participatory practice in formal, non-formal and informal spaces. In order to achieve this goal, an ethnographic approach was taken. Ethnographic case studies aim at reconstructing the evolution, the meaning and structuring effect of practice whether in formal institutions or in non-formal or informal settings. Focussing on practice and hence on interaction, ethnography not only involves interviews or group discussions but also participant observation, documentary analysis and analysis of material culture. The national case studies intended to dig deeper into meanings in different practices by adolescents and young adults that become apparent in the city as well as to eventually verify whether these practices can be understood in terms of participation and what kind of participation. As such, ethnography was used in the project as a cyclic process consisting of field access, data collection, documentation and analysis/interpretation. Each of these steps allowed for a deeper understanding of the field. For instance, an expert interview or the analysis of a group discussion can led to a new access to the field and to the selection of a new case study.

In each city teams, researchers spent variable amounts of time with the six ethnographic sites, participating and documenting their activities through participatory observations, the development of fieldnotes, the use of a research journal documenting the fieldwork, and the realisation of biographic interviews. Because all setting have different temporalities, it was important to do the ethnographic work in different times; during the week, in the evening, in the week-end, during holiday times, final exam periods, etc. Because some of the cases we investigated do not even have a regular site, the city team had to follow them in their activities. In the case of online groups, the ethnography took the form of online documentation of the largest amount possible of information to characterise the dynamics of a particular group. This research was then supplemented by the participation in real life events organised by the group or through the biographic interviews.

In most of the teams, the ethnographic work started from the very beginning of data collection, by establishing a relation with the groups of by gathering information about youth participation in the city through observation, interviews or documental sources. It used both closed (interviews) and more open (fieldnotes) ways of data collection, applied concomitantly. In all the teams, research team meetings were conducted from the very beginning to discuss and code the emerging data. Degrees of participation in participant observation varied. In some cases, the researchers stayed quite neutral and played the roles of exterior objective observers, whilst in others researchers were directly involved in the activity taking place. This was particularly the case with the groups that ended up developing an action research project within PARTISPACE.

In all city teams, the nature of the relationship between researcher and participant substantially changed over time. While at the beginning the relationship was most of the times distant, question-answer type of dialogues were taking place, in time, at least with the regular participants of the setting, a friendship-like relationship was been established, and

dialogues were more like chatting. Regular presence in a similar site gave researchers more familiarity which also changed the perception of all participants and not only regular ones. Even if power relationship between researcher and participants (as well as other actors of the setting) still existed, its nature changed over time.

2.4.1. RESEARCH JOURNAL AND FIELDNOTES

The research journal (developed by all the researchers directly involved in the fieldwork) was a very important tool in documenting the whole process that leads to the data collection (respectively the inscription of data into the field by the ethnographer) as well as supporting the process of data analysis through the elaboration of more substantial fieldnotes. Of particular worth is the documentation of the researcher's actions, thoughts, intuition, impressions, feelings as well as observations that do not necessarily appear in any other document produced during the research. These notes are very important for a future analysis of the data. The research journals provides the researcher with the raw material for the construction of the more elaborated expanded fieldnotes. While the research journal might be composed by more or less lawless notes, taken by the researcher while interacting with young people (trying as much as possible not to disturb interaction and observation, and as much as necessary to allow for comprehensive fieldnotes) or in the aftermath of the encounters, the fieldnotes are more structured, written in a comprehensive and fluent way which can be shared with other researchers. During the ethnographic phase, city teams elaborated numerous fieldnotes or "memos" that were shared and discussed both in the consortium meeting and in the project's platform. This sharing and discussions were crucial in developing and tuning up the coding process, by identifying the most important conceptual categories that needed to be analysed in terms of youth participation.

Additionally, by integrating the notes of the research journal into the analysis of the findings and in the continuous development of the research process, the research journal functioned as a means to guarantee a minimal degree of reflexivity. In other words, the research journal enabled us to reflect on ourselves as researchers as the main medium of interpretation of qualitative data (respectively inscription of findings) and production of "thick descriptions" (Geertz, 1973) in the case of the participatory observations. The data collected through the research journal and fieldnotes is as important for our investigation as the functional equivalent of audio recordings of interviews.

2.5. BIOGRAPHIC INTERVIEWS

Each city team developed 12 (or more) biographic interviews with the aim of reconstructing participation biographies to understand how individuals are motivated for involvement in youth participation. The aim of the biographic interview is to build a biographic narrative that addresses the subjective appropriation of the life course as imagined, balanced and narrated life course. The biographies have a close relationship to the participation settings we study in each of the six cases as the young people with whom we will conduct the study form part of the cases we explored. As such, the individuals were selected from the six case studies, and the analysis of their testimonies allowed us to understand how it came that individuals started to participate and how they developed a specific way of participating. However, the biographies were analysed separately from the analysis of the participation settings (no juxtaposing of codes) as the biographic studies have a different focus. This is important once different levels are compared to each other in qualitative multilevel analysis. Appendix B contains a table with a brief description of all the biographic interviews carried out during this phase.

In the process of selecting the 12 individuals to undertake the biographic interviews in each city there was a set of criteria that teams used. However, because of the idiosyncrasy that characterises each of the groups we worked with, the reasons for choosing each city sampling were given on a case-by-case basis. Since the choice of individuals for the biographic interviews was made after a certain knowledge of the field and of the groups already existed, researchers were in a good position to choose those individuals willing to give rich biographic accounts. There was a concern about gender, age and geographic spread, with teams making sure that there was, as much as possible, a balance in terms of the gender of the participants, their age and the place in the city that they identify with (e.g. centre/periphery; advantaged/disadvantaged area).

2.6. CODING AND EMERGENT CATEGORIES (ELABORATING LOCAL CONSTELLATIONS OF YOUTH PARTICIPATION IN TERMS OF QUALITATIVE MULTILEVEL ANALYSIS)

The analysis of the data that allowed for the elaboration of local constellations of youth participation was informed by Grounded Theory. In particular, the process of coding accompanied the fieldwork, as a crucial element in the building of theorisations that allows us to address the main questions of the project, and others that emerged during the fieldwork. It was important to establish from the very beginning of phase 2 a dynamic that allowed teams to share the emerging categories, concepts and other issues amenable to discussion and comparison between cities. Our aim was not to be exhaustive, but symptomatic. That is, teams choose particularly relevant/striking categories/concepts, able to ignite insight into broader theorisations. For each category, teams gave a short explanation, and examples from transcripts. Then other teams discussed, commented on categories, trying to find links between countries, establishing common ground between the cities, and sharing similarities and differences in the coding process. This process took place over a during 20 month period

and occurred either within each research team (through meetings, study groups), through the project's platform (where analytical memos, fieldnotes and excepts from data were shared and discussed) and in the consortium meetings (where examples of data and analysis were also discussed).

First and Second Guidelines documents provided guidance on the exercise of coding. Overall, each city team coded over 20 expert interviews, 12 group discussions and 12 biographic interviews. From this coding exercise, emergent categories were described and discussed within each city team and among all the participants in the project. The purpose was to establish relations between the emergent categories (axial coding), with an eye on comparability and selection of the most conglomerated categories. This is where new or previously identified concepts/categories were further defined, developed, and refined and then brought together to tell a larger story, towards the elaboration of a local constellation.

During this phase, communication within and between teams was very important. Findings of expert interviews or group discussions were fed back into the theoretical sampling process by writing summaries and postscripts of interviews and discussing them regularly among each research team to closely link data collection with data analysis processes. The coding process was developed with the help of software such as MaxQDA or Nvivo. Each city team undertook internal meetings to gauge the coding process, making sure that there is a common understating of how coding is operating. The outcomes of these "reflexive loops" were documented via flipcharts and memos. These were discussed either with the local advisory boards, at colloquiums with other members of our research centre or with "critical friends", i.e. researchers who are independent from PARTISPACE who, besides an outside view ,provided methodological and conceptual expertise. Once all material was gathered and coded, we started the axial coding which resulted in the elaboration of "thematic clusters" which vary from city to city, are documented in the National Reports, and are one of the sources for elaborating the remaining sections of this report.

2.7. OBSTACLES

In a work of this complexity we were expecting to be faced with obstacles and willing to make decisions when confronted with some of the difficulties inherent to any fieldwork. The most documented difficulty has to do with getting access to certain groups of young people. This revealed to be particularly the case with right-wing political groups, religious groups or associations, and anarchist groups. The reasons vary from city to city, and they can be found scrutinised in the national reports (they include lack of response to any attempt of communication, disbelieve in research projects, social isolation, etc.). Some teams (e.g. Manchester) found it more difficult to approach schools than youth work organisations. The reasons given for not participating in the project were often concerned with lack of time and availability from both the students and staff to participate in extra-school activities. In some of the cases, youth workers performed the role of strong gatekeepers, making it difficult a direct contact with a group. The contact with some groups were sometimes over-mediated by the presence of a youth worker. Gatekeepers such as youth workers are usually ascribed with

a surveillance task of the young people, and have to give account to their superior. A research and the researcher presents a potential harm for young people, for the youth worker or for the institution itself. Some teams (e.g. Bologna), decided to not concentrate on virtual spaces of participation, even though they represent an increasing area where young people express their needs and desires. This is because online engagement usually developed alongside off-line forms of involvement and any initiative of pure on-line participation strictly connected to the local level has not been identified in the mapping.

3. PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

This section of the report first considers the range of urban settings studied in PARTISPACE and considers the articulation between evidence in the different settings (Section 3.1). It then presents two clustering of cases: the first is based on participation activities (Section 3.2); the second on participation biographies (Section 3.3). Finally, in section 3.4. we elaborate a set of cross-cutting themes of participatory activities with a view on the elaboration of local constellations.

3.1 STRUCTURES OF YOUTH POLICY AND LIVED EXPERIENCE OF YOUTH IN URBAN CONTEXTS – A COMPARISON

> "When applied to the production of the space, the following conclusion arises: A social space doesn't just encompass a concrete materiality, but also a thought-concept and a feeling, an "experience". The materiality in itself, or the material practice in itself, without the thought that guides and represents it, and without the experience, the feelings that connect with it, they have no existence from a societal viewpoint. The mere thought is a pure fiction: It comes from the world, from existence, from both the material and the lived, experienced being. And the pure "experience" is, after all, pure mysticism: It has no real, i.e. social existence, without the body's materiality it is based on and without the thought that structures and expresses it." (Schmid 2005, p. 313)

This section focus on the mapping phase of the study, where expert interviews, group discussions and city walks were carried out with the purpose of constructing a mapping picture of youth participation in each city. This study encompasses not only eight cities[2] in eight concretely located geographical situations, but also eight different national contexts, with different stories of urban development. Apart from the fact that none of the cities in this study is a capital, they differ considerably among each other. While the smallest city, Rennes, has approximately 200 000 inhabitants, the biggest one, Eskişehir, has a population of

2 An excerpt from the proposal: "The study (was) (…) undertaken in major cities, which are at least regional centres without being the capital of the respective country: Frankfurt, DE (700,000 inhabitants), Bologna, IT (400,000), Gothenburg, SE (500,000), Manchester, UK (500,000), Plovdiv, BG (400,000), Rennes, FR (200,000), Eskisehir, TK (750,000), and Zurich, CH (400,000). This ensures sufficient provision and diversity of participatory settings without coming too close to representative national government institutions and umbrella structures" (Proposal 2014, p. 22).

approximately 750 000. This goes along with varying socio-economic, political and cultural importance of the cities in relation to the whole country: while Zurich is the biggest city and centre of the biggest urban agglomeration of the country, Eskişehir is only a middle-sized town located in-between the two Turkish centres of Istanbul and Ankara. The cities are attributed with different labels: while some of the cities are considered university cities by many such as Rennes, Bologna, or Eskişehir, others are often labelled as industrial cities such as Manchester or Gothenburg while others again are often labelled as hubs of global finance industries such as Zurich or Frankfurt. The cities are embedded in – although not necessarily representative of – different welfare state regimes (c.f. Esping-Anderson, 1990, Walther 2006). However, rather than reproducing either the popular or the political narratives, PARTISPACE intends to reconstruct an image of the cities through the narratives of young people and youth experts.

In view of this diversity, one of the central questions for analysis relates with how the "experienced city" has an influence on the activities of young people, or, conversely, the extent to which young people's activities shape the urban life and the connections to the "concrete materiality" of urban spaces (c.f. Schmid 2005), i.e. the constructed city (e.g. qualities and resulting accessibility of public spaces for young people). In order to clarify this problematic, the following questions were addressed by developing a comparative analysis of the material emerging from the eight city case studies:

- What is the importance of the respective youth policy or the political promotion of youth and youth projects in the city?
- What does being young in one's own city mean? What is the role of the built environment of specific places as well as the experience of urban spaces in the respective city?
- Which concepts of participation are represented by various urban actor groups?

In the following analysis , these questions guide the clustering of cases across the cities in the presentation of findings.

3.1.1. STRUCTURES OF YOUTH POLICY, YOUTH SUPPORT AND YOUTH WORK IN URBAN CONTEXTS

PARTISPACE's rationale included not only a comparison of different national and local policies, which was undertaken in Working Package 2 (WP2), but relied on the comprehension of national or local youth policies as embedded within welfare-state regimes that can be classed into regime types. As we can read in the initial proposal:

> Youth policy structures are embedded in welfare-state regimes, which characterize the political and social negotiation of youth issues from the background. PARTISPACE involves countries from different welfare and transition regimes (cf. Esping-Anderson, 1990; IARD, 2001; Walther, 2006; 2012a). France, Germany and Switzerland represent the conservative or employment-centric regime type […], the UK represents the liberal regime type, Sweden represents the universalistic regime

> type, Italy represents the under-institutionalised or familistic regime type, Bulgaria is a case of a post-socialist state in transformation, while Turkey stands for a South Eastern country characterised by a modernisation process with both Western and traditional Islamic traits. (PARTISPACE Proposal, 2014, p. 22)

Additionally, both Bulgaria and Turkey also present common traits with the under-institutionalised or familistic regime type. (c.f. PARTISPACE D. 2.2.; WP2 Comparative Report, 2016 p. 35).

Regimes refer to ideal types and to general trends rather than to specific contexts. Nonetheless, there are some possible implications of the regimes for youth participation that we would expect to find rather in some countries than in others as has been outlined in the WP2 comparative report. The first implication concerns the perception of youth either as a resource or as a potential problem that demands a preventive approach: "In regimes where young people are held as possible resources, one can expect there to be more of proactivity from the system to actually bring them in to [sic] discussions and opening of decision making arenas." (PARTISPACE D. 2.2., WP2 Comparative Report, 2016 p. 35). Typically, this can be expected to be the case in universalistic regimes, where a focus on comprehensive individual development as well as activation in order to increase social mobility can be expected. In this regime type, "a broad array of youth related issues could be understood in terms of potential participatory arenas" (ibid.).

In contrast, in regimes that mainly problematize youth like the under-institutionalised and liberal regime type, "until proven otherwise, there would likely be more of reactive responses. When no signs of disturbances are seen, there would be less cause to take action" (ibid.). In the familistic or under-institutionalised sub-protective regime type, where young people have a long transition period and youth inclusion and transition are a rather family affair, "young people's participation would likely first have to be put on the societal agenda if there will be any public actions and responses in this area" (ibid.) This means that while in a universalistic regime we will expect discussions on how to best promote youth participation, in an under-institutionalised regime type, typically, first of all a legitimate agenda for youth participation has to be advocated for and constructed. The same can be expected for liberal regimes, where we would expect a focus on transition and participation in the light of ensuring employability, including the prevention of unemployment especially of the most vulnerable. Eventually, in the employment-centred regime type with selective educational systems and a focus on vocational training, where "youth is seen as a group to be moulded to fit social positions […] models might be well suited to deal with selective groups of young people's participation, those who are invited to the labour market, but can be at the risk of being blind-folded of the multiplicity of young persons' partaking in societal life, especially for those left out of the organized employment" (ibid).

Apart from the various regime types that can indicate broader trends with varying national and local forms and specificities, "the country sample includes different interpretations of representative democracy and different levels of influence of local youth policy versus

national governments" (PARTISPACE Proposal, 2014, p. 22). The first section of chapter 3.1. focuses on the youth policy structures as they emerged from the mapping of urban youth landscapes. Thereby some of the above presented trends can be found within a nuanced interplay of local youth policies leading to sometime different outcomes that might be excepted at first from the regime typology.

In all the eight cities, youth issues are generally weakly rooted in the respective local political landscape. This has already been highlighted in WP2 comparative report within the national level. As we can read in this report:

> In many of the involved countries it seems that youth policy is not really a prioritised political area on the national agenda. In several cases, governments have a structure in place, but not the will to follow through. Instead of a long term based strategy and allocation of adequate resources there could be a whittling away of the budget allocated to youth policy, even in countries where the topic is supposedly popular, such as France. One typical sign of lack of political will to implement youth policy seems to be the unwillingness to fully grasp or in other ways difficulty in implementation and coordination processes in achieving a youth policy that overlaps and integrates several Ministries' duties. (PARTISPACE deliverable 2.2., WP2 comparative report, 2016, p. 70)

When youth issues are being taken into account in national policies, a certain degree of objectification of young people has been detected during the analysis of national policy discourses in WP2. As mentioned in the WP2 comparative report,

> frequently youth policy acts on young people as an object either to protect, as in Italy, where young people's vulnerability in face of economic uncertainty is a fixed image, or as in the UK, a threat that needs to be normalised. It seems rare to find youth policy that actually aims to genuinely empower youth, and trust them to make correct decisions for themselves and their communities, even if Swedish policy includes such a commitment. (PARTISPACE deliverable 2.2., WP2 comparative report, 2016, p. 71)

Also on the local level of the city case studies, the weak embedment of youth issues within the public institutional framework was evident in the way interviewed experts were completely unfamiliar with the term "youth policy" (e.g. Zurich, Frankfurt); by the still very recent and to some extent inoperative institutional structures for the promotion of youth participation (e.g. Plovdiv, Eskişehir); the current neoliberal political frame that privileges individualized and random engagement with projects that promote youth participation, instead of more structural and state based approaches (e.g. Rennes, Manchester); in the feeling of not being represented by youth policy structures, even if they are set in place (e.g. Bologna, Gothenburg).

Often-used expressions such as "everyday participation", "citizenship deficit", "professional youth", "full participation", "giving youth power", "citizens in the making" implicitly assume

the necessity of designing formal socialisation strategies for young people. This is a consequence of the portraying of young people as being disconnected, apathetical, in need of being saved (NRM, p. 73)[3]. As a result, an entire social machinery is set up to control young people's engagement, not only within school, but also in leisure, sports, culture times, which are being framed within a pedagogical setting, where activities are often delineated by adults and given for young people to follow. In the next sections, a closer look is given to local traditions that influence the current understanding and state of affairs of youth support policies, which in the following section are presented in more detail. Hereby specific examples from the national city case studies are presented that provide key insights into the dynamics of urban youth policies.

Traditions of youth support policies

In some cases, youth policy as a concept and overall construct seemed to be a void. This is shown by the fact that the interviewed experts (e.g. Frankfurt) were hardly able to reconstruct the precise history of youth policy, its key persons and events. Or, as was the case in Zurich and Bologna, youth policy was reduced to individual events that have co-shaped the development of youth issues in the city. Zurich's youth policy is still linked to the violent protests of 1968 and 1980, and in Bologna's history, the "red Bologna" continues to serves as a reference point: "Youth participation has a long history dating back to the post-war period of rebuilding the city, to the student mobilizations of the '60s, the upsurge of political violence (but also of innovation and creativity) in the '70s, up to the seasons of grassroots activism" (NRB, p. 16).

Cities with a developed infrastructure and a tradition of youth support, such as Bologna, Manchester, Gothenburg, but also Frankfurt, Zurich and Rennes, recently experienced a reduction of state-financed services. The economic crisis was often identified as the major responsible for the dismantling of social services, including those related with youth promotion and youth work. In Bologna, for instance, the conditions of the youth policy are becoming brittle and beginning to dissolve:

> the upsurge of the crisis, the consequent economic difficulties and austerity measures have had a multifold negative impact on all areas of excellence. The youth employment rate has suffered a significant decrease, penalizing the component of young people more than the remaining population. The welfare state has reduced for the most marginal groups and in spite of the process of ageing. (NRB, p. 14)

In the cities of Eskişehir and Plovdiv the situation is different because the development of youth policy structures has only recently begun. Here, the expert interviews show how the noticeable changes are positive, because youth policy is at least being discussed and financial means are available for it.

3 All references to the National Reports will be made in the following way: NR followed by first initial of the city, e.g., NRM for National Report of Manchester.

In Eskişehir, it seems that, even if youth policy is still not a priority, youth work has become an object of political competition (NRE, p. 63). The youth work is not only a very recent field of activity but it has also became an object of competition between conservative and secularist political actors, both trying to establish youth structures according to their ideological position. However, since the field has started to develop with the Turkish EU candidacy process, conservative, traditional and Islamic orientations have been confronted with EU-inspired approaches of open youth work. This influence of EU policies has been often called "the 'European touch', the influence of European institutions on youth work" (NRE, p.3). While one of the two youth centres from Eskişehir (included in this study) – the first youth centre of the city and the most popular one – has more direct relations with EU institutions and European youth work practices, the second one (recently established), under the influence of conservative political actors, is trying to adapt conservative values to European youth work practices.

Youth participation in Bulgaria is defined as the central element of a national youth policy (see National Youth Strategy 2010-2020 and the special Law on Youth promulgated in 2012). Although, according to this national strategy, the formation and expansion of youth organisations at the municipal level is to be especially promoted, in Plovdiv these goals are "not supported with long-term grants" (NRP, p. 19), but rather financed only in the form of individual, often short-term projects in Plovdiv: "the small amount of municipal funding is contested and there's strong distrust toward the fairness of selection" (ibid). In addition, the umbrella organisations, and thus the decision-makers for youth promotion, are concentrating in the capital Sofia. It was also reported that policy makers hardly address the actual problems of young people: "the youth unemployment, underemployment, quality of education, costs of higher education and emigration abroad (…) this was a result of the low involvement of young people and their organisations in the process of formulating policies and priorities of the public institutions" (NRP, p. 19, 20).

Current states of youth infrastructure

Bologna is well-equipped in comparison to other northern Italian cities in terms of the quality and quantity of local youth promotion organisations. As documented in Bologna's national report (NRB), the ability to develop concrete actions and intervene in favour of the population's younger aged groups have turned Bologna into a reference point in Italy for the standard of services provided in terms of quality and impact on the territory. In particular, policies for citizenship and participation, as well as for education and culture, represent important fields of interest for the administration. Young people's access to the city's various civic and political opportunities is promoted by means of projects coordinated by the local administration, network organisations and institutions, schools as well as associations. The good performances of institutions and their ability to create social networks reflect the presence of a pro-active and rooted civic culture. The population of Bologna (and, in general, of the Emilia-Romagna region) has traditionally been distinguished for its high rates of electoral turnout, massive involvement in political organisations, trade unions and/or volunteering (NRB, p. 14).

Despite the brittleness, Bologna's institutions remain open to youth issues and participation of young people, and efforts are being made to involve young people at the local and regional level. At school, representative forms of participation are gaining momentum, which means that they play a central role alongside the associations. At the same time, the expert interviews indicated that the commitment is ineffective, or rather

> the relationship between institutions and youth participation has become more conflictual (…) many interviewees claim the scarce coordination, the absence of an organic project on youth policies. Institutional initiatives are perceived as poorly planned, sporadic and without long-term goals. (…) Young people blame local institutions for having (intentionally) made "promotion" of the participation confusing with "managing and governing" the phenomena, which hides or systematically avoids a "real bottom-up process" of circulation of power and control. (NRB, p. 20, 21)

As a result, young people are turning to the streets more frequently in hopes that their issues will be heard:

> the crisis has worsened the economic opportunities, producing a significant decline in young people's access to employment, income, family transfer and level of consumption. (…) Housing problems, too, are acquiring a crucial importance in the public debate and the lack (inadequacy, cost) of flats or rooms has fostered a proliferation of illegal occupations or insolvency, which has resulted in repressive reactions by the local institutions in several cases. The crisis has caused many people and families to suffer problems of material deprivation, because of their inability to pay mortgages or rent, utility bills or other loan payments. (NRB, p. 16)

The effects of the global financial crisis on youth support are also clearly felt in Gothenburg and Manchester. However, their initial situation was different due to the liberal welfare regime in Manchester and the social-democratic regime in Gothenburg. In the case of Gothenburg, the youth participatory scene is characterized by a robust institutionalism and a proactive public sector, with a large infrastructure that facilitates a diversity of forms and clusters of youth participation. The public sector is the central promoter of youth participation, with a well-developed participatory (formal and non-formal) infrastructure, and a high degree of expert-involvement in participatory activities of young people (NRG, p.70). In Manchester, on the other hand, the availability of support such as youth workers, social workers and Child and Adolescent Mental Health Services varies widely between areas and has been reduced significantly during the years of austerity (following the change in national government from the New Labour government to the Coalition Government of 2010). Currently, there is little guaranteed continuing support, unless young people remain engaged in education at either the Further Education or Higher Education level, and policy is geared toward ensuring that this is the case (NRM, p. 15). Youth policy in Manchester tends to focus on pre-existing frames/activities, rather than support new ways of participating.

Zurich shows itself as a well-planned and regulated city with an expanded infrastructure for various adolescents and youth groups with their individual needs. In the interviews, experts

repeatedly refer to the fact that the existing structures of youth promotion are linked to the youth protests of 1968 and the 1980s, as well as to the open drug scene in the mid-1980s: “The development of participation offerings by and for young people in Zurich is closely connected to the struggle for "self-governed spaces” and the demand for an Autonomous Youth Centre, which gave way to major violent youth protests in 1968 and again in 1980” (NRZ, p. 15). In contrast to the past, actors of youth work are no longer understood to be part of a youth movement, but are rather understood as enabling and opening up free spaces. As a state-funded service provider, youth work is in competition with the numerous other leisure activities in the city:

> Escaping this logic of supply and demand is virtually impossible, for which reason youth work has taken on a kind of service-based approach. This is reinforced by the fact that youth work is subject to a double mandate, as it must legitimize itself to both its client, the city, and to young people. (NRZ, p.20)

Facilitating participation is often understood as a *pedagogic* task. In the constructed settings for youth participation (which often take the form of small projects pedagogically designed by adults for the young people), the youth workers assume the role of coaches. The intention is to allow young people to experience authority, on the one hand, and with empirical self-empowerment processes and associated self-realization experiences on the other. The aim is for young people to become societally responsible citizens, learn to position themselves within existing societal power relations and contribute to society (NRZ, p. 20).

The situation in Frankfurt is different. At the local level, youth policy is institutionalised by the youth welfare committee of the city council where main policies related to youth are decided. As documented in the national report, youth welfare in Frankfurt – regulated by the national children and youth welfare act and normally institutionalised by a municipal youth welfare office – has been affected by a division of responsibilities between two authorities: school-related youth welfare although regulated by the same legal act has been relocated into the local school office. This has come along with a respective shift of financial resources and tasks from leisure to school and from general towards selective prevention (NRF, p. 18).

In the course of this double displacement, the policy focuses on offerings of early help and prioritizes activities for children and pupils. At the same time, the funds used in open youth work are used in prevention and control measures, and are not used to promote individual development and education. As mentioned in the Frankfurt national report, the principle of open youth work of simply ‘being there’ with and for young people is increasingly being replaced by help with home works and projects. ‘Projects’ promise flexibility and appear to be the new form of policy for administration, welfare organisations and for young people themselves (NRF, p. 23). As a result, it can be noted that “youth are being moved from the limelight. This is reflected by youth policy being a rather unfamiliar term and youth policy planning a marginalised issue of local politics” (NRF, p. 23).

Further difficulties lie in the fact that the extent to which youth work can fall back on a reliable infrastructure keeps shrinking, resulting in an ever increasing need to self-finance by

means of projects. Furthermore, there is a tendency to see youth participation more as a mission with the goal of empowerment, and less as the youth's right to societal participation (see NRF, p. 16) Despite this changed evaluation, the interviewed experts believe that youth work remains the central, in many cases only place, in which youth participation can occur.

When compared with other French cities, Rennes invests less in youth policy activities (and youth issues are seen as a cross-sectional topic, instead of having its own specialized department). Nonetheless, the city has a well-developed offer for young people, with several initiatives taking place such as civic service[4], the citizen's fabric (an initiative launched in 2016 to support inhabitants' initiatives), the Four Thursday Nights (la Nuit des 4 jeudis)[5], an initiative called Jobtown[6], youth service cooperatives, the leisure card (Carte sortir)[7], the Future investment project (which have failed in the meantime)[8] (NRR, p. 22). In the face of many parallel actions and existing offers, the challenge lies in how to coordinate the different offers, i.e. the youths, youth workers, politicians, and the cooperation between the various providers and initiatives. Despite these many offers, as shown by the study, the young people feel they are receiving little attention with their issues and interests. Thus, experts point out a growing distance between providers of youth services and the various youth groups.

Transforming municipal youth policies

In all cities, local municipal youth policy is changing. Beneath it all, there seems to be a gap between the offers made available and what the different groups of young people expect from their city, as well as from youth policy or youth work. While there are seemingly many young people who hardly know these offers and do not care for them, the group of interested teenagers has different expectations and does not feel that the policy-makers take them serious with regards to their concerns.

Structurally, the upheaval of youth policy is closely linked to national and international policy changes. Thus, the influence of neo-liberal demands, i.e. the reduction of state services or subjecting existing services to complex political control mechanisms and new forms of

4 As explained in the WP2 national report, "after several attempts at creating a civil/civic service, the voluntary civic service was created in 2010 (one of the proposals of the Green Book). In that sense, the voluntary civic service plays an important role, for it now represents one of the main possibilities for young people to engage in a supervised work program. The problem is that the structures of the civic service are not adapted to accommodate enough candidates for service. One of the measures proposed by François Hollande (elected in 2012) was the extension of the civic service, in order to transform this form of commitment into a real alternative to military service in future years. See WP2, p. 87.

5 The 4 Thursdays' night was created in 2005 in order to combat the binge drinking phenomena: It offers free parties to young people, where alcohol is banned. Yet, the premises of the parties are in the city center, as well as in disadvantaged areas.

6 This initiative is developed in disadvantaged areas and its aim is to help young people find job opportunities.

7The leisure card allows people with low incomes access to leisure offerings at half their price.

8 The Future investment project is a call to develop ambitious projects dedicated to the public, including young people, that is promoted by the central state.

bureaucracy, did not leave the urban youth policies unaffected. Those EU programs that are calling for a joint youth policy program for member countries are equally noticeable. Depending on how federal or central the national states are in their organisation, the individual municipal governments are left with more or less room to act, depending on their own political composition, in order to enforce their own youth policy preferences.

The following shifts in municipal youth policies can be identified:

- WP2 comparative report showed that "over recent years, youth work has played a decisive rule for the promotion of youth inclusion and participation." (p. 106) Thereby, also the means have changed. However, the renewal repertoire of youth participation is "generally perceived as limited in the efficacy" (PARTISPACE Deliverable 2.2, WP2 comparative report, 2016, p. 106).
- Also the mapping of the youth participation landscape in the eight cities indicates a change in repertoire of youth inclusion and participation. There is a shift from a general youth support, in the sense of a broad educational understanding, towards a specific promotion of competencies with the purpose of expansion of opportunities for integration into the labour market and into the state system. It is unclear if this shift from a broad education to more specific competences is an answer or a consequence of the partial failing of state policies supposed to foster engagement and education to participation.
- The mapping in WP4 showed that offers made available are increasingly directed at prevention (for example, prevention of illegal or harmful behaviour), which also means that funds from youth work are shifted to early promotion or into the context of school. This coincides with results from WP2, showing the importance of prevention strategies regarding e.g. prevention of social exclusion, crime prevention (Plovdiv), of (sexual) health problems (Rennes), as well as a general focus on prevention in the cantonal and local policies (Zurich) (PARTISPACE Deliverable 2.2., WP2 Comparative Report, 2016, p. 122-123; 125; 127). In this regard, the mapping showed that with the shift towards prevention - in the sense of a security policy - the focus of the youth policy is aimed at so-called vulnerable groups.

Against the backdrop of this more structure-oriented analysis, the question arises of how young people in the different cities experience and assess their own possibilities of participation. In the next section we therefore consider this feature across the PARTISPACE cities.

3.1.2. BEING YOUNG IN ONE'S OWN CITY

PARTISPACE comparative reports for WP2 and WP3 have provided statistical descriptions on the national level of the social conditions of youths (PARTISPACE Deliverable 2.2) as well as of the political and civic participation and trust in national and European institutions (PARTISPACE Deliverable 3.2). This section addresses the meaning given to being young in each of the project's eight cities. Common to all cities is the reference made to a certain cityscape or city label; a sense of how the city landscape works for young people and how

experts in the city identify it. These cityscapes are coupled with ideas of more or less social participation in a city and therefore become particularly significant in experiencing the city. Closely connected to the concept and image of the city are those urban places where young people often hang out.

In all cities, experts name an abundance of neighbourhoods, streets, squares and buildings, which are used by young people and which seem either appropriate, or on the other hand inappropriate, from the experts' points of view. The places mentioned are similar in all cities: public places, places of consumption such as bars and restaurants, as well as shopping streets and shopping malls, various cultural, religious and recreational facilities and places, educational and public facilities, such as schools, and youth centres, if existent. If, however, one views the composition of the mentioned spaces and the weight of meaning they are given, specific differences become visible. Nuances also become apparent in the way in which young people inhabit these places as spaces that open up, guarantee or deny possibilities and experiences.

The cityscape and its influence: student cities/divided cities

Three of the studied cities – Eskişehir, Rennes and Bologna – are labelled university cities because of the important role played by students in the economic, social, civic and political life of the city. In addition to the possibilities for education, the young people appreciate these cities for their high quality of life. And the cities benefit from the presence of students and their initiatives and commitments. In Bologna, however, “the relationship between students and the city assumes the configuration of a forced cohabitation” (NRB, p. 15). And while in Eskişehir and Rennes, the living conditions are described as study-friendly, the young people seem to be restricted with regards to their future prospects in these cities, “mostly because of the lack of job opportunities” (NRE, p.18). As a result, a significant part of the young people who live in these cities during their studies tend to abandon the city after they finish their education.

In Manchester, with its various colleges and Universities, students play an important role in certain stories and in certain settings. Even In the student web of life however , precarious tendencies nevertheless also become visible: “also concerning precarity (and poverty), homelessness were never far away in the discussions and interviews. Even in the student and post-student community, the realities of rising rents and housing affordability were present.” (NRM, p. 18). Precariousness and the “social divisions of the urban space” (NRM, p. 69) have a strong impact in the way the population perceive their live in the city, with some experts labelling Manchester the "Divided City". This relates with issues of segregation, which are also strongly present in the cities of Gothenburg and Frankfurt. The descriptions of Gothenburg clearly demonstrate “how residential segregation causes very different life-circumstances” (NRG, p.18). This division is, among other things, due to the geographic situation, and “materialises the idea of centre and periphery, creating geographical enclaves in which young people with different socioeconomic and ethnic backgrounds live their lives”

(NRG, p.26). The background of segregation in the financial metropolis Frankfurt, on the other hand, is the housing space within the city centre, which fewer and fewer families can afford, thus causing them to move into the outer districts: “despite a high average standard of life, the city is highly segregated (…). This is also reflected by a sociocultural and socioeconomic divide between the city centre and suburban districts” (NRF, p. 15). The City of Zurich has similar preconditions in terms of the financial crisis yet divisions are not as visible as in other cities. Instead, the image of “a well-planned and regulated city” (NRZ, p. 15), a tourist destination, is favoured. In Zurich, youth from all sorts of backgrounds can apparently move freely throughout the city. The social boundaries are not immediately visible: “the youth know which possibilities exist in which districts. It thus seems relatively easy for them to move about the city with confidence” (NRZ, p. 16).

Eventually, the city of Plovdiv is described as a culturally diverse city in political upheaval according to the “the official discourse of the local community for economic growth” (NRP, p. 55), which benefits from the award "European capital of culture 2019". The study reveals that not all share this assessment because the political administration does not enjoy all-round trust on the part of the urban population and on the part of the young people.

The image of the city shapes the lives of those who inhabit it whether in reinforcing possibilities or in creating powerful points of reference for city life. It is in this context that we turn to the way diversity and division affects the lived experience of the young.

Diversity and division among young people and groups

The first source of diversity concerns the different ages that characterise the groups of young people. The most significant division in terms of age in our studies is between groups engaging young people before the ‘age of majority’ and before enfranchisement (under 18), those engaging students primarily, those engaging people in their twenties and those which are inter-generational but in which young people have a specific contribution.

Especially in Gothenburg, Frankfurt and Manchester, it is noticeable that the differentiation among different groups of young people is closely linked to the different living conditions and living places in the divided, segregated cities. In Gothenburg “it seems almost impossible for the experts not to talk about groups perceived as 'cut-off' from, or being in 'disadvantage', in relation to the conventional society (spatially, economically, culturally)” (NRG, p. 22). The distinction between young people enjoying privileged living conditions and those in disadvantaged areas is therefore always a factor in the case of Gothenburg. An impression also found in Frankfurt: “young people from socially disadvantaged backgrounds are overrepresented in specific districts of the periphery and – even those aiming at social mobility – feel much more at ease in their neighbourhoods, which they only leave if they have to (for education) and tend to return to as quickly as possible” (NRF, p. 90). And finally, in Manchester “it is very difficult for locally born and raised Mancunians to find their place and become productive and creative among the student population, this wave of extremely intelligent and worldwide movement of young people coming into the city all the time” (NRM, p. 16).

A distinction between students and young people from disadvantaged areas is also present in the speech of the experts in Rennes (NRR, p.24). In addition to this distinction, adolescents are divided into natives and foreigners, i.e., not born in the respective city. Foreigners include young people who temporarily live in the city, as well as young people with a migration history. A similar division of young people can be found in Bologna, where experts identified at least three macro-groups: "native young people, university students coming from other Italian cities (fuori sede) and migrants" (NRB, p. 7). On the other hand, experts in Bologna speak of a phenomenon of *tribalization* in the city, "where, at least, three different populations coexist: the nearside young people who were born and only ever lived in Bologna, the Italian students and workers coming from other areas (relevant in number), and those young people with migrant origin. Those groups live differently in the city, in a sort of tribalization on the space" (NRB, p. 15).

In the other cities, such social differences – although they do also exist there – are not emphasized to the same degree in the mapping. In Zurich, young people first appear to be diverse or even individualized, making it difficult to specify particular groups of young people. Here, the individualization process seems to have advanced even further among young people, so that social differentiation among young people themselves is often about individual interests or the interests of small or microscopic scenes or groupings. This tendency relates with the emphasis on being "different from everyone else" (NRZ, p. 16), which seems to characterize youth in Zurich. Young people in Zurich mutually identify each other based on what they are doing in their free time and where they spend time and so seek out their own 'tribes' rather than feeling positioned socially in a divided city. However, also in Zurich, the local life worlds of distinct neighbourhoods sometimes dotted with specific place identities can be of great significance for their daily activities and source for personal identification of numerous young people.

In Plovdiv, self-attribution is very significant and seems far more critical than the attributions of adult experts. That is, the adults among the experts expressed more appreciation for the young and their qualities, while almost all those experts who were young themselves were very critical of 'today's youth'. The negative features mentioned were passivity, lack of self-reliance and ambitions, and unhealthy life cluster. The positive characteristics of the young were being more informed, better educated and skilful in new technologies, more mobile and open-minded than older generations (NRP, p. 20).

In Eskişehir, experts emphasize the role and influence of the family. Thus, "even the young people with political views opposing those of their parents cannot ignore the importance of their parents" (NRE, p. 68). Young people who, for example, go to another city like Eskişehir to receive their education, are increasingly able to escape the control of the family. If this is achieved, two groups of young people can be distinguished: "Young people coming from less developed, more conservative towns are different from those coming from rather developed and more liberal towns" (NRE, p. 19). For the former, the city of Eskişehir opens up many new possibilities, which are also seen critically with regard to the opportunities for leisure

and recreation of conservative young people. For the latter, the city has an inexpensive yet limited offer compared to larger Turkish cities.

The possibilities of connection and mobility for young people in every city are being shaped by age and social class, by access to cultural capital (as students or not) and by migration status as well as through self-attributions and mutual recognitions of a much more individualised kind. In this context, the impact of individualising flows leads to a huge pressure to succeed as an individual which is apparent in the lived experience of young people in every city and which is addressed in the next section.

Surviving the individual pressure to succeed

Many of the interviewed young people have internalized the social expectation of being responsible for their own livelihood. This expectation increases the pressure and many young people problematize their life-balance, namely coping with all tasks in their professional training/work, leisure and family together. Parallel to this pressure and the effort involved in meeting this performance expectation, being young in the city also includes the exuberance of forms of latent or manifest resistance, as well as the resigned retreat and the feeling of getting sick of and even breaking at these circumstances.

In Manchester this pressure to succeeded and integrate has generated a set of mental health problems that are increasingly affecting young people (NRM, p. 18). In Plovdiv, the harsh economic reality in Bulgaria was the main challenge that forces young people to focus on individual projects for survival, rather than working together for the common good (NRP, p. 20). In addition to the unsafe living conditions, Plovdiv shows that the youth is growing more and more distrustful of public institutions due to the opaque criteria for awarding grants. In Rennes, the pressure between the two dominant groups, the students and the young people from disadvantaged areas, expresses itself in a "competition in the legitimacy of the two groups [students and disadvantaged youth] for their access to public funding and resources" (NRR, p.25). Disappointment dominates among young people in Bologna, for the national austerity policy is "penalizing the component of the young people more than the rest of the population" (NRB, p. 14). This is particularly evident in the increase of unemployment among young people, which is causing an attitude of resistance among many young people in Bologna.

In addition to the economic pressure, young people in Eskişehir also experience pressure from the family. The family is referred to as an "important institution in the lives of young people" (NRE, p.68), and young people in Eskişehir report "how their family has a certain control over their lives" (NRE, p. 68), wherefore they often cannot escape their influence until they leave the parental home.

Young people and experts in Frankfurt, Gothenburg and Zurich report a different type of pressure to succeed. The descriptions in these three cities resemble each other. In Zürich, youth are "confronted with a greater pressure to perform, be it in school, at work or in their recreational activities" (NRZ, p. 19). In Frankfurt "everybody is extremely ambitious to achieve a higher level of education" (NRF, p. 17) and even their leisure time, which often exhibits a binding character, is referred to as a "nicer type of stressful" (NRF, p. 20). In the descriptions of Gothenburg, "trends of the achievement society put pressure on young people to 'be someone', 'become someone', 'to succeed' at something" (NRG, p. 23). As a result, young people are increasingly being exposed to "the everyday stress connected to school, the pressure of handling a multitude of demands and activities, the importance of social life and friendship relations, the questions of identity" (NRG, p. 23). It is remarkable that this pressure is being accepted by many adolescents as well as adults as a societal given, seemingly unquestioned: "now-focused learning is about enriching the self, creating a competent identity for the future (the self as a project), which is in line with the ideals and

demands of the changing and demanding knowledge society, in which skills and knowledge are important issues" (NRG, p. 23).

Instead of researching the causes, many young people choose compensation strategies, such as "chilling" and "hanging out", "attempting to avoid an external pressure to perform" (NRZ, p.18). The increasing pressure and the absences of free time and free spaces, according to respondents, "are obstacles to active and creative involvement" (NRZ, p.19). If one takes a look at the activity of chilling, which is appreciated by many young people, from a spatial perspective, very specific places receive a group-specific meaning, at least from the perspective of the various groups of actors. This response to what can be seen as a mental health crisis among the young resulting from such pressure can create forms and spaces of participation in which 'not doing – just being' is a silent riposte to those pressures.

"Youth" places in the cities and their relevance

In the cities of Zürich and Frankfurt the issue of free time and free spaces is directly connected with space. In Frankfurt the perception exists that not all areas are unconditionally accessible to all persons, but, instead, access to public spaces is increasingly linked to consumption expenses. Although a similar development is being identified in Zurich, the young people there noted that the city, along with all its possibilities, generally remains open to them and offers them an environment to be how they want. Zurich offers them an abundance of leisure activities, interpreted by many of the interviewed experts as an overwhelming oversupply. In connection with the above-described perception that "Zurich's public spaces are for the most part completely constructed, designed and regulated" (NRZ, p. 20), reference is made to a lack of "free spaces", i.e. spaces that have not yet been completely designed and would also distinguish themselves from the performance and consumption logic. In Frankfurt, where "schools tended to be the starting point, which more or less directly stood in contrast to other places and practices" (NRF, p. 20), also mentions a similarly based demand for "stress-free" spaces. Correspondingly, those places in Frankfurt, where youth and young people can simply sit and hang, are attractive according to the respondents.

The cities of Rennes and Bologna, where the student body is "a structural feature of the city" (NRB, p. 15), demonstrate that the city centres in particular attract young people due to their numerous consumption, festivity and cultural offerings. This orientation of the places and offers towards the large group of the students is not without displeasure among the remaining population. In Rennes, for example, one consequence is that "young people from disadvantaged areas consider the city as a students' place, designed first of all for students" (NRR, p. 28). Thus, the contradiction described above, between the two groups that are perceived as dominant, the students and the young people from disadvantaged areas, also seems to be express itself in terms of space: "the city centre versus the disadvantaged areas" (NRR, p. 26). Although public facilities such as youth Centres are located in these so-called disadvantaged areas, they partially remain unable to reach young people. Thus, further contrasts pop up in the perception between "the classical youth centres versus the other spaces; young people who use public structures versus young people who are 'in' the public space; young people who stay in their areas and young people who are mobile" (NRR, p. 26).

In Bologna, the accumulation of leisure-related events and offers in the city centre and in the university quarter in particular are somewhat leading to displeasure among the local, typically older people, as well as the people living in the periphery. Young people, on the other hand, experience a restriction of the public areas freely accessible to people and a lack of premises for the realization of their own activities. Furthermore, there is a practice traditionally anchored in the history of the "red city", in which "young people appear to be the authors, managers and promoters of initiatives" (NRB, p. 17), such as, for example, squatting and occupations. Often these activities result in conflicts with the authorities, in the form of protests, riots and boycotts – which has also been the case for one of the case studies of which the closing down by the public authorities unsettled massive protests among the population. The search for suitable spaces for specific activities, which are self-organized by young people, is also a central theme in Rennes. In addition to public space and public facilities, a strong alternative network appears to be establishing itself, which is found, for example, in self-organized squats, occupation of buildings and alternative bars (c-f- NRR, p. 31-32).

In Eskişehir as well as in Plovdiv, youth-specific public institutions are slowly developing. Accordingly, there are only few specific institutionalised places for young people in both cities (e.g. youth centres), but according to the city reports, public space is available to young people. Eskişehir, a student city as Bologna and Rennes, is a small city compared to other Turkish cities. Nevertheless, it offers a liberal environment, especially for young people from the rather conservative surroundings. It also provides a wide range of possibilities for leisure and going out, as well as public services, which are accessible quickly and easily. In addition, the main streets and squares, the parks and shopping centres in particular are referred to as youthful parts of the city. The latter is also the case in Plovdiv. Especially the culturally diverse district Kampana with its lively street life, cafes and bars seems to be mostly frequented by the youth. According to many respondents, however, Plovdiv is lacking publicly accessible yet closed spaces for young people, which are not organized by associations and the like. As a result, many young people escape to private and semi-public spaces, using private apartments, cafés or lecture halls.

In comparison, Gothenburg has a very well-developed urban infrastructure of leisure facilities and support services for external and self-initiated activities and projects of young people. However, according to the opinion of many experts, these opportunities are not equally available to all young people in the city. The place of residence, either in the affluent centre or in one of the segregated districts in the periphery, is decisive for enjoying this wealth of spaces and activities. Access to places and spaces looks quite similar in Manchester. Here too, the possibilities of the city seem to depend very much on the social position of the young people: "the extent to which places were desirable or not to young people in the group discussions seemed to depend on how the space was 'coded'; what it signified and how this was read by young people; how they negotiated the significations depended on their own positioning" (NRM, p. 17). The occupation and (temporary) reinterpretation of public space as well as the demand for "safe spaces" for certain population groups are challenging this order.

Three other aspects influence the way young people live the urban space: availability, accessibility and usability. These relate to the extent to which the cities enable, tolerate or prevent various activities of young people. The way in which young people experience these spaces therefore seems to be largely dependent on the city's psychogeography as discussed earlier as 'cityscape' and in particular also on the respective youth policies.

Concerning availability, in some cities such as Gothenburg or Zurich, there is a dense network of spaces as well as sometimes-competing offers and support services available to young people. The young people initially evaluate this range of possibilities positively. In Rennes, availability is a question of "which structures are the most frequented, which kind of young people go where, where young people really are, where they hang out, where they cause problems" (NRR, p. 26). In other cities, significantly less dense networks of services in a range of places are available (e.g. Plovdiv or Eskişehir).There young people cannot rely on existing institutionalised offers or spaces but through their activities create their own spaces. As a result, activities and engagements in groups are, inter alia, often only temporary or episodic due to the lack of spaces, which make the initiatives more difficult to sustain. In the report from Plovdiv, this is summed up as follows: "the lack of special buildings for youth activities such as youth centres is a significant barrier to participation" (NRP, p. 20).

This is more likely to cause conflict in cities in which the young people perceive a massive decline in public spaces and public services (as in Bologna and Rennes). In these cities, the search for spaces usually implies some sort of struggle with local authorities, in an attempt to re-conquer privileges that were enjoyed before the 2008 economic crisis, but have been eroding during the last decade. This is particularly clear in Bologna:

> The progressive elimination of public and free spaces is a significant political signal. There is a clear conflict between the local institutions and some bottom-up experiences of involvement, rather than a confrontational approach. The Municipality foresees re-qualification projects that are based on turning old buildings into restaurants, pubs, hotels, parking, and private houses. All this underlines a political intent aimed at marginalizing a certain experience of engagement. (NRB, p. 20)

In Rennes, there are "increasing tensions between young people and the municipality that is afraid of seeing the opening of new squats or alternative places" (NRR, p. 32). This in turn has an impact on the forms of activities of groups of young people, who constantly fear that the informal spaces, which they put a lot of effort into fighting or standing up for, will be broken up again.

The experience of the segregated city described has a major influence on how young people reach and access spaces. Restrictions may be visible, such as the polarity of the centre and periphery in Manchester and Rennes or in the topography of Gothenburg and its outlying suburbs. On the other hand (and often conditionally linked to it), perceived and experienced thresholds exist, which, although not immediately "visible", can make it difficult for specific groups to access an existing network of offers. As a consequence, there are differences in life opportunities depending on where in the cities young people live. The reactions of the young

people regarding this experienced inequality are manifold: they reach from disillusionment or frustration over failed opportunities to allegations and accusations of insufficient consideration of the unequal living conditions.

Finally, the possibilities for using public space are being limited. In some cities – Bologna, Frankfurt, Manchester and Zurich –, these are limited by an increasing privatization and commercialization of the public space. In Frankfurt, for instance, there are "few spaces where young people can gather without having to spend money, especially in the city centre" (NRF, p. 84). As a result, young people who do not want to or cannot act as consumers are increasingly excluded from the commercialized urban areas. This also applies to Zurich: "a considerable number of offerings and/or locations require commercial consumption, wherefore money represents a barrier to many youth and young adults" (NRZ, p. 20). According to experts and young people from Frankfurt and Zurich, the fact that they are no longer wanted in these places and excluded from the participation in the public space is closely linked to the areas governed by commercial and/or political interests. The demand for "free space" by young people, concerns spaces that are free from external expectations and performance requirements, in which young people can simply be alone and in which they can contribute their own design ideas and become co-creators of the spaces.

In the financial centres of Frankfurt and Zurich, in particular, regulations and conventions are also present in the design and control of the public space, in which some of the young people either perceive themselves as being unwanted or are not sufficiently influential to be seen as co-creators of the public space. Against this background, a group of experts calls for spaces free of expectation and pressure, in which young people can simply be, without performance or consumption demands, and can influence or shape them autonomously and according to their own wishes.

To return to the question with which this section started, it is clear that accessing spaces through which the individualising pressures and stresses of contemporary urban life can be alleviated is no simple matter. The specific question that results thereof is how, in light of this background and within the outlined youth policy contexts, the participation possibilities in the different cities are assessed from the perspective of different groups of actors.

3.1.3 PARTICIPATION THROUGH THE LENSES OF DIFFERENT ACTORS

The different meanings of "participation"

It can be said that there is no uniform understanding of what exactly is meant by youth participation, neither in international comparisons nor at the local level. Instead, different concepts and ideas are used to describe "participation". This diversity of different understandings is exemplified by the Gothenburg case:

> From simply having an existence and to some extent being able to interact with the environment, to a rare often formalized state that can only be achieved under certain conditions. (…) In the analysed expert interviews and group discussions participation is understood in different ways: as merely being (the existential level); as altruism

> (doing something for someone else); as conditioned by structure and/or individual agency; as power; as influence; as decision-making; as tied to meaningfulness; as subversion/participation in a "parallel society" (withdrawing from the participatory modes offered by conventional society, such as education, employment, etc., seeking recognition through criminality, fundamentalist and violent ideological and religious movements); as cultural production; as leisure time activities; as politics; as consumerism; as activism; as a formal right awarded to citizens of the nation-state (non-citizens are by definition disqualified from many forms/levels of participation) (NRG, p. 18).

Despite this diversity of understandings, participation is often placed in the tension field between the individual and society, and is understood as a result of a complex interaction between them – different interviewees give different emphasis on individual versus societal responsibility. These understandings can be seen as linked to different discourses regarding the relationship between youth and adults, obligations, and power relations (NRG, p. 18). As such, participation is often understood as a pathway towards becoming an effective member of a community. It occurs when a young person encounters others, putting his/her efforts into a shared project, thus identifying themselves with a group for a period of their life. It is lived as cooperation, when you do something with others, sharing projects. Participation also implies a process of "socialization" of other values through the groups (loyalty, honour, respect). Another crucial function of participation is making citizens active, reshaping communities in a context of generational and social proximity. Social activation can be lived as a method of transferring power from traditional authorities to people that are not generally involved in decision-making processes (NRB, p. 19).

At a policy level, fomenting youth participation seems to consist in bringing young people into societal participation (socialization mission), thus contributing to a shift in the existing power relations in the societal decision-making processes with a view on the immediate life spaces of young people in their cities. The extent to which this change in power relations is achieved is, from the point of view of young people, very limited (see chapter 3.2). Nevertheless, it is striking that ""youth participation" as a theme, perspective and a working approach has gained significant prominence during the last two decades, being today an inescapable concept used by people who directly or indirectly conduct work with young people. This is concretized in terms of heightened the awareness amongst the professionals working with young people when it comes to their rights, their voices and perspectives, as well as involving them in decision-making processes which in turn goes along with a diversification of tools and forms of youth participation.

There seems to be a general tendency throughout Europe that a democratic society can only live up to its own claim if it can make it credible to the youth that social participation is open to all social groups, namely including those that do not have a political right to participate due to their age or nationality. At least among the adults surveyed, this explains the mostly positive connotation regarding the concept of participation. Participation, one could generalize, seems to be an important guarantor for a good co-existence of different social

groups and seems to become more and more important for the legitimation of democratic forms of governance (NRG, p.19). At the same time, debates reveal a struggle for real politics and representation – going beyond fulfilling pre-defined roles and following pre-defined agendas (NRF, p. 73).

Some of the groups of young people noted a difference between "genuine" and "fake" participation. In Plovdiv, for example, the formal participatory possibilities offered by the state are generally assessed negatively: "(T)he term 'formal' is mostly understood to mean 'lacking of meaning', 'false', 'tokenistic' instead of a more neutral definition, such as 'organized', 'official' or 'registered'" (NRP, p. 21). This is due, among other things, to the great distrust that young people nurture for state institutions or their political representatives, whose credibility is damaged by various corruption incidents. The interviewees in Rennes highlight "the preference of decision makers for formal participation and their distrust regarding informal forms. They refer to "good" forms versus "bad" forms of participation""(NRR, p. 27). In Eskişehir, researchers identify a mutual distrust among young people and adults (experts). Adults share the perception that young people are not sufficiently involved in society and have no interest in participation. They usually describe young people as 'highly self-confident" but "not interested in social and political issues" or as "individualist" who are "not willing to take responsibility"' (NRE, p. 19). Nevertheless, the experts in Eskişehir state that young people are participating in "social and cultural activities in Eskişehir relating to entertainment" in various ways: 'One of the most frequent "complaints" by experts/adults pertaining to young people is that "you need to assign them a task, they never come with a proposition"' (ibid).

In the case of Eskişehir, this situation relates with the highly charged political situation in Turkey, which inhibited the interviewed actors to explicitly talk or refer to politics, and "most of the families do not want their children to participate in political activities" (NRE, p.20). As a result, a clear demarcation from the political sphere can be identified, while social areas such as cultural activities are secretly being charged with political meanings.

In other cities, political and formalized participation happen within the realm of representative democracy. However, for many young people, the formal policy often represented by party politic plays no role in their everyday life and furthermore often carries a negative burden (NRF, p. 81): "'They are willing to participate, but "they want to do society, not politics" and so they are encouraged in taking part in what is not or does not look like "politics"'(NRB, p. 18).

To many young people, being political and getting involved in policy-making is connected with concrete projects in which they can expand their individual competences. Very often, when young people are positioned as politicised, it is often within individualised forms and regarding particular issues, which relate to them, rather than connected to structures or collective forms of representation/power. There is also an attempt to recognise but destabilise notions of citizenship, yet at the same time position young people as commodities and economic resources (with limited recognition of current precarity), for example in relation to

economic regeneration in Manchester, where the narrative of the culture and knowledge industries driving regeneration is strong (NRM, p. 20).

In summary, it can be said that the different discourses regarding appropriate and inappropriate participation, as well as committed and non-committed young people, are subject to very different expectations. This is summed up in the following quote on Frankfurt, but applicable to the other cities as well:

> for the administrative representatives participation should be effective and efficient, for youth organisations it should be self-organised and/or involve engagement with and for others. [Youth] experts do not blame young people for not participating in the right manner. They understand, explain or even justify and focus on reflecting what young people need and how they can be motivated and educated toward participating in what they conceive as real participation. (NRF, p. 85)

This contrasts to varying degrees to ideas on participation – although usually not named as such – by the young people. This feature is illustrated in the next section.

Participation - abstract and scarcely tangible to young people

It is striking that in many cities young people hardly use the term "participation", and show little association with it. This contrasts with the opinion of the experts from the fields of youth policy and youth work, who use the concept with a high degree of self-awareness, albeit with different meanings. For the young people the term "participation" or "youth participation" is often an alien one (see, for example, NRG, NRF, NRR). When asked about activities relevant to them, young people speak more of engagement or commitment than of participation (see NRR, p.31). The idea of "youth participation" derives less from the everyday life of adolescents and more from the conceptual world and the language used by adults or the adult world of the organisations. In Gothenburg, '"Youth rarely think about "participation"; "do I participate", "how do I participate", and "should I participate more?" – the idea does not emanate from their life worlds. In most cases they are busy with simply being young, with all the challenges that entails, in terms of education, work, social relations, and future plans in general"' (NRG, p. 75). For many young people, most of their most enjoyable and relevant activities fail to be identified by them as "participation": "Having fun together is probably the most common activity of young people in the city. This entails hanging out in cafes and in city squares and parks. However, neither the youth experts nor the young people whom we interviewed defined this as 'participation"' (NRP, p. 20). In Rennes, the following keywords are common in the youth discourse: "cross-sectoral approaches in relationships, co-construction or co-decision and self-training" (NRR, p. 31).

This general assessment applies in particular to young people who are not engaged as volunteers or group leaders in youth associations or the student council. The latter are better equipped to associate with the concept of participation, since they move in the adult world, which defines the terms of and deals with formally shaped structures in organisations and associations. At the same time, both the city-specific analysis as well as the transnational analysis show that the term is neither consistently used nor uniformly defined. Much rather,

"interpretations shift between self-determination, choice, decision-making, social engagement, voluntarism, representation, raising one's voice, lobbying – or simply being there" (NRF, p.24). For individual groups in Plovdiv the term participation or rather the promise of participation is seen as positive in connection with the idea of "'being active' in public life. (…) Being active was understood as doing something for social change, getting involved instead of being just a standby observer" (NRP, p. 48). A different group of actors then differentiates into two types of motivation for social and public commitment: "(…) one that comes from the need of personal satisfaction and the idea of being useful to others, and one that follows an egotistic career and financial ambitions. While some admitted that these are not mutually incompatible, the dominant understanding of participation was of activity in which altruistic motives take the lead" (NRP, p. 49).

In view of this, it is not surprising that "most young people interviewed in the mapping process (i.e. in group discussions in everyday contexts) do not refer to and ascribe meaning to participation in terms of politics and institutionally and pedagogically framed forms of engagement, involvement or co-determination" (NRF, p. 24). It is also not surprising that, in view of this fact, young people have little knowledge of the existing formal vessels of participation in their cities and their importance in the overall youth political structure of the city (NRG, p. 72).

In summary, it can be said that participation is a concept from the adult authorities' world, which is closely linked to political promises and expectations. Provocatively expressed, one could say that adults are trying to make young people participate in the world the adults have already prestructured for the young people without leaving enough openness for them to define their world and forms of participation themselves. The fact that young people often avoid these offers is then seen as an egocentric attitude of young people or as a lack of ability to adapt to the rules of political negotiation procedures. From the point of view of young people, these offers often appear to be a kind of alibi exercise, since from their point of view the real power relations do not change. If there is little sense and no individual purpose to be gained from the activities offered, the young people prefer to withdraw and seek own possibilities.

What is really relevant to young people and how specifically they involve themselves in different cities through actions is explained in more detail in the following section.

3.2 PARTICIPATORY ACTIVITIES

The study asks for the different ways in which young people participate in decisions "which concern them and, in general, the life of their communities". The starting hypothesis was the assumption "that all young people do participate while not all participation is recognised as such" (see Summary, Proposal 2014, p. 3). Against this background, different participatory activities were ethnographically evaluated in the eight selected cities with the aim of reconstructing them in their meanings and dynamics (see Proposal 2014, p. 19). The following chapter explains how the variants of participatory activities were developed.

3.2.1 METHODOLOGICAL NOTE

On the basis of the 48 in-depth case descriptions contained in the national reports[9], an attempt was made to identify typical variants of participatory activities across the city.[10] It was found that the distinction between formal, non-formal, and informal alone is not sufficient to adequately explore the different semantic contents of participatory activities. Rather, it was necessary to determine dimensions from the case descriptions that allow for comparing the cases with one another. It is only on this basis that it is possible to develop overlapping variants. The following cross-case dimensions were identified:

- What was the reason for establishment of the setting? (History)
- What is the core of the activities and which objectives are linked to it? (Content/ subject)
- How are the activities organized and what culture of belonging is lived in them? (Organisational form)
- Who are the actors and what is the relationship between them? (Actors and their structure)
- Whom is the activity targeted at? (Addressees)
- In which places do the activities take place and/or how are places significant to the activities or the activities to the places? (Place/space)
- What the temporal extent do the activities entail and how regularly, irregularly do they occur? (Temporal dimension)

All 48 in-depth cases were analysed and summarized using these dimensions. Subsequently, in-depth cases with similar characteristics were grouped into case groups. In doing so, it become evident that a single dimension, e.g. the form of organisation or the nature of the activity, is neither sufficient for delimitating between individual cases, nor for the formation of case groups. Therefore, taking into account the different dimensions, the 48 in-depth cases were bundled into seven groups.

In a further step, the characteristic features of the seven case groups were elaborated along the different dimensions and defined as a variant of participatory activity. Each cluster was described along the dimensions and afterwards it was verified whether all cases of the case group corresponded with this cluster. It turned out that there are in-depth cases that embody one of the clusters, while other in-depth cases can be assigned to multiple clusters depending on the perspective.

When the in-depth cases were assigned to case groups, as a rule, two to three of the following dimensions were decisive: 1. the nature of the activity and its actors; 2. the organisational form; 3. the objective linked with the dimensions addressees ; and 4. the location or space reference.

3.2.2 DESCRIPTION OF CLUSTERS OF PARTICIPATORY ACTIVITIES

9 See appendix A for a concise identification of the 48 groups.

10 Comparisons regarding the method of the formation of types Schallberger, Schwendener 2017 (p. 47 ff)

The case clusters presented here consists of a descriptive-analytical ordering of different forms of participatory activity based on the 48 in-depth cases. Based on the case studies in the national reports, seven different clusters of participatory activities have been worked out, based on six to ten in-depth cases.

CLUSTER I: Representation of interests as right and obligation

The first cluster comprises all formal cases, such as youth parliaments, student representatives at universities as well as the participation of pupils and the interest representation of home-schooled individuals. The commonality of the, otherwise different, in-depth-cases is an institutionally or legally secured setting in which youngsters, students or pupils can articulate their own interests and thus can or must assume responsibility within the framework of a particular institution. The degrees of freedom as well as the range of participation (from information on opinion formation to the decision) are very different in the individual cases. Common to all cases are forms of representation of interest analogous to democratic forms of government. Whether and to what extent this actually constitutes political interest representation differs from case to case.

In contrast, the next two styles "Fighting within and with the political system" as well as "Living social alternatives as a political model" can indeed be assigned to the sphere of political activities. These directly or indirectly aim at working on the social system, either with regard to the political system in general, or with regard to individual social spheres of life. However, they do so in two very different styles.

CLUSTER II: Fighting within and with the political system – explicit activities in and out of political parties

Within this cluster, the political confrontation with the existent political system is at the forefront. Platforms for this confrontation are offered by political parties with their youth organisations, small self-initiated political groups as well as by social movements. The focus is on written and spoken debate regarding the own political objectives as well as persuasive efforts in the form of organized public discourse and public actions.

CLUSTER III: Living social alternatives as a political model

This cluster is characterized by the fact that the propagation of the 'walk through the institutions' or the 'preparation of a change of system' is not primary. Instead, the desired changed social reality in the here and now is directly being implemented or lived. These models (e.g. a self-managed cultural sector or a self-governed educational institution), are, from the point of view of the actors, political alternatives that challenge the existing system. The lived model allows participants to make concrete counter experiences against that which is established and demonstrates to a general public that a different social order is possible - at least for certain areas of life. This style is not only evident in a collectively organized alternative way of life, but also in individualized forms, through individual lifestyles as a means of political change.

CLUSTER IV: Producing and negotiating own spaces

This cluster only has a political character in as far as the claim exists that activities and regulations can be largely defined in one's own places or spaces, even if they are contrary or even in conflict with the currently applicable regulations. One's own space is clearly delimited from the outside and this self-chosen demarcation requires societal acceptance. If this does not exist or insufficiently exist, the participants react by retreating into the 'invisibility' or by offensively defending their own borders. How different the societal acceptance of such worlds and the styles of demarcation are is shown by the different cases.

CLUSTER V: Inbetween service of humanity and service enterprise

An activity that is very different at first sight is the voluntary commitment of young people at the service of others. In this style's in-depth-cases, it becomes clear that it is precisely the delimitation from political engagement that is an important component. The voluntary commitment, whether in others, in the care of the weaker or the natural basis, is often provided within the framework of civil society organisations. They are in some ways services to others, or even to society, which the respective state does not provide itself. It is interesting to note that this kind of voluntary commitment is not only provided under the umbrella of traditional non-profit organisations, but that this commitment is also provided in small self-organized groups, which in a sense understand themselves to be service providers and offer these services for money, analogous to the non-profit organisations, which themselves are based on a professionalized structure. In this interplay of professional and voluntary work, young people discover the potential to use their voluntary commitment as a stepping stone for their career planning and/or as a cornerstone of economic livelihood.

The commitment, which leads back to itself, is particularly evident in the sixth style, “Exploring interests, developing and performing skills”.

CLUSTER VI: Exploring interests, developing and performing skills

These activities focus, on the one hand, on the individual abilities and, on the other hand, the belonging to certain scenes. In most cases, this style shows that certain skills are essential to enter, for instance, a musical, theater or sports scene. The act of proving oneself in these scenes in front of others, yet also with others in front of audiences, characterizes the activities, which are in some cases very different from one another. The variance of the scenes is considerable, whether in the sense of short-lived and long-lived scenes, or in the sense of offers commercialized or initiated by the youth work.

In some way, this style finds a counterpart in the “Pedagogically supervised leisure infrastructure”.

CLUSTER VII: Pedagogically supervised leisure infrastructure for young people

In a certain way, the style of pedagogically organized leisure- infrastructure, which includes most cases stemming from youth work, is about developing skills. The potential of creative, musical and athletic activities was discovered in order to attract young people to a sensible leisure time. Basically, this is a broad learning field, in which young people can experiment

with themselves, discover and develop themselves and their abilities (whether through self-organisation of small projects, or in the area of their own expression and self-articulation over analogous forms). The pedagogical objective in the background is ultimately aimed at societal integration, because the addressees in many of the studied youth Centres are young people who are disadvantaged due to their living conditions and who have more difficulties accessing the commercial offerings of the leisure industry.

3.2.2.1 CLUSTER I: Representation of interests as right and obligation

This cluster combines all formal in-depth case studies, in which pupils, students or the urban youth can articulate their interests by means of institutional forms of representation. This kind of involvement is experienced ambivalently. Ambivalences refer both to the content of participation, which does not sufficiently reflect relevant issues from the perspective of the young people, as well as to the actual possibilities of influencing municipal politics. Rights and possibilities of participation stand opposite to obligations in these procedures. Furthermore, the assessment of importance of this cluster of participation opens a gap between a small group of active representatives and the large group of young people represented by them. In many cases, the group of representatives is divided into a small core group of very active young people and into an extended circle of young people who are less active as representatives.
The in-depth-cases that can be assigned to this cluster are briefly presented below and grouped according to different organisational forms (youth parliaments, school participation bodies and student representatives). The case of representation of interests in a shelter for young people can be described as a special case and will be discussed at the end.

Case Group: Youth parliaments as an institutionalized representation of the interests of young people

In three of the eight cities – Gothenburg, Frankfurt and Manchester – there are youth parliaments, and these all constituted case studies of the project. They differ in size and organisation, yet they have an institutionalized forum in common, where young people can debate their interests and lodge them at the municipal and/or national level. All three youth parliaments are run by a core group consisting of young people and, in some cases, persons who support the young people in the organisation like youth workers. Below we briefly described these three groups.

Formal Youth Organisation (FYO): The FYO is the main political, formal forum of youth participation in the city of Gothenburg. It was established in 2004, modelled after the City council, and serves the purpose of enhancing youth participation. Young people ages 12-17, from the 10 city districts, run a candidature every year and are voted into the FYO. Representatives come from all of the districts. There are 81 regular members and 20 replacements. The number of seats is allocated based on the proportion of young people living in a district. Formal, grand meetings, which gather (or at least are open to) all of the representatives, take place five times a year. These are highly formalised and agenda-driven. Members address issues that they identify as important, such as young people's access to

public transportation, quality of school food, and leisure activities for the young. A small group of the most engaged members meet twice a week in the town hall. Assisted by a coordinator they discuss, plan and handle a variety of issues (NRG, p. 27).

Formal Youth Organisation (FYO): The youth parliament in Manchester is the key forum for recognised youth participation in the City of Manchester. It is the space with the most clear and explicit commitment to 'young people's participation' in the city and it directly frames 'participation' as an induction into democracy, concerned as it is with voice and representation .It has existed since 2011 and offers young people an exchange and discussion platform regarding municipal and national topics. A core group of approximately 10 adolescents makes up the youth council, organizes elections and meetings, maintains links with the city council, maintains contact with other youth parliaments and organizes activities pertaining to national campaigns (see NRM p. 10). Although the discussion is made by young people, the entire structure for the discussion is determined by others beforehand (NRM, p. 24).

Youth and Student Representation of Frankfurt (YSR): In Frankfurt, each student council of each school has the right to send two delegates to the city-wide Youth and Student Representation which meets two to three times a year for its general assembly. Approximately 60,000 pupils and students elect the delegates once a year. These in turn elect an "executive board". This board is responsible for the day-to-day business of the YSR and has a budget of 6,800 Euro per annum provided by the municipality[11]. The executive board is supported by a former board member on a voluntary basis and by three guest members, liaising teachers. The work of the board is characterized by statutory duties to represent young people in the city's governing bodies; by endorsing campaigns by other students' representations; and by setting their own agenda by taking on "bottom-up" initiatives by local groups of young people (NRF p. 45).

Representative Systems - Between Participation and Alibi Exercise with Educational Intentions

The three cases stand for institutionalized forums for representing the interests of young people. A certain number of young people are elected or delegated for a certain period to represent the urban youth. The purpose of this organisation is to represent the interests of the entire city's youth in the city policy. In the case studies of Frankfurt and Gothenburg, the composition of the forum as an appropriate representation of all young people is problematized. Representatives and members of the core group from Gothenburg criticize the fact that in certain districts the election is badly organised and not sufficiently promoted, thus making more difficult for young people from certain areas to participate. In Frankfurt, the representative structure appears to function as a social filter. Male grammar school pupils are clearly overrepresented. With the election into the parliaments, pupils with more educated competence of self-presentation are preferred. At the same time, the right to representation of interest pupils in a lower grade is restricted. The uneven composition of the representatives

11 Which has recently been increased from 6,800 to 15,000 Euros.

becomes even more evident in the core groups. In Gothenburg, where the organisation and planning are open to all the representatives and there is no core group, predominantly young males who are very interested and possess exceptional communicative, intellectual and social skills, are active. This small group take the forum as an opportunity to participate in democratic processes, to gather personal experiences and to find ways to influence political processes.

The parliaments are tied to the city's policy and are provided with public resources (spaces and budget). The possibility of truly introducing the interests into the overall city policy is structured differently in the three cities. In Gothenburg, the youth parliament has no real power to decide, but they do have the possibility of introducing issues: "In relation to the City Council, the FYO has no decision-making or executive power. Members can ask questions, offer suggestions and express opinions. The structure of FYO is decided by the City Council. Activities of the FYO are reported to a working group of elected politicians with supervising responsibility" (NRG, p. 27). Despite this possibility to participate, the real influence of the FYO is small, according to one of its members. On the relationship between FYO and the politicians, she comments: "Plainly speaking I don't think it's working. Some show up, some care and all, but nothing happens. It changes nothing /…/ It's like, generally, we report, they report. (Amanda, BI)" (NRG, p. 31).

In contrast, it is striking that the board members of Frankfurt sit in various political commissions and can directly take their positions into the political negotiation. Thus, the youth parliament in Frankfurt has "a relatively powerful position within the city governance: board members are taking part in some formal committees, have access to senior members of the city administration and their potential for agenda-setting is high, given the potential to mobilize pupils and students for certain issues" (NRF p. 49).

In Manchester, the possibilities of the FYO members to develop their own topics and forms of negotiation are low. The agenda is mostly set by adults with an obvious pedagogical effort. FYO primarily serves the introduction of young people into institutional politics:

> It is tempting to conclude that the FYO functions as a Trojan horse for the incubation of broader national politics into the lives of young people. This doesn't just happen implicitly, through the partial mimicking of formal political activities and modes of organisation, but also explicitly, through the organisation of work sessions, thematic days, and others, destined to inform or involve young people into mainstream policies. Official codes and scripts predominate and yet the young people find a reason to persist here, believing they can make a difference. Groups of young people often have to follow a discussion agenda that is structured in advance by the youth workers or other adults (e.g. regional politicians). (NRM p. 25)

For the three youth parliaments, it can be said in summary that the gap between a pedagogical reintegration into a representative political ensemble without actual participation and a real political influence of pupils is large. It is in each case a group of committed and well-

educated pupils who actively participate and thus also further develop their own competences.

Case group: Compulsory Extracurricular Activities in School

The extent to which the institutionalized right to representation of interests of young people is included in a school's socialization mission is particularly evident in the student committee of a private grammar school in Zurich as well as in the High School Association at the High School. It means that the participatory activities have the form of an obligation within a pedagogical programme.

Student committee at a private grammar school in Zurich: The student committee at a private grammar school consists of elected representatives from each class. The committee meets at least four times a year, accompanied by teachers, to discuss the concerns of pupils. The committee can introduce proposals into the school management and has a right to be heard at the teacher's meeting, in which important decisions pertaining to the teaching mode are made. However, they are not entitled to vote. In their day-to-day life in the classroom as well as in the committee, the pupils involved in the committee are confronted with a school management and teacher body that thus far felt all-powerful, who regulates the central concerns of the school operation and is strongly influenced by external regulations such as cantonal curricula or parents' expectations. In the central areas of this school system, the students have few chances to assert their interests, but they can be involved in activities on the fringe of school's normal functioning, participate in and co-create extracurricular activities. For example, they can (and must) organize the annual school festival.

High School Association at the High School: Pupils can choose a commitment in the High School-Association out of several compulsory optional subjects in school. The High School was founded in 1995 with more than 1200 branches throughout Italy. The movement's objective is to build a culture of lawfulness through various activities. The activities are organized exclusively by the young people and younger pupils are introduced by older pupils. However, it is primarily the core team of this youth section of the national association that is active and networked with the broader High School Association of Bologna. This split is also reflected in the school organisation as a whole: The group of students who are politically and culturally engaged and interested, and those who are primarily interested in the organisation of leisure (see NRB, p.48ff).

Right to participate as a performance of one's duty

The starting point in both cases is the obligation to participate in extracurricular tasks, although in different ways. Participation is thus primarily a duty and not so much a right. Although the activities are very different in both of the cases, it is primarily about encouraging young people to take responsibility for themselves and others, and therefore also for society, or as in the Zurich case, for the school community. In both cases, the promise of assuming responsibility entails a promise of influence. In Zurich it is about Influencing the school organisation; and in Bologna it is about influencing the building of an High School attitude. The balance between the assumption of responsibility and the possibilities for

influence, as demonstrated in the Zurich case, does not appears correct from the point of view of young people. Although they have to do a lot of work, they realize that their influence is very limited. A member of the committee said: “Well, to change things that never get changed. I mean, to try and change things. It’s really more about giving the teachers the feeling that the students have an influence on the school, even though they don’t” (NRZ, p. 25). If the promise of influence is insufficiently fulfilled or not at all, the activity becomes, from the point of view of the young people, a mere fulfilment of a duty and thus an alibi exercise, which is best avoided, if possible.

In one aspect, the significance or motivation for participation in the High School group is identical to the youth parliaments described above: a core team of young people actively leads the group and is also in contact with the superior High School group from Bologna. For many participants, the participation in these actions does not seem to be of any importance beyond the fulfilment of a duty. The same can be said for many participants of the student committee.

As mentioned by the Bologna team,

> the organisation of the activities is very “scholastic”. (…) many students participate because they have to gather 25 hours of afternoon activities. Only the nucleus (core group) is actually the group that “participates”. (…) The others members only attend the meetings because "they must" and because, by the end of May, they have to have gathered 25 hours. (NRB, p. 50f)

Case group: Interest representation at universities

In contrast to the previous five cases, older youngsters attending university compose these ones.

Student Council at a university of Plovdiv: The Student Council is a structure within the framework of one of Plovdiv’s leading universities. It is the official and legally established organ for protection of the common rights and interests (intellectual, social, cultural, sport, creative, etc.) of all undergraduate, graduate and postgraduate students in the university. The Council has a hierarchical internal structure organized on university and faculty levels. An unlimited number of students may become members of the Council by passing an application and a subsequent interview with the organisation’s HR expert. The governing bodies are elected on a quota principle. Each faculty nominates five people for the Council’s General Assembly. The Assembly elects a chairperson and a Board which actually run the Council’s activities. The Council is represented at the highest levels of university management. While protecting the rights and interests of students, the Council has no right to work in favour of any political or religious causes (NRP, p. 31).

University Students Network of Bologna: The University Students Network is a university student organisation with left wing political orientation. It was established in 2013 and promoted by a group of students of the School of Political Science, originating from a stronger and older grammar school organisation. The University of Bologna validates any student organisation that reaches at least 100 members. The USN counts almost 150 members

among University of Bologna students, the amount of students who actively and (almost) daily participates is about 50. The board is composed of four students. USN's objective is the recognition of the centrality of the students and their needs. The USN claims the protection of the rights of the students in order to promote a system that ensures the real right to education (NRB, p. 41f).

Representatives versus Represented

Even in the case of representation of interests at universities, the actor structure is divided into an internal and an external group. Thus, the legitimation of the representation of interests is brittle and representatives and represented attribute different meanings to the representation. The internal group admits to have some influence and for the represented this involvement is meaningless.

Plovdiv's in-depth case study shows, in a similar way to the youth parliaments, that the hierarchical structure and the dominant role of the chairman, although formally chosen by the students, leads to a gap between the representatives and the represented. While the explicit aim seems to be the "protection of student rights" (NRP, p. 33), which provides a rationale for legitimising students' involvement, in reality few initiatives were directed towards this official target. Indeed, a significant part of the students had no idea that a student council even existed (NRP, p. 33). Our respondents preferred to explain this narrow focus with the alleged lack of interest and apathy among the student youth: 'the majority of the students is "chalgari", people who listen to chalga, who want to go to a club to get wasted, to get drunk, to go back home together with somebody else.' (NRP, p. 33). On the other hand, it seems easier for board members to work without their base. One member stated: "'The less people take the floor and participate, the better it is for making a decision". (NRP, p. 31, CS4_LS1_transcript, p.12). Organisations such as the Student Council in Plovdiv primarily serve board members in networking to help their own career. Thus, from the point of view of the researchers, "the representation of student interests is rather a slogan than a true objective of the organisation's activities. Wider public issues linked to the life in the city were neither discussed nor addressed by the Council" (NRP, p.33).

In the case of Bologna, not only board members became engaged, but also members with no special function became involved in the group's actions. Clearly, the self-imposed agenda makes the declared representation of interests also appear credible to the members. Yet, the students who are engaged here also made an issue of the dilemma of 'ingroup' and 'outgroup':

> It seems to be a matter of visibility: other students do not have any perception of what is going on within representative activities nor what is possible to do in terms of student participation. It is scarcely known by students what representatives do, which are their duties and in how many activities they are involved. This also leads to the assumption that "representatives - since you don't see them - can't actually change things" (A member during an observation, PO, Bologna, October 2016); actually, "students think that representatives are useless" (A member during an observation, PO, Bologna, October 2016). It seems very important to find a way to be known,

showing that "doing university politics doesn't necessary mean going around and smashing everything up" (A member during an observation, PO, Bologna, October 2016) (NRB, p. 43f).

An uncommon case: Interest representation in residential care

The representation of interests of young people in residential care constitutes a special case.

Residential Carehome of Frankfurt: The institution is a residential care home for young males from the age of 14 years. The residents mainly go to school, some are doing an apprenticeship. The domestic and socio-economic status is diverse. Beside traditional poverty, there are family problems that caused the need for care home. Furthermore, young unaccompanied refugees live in the resident groups together with German young people (NRF, p.50). The institution has a statutory duty to provide the young people with an institutionalised form of participation (NRF, p. 55). Therefore, "a care home council conference takes place usually once a month, where the two group speakers elected by the residents, the care home counsellor and the care home manager, take part to talk about the wishes and needs of the young people" (NRF, p 51).
Particularly the group speakers have a special function in this setting: they are the representatives of the other residents and have a role model function for their group, the special role of the care home counsellor as a mediator and representative of interests is noticeable, furthermore the power of the manager seems to be communicated through this setting, where young people ask the manager for change and he has to decide (NRF, p. 51).

Permanent negotiation is part of everyday life in the care home

Within the framework of the Youth Assistance Act[12] and based on children's rights, young people are awarded a certain degree of participation in their life planning. But here, too, this right is integrated into an everyday carer home life dominated by duties. The focus here is on the conflicts between adolescents and adults with the rule structure determining daily life. Depending on the negotiating power of individual young people or groups, young people experience this everyday process sometimes as a kind of participation and sometimes as a process of permanent disempowerment. As such, the formalized negotiation structure that allows young people little influence and the pedagogical backstage need to be distinguished: "the frontstage is based on the juridical safeguarding regulation of the care manager and fixed in formal house rules. Backstage, the residents deal with those normative positioning and develop strategies of agency and the professional try to grant a margin of discretion and handling"(NRF, p. 55). Against this backdrop, one can understand the assessment by Simon, a teenager who considers the home setting to be a kind of political system: "'I think in a certain way politics refer to our living here, to this interplay with the youth welfare office, because here the institution and the youth welfare office always have to negotiate who has to pay and these are wars […]here are rules which limit the young people and there are always discussions about the rules, how to change them and to find compromises, one can say this is a compressed political system" (NRF, p. 56). Negotiation processes are framed by different

12 The Youth Assistance Act is a part of the youth policy in Germany.

power relations (care manager to professionals, professionals to residents, residents to care manager), which structure what is being perceived by the youngsters as a ‘compressed political system’ where they seem to have the lowest level of influence” (NRF, p. 56).

Conclusion

In summary, the formal participation settings from the sample can be assigned to the cluster "Representation of interests as right and obligation". From the viewpoint of the young people who participate in these groups, the central question is whether they are actually able to contribute with their own interests in the forms of organisation that characterise these groups; and, if so, whether young people’s suggestions and interventions can also be implemented. Aspects such as highly formalized procedures, external agendas, requirements of high levels of literacy and a specific set of cultural competences associated with school deter many young people from becoming engaged with these settings. Young people tend to show a distrust towards these formal settings, mentioning the little change that these allow for their lives in the city. As a rule, those adolescents who successfully introduce their own interests into these participation settings and/or can use them as a learning space for themselves are already the active ones. From this point of view, the participation settings allow for a certain influence, the expansion of the personal networks as well as the possibility of distinguishing oneself.

There is also a tension between rights and duties. In the obligatory school participation projects, the 'hidden agendas' are becoming clear, with the young people's demand for taking responsibility. Oftentimes the rigid structures also hinder an open discussion with self-chosen topics, even in the case of the youth parliaments. In summary, there is a gap between a pedagogical reintegration into a representative political ensemble without actual participation and a real influence of pupils on the city policy. There is also an ambivalence between the right to participate and the duty of democratic participation.

3.2.2.2 CLUSTER II: Fighting within and with the political system – explicit activities in and out of political parties

In this cluster confrontation with the political system is at the forefront. Platforms for this confrontation are offered by political parties with their youth organisations, small self-initiated political groups as well as by social movements. Central activities are the self-assurance regarding one's own political goals as well as various actions to change the system.

We have two different kind of groups within this cluster. The first are groups that are associated with a certain political party, being the young or student wing of a national party. The Social Youth in Manchester, the Student Initiative in Eskişehir, and the Youth section of a political party in Plovdiv compound such cases.[13] The second are groups that have no affiliation with a political party, notwithstanding developing their activities within a political realm. These are the Young Feminist Movement/Groups in Manchester and the NDENDE

13The fact that only left-wing political groupings are represented in the entire sample was not planned that way. However, in the field phase in the different cities it became clear that the campaign was not possible despite various attempts.

from Rennes, which stand for political activities that are integrated into social movements. Along with this division, the cases are briefly described and the peculiarities of this cluster explored.

Case group: Party-like organisations

Youth section of a political party Plovdiv: The Youth section members belong to the 18-35 age group. Most of them study and work at different places and are not formally committed to youth participation activities for all of their time. There are some of them at elected positions in the local government. The participants share an ideologically driven self-assessment as a group: "We are an organisation oriented, yes, exactly, towards people in a disadvantaged position" (NRP, p. 37, CS6_FG1_transcript, pp.2-3). What motivates them to join the party and be members of its youth section is the common views they advocate, the mutual assistance in difficult moments, the vitality of the organisational life. They have been attracted by the initiatives in the social sphere, conducted by the party, and generally any activities oriented towards "social strata which are underprivileged and not receiving the attention they deserve" (NRP, p. 37). Such non-materialist conceptualization can frequently be heard: "the party is important for its ideals, for providing security to the people*"* (NRP, p. 37) .

Social Youth Manchester: This group is the student wing of a national, left-wing party, and its activities are developed within the Students' Unions of two different universities. The group meets weekly to discuss contemporary political issues and historical events, against the background of Marxian theory. In the words of the former chair of the group the point of the group is to "have a group discussion, having good theory'', making this group "based on theory" "we like to talk about Marxist history theory" (NRM, p. 26); as well as current issues like the refugee crisis, the American elections, Brexit, the Prevent Agenda, the National Student Survey, etc. The group is also engaged in political activism, by organising and participating in public protests and events (e.g. against austerity, against sexual harassment), as well as supporting working class initiatives (e.g., the strikes in NHS)(NRM, p.26).

Eskişehir branch of a student initiative: Established in the early 2000s at one of the universities in Istanbul, the student initiative (SI) represents an important opposition movement organized on the national level in Turkey. On the group's website it is stated that this is "an independent student organisation through which students both struggle for the problems they encounter and intervene in out-of-university life, with the awareness and responsibility of the enlightened university student identity" (the website of the initiative). It is also stated that the group defends itself against the neoliberal and retrogressive politics that the Justice and Development Party (JDP) implements on universities. (…) the student initiative sees itself in continuity of the leftist revolutionary movement in Turkey (NRE, p.19).

Young party members are fighting with the system

In contrast to the youth and student parliaments of the first cluster, which are to a certain extent supported by resources from public institutions, these cases involve branches of

national political organisations. The concrete form of organisation is directly or indirectly dependent on the national party organisation. Therefore, cooperation between youth and adult organisations as in Plovdiv or between the local organisations and headquarters as in Eskişehir plays an important role. Thus, the young people in Plovdiv, as well as the Social Youth in Manchester, do not always feel that traditional organisations take them seriously: "The internal party struggles consume much of their time and energy. In Bulgaria, parties are incapable of motivating anybody *(...)* (CS6_FG1_transcript, p.15)" (NRP, p. 37).

It is interesting in this context, which images the political activists themselves have of young people. In Plovdiv the participants presented a complex picture of the contemporary Bulgarian youth as a group with many problems, uncertainties and advantages and disadvantages in comparison with the parental generation. On the one hand, young people are perceived as a generation with many more opportunities for action and realization than their parents used to have, as well as being more liberated and more ambitious. On the other hand, they are often characterized by having a low material standard, being at risk of unemployment, prone to aggression, undisciplined, disappointed and not straightforward. The main problems of contemporary young people are seen as unconditionally concentrated in the socio-economic sphere (NRP, p. 38).

All three groups report having difficulties in recruiting young people to join their activities. This is because of a certain fatigue and mistrust that young people feel in relation to party politics. In Plovdiv, for instance, there is "the consciousness of a difficult access (…) to the young people due to unpopularity of politics and the party itself" (NRP, p. 39); and in Manchester it is reported that

> one of the obstacles towards participation in the dynamics of the group relates to the stigmatisation of party politics that many young people seem to carry: "Many [young] people are suspicious of any kind of party politics" (Michel_Manchester_GD). Closely linked to that is "the feeling amongst the general population that nothing can be done, nothing can change, all is determined (…): "that idea that you cannot change the structures of society" (Michel_Manchester_EI)." (NRM, p. 28)

All three youth organisations deal with current international, national and local political issues, sometimes in collaboration with other organisations. This is particularly the case with the Manchester group where, despite their position on the (far) left of the political spectrum, the group actively engages with other groups and other campaigns that are struggling against anti-austerity politics or within different identity politics struggles (Against sexism, against racism, against anti-immigration movements, etc.). Every week they participate in protests, stalls, and other demonstrations, in association with other groups also operating in the city of Manchester. Examples are the annual participation in the International Women's Day Reclaim the Night demonstration, the active participation in the campaign against homelessness in the city of Manchester, the participation in different strikes organised by workers' trade unions, campaigning with groups working with refugees and asylum seekers, among others (NRM, p. 27).

The way young people deal with the requirements of the political work depends on the local or national political context. Particularly relevant here is the Eskisehir's group, because of the context of political oppression that currently characterises Turkish society. As mentioned in the NRE (p. 24f), ""in this atmosphere of political oppression, "there is no moderate opposition left. You are either pro or con-Erdoğan. Even the 'apolitical' ones are more radical now - they want to leave the country [emphasis is ours]". Furthermore, "in a campus where even reading a legal newspaper like *Cumhuriyet* is seen as an act of protest, or even watching a Yeşilçam movie on the campus is prohibited by the university administration, where the faculty administration admits that it is not up to them to make decisions, it seems that it is difficult to maintain a moderate opposition.(…) Related with the risks of participation, we observed that young people (…) choose to lie or not tell the whole truth about their political activities to their parents (…). In that sense, they use "tactics" (in reference to Michel de Certeau) in order to continue their participation" (NRE, p. 24f).

In Plovdiv, too, the national political situation play a central role for the daily life of the young party. In particular "the national security, the refugee crisis and the risks facing the country, and the second, to the omnipresent fears of controlled voting and of the ruling right-wing party's potential for election fraud and manipulation of results (CS6_EO3 ; CS6_EO5 ; CS6_EO6)" (NRP, p. 37).

The political activities that young people engage with within these groups presuppose a certain degree of knowledge about the current political situation, both at a national and at an international level. In Manchester. the participants are highly politicised and theoretically informed. The meetings of the group, are considered by its members to be informal educational spaces, where they can learn and discuss theories and positions that are often absent from formal education (NRM, p.28). In this sense, political work encompasses an educational dimension, requiring both an individual interest and the conviction that one can jointly change society. A Turkish student expresses the personal significance of this political work as follows: "I am someone who has a certain identity" (…) "What we do is not just a political activity, it is a search for meaning in life. What is the meaning of life a person should live for? Those things we experience, is it right or not? I like to live like this is not right. What we go through is not right and I believe that it is necessary to resist that" (NRE, p.25).

More about the struggles in these cases and the fight against the system is found in two statements by the researchers from Manchester and Eskişehir:

> Working with this group has been very prolific to understanding how certain groups of young people struggle to change mainstream politics, not by creating their own alternative communities, but by directly engaging with party politics, from a leftist perspective. It shows that young people can have a high interest in theory and in criticising political economy, and how this desire to know more can be a galvanising force for being together. (NRM, p. 30)

> The type of participation due to the characteristics of this particular setting and the actions of the young people engaged can be characterized as devoted socialist. These young people socialized in a socio-historical context marked by the decline of socialism and at a time when the "alternative" to neoliberalism disappeared, are devoted socialists who believe that they can create an alternative to the hegemonic neoliberal order, for the Turkish case which goes hand in hand with the conservative policies of the Justice and Development Party government. While stating their devotion, they refer to the history of leftist youth movements in Turkey as well as making links with the history of the left in a transnational manner. It is also important to note that, especially since the 1980 military coup, the leftist student movement is being stigmatized and marginalized in the political sphere, which also explains why they feel like their actions need to be provocative due to the asymmetric power relations in the political game. Whereas their activities are self-funded, their actions remain marginal and are often labelled as provocative action. (NRE p. 25)

Case group: Political activities outside of political parties

The cases NDE (Rennes) and Young Feminist Group (Manchester) show a different way of confronting the system. These associations can be described as networks of persons, groups, and organizations that organize collective actions of protest and, in contrast to political parties, have open borders and avoid the developed division of work.

NDENDE Rennes: The emergency of this movement was linked to the protests against the work law and was launched nationally. Paris and many other provincial cities were involved right from the start. After three months of mobilisation, the movement is no longer as strong, but the local protest movements have seen several transformations. (NRR, p. 51). Their members consider themselves to be a citizen's movement, where everyone is free to bring up and say what they want, to make proposals and take initiatives. These citizens believe that, as a reaction to the crisis of the representative link, it is important for them to regain control of politics by participating in democratic life in their own way and allowing greater public space presence (NRR, p. 54). Within the movement itself, different visions interweave, in particular, linked to the age and the activist life of each one: for some of them, the movement is defined as an informal and spontaneous movement of citizens for the exchange of ideas, reflecting upon proposals and finding themselves in a progressive form of democracy; while for others, especially the older ones and/or the most experienced activists, it is important to undertake effective actions as well, so that they do not remain in the discussion but are really proactive (NRR, p. 54).

Young Feminist Movement, Manchester: The Manchester group has a different dynamic. Its members 'operate' as activists individually and are also part of one or more activist groups. The case study comprised a small number of activist groups, and their members as part of a city-wide activist and feminist movement (NRM, p. 35). In the words of a young woman, the main motivation for joining the group was to meet "other women who were survivors or

passionate about women's rights and sharing articles and having conversations with them and learning the language and to verbalise exactly what I was angry about."(NRM, p. 58).

Positioning oneself politically and developing cooperation forms

As it is typical for social movements too, there is no formal membership in the case of NDE. Anyone can be part of it by participating in any activity, whether offline or online, sporadically or permanently. The basis for participation is a common understanding of the purpose of the group. The movement depends on the active participation of people who are willing to invest a significant part of their time in the movement by taking care (sometimes unwillingly) of its internal organisation: "At the beginning, we were there for the logistics : to install and uninstall the tents, to put all the material in a car, to have a folder with people's contacts, to try to find a way to organise ourselves…then, progressively, I don't know, we took the responsibility of it, we realised that some people were there all the time when others just came once or twice… and then we reflected a bit upon how to do… (GD 1)" (NRR, p. 53). It is precisely for this reason that they have not only to deal with their social and political desires for change but also with their group dynamics.

In the Manchester group (Young Feminist Movement), gender concerns are supported by online and offline activities: "Online media provides young feminists with new and novel ways to push their objective by (in addition to consciousness-raising and story-telling) disseminating and sharing information (about activism or current events); activating, mobilising and organising activism and protest; and debating and exploring social issues" (NRM, p. 38). The fight against the system, however, also requires assessing oneself. For the members of this group, to experience a "feminist journey" begins with anger and frustration and a feeling of powerlessness, evolves into a need of being part of a collective or coalition and to 'speak of the bitterness' associated with gendered struggles, and finally becomes a committed engagement to the broader feminist movement in the city, nationally, and global" (NRM, p. 39). The participation of the young women is explicitly political and is centred on fighting for social change for women and girls. Though empowering, this participation is also fraught with anger, anxiety, and a constant retelling (and reliving) of personal experiences (NRM, p. 39).

The personal participation in this group is central to its political self-image. This is based on the demand of the 2nd women's movement from the 1970s, where the motto was 'everything private and personal is always also political': "The most prevalent theme in the data is the sense that that which is personal, is deeply political for all of the young women involved in the case study. Zara_Manchester_BI: 'I think to be an activist in the first place, it doesn't start with politics, it starts with personal things. I would always advocate for my own rights in my home life. […] I've always had a really strong sense of justice and of right vs. wrong.'"(NRM, p. 36). Through exchanging online, the young women learn to understand themselves and their life situation, and their scope for action expands: "Juliet_Manchester_EI: 'You get to a certain stage in feminism when you do start to think about certain structures that are in place, but you don't necessarily start there. [...] Where

previously they were victim-blaming themselves, feeling guilty and I think that's what gives those places a lot of emotive power because it is a personal transformation."‘ (NRM, p. 38).

Although the goal of social change plays a central role in both movements – NDE and Being Feminist – their struggles with the system differ in the way they relate to space. While the movement Being Feminst creates its own spaces, especially online, the use of public space plays a special role for the NDE movement. One could almost say that by appropriating the public places, they also intend to place the political negotiations back into the hands of all. During the meetings with the group, it became evident that, the question of a place that would be easy to access, visible and established in the city centre of Rennes was at the heart of the discussions:

> Facing the mobilisation, the mayor conceded the "place Charles de Gaulle" to the demonstrators, renamed "the place of people". Every day, in the "place of people", for about two weeks, between one hundred and two hundred citizens assembled and discussed various problems that might be individual or collective problems, denouncing or bringing hope of a fairer and more humane society. (…) With the arrival of autumn and the cold season (..) the members of ND were divided on this crucial question: can we settle in a place without being institutionalised? There were two points of view, some preferring to avoid a fixed place to remain open and visible to all; others wanting to find a place to avoid demobilisation, to avoid the cold and the regular changes of places. (NRR, p. 54 f)

With this discussion on how the movement should behave in a space, it is clear to NDE how closely linked the confrontation with one's own dynamic and the activities against the outside are.

Conclusion

The style *"Fighting within and with the political system"* comprises two groups of in-depth case studies. Party-like organisations and informal associations differ greatly in their organisational form. Together, the two groups of cases intend to change the social and political system. In all cases, the actors target local, national and global issues and try to do persuasive work against the outside using various means. On the other hand, they deal internally with their own positions and further educate themselves personally and politically, as in the case of the Social Youth, when members discuss theories together. A direct discussion with one's own person, and especially one's own female role, is a main feature of the Young Feminist group.

A difference between the two case groups lies in their different organisational structure. On the one hand are party-like organisations with a clear membership, on the other hand informal associations, where there is no membership and, in principle, everybody is addressed and active as "citizen". While in party-like movements non-members are attributed with political depravity, informal associations may in fact counter precisely this phenomenon with their formless style and without strong obligations for participants.

Spaces and places play a role. While in the party-like organisations, the place creates a strong link to the local and national context of political events, spaces are a central characteristic for both social movements. At NDE, public spaces are often changed and used erratically (NDE) and the activists of Being Feminist achieve attention in the digital world of social media.

3.2.2.3 CLUSTER III: Living social alternatives as a political model

Another style of participating in society is the joint testing and living of alternative life and career forms. With these alternative models, young people are taking a stance against existing structures in the areas of education, work, consumption or culture. In contrast to the political parties, the focus in this style is on one hand the immediate change in the here and now through the change of one's own practices and, on the other hand, these projects are connected to a reflection on broader societal and political changes. Although these groups are often seen as part of political and social movements, those participating in lived alternatives see their own experimentation and the testing of new possibilities without waiting for a majority of society to follow this path as the basis of their political action. One can abstractly say that the self-determined form of organisation in this style is equally as important as the activity.

This style is represented in the sample by two different organisational forms: on one side are the young people who collectively create and live something together, on the other are the young people who join together in networks due to a common life orientation.

The sample contains three in-depth cases in which the lived alternative in and through the collective is at the Centre, namely: Open Education Collective in Zurich, Social Centre in Bologna as well as the Political and Cultural Centre in Frankfurt. All three in-depth cases are characterized by the collective having to search places for realization of their ideas, where they can jointly create an alternative social space. Therefore, the dimension space also plays an important role in this style.

Case group: Autonomous collective

Open Education Collective in Zurich (OEC): "The "Open Education Collective" is a provider of locally held open (and thus free-of-charge) courses that Open Education Collective emerged from an occupation of a church by a local migrant rights collective in the late 2000s. Subsequently to this occupation, an association was founded, which has since served as the financial and legal framework organisation for the courses and events. An important aspect of OEC's history is the struggle to find a location where people could meet and education could take place. In its history, OEC has relocated numerous times, either because it was only granted short-term usage rights or because the city ordered the initiative's occupation of unused public structures be put to an end. OEC has currently, for the first time, a rental agreement. The spaces are provided by the municipality on a temporary basis. At present, approximately 500 people regularly attend classes or meet on the days of operation and approximately 100 people work in various capacities on a voluntary basis. Some serve as moderators and offer courses, others are actively involved in the 14 different work groups.

Rooted in an extensive leftist alternative network, OEC is now generally well-known in the city"(NRZ, p. 34 f).

Social Centre Bologna: "The Social Centre (SC) is the name of an antagonist political group that, in November 2012, occupied an abandoned barrack located in a central and rich district of Bologna, transforming it into a community centre open to the public, making a name for itself as SC. After the squat, the activists and their supporters renewed a large part of the barrack, where different types of leisure, cultural and social and political activities began to take place. Over the last four years, SC turned into a popular and lively space, attended by numerous people, engaged in "doing politics", or simply attracted by its wide courtyard to drink a beer and enjoy some music"(NRB, p. 29f). Besides, they organised special projects, for example "Urban Garden", the campaign "we want bread and also houses", a project called "Kindergarten" and a self-managed social dormitory aimed at providing migrants, refugees and homeless people (see NRB, p. 30). Within the city of Bologna, SC is largely recognized as one of most popular occupied and self-managed *centro sociale*, characterized by the presence of numerous young people in leading and managerial position" (NRB, p. 29f).

Political and Cultural Centre Frankfurt (PPC): The case is an initiative of young people who, since autumn 2015, run an alternative cultural centre in an old building in the centre of [city C] – a neighbouring town that is 5 underground stops away from Frankfurt's city centre and more or less merged with Frankfurt into a metropolitan area. The building has been rented by the group and re-furbished as an autonomous cultural centre, after they had been searching for a suitable place for over a year. The group consists of about 30 young people aged between 18 and 40, the majority being between 20 and 25. Most of them are university students from an arts university in [city C] and from Goethe University Frankfurt. In addition, most of them are involved in some kind of left-wing or artistic activism. The 3-storey house is managed by an open plenary that coordinates the refurbishment process and the activities in the house. The core of the house is a café/bar-like room (the Salon) in the basement, where public debates, cultural events, bar evenings, political discussions, etc. are held. The other floors are used by different activist groups as a free and independent social counselling association, which offers alternative advice in welfare and social issues. The group also organises an open flee market and events like game evenings. External groups can use the premises for events like jam sessions, concerts, discussions etc. People interested in using the premises need to present their issue at one of the weekly "open plenary" evenings where requests are discussed. If the plenary, which works according to the consensus model, agrees to a request, one of the activists is assigned to accompany the external person during the planning and the realization of the event. This activist also has to report back to the plenary on how the cooperation went (NRF, p. 35).

Own places as a basis for collective self-determination

In the start-up phase, concrete places play an important role in autonomous initiatives, as these must be reclaimed from society. Thus, the struggle for spaces is of great significance in all these three cases. Depending on the local political conditions as well as the critical positions of the groups of actors, these conflicts can be more or less violent. While the PPC

has searched for a location outside Frankfurt due to the property prices, the Centro Sociale and the OEC occupied vacant buildings in order to implement their ideas and projects. In all three initiatives, the objective is to create a space where something alternative can be pursued. In Zurich, the main challenge of the group concerns the creation of opportunities for asylum seekers to live, work and get involved in the life of the city. In Bologna, the purpose of the group is to create a space to promote alternative political discourses and practices, in an attempt to counteract the economic, cultural and political logic that animate neo-liberal institutions logic (see NRB, p. 30/ footnote 10). In Frankfurt, it is about finding a place that is open to everybody and where culture, art and politics can be lived in connection with one another.

The ability to concretely assist in working on other circumstances

To independently set up, renovate and expand these places together with others, as well as the daily occupancy of these places plays an important role to the participants. In Bologna this manifests as follows:

> The "taking" of the space is often mentioned by the elder members as a risky and exiting moment. Since the whole building is huge (9,000 m2), the process of renovation has been conducted gradually, and is still going on. Each group of volunteers (helped by the activists) has renovated their own space, and this fact helped both in strengthening the relationship among the group and in allowing everyone to become confident with the place that was transformed day by day. Tonino [*male, 23yo*]: "I arrived at SC because a university colleague told me about it; if it wasn't for her, I wouldn't have come. I started from the space. I worked the space [*and not I worked in the space*]. At the beginning, I just wanted to do some manual labor. I saw all these people talking for ages about boring stuff... "How is it gonna be? Who is gonna come?". But I didn't care that much. I just wanted to work the space. Now [*after one year*] I am here [*discussing in an assembly with the whole group managing the dormitory*]" (Social Centre, Bologna, PO, February 5th 2017). Cinzia [*female, 27yo*]:"[*Looking at the big room where recently a social library was created*] It's simply great! I'm so satisfied with the work we have done... I still remember the first time we demolished that wall, this summer, during the camp… everything empty and destroyed. And look at it now [*while we are inaugurating the library*]!" (Social Centre, Bologna, PO, December 16th 2016). (NRB, p. 34f)

The sensory experience of creating a building, a cultural enterprise made together and according to their own ideas seems to be important for the experience of individual and collective effectiveness. This is closely related to the specific organisational form of autonomous collectives.

All three initiatives are open for people to get involved in the collective work. Membership is not formally determined, but rather actively lived. Members are those who participate. In all three self-organized Centres, a core group of activists exists, without whom group's operations would be endangered. However, as demonstrated by the three in-depth-cases,

changes of people in the core groups occur frequently. Who is part of the core organisational group is ultimately decided based on the intensity and continuity of their engagement. In each case, public meetings are where the most important decisions are made on a grassroots basis, and different work groups are assigned to different tasks. A high level of negotiation skills seems to be indispensable in these projects, because even if users come from a similar political spectrum, there are always differences of opinion in everyday life. Whenever possible, these are solved in consensus. In the Open Education Collective in Zurich these difficulties are reflected in often long sessions, which require a lot of patience from all participants.

One vision connects the most different types of people

Nevertheless, this type of negotiation, which can be characterised by collective self-determination, seems to create an atmosphere that attracts a wide variety of people. For example, in Zurich:

> the prevailing social culture at OEC and its aspiration of being an emancipatory educational project attract a particular group of individuals. People looking for something special. People who simply feel at home here. People who want to work together on this collective ideal. This project offers ways to participate on very different levels: a no-questions-asked right to spend time in the project rooms, helping take care of practical housework or participating in educational offerings or political actions. All of this together with like-minded people from different cultures. (NRZ, p. 36)

Something similar occurs with the Bologna group, where the ce*ntro sociale* offers different participatory options to completely different types of people:

> SC represents something that's worth investing in, also to give a purpose to their everyday life in Bologna. Among those who have already entered the labor market, SC often represents a way to escape the profit-oriented logic of the job places. Many social workers, for instance, who openly criticize the local institutional welfare system in which they are embedded, choose to participate in the SC projects in their spare time, for they better meet their aspirations to work for a good cause. Last but not least, for many people, actively participating, even in certain risky (and at the same time exiting) circumstances – such as confrontation with the police during demonstrations, evacuations or similar political initiatives – takes on a more general meaning: “to be a protagonist”, “to feel part of the struggle to change the future”, a struggle that starts in the present. (NRB, p. 34)

The possibilities to individually integrate oneself into a larger context and to experience with one's own senses how to create a separate world in the here and now seems to be a central experience for the activists of all three projects. For example, activists from the Frankfurt Group describe their place as "my home", "my second living room" and the OEC in Zurich is experienced by various users as a "big family". As varied as the three cases are, from a political perspective, the overlapping objective of all three projects can be equated with the

Italian meaning of "centro sociale": One can say “that a *centro sociale* is an antagonist place, promoting political discourses and practices, which attempts to contrast the logics of the economic, cultural and political neo-liberal institutions. They are self-managed and self-organized by activists who discuss their objectives and strategies through periodical assemblies.(…)”(NRB, p. 30, footnote 10). A key aspect of these cases is also that they (have to) invest a lot of time and energy into maintaining their spaces and organising themselves. With "To win the space", Cristian from Bologna gets to the heart of the common objective of all these many activists.

Case group: Informal networks

Also within this cluster, but showing a different organisational form, are the groups “Informal network for arts and debate” in Plovdiv, “Sustainable Food Youth Network” in Zurich and the “Ecological organisation eco-activists” in Plovdiv. Here we are dealing with a network-like grouping, in which one mutually supports one another to work on alternative individual forms of expression or living. There is the assumption in these groups that by changing individual ways of life social reality can be changed more effectively. Below we briefly describe the cases.

Informal network for arts and debate in Plovdiv: The network is anchored in the music scene and specifically linked to a music band that uses their songs and their political manifestos to show that they are a common scene in which alternatives are lived, programs and ideologies against the establishment are discussed and represented, “so that people can see that we are something, a scene dealing with alternative things ... non-mainstream ...” (NRP, p. 24). In addition to numerous events, the network's meeting point is the “Rochschach`s stain” (NRP, p. 25). This network is about an artistic form of confronting current political issues as well as the opening of own spaces, in which young people can realize their own lifecluster. It is also about providing a place in which independent art can evolve. Since these spaces are not offered by the city, one has to take matters into one's own hands (see NRP, p.26).

Sustainable Food Youth Network in Zurich: “The pseudonym Sustainable Food Youth Networkstands for a youth movement of a global non-profit organisation dedicated to the promotion of sustainable and local food culture and to the improvement of the access to food for the well-being of consumers, producers and the environment. The Sustainable Food Network has national and regional groups in 40 countries, one of which is Switzerland. The Swiss Youth Network is currently made up of local groups in four different Swiss cities or regions. Collectively, they work to support sustainable agriculture, conscious consumers, a diversity of tastes and appreciation for our food and those who produce it. The Zurich group, which is the focus of this case study, is the oldest and most active. It organizes individual actions in Zurich and the surrounding region, which it invites the public to attend. These actions are inspired by the existing event formats of the international youth movement network and are generally open to the public, combining political protest with plain simple fun. In addition, there is an informal monthly meeting that 20 to 35 participants attend. This meeting, which a variety of individuals in ever changing constellations attend, also has an event-like character. It is held in different locations in the city of Zurich, generally in the

rooms of allied organisations. In addition to this informal meeting, there is a more or less stable core team of 10 to 15 individuals. The Sustainable Food Youth Network is officially an association, but is intentionally not structured as such. Membership in the organisation is not a requirement for participation. As a result, it is unclear how many official or unofficial, active or passive members the group really has" (NRZ, p. 38f).

The "Ecological organisation eco-activists" in Plovdiv: The ecologists are an informal group of people with different professions: biologists, engineers, IT specialists, artists and others, who call themselves eco-activists and supporters, as well as representatives of environmental organisations such as "The Green Balkans", "Society for Birds' Protection," "Transparent mountains", the political party The Greens. They are intelligent and educated. They are mobile and travel across the country to protest in defense of various spaces. In the city, they organize their actions in front of the Municipality building in Plovdiv and in endangered places like the zoo, new constructions, old forests and parks. They monitor sanitary felling of trees in the city, garbage collection, spraying against ticks, pollution of the Maritza river. They also have their own positions on the construction of a second rowing channel, the new cinema "Cosmos", the pedestrian zone in "Kapana" and other city spaces and issues. Plovdiv has protected areas – the Youth hill, the Maritsa river and Tepetata (the hills), and this status is largely an achievement of the ecologists. And they take pride in it. Generally, these are young people who believe in participation through the strength of setting a personal example, even on the lowest level, such as reprimanding a person who throws away their cigarette butt in the street (CS2_FG1_transcript, p.17). At the same time, they have a consciousness of insufficiency and limitation of their efforts. In some cases, "they have been acting in protest for violation of rules, yet without results: such a feeling that it is as if what you do make no sense at all… that these people do their job, break and peg away as if we are not there (CS2_FG1_transcript, p.6)" (NRP, p. 26f).

Network-like merger

These different initiatives all have a network-like structure in common, in which individuals as well as small groups become active. In contrast to the autonomous collectives described above, here the joint activity consists of mutual support in devoting oneself to a different way of life. The activity, whether it is the developing of an alternative artwork or the practice of more sustainable consumption habits is everybody's responsibility. Individuals, with their concretely different lifestyles, virtually form the basis of this network. This loose grouping is sufficient for mutual support, which allows anyone to come or stay away at any time. And yet, here one can also see that the cohesion of these loose networks depends on the small groups that create the space for meetings and exchanges.

A common space through individual connectedness

The music band of the *Informal network for arts and debate* seems to be primarily interested in creating a space (physical and virtual), in which political debates can be initiated and lived through music and lyrics. In contrast, the active members of the Sustainable Food Youth Networkare all about working together to create counter-experiences with a more sustainable

eating culture, which then leads to changed individual behaviour. And the eco-activists also aim to directly influence individual behaviour, yet also the local politics, through very concrete, visible actions. In the three presented cases, the participants are offered a space in which they can experience themselves as subjects of change processes without having to directly confront the ruling powers of society, just as in the case of the autonomous collectives.

Conclusion

At the Centre of this cluster is the joint development and experiencing of concrete social alternatives in different organisational forms. It is not possible to abstractly assess how effective this cluster is with regard to societal change. On the basis of the empirical findings it can be concluded that the Centro Sociale, like the Open Education Collective, operate in a social conflict zone with their lived models, both with regard to the realization of human rights regardless of civic status as well as with regard to given property relations. As they challenge established power structures, they are the focus of the established power. This results in the risk that these alternative models may be crushed - because they violate prevailing laws. On the other hand, at first sight the networks aimed at changing individual living habits seem less vulnerable, perhaps because their impact on existing social conditions does not consolidate in specific places.

3.2.2.4 CLUSTER IV: Producing and negotiating own spaces

While the three previous clusters have a clear political dimension, in this case politics is to be understood as the capacity for self-organisation and self-regulation, especially when this implies confronting existing social regulations. The focus is on a common activity that makes one feel connected. Therefore, the regulation of belonging is an important dimension of this cluster. This will be determined by the individual orientation towards the common goal and the related rules of conduct, regardless of whether or not there are member lists. That's why insiders quickly recognize who is part and who is not. The restriction on affiliation, linked to one's own objective, creates a space which must in individual cases be reclaimed from or at least negotiated with society. If the social acceptance is lacking and the objectives and internal regulation are not sufficiently respected, the participants react by either retreating into "invisibility" or through offensive defence of one's own space, which can lead to a violent struggle with society's law enforcing powers. In the centre of this participatory activity are the specific interests and issues of the group. Encounters with and in the public result from the need of space, resource and recognition for themselves rather than aiming at influencing others into a same direction.

According to the cluster ”Producing and negotiating own spaces”, the following six very different in-depth-cases can be situated in this cluster: The Ultra Centre in Bologna, the local football fan club Eskişehir, the Scouts group Zurich, the sprayer group from Frankfurt, the Islamic youth movement Bologna and the informal girl group of Frankfurt. The differences in between these groups, can be characterized as more or less open to the external world.

Ultras Centre Bologna: The football fan team of the Ultras consists in its core of about 35 people aged between 18 and 60, with a large predominance of young people also occupying leading positions in the internal hierarchies. 20 out of the 35 people composing the group are aged 30 or under. The group has a rigid hierarchical structure and is composed predominately of males: just six women (3 young women and 3 adult women) are involved in the group's activities daily. The Ultra Community operates its own Centre, where several social projects (i.e. a kindergarten, a popular "free" gym and a library on sport cultures) and cultural and leisure activities (i.e. free concerts) are offered. Started with an occupation, the place has been granted to the group following a negotiation with the Municipality. Loyalty to the community forms the basis of the affiliation and also the hierarchical structure with traditional gender roles. One stands up for one another, considers "the curve", one's own Centre and one's own work as a policy-free space. This attitude repeatedly leads to conflicts with the state power.

Union of fans of a local football club: This cross-city fanclub is a reaction against the hegemony of the Istanbul teams. The football club is supported through various activities, whether they be urban manifestations with own music bands or the maintenance of solidarity by means of social media. Within the group, one can find individual supporters as well as various subgroups. Together, they are to mark their presence around the city through their colours, especially during games

Scouts group Zurich: The scout group is part of a larger international movement. "The so-called "Pfadfinderbewegung Schweiz" (Scout Movement of Switzerland)[14*] has formulated the "Pfadi Law" (scout law) as follows: "We, Pfadi, strive to be open and honourable, seek and provide enjoyment, offer help, are decisive and responsible, respect and care for nature and all forms of life […]" (Scout Movement of Switzerland). With 42,000 members, the scouts are the largest youth organisation in Switzerland and structured in national and cantonal associations and local groups. The case study focuses on the leadership team, which consists of approximately 18 young people between the ages of 15 and 22. The leadership team is running the scout group and therefore, is responsible for planning and organising all kinds of scout group activities. The leaders meet at least every Monday evening and prepare the activities on Saturdays as well as camps and special events for the children" (NRZ, p. 29 f).

Sprayer Group Frankfurt: The boys of the sprayer group create their own world by making themselves part of the city through their graffiti in legal and illegal ways. Doing graffiti also means to them a political activity in the sense of shaping the city in their own way. The young men regularly meet in their spare time to change the image of the city "you just change the look, one does not change the function*"* (NRF, p.27). Most sprayers already have criminal records for this activity. In addition to the active sprayers, there are some who have nothing to do with spraying "who are down with us on a personal level*"* (NRF, p.25).

14 In Swiss German, the international movement known as "scouts" is referred to as "Pfadi". The terms "Pfadi" and "scouts" are used interchangeably in this text.

Loyalty is an important element of the group. During informal gatherings, alcohol and drugs are consumed together, music is made and music is heard.

Islamic youth association Bologna: The *Islamic youth association* is a branch of a national movement in Italy. Here, young people between the ages of 18 and 22 are committed to promoting the integration of Muslim youth into Italian society. The focus lies on confronting one's own Muslim identity. This is to be strengthened in a protected framework and thus empower the young people. Meeting points are the mosque and the Islamic-cultural Centre of Bologna. Besides cosy meetings, the activities are primarily an in-depth discussion of their religion and the type of conduct resulting thereof, that is appropriate for a Muslim and an Italian citizen.

Informal girls group Frankfurt: The informal girls group is a union of six young girls between the ages of 14 and 15 who regularly meet in public as well as private places and have developed a kind of family affinity with each other. Obviously, being together in the form of hanging out, cooking, eating, smoking weed and listening to music is an important sphere of experience for coping with the various difficulties of their everyday family and school life. The girls have 'occupied' the open space of the youth centre where they have achieved a certain dominance. Their main concern seems experimenting with sexual relationships and with legal and illegal youth cultural practice. Challenging institutional borders between in and out and between allowed and forbidden seems to serve both individual and collective identities. In their self-created space, they determine the rules and thus lift themselves above other control systems, such as the Youth Centre.

Sprayer Group Hood Boys Frankfurt: The Hood Boys also create their own world by making themselves part of the city through their graffiti in legal and illegal ways. The young men regularly meet in their spare time to change the image of the city "you just change the look, one does not change the function*"* (NRF, p.27). Most sprayers already have criminal records for this activity. In addition to the active sprayers, there are some who have nothing to do with spraying "who are down with us on a personal level*"* (NRF, p.25). Loyalty is an important element of the group. During informal gatherings, alcohol and drugs are consumed together, music is made and music is heard.

Belonging through common activity

In all six cases membership occurs as a result of the common rule-making, which is strongly characterized by the loyalty principle. To be loyal to the objectives and values as well as to the respective organisational form, whether it follows a hierarchical or grassroots model, is of central importance. The focus is on the shared experiencing, the common activity that connects all in their diversity. The affiliation is a direct result of participation: one becomes or is seen as a member of the group when it actively participates in the group's activities. With the sprayers, for instance, affiliation to the group is often not assumed to outside people. The case of the Scouts makes it clear that the confession of affiliation to the outside is not avoided, but that this is often ridiculed by other peers who are not familiar with the rule systems of the Scouts.

All groups need special places for the establishment of their community, whether they are to serve as the starting point for their activities, like in the example of the sprayers, or as a meeting point as for the Ultras, or as a protected area like in the example of the Islamic youth association. The real or symbolic occupation of urban places, whether through graffiti or football flags, by camp buildings of the Scouts or by the use of public places as a meeting place, is a necessary condition for the young people's participation. This kind of own space creation can be sporadic and fleeting, as with the informal Girls Group, or manifest itself in a specific place, as with the Ultras. When these self-created spaces, in which the activities and the corresponding own rules become visible to others in the public or public space, they can provoke conflicts with other social groupings (e.g. other fan clubs). In contrast to the political clusters, these disputes are about defending one's own space, in which one's own rules apply.

Societal acceptance

The societal reaction to the self-created spaces depends, on the one hand, on how they radiate into the public space, and on the extent to which the internal rules of these spaces deviate from the prevailing societal order. On the other hand, the orientation of city policy in dealing with regulatory offenses plays an important role. The Hood Boys in Frankfurt report that they have various criminal charges. The informal Girls Group had received a house ban during the observation period in the youth Centre and the Ultras feel that they are repeatedly being harassed by the police, when it wants to interfere with their cohabitation.

In contrast, the Scout movement is socially accepted. It is generally accepted that the Scout exercises and camps assign children and young people more responsibility and provide them with important competencies for their everyday life. However, in contrast to the Ultras and the sprayers, the Scouts are always ready to negotiate the conditions for the creation of the Scout world with the relevant authorities. The Islamic youth association relies on a protected, yet well-established place, the mosque, to jointly look for ways in which participants can strengthen the understanding of their own religious roles in the context of a secular society. The fact that - as in many other cities - this place is now under state supervision, can only be presumed.

Conclusion

In this cluster young people and young adults come together to jointly create their own small or large worlds by means of their own forms of expression. The ability to identify with these worlds is closely related to the possibility of concretely doing something together and being able to exchange thoughts and ideas. Furthermore, the sense of belonging also includes an orientation. Within these jointly created worlds, the young people feel as if they belong and have possibilities of situating themselves in a different manner than they do in their everyday life. Thus they can take on leadership positions in the Ultras as well as the Scouts, which are commonly denied to them in everyday life; or they can experiment with possibilities for taking action in a grey area, such as is the case with the sprayers and the informal girls group. In contrast to this is the self-assurance as a Muslim, which is the focus of the Islamic youth

movement. In other words, belonging to a self-chosen small world seems to open up new possibilities for individual action.

3.2.2.5 CLUSTER V: Inbetween service of humanity and service enterprise

This cluster concerns the voluntary commitment of young people to the service of others. A particular feature of this cluster concerns a certain distance from politics engagement, where the voluntary engagement is often developed within civil society organisations without a direct political affiliation. These groups are characterised by providing services that local authorities or national governments fail to provide. Unlike the first three clusters of participatory activity, in which various forms of society are co-developed or transformed by way of political initiatives, this type of activity is restricted to the provision of services in the more narrow sense of concrete aid delivery to others.

These services, described above, are rendered in three different organisational structures. First, within established non-governmental organisations with an international background. Second, in new, initially informal groups, which discover a new issue and offer their services. Third, in the form of a professional services that are provided in exchange for money. In this interplay of professional and voluntary work, young people discover the potential to use their voluntary commitment as a stepping stone for their career planning and/or as a cornerstone of economic livelihood.

The following seven in-depth-cases illustrate the characteristics of this cluster.

Youth sections of charity organisations Plovdiv/Eskişehir: The two in-depth cases of *youth sections of charity organisations* from Plovdiv and Eskişehir are about services voluntarily rendered under the umbrella of a charity organisation. While in Plovdiv the charity organisation includes three different areas of activity, “social support activities, health education, first aid provision” (NRP, p. 28), in Eskişehir the focus does not seem to be merely on the social services themselves, but also on the educational processes that young people receive through these experiences. From the young people's point of view, like-minded people meet here so that they can do something together and build relationships and networks.

DIDA Rennes: This movement was initiated by young people in response to a lack of services to address current problems of the city. An example of such initiatives is the development of new language lessons offered to refugees in in 2015 in Rennes. To independently making a concrete contribution to the refugees and being able to show solidarity seems to be an important driving force behind this initiative. In contrast to the tightening of the refugee policy, own initiatives are taken by the young people themselves, even if only in a small area.

Youth entrepreneurship foundation Plovdiv: This case is characterized by the fact that political cooperation, i.e. a service to society, is transformed into a service and offered to the community in the form of expert knowledge against payment. At the Centre of this activity is a small group of people, intellectually oriented toward neoliberal economic ideas. They monitor city policy and publish its findings; they discuss urban problems in a civilian jury, and propose concrete solutions; they provide the public access to literature from the

economic sciences; and they encourage young people to follow an entrepreneurial career model. The base quarters of the group is a co-working space sponsored by a "foreign foundation" (see NRP, p.35). Some of the members can finance their own existence through the activity at the foundation; only two active participants have another source of income.

In this connection, it is interesting that even in the context of youth employment services, public services are also linked with symbolic or monetary rewards. . This can also be seen in both the *Job Office* in Zurich as well as the *Service organization (SO)* in Rennes.

Youth Job Office Zurich: The *Youth Job Office* is located within a youth centre that aims to be easily accessible for young people. This establishment belongs to one of the provider of open youth work in Zurich organisation and is run by youth workers. In the job office it is about the fact that a facilitator team of four young people is acquiring small service orders from the district that range from shopping to lawn mowing or car washing and recruits young people to carry out these assignments in return for a small payment. From the perspective of the young people involved, this offers the opportunity to improve their own financial resources, expand their own possibilities for consumption, and gather their first work experiences.

Service organization (SO) Rennes : This group operates in a very similar manner: A group of 15 adolescents (16-18 years), who are mostly from disadvantaged backgrounds, have the possibility to acquire and carry out work assignments (for example gardening, painting, room maintenance). The young people are supported in this endeavour by youth workers and receive training in various entrepreneurial activities (marketing, finance, communication). This opportunity offers participating young people a chance to earn some money while also benefiting the neighbourhood. The Service Organisation is supported by a local committee of institutions, socio-economic actors, youth organisations and local companies.

Voluntary services as an opportunity for individual recognition

In the classical sector of charitable volunteer work (in Plovdiv and Eskişehir) it is striking that the humanitarian yet explicitly non-political orientation is an important motivation for the young people to get involved. The reasons are different depending on the local context, be it because the political commitment is discredited as a result of negative experiences such as the corruption of political elites, or because political positioning can harm one's own career. Obviously, the broad repertoire of activities - from direct help activities on the ground, up to the design and implementation of fundraising campaigns - is an attractive offer for young people. One can individually find the best match from this spectrum of possibilities. The effect of one's own activity is often very direct, immediately noticeable and usually associated with direct personal recognition. A volunteer from Plovdiv positions himself using the following words: "Against the backdrop of everything, the mass media is bombarding us about the young generation, about what should become of their dulling, carelessness, apathy. I suddenly faced a great number, a great mass of people who invest lots of effort and time in order to help others, and they do it with smiles and sweats" (LS1, p.2). And in personal terms, "Perhaps I've always wanted to be useful in some way" (CS3_LS2_transcript, p.2). It was

described as a feeling closely related to personal satisfaction of doing things for people who were not “as lucky as me”. The principle could be termed “to give in order to receive”, and it was because “fate is measuring these things (LS1, p.4)” (NRP, p. 29f).

In the interweaving of unpaid and paid services for the community, young people in voluntary commitment discover an opportunity to drive their professional career directly or indirectly, or in individual cases, such as at the *youth entrepreneurship foundation in Plovdiv*, to simultaneously secure their own existence through these services. The transitions between serving (voluntary and without payment) and service (voluntarily but linked to an expected reward) are blurry in this cluster. An unpaid commitment in an NGO can offer an opportunity to receive a paid position in the same or another NGO in the medium term. This is how the youth branch of a humanitarian NGO in Eskişehir shows the following facets, which make voluntary commitment attractive for young people:

> This is not just "charity” (NGO, Eskişehir, GD p.13, NGO, Eskişehir, FN, p.22) and tends to highlight the “creative” way of doing charity (Narin_Eskişehir, BI). (…) they immediately talk about a mobility program; which seems to show how much they value international mobility, how they perceive this as their biggest achievement, but it also seems to be making them believe that this is a good way to promote themselves as a group, considering that this is valued by others. Finally, activities categorized as personal development, as they explicitly define themselves, are project writing, seminars on budget management, conference organisation, speaking clubs. Project writing is especially important for them; they submitted project proposals to the EU, including EVS projects (they are accredited as Eurodesk contact point), for funds, but also to other institutions. However, they perceive project writing as way of thinking: “with a project logic, you do not focus on the problem but on the solution. (NRE, p. 34f)

The two cases from the field of youth work, the *Youth Job Office* as well as *Service organization (SO)* show that, even in youth work, the boundaries between voluntary engagement with a 'merely' symbolic recognition and a paid work performance are blurred. It seems that in these contexts the motivation to participate in social services is more likely to be achieved if a personal advantage, for example better chances on the labour market, are also involved.

Conclusion

The voluntary commitment, as the cases show, moves from the service to a concrete other or to society, which arises from an altruistic motivation, to services connected with material or symbolic rewards, or rather to services that are offered in exchange for money on the market.

Unlike the first three forms of participatory activity, in which various forms of society are co-developed or transformed by way of political initiatives, this type of activity is restricted to the provision of services in the more narrow sense of concrete aid delivery to others. Oftentimes this assistance comes from a social need, which cannot be covered by the needy themselves or by state authorities. This kind of participatory activity seems attractive to

young people. On the one hand, they can often experience the meaningfulness of their actions very directly. On the other hand, voluntary commitment is more recognised by society than political work Finally, voluntary work seems to offer a good opportunity to establish personal and professional networks and to successfully position oneself in the labour market. The close interrelation between the service to others and the individual career or lifestyle is visible in this cluster. Even if the community activity and the identification with a socially recognized charity organisation play an important role for the concrete commitment, in this cluster the individual reference, i.e. the importance of commitment to one's own biography, is significant.

3.2.2.6 CLUSTER VI: Exploring interests, developing and performing skills

At the centre of this cluster is the individual activity and the personal abilities made visible thereby. The active living out and expansion of abilities is the basis for affiliation with the independently chosen scenes. Scenes can be described as loose networks in which a common activity is the focus, by which a common experience space is created, which is shared by the participants and the people who are affiliated.

The desire to show one's own abilities on a stage is an important feature of this cluster. . In the case studies that compound this cluster it is evident that a high individual interest as well as certain abilities are essential to participate in the group's activities (e.g., music, theatre, sports). The act of proving oneself in front of others, yet also with others in front of audiences, characterizes the activities, which are in some cases very different from one another. The number and variance of the scenes depend on the urban context. The scenes studied here have local characteristics, but are usually interlinked internationally and relate to one another in the way they are designed. Nevertheless, the issues of the scenes may have also a political dimension.

Different cases can be categorized within this cluster: the extreme sports with three in-depth-cases from Bologna, Zurich and Gothenburg; music groups or music scenes with three in-depth-cases from Eskişehir, Manchester and Gothenburg; and the theatre area with a case from Gothenburg.

Case group: Extreme sports

The following three cases represent offers in the field of urban and extreme sports The sport activities at the Extreme Sport Centre Bologna, the Street Sports Club in Zurich as well as the not-for-profit Centre Free Sports in Gothenburg are offered in various organisational forms which are described in detail below.

ESC Bologna: The *ESC* in Bologna is an area of 3000 sqm in an abandoned factory, which was rented by a group of young people in 2014 to meet their needs of urban freestyle sport. The ESC now comprises 20 different groups and is the largest Centre of this kind in Italy. The founders, a group of 10 to 15 people, spend 5 to 10 hours a day there, give lessons, organize the operation and live their friendships there. To be distinguished from them is the group of persons who pay 20 to 30 euros per year for their membership and regularly meet at the ESC to practice their sport as well as people who take individual lessons for money and

the group of spectators who are more likely to attend major events. There are clear rules in this Centre, like no drinking of alcohol as well as no smoking. The development towards a more sociocultural meeting point, especially for disadvantaged people or rather towards a street sports Centre is still open and holds possible conflicts.

Free Sports in Gothenburg: Free Sports in Gothenburg is an action hall, a place for various sports, was founded by autonomous youth movements and dedicated adults, and is now financially supported by an NGO. Behind this action hall is a movement that has grown from its original 20 members to 620 members, all of whom realize urban as well as international projects. "Free Sports is a place for spontaneous, adventurous sports where Free Sports co-habits with associations for gymnastics, wrestling, skateboarding, cross fit, BMX-riding and kick boarding. Besides being a sport hall, Action Hall is described as a place for friendship and social interaction, where a substantial group of young people spend their free time just hanging around" (NRG, p. 37). A doing-it-your-self-culture is lived there, that is open to dreams and emanates from one's own body: "Broaden for your body, and then you broaden this for everybody else, for people to … other people to be able to do this things" (NRG, p. 39). The focus is on training self-awareness and social perception. This training, according to the idea, facilitates change or working on previous own limits. This training is based on exemplary models and learning by doing, without having to deal with the competitive aspect that is typical in other sports.

Street Sports Club Zurich: The *Street Sports Club* understands itself to be similar to the Free Sports, although it is much smaller and supported by four coaches. Here, roughly two dozen youngsters train several times a week with their coach. The ambitious group moves through the city in every weather and tries to overcome existing obstacles using their own physical strength. The coach leads the group through the city landscape and, in addition to strengthening the motor skills and physical strength, also tries to strengthen the perceptive abilities of the participants. Thus, regular reflection rounds are just as much part of the training as is the examination of one's own behavioural patterns and the inner boundaries, which become visible in certain exercises.

Athletic activities as an opportunity for individual self-expansion

What is common to many of these urban sports activities is that it is not primarily about the competition between individual players or teams, but about development and expansion of one's own personal abilities and skills. Simply said, you are fighting against yourself, optimizing your own strategies. Hard physical exertion and self-discipline are necessary in order to be able to distinguish oneself in this area. In addition to the intensity of the body experience, it seems important to prove to yourself and others that you can expand your possibilities through consistent training. The stage for the presentation of one's own athletic abilities (the physical and mental) is initially the terrain or the common training hall, in which all others, especially the trainers, can see and evaluate one's own performance. The own skills are also demonstrated in organized shows and in conveyed form through videos, which are made public on the internet.

As much as individuals are occupied with themselves in exercising the sport, the belonging to a certain Street Sports scene likewise plays a role. The affiliation with a particular scene is associated with a clear orientation, which rules apply in the exercise of the sport. Thus, the study of the street sports groups in Zurich and Gothenburg shows that both groups pursue different rules in dealing with commercial self-presentation and image. The different scenes and the associated affiliation are clearly recognizable by insiders, for example, based on the nature of jumps in street sports such as for instance free running or Parkour. It is interesting that, despite the different scenes within the same street sport discipline, an exchange between different scenes across national borders is practiced.

Case group: Music scenes

A different form of this cluster is found in different musical activities, which are represented in the sample by three in-depth-cases.

Streetmusicians Eskişehir: This is a group composed of young musicians of Kurdish origins, from the south-eastern region of Turkey. There is also one musician with a refugee status, migrating from Kirkuk, Iraq. The group is composed of all men, with the exception of one woman who (…) joins the group occasionally. The group continues the tradition of Kurdish groups (Kom in Kurdish) merging Kurdish music with modern folk or jazz music. The group in fact takes its names from a song of one of the first music groups, Koma Amed, making music in Kurdish, founded by students of the Medical school in Ankara in late 1980s and making music in Kurdish during the difficult years of 1990 in Turkey. The group plays music in the streets of the city Centre. They have some specific spots in the city, which are in the most popular and crowded streets of Eskişehir, where young people hang out and spend their leisure time. They are not discreet; in the sense that their music is loud and when they start to play music, they attract a lot of attention. It is also probably because they are good musicians. They seem to have "a significant audience: many people passing by stop to listen to them, tend to stay until the end of their song, video record them on their phone and give them tips" (NRE, p. 25).

Music Group (MGM) Manchester: This is a musical meeting place, a place where, once a month, interested individuals improvise music together for a night. It is always a mixture of booked "acts" and improvisation pieces. The boundaries between the musicians and the audience are fluid. Basically, the stage is open to everyone. This initiative is sustained by a group of people who are interested in music, who regularly take part in the events and thereby continuously expand their musical improvisational skills. The group" positions itself as a self-starting, mutual aid project aimed at encouraging improv as a music that is non-hierarchical. It is, therefore, a politicised project in that sense at least, and enacts that principal not only through its randomised performance practices, but also more broadly through an 'ethos space' which, even though subject to negative participatory dimensions of class, gender and race, nevertheless counters the formation of sedimented hierarchies of experience, age, "training' and virtuosity" (NRM, p. 46).

Dance Group Gothenburg: Dance Group is an association created by a couple of friends devoted to South Korean culture and Korean pop music, K-pop. The association was formed in 2015 and the goal is spreading the culture, with a specific focus on Korean pop music, to a wide public. The core crew consists of five young people aged 18 to 20. The activities of Dance Group focus around organizing events, dance classes and other happenings dedicated to the promotion of Korean pop music and culture. The group runs the popular K-pop dance Academy, organizes K-pop dance workshops, hosts events, and has recently initiated a beginner's course in Korean. In order to understand the passion that this group of young people has for Korean pop culture in general, and the Korean pop music in particular, a contextualisation is in place. From a global perspective, K-pop is a thriving, cultural phenomenon. In parts of Asia (Korea, China, Japan), it has been a billion dollar industry since the 1990's, largely made up of boy- and girl groups put together by means of talent hunts and competitions, and later on drilled to become major superstars. During the 1990's, the Korean music scene started bringing in influences from American pop music, leading to the establishment of a local music industry with distinct aesthetics. During the last couple of years, the Korean pop music has also started conquering large parts of the Western world, with Korean acts touring and doing performances in the US as well as in Europe. Among groups of young people in Gothenburg, there has been a proliferation of interest towards K-pop. Not the least, this is illustrated by the formation of Dance Group and over a dozen different dance groups that practice K-pop in the city. This is a big difference from just a few years back, when just a hand full of young people were active in the K-pop community. (NRG, p.51).

Theatre Group Gothenburg: The members of this theatre group are concerned with "spreading the message to the world" (NRG, p.35). Their goal is to reach a wider audience through the exploration of political issues within a left-wing spectrum of concern. The group emphasises the individual motivation of the participants, their own joy in playing, the possibility of being able to expose themselves to the public and thus expand their own possibilities for action. "Being on stage offers possibilities to lose control and let go of social norms that govern human behaviour and aspects of everyday life (Anna)" (NRG, p.37).

Developing skills and developing affiliation in creative co-operation

In contrast to the free sports activities, the creative togetherness seems to be the focus of the various music scenes. In the described cases, the creative activities, jointly making music, theatre playing or dancing, form the basis for a positioning that can be individualistic or collective and creates a differentiation from other scenes. And as much as the Kurdish street musician group and Music Group differ, not only in terms of their musical cluster, but also their messages, from the movement Dance Group, common to these groups is the joint work on the self-chosen performance. However, individual requirements of interests and abilities are needed in order to find access to these creative forms of expression and to be able to contribute to the collective performance. It is via the concrete performance as a small street musician group, as a staged non-hierarchically organized music improvisation, or as a grand staged pop event, that staged and political messages are conveyed, which justify affiliation to

participants and viewers in the form of identification offerings. Here, anyone who participates in this performance by introducing and developing their own abilities can experience themselves as co-creators of musical or other creative scenes. Depending on the size and popularity of the scenes, the urban context can be influenced.

Conclusion

It could be said about this cluster, that it demonstrates participation in a very specific form. An important characteristic of this cluster is the fact that individuals and groups claim space to train their own athletic or creative potential and show a desire to show it off publicly. Through their contribution, young people become co-founders or participants of specific scenes, which in turn influence individual lifestyles with their staging practices and manifest or latent messages contained therein. Through the participation in athletic-creative scenes, the individuals with their abilities become visible and receive public resonance in the sense of social recognition.

Depending on the activity that is associated with the individual scenes, affiliation is linked to certain prerequisites. As the case studies show, access does not just depend on the interest but also on certain motor, cognitive, and creative skills, as well as the readiness to constantly work on them - at least if one wants to become somebody significant within one's own scene. The biographies in particular show that affiliation with such scenes is forged through their shared experience in training, in music and on stage. Thus, affiliation is regulated via one's own performance, can be valid for life, limited in time or limited to location. This is usually dependent on the individual. For the individual, as the biographies show (see below), these scenes represent a kind of experimental space in which one can test oneself and try different things in different scenes. In this respect, experimentation with affiliation with different scenes can also be interpreted as work on one's own positioning and staging.

3.2.2.7 CLUSTER VII: Pedagogically supervised leisure infrastructure for young people

A seventh cluster can be found in the field of youth work. As varied as the studied youth centres or youth projects in the different cities are, and as much as they are connected with various traditions of open youth work, in the widest sense they are all based on educationally presented leisure offerings. They consider themselves an alternative to commercial leisure activities and offerings for young people who do not know how to spend their free time or who use their free time for illegal or harmful activities. In a way, the leisure offerings of youth work can be understood as pedagogically structured learning programs, which are open to all young people, but particularly focused on disadvantaged young people. In the widest sense, they are about providing pedagogically structured spaces to young people.

Youth-Centre 1 Eskişehir: This Youth Centre was established less than a decade ago, as a public centre. The Centre’s activities which started with English classes is today much more diversified. On the one hand, there are various classes such as, French, German, Pilates, Photoshop, photography, tracking, creative drama, guitar, project writing, etc.; on the other hand, there are activities such as barter market, camping, charity work, youth rights workshops, European voluntary service information seminars, etc. It is possible to categorize

these activities as follows: 1- personal/ self-development 2- professional development; 3- leisure time, 4-charity work; 5- mobility; 6- youth right 7- friendship/ hangout, 8-study. There are youth workers and maintenance staff working at the centre. Concerning youth worker profile and working conditions, which also reveal elements regarding the state of youth work: except one, all are under 30 years old, and among them, only two have long-term contract, in other words job security, the others have a contract subject to renewal. (NRE, p. 37).

Youth Centre 2 Eskişehir: This Youth Centre has been established a few years ago, as a public centre. The Centre provides services to young people between the ages of 14 and 29. Due to the Centre's location, most of the young users are university students. It is possible to distinguish the Centre's users into two major categories: those who use the Centre for the activities and those who use the Centre mostly as a coffee place or study place; and both. There is no strict control at the door as a deliberate decision. If a young person seems familiar with the environment, who doesn't have any question to ask, and just wants to hang out, they can just enter and sit at one of the tables without talking to anyone. But, if a young person doesn't seem familiar with the environment, seems to be willing to ask a question or seems to be a potential "problem" according to the perception of youth workers, these workers will later interact with that individual. However, in order to benefit from the centre's activities, even if activities are free, (does not include those who uses the Centre to just hang out or study), one has to be officially registered: provide a copy of his id, phone number and register in a computer-based centralized system. All the registered users are automatically called "volunteer". As a result of the discussions with different users, the researchers conclude that this Centre is increasingly used by young people with mostly conservative or from conservative backgrounds. But it also depends on the content of the activities; in classes with religious content or connotation, such as Quran, or Arabic, there are more conservative young people; but in violin or pilates classes not necessarily. Besides, it is known that for mobility activities provided by the centre, girls and boys are separated; which is more acceptable to young people with conservative backgrounds. At last, even if it is not easy to determine, but it seems that users of the Centre, at least those encountered, have relatively lower social and cultural capital. (NRE, p. 42)

The establishment of these two Youth Centres with their different orientations, which are just a few years old in comparison to the youth Centres of the cities of Gothenburg, Frankfurt and Rennes, are to be understood against the background of the European influence on Turkish politics. On the other hand, the centres described below have a tradition that is far more anchored in the local youth movement and youth policy.

Youth Centre Gothenburg: This group is a youth centre targeting young adults, located in the centre of Gothenburg. It's organized by the municipality and encounters a number of activities and groups located or hosted within its premises. The aim is to offer a place where young people's ideas and engagement can find a place to grow and be realized. The content and ideological underpinnings for the specific way in which the place is built up draws from the youth work tradition of which the promotion of youth participation is a main consideration. Youth Centre in its specific form and place that we see now opened its doors

in 2012, and was preceded by a lengthy process and disputes regarding where to reside, how to govern it and what activities it should be opened for. Today, the house offers activities that, to a large extent, are organized by young people themselves organized in different themes: movie and media, literature and poetry, theatre and play, dance and movement, images and arts, music, debates and society, design and handicraft and others (NRG, p. 43).

Youth Centre Frankfurt: The Youth Centre X was as an 90's as an open youth work institution in Frankfurt, clearly with the idea to offer a space for marginalised and often criminalised young people in the inner city. With its space and offers for young people, it creates a huge potential and diversity for appropriation. The facilities are two recording studios, one dance space, a fitness room, a gym, a kitchen, several offices for staff members, an open meeting room and a court yard next to a playground partitioned over three levels. There is an open meeting room which is basically the core of the youth centre. We can primarily discern three forms of usage of the centre: 1) self-organised groups use it for practice, 2) young people who attend organised activity projects and 3) regulars who use the youth centre as a meeting point. Due to the openness of the structures, there are no fixed terms of use, except the age limit resulting from the statutory mandate by the municipality. Furthermore, there are diverse cooperation partners who offer projects within the centre (such as a sports association offering basketball or a school doing creative projects) (NRF, p. 29/30).

Formal/Non-formal Youth Centre (FNYC): The FNYC is an association in the sector of non-formal education. It is the main youth centre of the city and has a team of almost 20 youth workers. It provides advice to young people and organises public events addressing the local youth population. The FNYC occupies a traditional and central role in Rennes, for it has played (although informally) the role of the local youth service for a long time: its centrality, its huge new building, and it's quite large team are all controversial" (NRR, p.32). Despite the fact that the striking building in the Centre of Rennes is immediately noticeable, not all young people are aware of this offer: "Volunteers, on the contrary, were often implicated for several years, with a regular practice, in the organisation of the festival *Quartier d'été* and/or *Tam-tam* and/or the *magazine ZAP* and/or the *Dazibao events*. These four activities are emblematic of the FNYC activities: the festival Quartier d'été takes place at the beginning of July in a large park in the East of the city. It offers an ambition and free musical program with the idea of allowing young people from disadvantaged areas to benefit from high quality concerts; the festival Tam-Tam is organised in October and gathers associations of all kinds that come here to present their activities to the newly arrived students; the magazine Zap is written by young people and addresses young people; and finally, the Dazibao events are organized on Thursdays evenings on a monthly basis - they offer various cultural programs (music, sport, theatre…) and are quite special, as they retain a "no alcohol" rule" (NRR p. 32). The most active young people are those who voluntarily participate in the administration of the Centre: "they participate in regular meetings (several each month) and have to provide upstream work" (NRR, p. 33).

In addition to traditional youth centres, the youth work program also offers thematic projects aimed at specific quarters or target groups. This includes the *LAB* in Rennes as well as *Youth Work Up* in Manchester t

LAB (LAB) Rennes: The ALAB is an association led by young people and addressed to young people; it provides a space where young people can become involved in group in artistic activities and learn about citizenship issues. This project:

> concretely took place from December 2015 to June 2016. It was led by a few very articulate young people who intended to organise a group of 25 young people in order to train them on questions of citizenship and participation through cultural activities. Two main activities were set up. The training of youth participants during 6 months on the decision-making process, the project framework on the one hand and to two cultural activities on the other hand. The young people got to choose two practices out of five: cinema, theatre, dance, fine arts and music." (NRR, p.41)

Youth Work Up Manchester (YWU): "From 2011, largely under the inspiration of local artist Lou Beckett, the formerly derelict and neglected Working Men's Club was brought back to life as a Community Arts venue for the area. According to the website, a variety of groups use the building, including groups with mental health issues. There is a gallery, a small cinema, a small café, a billiard room and a small space for meetings as well as large hall with a stage, which is used for music and social events. The most notable feature of The Miner's Space is the 1980's iconography, which decks the walls and is based on the art of Lou Beckett. There is a full gallery of work, which references the Miner's Strike of 1984-1985 and the Manchester Bands of the same era, especially Joy Division. The Agency is a project based at the Contact Theatre, a youth theatre which was originally part of Manchester University and is based close to the University in South Manchester. The Agency was developed in Brazil by Marcus Faustini. 'The Agency is a youth entrepreneurial project that empowers young people to effect positive change in their communities through an innovative model developed in Brazil.' The project is open to young people aged 15-25 in the Moston and Harpurhey areas. It is claimed that 'The Agency reverses the usual hierarchies of creative and social projects by working from the young people's own vision and ideas.'[15] (Expert Interview November 2016)" (NRM, p. 31).

Implicitly or explicitly, the field of youth work seems to assume that specific learning and participation opportunities are inadequate in the life-areas of school, work and politics, but also in the commercial leisure sector and in the family context, especially for disadvantaged young people. Many young people lack the financial resources to take advantage of commercialized offers. It seems that the school and work sphere is leaving less space to live out personal interests and develop creative skills. Besides that pupils under eighteen or youngsters without citizenship have no possibilities of political voting. Insofar the role of the youth worker is seen as one making sure that young people are aware of the range of

15 http://contactmcr.com/projects/its-your-turn/community/the-agency/the-agency-pilot-year-1)

meaningful leisure activities, to compensate for educational disadvantage or to provide access to local decision-making processes.

Although the content in the creative sector is often very different from the self-organized and/or commercialized offers, this educationally organized leisure infrastructure usually entitles young people to participate in the development and organisation of the offers. Thus, participation can quickly turn into a pedagogically justified duty. However, as the analysis of these cases show, there is this spaces a tendency to occlude young people from real decision-making in what concerns the core functioning or the nature of the group's activities.

Participation in these settings tends to be heavily guided by youth workers. They see their work as providing adolescents with the skills necessary to participate in collective processes, which will be important for them later.

Depending on the approach of youth workers, the young people experience an extension of participation or not.

It is only on the basis of concrete case analysis that it is possible to assess whether the endeavours of youth work - namely, to expand possibilities for action in the local context and to enable young people to take part in processes of their own political positioning - are really succeeding. The present case studies show a broad variance. In the case of the Youth Centre in Gothenburg, the participation and co-determination possibilities of the junior youth leaders delegated to the Centre are clearly greater than in the national youth and sport Centre Eskisehir, which is characterized by a caring-patriarchal relationship structure between youth workers and young people, and which allows for significantly less participation.

Funding shapes pedagogical concepts and design possibilities for young people

In the five examined large youth and regional centres in Frankfurt, Gothenburg, Eskişehir and Rennes, it is clear that the offers are often comparable, yet the organisational forms with the respective sponsorships as well as the relationship between youth workers and young people (but also between youth workers and sponsors), clearly differ from one another. Especially at the two centres in Eskişehir, it is clear how influential the respective sponsor is to the orientation of a youth Centre. Ultimately, the financiers determine the scope for action of the respective youth policy objectives for both youth workers and young people.

Various self-perceptions characterize the practices of co-creation

An important question concerns the way youth workers perceive their work. In the different youth work cases we find different professional conceptions, e.g. youth workers who address young people rather as customers of their services or who consider themselves as pedagogical advisors or as advocates for the young people. Young people also assume different roles within these centres. In almost all centres, there is a small group of activists who are committed to being involved in designing the centre, involved in the program and projects. They assume an intermediate position between the youth workers and the majority of the young people participating in the activities. Depending on the structure of the centre, such a group is constituted by existing formal committees, as in Gothenburg, or by a mechanism that

allows the young people to introduce and carry out their own projects. In contrast to these active users, there is a large group of young people who use the centres for their own individual needs, such as learning a language or an instrument, being able to meet with like-minded people, or participate in specific events. This group is less interested in active participation. Their objective is rather to be able to pursue their individual preferences within the offers.

Nevertheless, in many concepts of youth work the activation of the young people, in order to enable them to do something themselves or to participate in joint projects, seems to represent an explicit expectation.

Youth projects as practice fields for co-creation

Starting from local youth centres, the pedagogically organized leisure infrastructure also includes projects like the *LAB* in Rennes, where young adults, with a group of 25 young people, develop a variety of artistic ateliers over a limited period of time. In addition, the *YWU* as well as the project *The Agency* in Manchester belong to a project-like variant of this cluster. In these projects, the objective is strengthening young people in their expressive possibilities through creative approaches and introducing them to create their own small worlds. In a certain way, the pedagogical work targets the prerequisite for social participation, namely, to articulate one's own interests adequately. The goal behind the educational investment in the leisure sector is the promotion of social integration of disadvantaged young people. The extent to which the various existing projects are concerned with the practice of existing social structures and/or whether they are actually an empowerment of adolescents cannot be answered in a cross-case manner.

Case group: Protected places

Finally, this cluster also includes projects that provide protected spaces for the self-positioning and self-articulation of young people in precarious life situations, whether as independent projects, such as the The Box in Manchester, or within the framework of the youth work, like The Youth Group (TYG) in Gothenburg.

The Box Manchester: The Box works with men aged 18-30 years old who traditionally find it difficult to engage with structures associated with the state and formal/informal clusters of participation. In this sense, the group can be classed as ‘non-formal’ whilst the men can be positioned at the edge of society. The Box represents a place where marginalized men can be creative and find social and health support during their homelessness. In the weekly “creative sessions” organized by a social worker, the men can tell their stories and exchange ideas by means of various artistic means (photography, installations, plays, music). In the eyes of the initiators, it is a question of intensive relationship work and, at the same time, of working on the boundaries, which, however, also restrict the social workers in their possibilities of participation in the city (cf. NRM, p 43). However, the project was discontinued for financial reasons.

The Youth Group (TYG), Gothenburg: The Youth Group is an activity organized by the Culture and Recreation Department in a municipality in the Gothenburg region. On the

internet, TYG is described as a group by and for LGBTQ-people. “We have coffee, share thoughts and experiences of LGBTQ, and do all sorts of activities together”. TYG targets young people between the ages of 13-25 years, and they meet once a week. Many of the members have experienced a lot of difficulties in their everyday lives, but in TYG they feel safe, and they describe the place as a refuge. Part of their activities has been to organise an international exchange with other youth LGBTQ-groups around the world (NRG, p. 47).

Both projects are about creating a sheltered place in which personal issues and interests can be articulated by means of close pedagogical accompaniment, thus initiating processes of self-assurance and social positioning.

Conclusion

In contrast to the other six clusters, the seventh cluster involves pedagogically-offered spaces in the leisure sector: participation, empowerment, socialization, but possibly also satisfaction and social control. The various cases from the youth work show a partly contradictory, multi-faceted picture. The study shows that for some young people these offers are – as in the case of TYG – of central importance for a different group, these offers of youth work are among many options, which they claim, or not, depending on the situation. In some cases, many potential recipients do not even know about the existence of Centres or offers.

This seventh cluster of socially organized participation has certain similarities with the first cluster *'Representation of interests as right and obligation'*. In both cases, there are adult representatives who make offers in the framework of a political mission (in this case, youth policy). The framework is thus clearly set by adults. Within these limits, the young people are given greater or lesser scope for action in order to shape their own issues or those of others, and to be able to influence decision-making processes. Although many users feel that the range of offerings itself is important, little significance is ascribed to the necessity of participation and independent creation in this narrowly defined setting. Perhaps the pedagogical intention seems to be too obvious to allow for success, as this quote by a youth worker from Zurich clarifies: "We do not create offers and make them available [to the young people], and that is why our work is very closely interwoven with participation, i.e. also with the promotion of participation. [...] This is quite central for us - without participation there is no offer” (youth worker from Zurich).

3.2.3 THE RANGE OF PARTICIPATORY ACTIVITIES

The seven clusters can be understood in relation with the kind of activities that young people develop in their urban contexts. Common to all clusters is the importance of developing activities together with others and not in isolation. The individual meaningfulness of the lived activity combined with feelings of belonging seems to be a supporting basis for the very different engagements. Especially in the self-initiated or self-organized activities, the experiences of collective efficacy as well as self-efficacy seems to be very important to the young people.

If we compare the seven clusters we find a continuum from traditionally political engagement (cluster I, II); to autonomous forms of political activities (III, IV); to social engagements and cultural activities (V, VI, VII). In the last three clusters, we find plenty of young people who often distance themselves from traditional forms of policy. They want to be engaged but not in politics. Another important differentiation concerns adult-led activities versus youth-led activities. Typical for the clusters I and VII is that the participatory activities are dominantly adult-led. In all other clusters we find youth-led activities as well as adult-led activities. More important for young people is to which extend decision-making, power and influence are distributed independently of status and age.

Within the different clusters, one can distinguish between activities that are oriented towards the transformation and shaping of smaller and larger worlds (such as clusters I through IV) and activities which are more strongly centred around the own person (e.g. cluster VI). So the outreach of the activities differ inbetween the different participatory activities. One could say that the reference to the world and the self, or the relationship between the world and the self, is handled in different ways in different groups.

In addition to the central objectives of the participatory activity, the internal relations between the individual and the others, between the individual and the collective with its respective organisational form, as well as the size and permanence of these collectives or movements and organisations, distinguish the seven clusters between each other.

Also one can distinguish between more or less institutionalized forms. Cluster I, II and VII can be distinguished from the others in that they are institutionalized forms of participation that are anchored in the political system (see further below). Given structures, such as youth parliaments, parties, etc., in which young people join for a certain period of time, establish a fundamentally different relationship between the single person and the organisation, than less institutionalized forms of activities. Finally, there is a distinction between participating within a given structure (youth councils, youth parties, etc.) and participating by collectively creating the structures that frame the joint activity.

Another distinction concerns whether the orientation of activity is made within a collective or within a loose network-like association. The cases show that for example autonomous collectives require more liability from their members than network-like associations like the Sustainable Food Youth Network.

Finally, the temporal dimension must be taken into consideration. From the individual perspective, it makes a difference, if one does invest virtually all of one's lifetime into a project over a certain period of time or if one does while constantly, merely selectively participate in an action, a movement.

It is striking that, in the discourse of youth policy, only two clusters of participatory activities are in the focus, namely cluster I "Representation of interests as right and obligation" as well as cluster VII "Pedagogically supervised leisure infrastructure for young people". Youth policy programs targeted at youth participation remain within their own system boundaries, in which the idea of participation and partaking is reduced to the role of the competent shall

realize their rights and duties within the framework of democratically managed processes. Other clusters show how young people tend to co-create society in the context of self-organized activities (cluster III, IV, V, VI), outside the politically narrowly defined framework of participation. As shown by cluster I, participation in formal settings tends to be based on this and usually negotiated in lengthy opinion-forming processes – often organized according to complicated rules. The young people involved do not necessarily receive more decision-making power and often notice that while they are able to participate in the decision-making process, they can rarely co-decide in the decision-making process, in particular when the decisions also affect the adults. On the contrary, the organized procedures in student and youth parliaments often lead to the fact that the young people feel that adults do not listen to them or do not take them seriously. From the perspective of many experts, this discrepancy between the possibility of participation and the active use of this possibility is combined with a lack of competences on the part of the young people. For this reason, schools, but also youth work, are increasingly obliged organise their activities within a logic of civic engagement. Especially youth work tends to fall into an intermediate position here, because its task should ultimately be to mediate between the interests of young people as well as youth policy expectations and the active citizens in the national and European context.

If participation is reduced only to engagements in traditional forms of democratic processes, one can conclude that there are intentional or unintentional conceptions of 'right' and 'wrong' participation behind.

Participation and partaking - one could provocatively phrase - is only granted if the young people adhere to the externally set procedures. From this perspective, a need arises to train young people for their "participation", as the following statement from an expert from Rennes illustrates: “the need to train young people to participate and to support the development of their initiatives, but the ways to attain these goals can be quite different (with professional support or with peer support)” (NRR, p. 27). This view is also shared by experts from Zurich: “In any case, (…) youth and young adults must first acquire certain skills before they are able to independently realize projects. This includes learning to be reliable, so as to handle responsibility, and acquiring the ability to organize and communicate in order to reach agreements with others, both internally and externally” (NRZ, p. 19). Various channels are used and activated for this, to ensure that youth-workers introduce children and young people to institutional offers, "docking" children and young people to them (NRF, p. 23). Finally, this type of empowerment requires working on personal prerequisites (school performance, competencies, etc.) and the participation offers must be tailored in a way that suits the various target groups, the school system and the family background. Thus, the school, which plays a central role in many studied urban contexts (in Bologna, Frankfurt and Zurich), is addressed as a further important mediating instance of the integration into the citizen role. Depending on the local context, the division of roles between school and youth work is different. This indicates that, within the political agenda, youth work and school have assumed a task delegated by youth policy, in that they have taken the role of the mediator between the political expectations and the interests of the young people: “making young people

participate" (NRF, p. 23). This role of youth work, as critically mentioned in the Manchester report, is difficult to balance.

In order to fulfil their role in this intermediate position, more and more projects with a participatory character are being offered across the eight cities. In other words, youth participation in the context of youth work is reduced to the implementation of projects, such as for example in Zurich: "These projects are based on the idea that in the framework of not particularly complex activities, young people determine or negotiate amongst themselves the focus, goals and organisational forms. The framework itself must be provided by adults" (NRZ, p. 18). Even if youth work sets the framework, it still retains its function of representing and advocating for young people, coaching them or mediating between adults and young people:

> This generally involves the assumption that young people have to be motivated to engage in such projects. According to this concept, though this may be an oversimplification, appropriate situations have to be created in order for young people to participate in them. Other experts are critical of this position, as they are of the opinion that participation lies precisely in youth's attempt to organize and take action in relation to the issues of interest to them. (NRZ, p. 18)

The Manchester report, in particular, gets to the heart of the ambivalence, which results from the fact that discourses regarding youth participation are omnipresent on the one hand, yet, on the other hand, exhibit "the limits of tokenistic practice" addressed by experts in youth work. "Several experts sought to either widen or trouble conventional definitions of politics and participation" (NRM, p. 19).

This also addresses the credibility of participatory offers, such as those detailed in clusters I and VII. However, power division in the sense of empowerment against other groups in society hardly seems to be a problem in youth work these days. Conversely, when young people independently set their own themes, choose the forms of activity and challenge the ruling powers, the activities are rarely interpreted as expressing claims of participation and co-creation. How exactly these other clusters of participatory activities can truly be incorporated into formalized political negotiation processes is a question that needs further exploration.

3.3 PARTICIPATION BIOGRAPHIES

3.3.1 METHODOLOGICAL NOTE AND DESCRIPTION OF THE SAMPLE ACROSS CITIES

In this part of the report, we focus on the individual perspectives of young people and address three key questions:

1) How did young people get involved with the respective participatory activity?
2) What is the relevance of this activity in the context of the young person's biography?
3) How has the participatory activity influenced the individual biography?

In the 8 PARTISPACE cities the research teams conducted two biographical interviews per case study which makes a total of 12 biographical interviews (with the exceptions of Plovdiv research team conducting 13, and Manchester 11 and Gothenburg 10 interviews) per city and thus a total of 94 biographical interviews (see Appendix C showing the list of biographical interviews per city). Forty five of these interviews were conducted with young females (including one transgender young woman) and 49 of them with young males (see Appendix E showing the list of biographical interviews by gender). The ages of the interviewees ranged between 14 and 36 (see Appendix D the list of interviews by age). Sixteen of the interviewees were between the ages of 14 and 18 (including those who are 14 and 18 years old); 39 of them in the age range 19-25 (including those who are 19 and 25 years old); 26 of them were in the age range 26-30 (including those who are 26 and 30 years old) and 12 of them in the age range 31-36 (including those who are 31 and 36 years old). In other words, most of the interviewees (82 out of 94) were below the age of 31 and only 1of the interviewees was in the age range 31-36.

It is important to note that the interviews cover a broad range of forms of interviews between fully narrative and more standardised interviews and between long accounts of the whole life story to more focused reflections of the own involvement in a participatory activity. This is due to differences in the experiences of interviewers, different interview situations and different habits of speaking about oneself (which are also mediated by different everyday cultural contexts at local and national level). All the interviews were fully transcribed, subjected to an open coding process and were finally reconstructed along two questions: how does the young person present him or herself in the society/world (towards the interviewer); and how is this reflected in his or her involvement with participatory activities and the specific case in particular.

It is for sure an extremely difficult task to analyse this wide variety of 94 biographical interviews. For answering these two questions about how young people reflect upon their life stories and for comprehending what their life stories focus on to present themselves and their participation, we came up with 5 clusters (see Appendix F showing the list of interviews by clusters):

1) Self-made wo/man stories
2) Experimentation stories
3) Doing/changing/taking responsibilities stories
4) Rediscovering oneself and identity stories
5) Stories demonstrating the centrality of role models/important figures or their lack.

Each cluster has also been divided in sub-clusters. The various meanings of participation associated with these clusters and sub-clusters will be defined in the following pages with references to each one of the biographical interviews.

This set of clusters emerged from the recurrence of five particular themes in the interviewees' self-presentation in relation to participation, including the specific settings where they have been encountered. However, in terms of the connection between case studies and

biographical interviews, even if every interviewee is related to a case study, for the analysis we did not pre-organize biographical interviews on the basis of their relation to specific cases or to the case study clusters from the previous section. While case study clusters in the previous section have been created on the basis of criteria such as the nature of the activity and its actors, the organisational form, the objective associated with these two as well as the location or space reference, these 5 biographical interview clusters emerged from a discourse analysis centred on how young people's self-presentation is reflected in his involvement with participatory activities, including the specific case in particular. In other words, we tried to identify the meaning attributed to participation at a personal/ individual level.

Three more comments before going through these clusters would be clarifying. Firstly, each biographical interview reveals elements which might corresponds to characteristics associated with more than one cluster. The influence of important figures, the idea of doing change or the drive for experimenting is present in many interviews. However, most of the time, it has been possible do distinguish a relatively more dominant meaning attributed to participation through the narrative of the young people. Therefore, we decided to identify each biographical interview with only one cluster.

Secondly, in every cluster there are young people from various age, education level, professional experience, social backgrounds, as well as different types of participatory activities. Even in a very same participatory setting, in which, most of the time, participants have relatively similar (or at least not very different) social characteristics, and are having relatively similar participatory experiences, this meaning can be different. Among biographical interviews issued from the very same setting there are self-made wo/man stories as well as stories revealing the centrality of important figures, or stories of doing change. Or the other way around, it is possible to identify similar meanings issued from very different settings and among young people with different social characteristics. In other words, it seems that, social determinants, the activity type or the setting characteristics do not seem to necessarily determine the meaning attributed to participation.

Finally, from the biographical interviews it has been possible to learn about individual motivations for participation, as well as consequences on personal life trajectories. However, it seems that there is not a necessarily systematic relation between these aspects and the meaning attributed to them. In almost all stories, friendship appears as a major factor for participation, but meanings vary. That is, participatory activities may have relatively similar consequences and yet be assigned very different meanings. For example, there are life stories in which participatory activities turns into professional activities, but the meaning attributed to participation can be different in each case.

3.3.2 CLUSTERS OF BIOGRAPHIES

3.3.2.1. Cluster 1: Self-made wo/man stories

The first cluster includes young people for whom participation means self-development with pragmatic and/or careerist motivations. In their narrative there is a strong emphasis on themes including material retribution, ambition, the power of will, skills, a better future. Pragmatism,

cost-benefit analysis and entrepreneurial logic are usually involved in their reasoning. They present themselves as individual with high self-esteem, dependable and responsible. Education and training is rather perceived as a mean rather than being valued for itself. Material retribution can be either in the form of earning money or a career. Sometimes earning money is associated with the desire for luxury, or as a mean to acquire autonomy from parents, more than need. Careerist motivations may also reveal in the form of politics or the association sector and youth work. Personal development is not always directly or explicitly related to career; sometimes it means to develop skills, but the necessary ones for an eventual career. One of the specific personal skill which emerge from the interviews and which constitutes one of the sub-category is leadership. Leadership is usually identified as innate, as a potential or destiny, which they believe is recognized by others. Participation helps them to develop this potential, but it serves to moderated the excessive sides.

Among the biographical interviews we identified three variants of self-made man stories: those who prioritize, in their self-presentation, their personal development through their participatory activities; those who relate more particularly their leadership skills to their participatory activities; and those who aim to make a career from participatory activities.

3.3.2.1.1. Personal development

Asma, 17, discovered the Rennes Service Organisation summer job program while she was doing an internship in the community centre. She says that she directly perceived it as an opportunity to get a professional experience but also to earn money. The family even cancelled the summer vacation to their country of origin for her to attend the program. Born abroad, she came with her family in France when she was 5 years old. The migrant journey had some negative consequences for the family: accommodation in a social housing district, professional precariousness and lack of command of French for her mother. Asma says that she has rejected the idea of wasting her future. She also seems to value the autonomy of her ideas and actions: "I'm not someone who follows people. (…) If one thing pleases me, if my brain says 'go ahead, go ahead', I go. If I do not like it, I will not go" (NRR, p.70). According to Asma, Service Organisation has been a chance to discover the professional world, to improve her resume and to earn money. She says that she had used the money to pay her driving licence fee and that made her feel independent. The benefits of the experience have also continued after the summer program: she has been contacted to take part in a meeting to launch a Web TV for the district; she believes that she can be a presenter because she speaks well. During her experience with the Service Organisation, she also seems to have enlarged her perception of the benefit and meaning of involvement: she started to believe that meeting people is important, she claims to understand social problems, notably youth-related problems, and she also started to think that she has the capacity to contribute to fix them.

Klara, 14, from the Zurich Youth Job Office, says that she perceived the program as a pleasant opportunity to earn money which would enabled her to afford the stuff and clothes she wants. Besides, she also says that she believed that the youth job office is a training opportunity and something she can put on her resume, especially due to the work certificate delivered at the end of the program. Klara asserts willing to have a good luxurious life. In her

self-presentation she appears as someone having clear ideas about her own qualities and competences, but also about her priorities and goals in life. She also seems to make her decisions based on well-considered cost-benefit calculations with regard to long-term objectives and long-term implications of actions and decisions. In summer 2016, when the youth worker who is responsible for the youth job office asked Klara to join the job coordination team, she felt that the job coordination work was more serious than the other "leisure-time-jobs". She says that when she feels responsible "only" for her own success, she likes taking responsibility, like being a class representative. And she says that she performs those tasks with self-confidence. But when she feels responsible for the success of a whole team, she might quit because she feels too much pressure and fear to disappoint the team, as it was the case, among other reasons, when she did athletics. But with the youth job office she does not feel to have the sole responsibility, because the professionals are always there to help.

Nathanael, 15, leader within the Zurich Scouts, describes himself as a critical person with strong opinions and great determination. He has been a scout since he started to go to primary school, but since summer 2016, he has been active as a leader of the scout group. Nathanael sees the scouts as a decisive aspect of his life. He says that he is aware of both his strengths and weaknesses. He believes that belonging to the scout movement has been essential to him to overcome challenges, recognize his strengths, deal skilfully with his limits and weaknesses and remain steadfast in his opinions**.** He says that thanks to the scouts he now has a strong character and he can clearly position himself. When he thinks about his future career options, Nathanael believes that his time in the scouts qualifies him to work with children and he feels well prepared for careers in childcare. He, however, also believes that he had spent enough time with children in the scout group as well as at home, since he is the oldest child and therefore, had to take care of his siblings, and might choose another path.

3.3.2.1.2 Developing leadership skills

Mert, 25, is a volunteer and the leader of the youth branch of a humanitarian NGO in Eskişehir. He believes that his participatory activities at the NGO, for which he says he gave 60-70% of his time, and especially being the head of the youth branch, changed him a lot. He says that before his experience at the NGO he was very shy, he couldn't talk to foreigners or in front of a public and he thinks that he has learned a lot even if it wasn't easy at the beginning: "I've learned many things such as being visionary, or in terms of leadership" (NRE p.55). He especially seems to value his leadership skills and believes that he has improved those skills by being the head of the branch (in 2013) which he describes as a "dream": "I knew that I had a potential for leadership, people told me that. But I thought that being a leader meant to yell at people, to be tough or dominate others… before, when I entered in a room I created tension; my friend told me that I created fear… When I want something, I do everything I can to make it happen, if I need to change myself, I do it. It didn't happen in one day… but slowly, I've read books about it… I've learned that leadership wasn't about yelling but… was about creating good relationship". He also seems to have difficulties giving up on his leadership "I wanted to leave… because I thought that I gave

what I could give and took what I could take. That is the characteristic of a good leader… but I couldn't find someone to take my place… Because it was like my baby… there was no one good enough" (NRE p.56). He expects to graduate from the department of mathematics and information technology in June 2017. In the long term, he says that he wants to be manager in an IT company.

Abraham, 15, from the Formal Youth Organisation in Manchester, believes that, with his current participation work, he contributes, as a working-class leader of the future, to make change. He says that he "wants to change the World" and he believes that he can. Abraham states that he started the process of questioning things at school which he also relates this to his working class background: "why is there such a difference why are these people handed opportunities so much more easily than I am, like, are we not both human, are we not both capable of achieving the same things….it shouldn't be. It's at that point that I realised things needed to change" (NRM p.53). He recalls the buzz of speaking at a meeting of middle-aged professionals where he was the only sixteen years old in the room. He says he is now facing strategic choices about the direction to take, as between going to college and doing the participation work: "there's the short term ambition and the long term – its still under the same umbrella, wanting to change the world, but in terms of long term what I believe is that essentially it will be my qualifications…but at the same time in terms of making that immediate change and helping Manchester….I can get involved with different organisations different campaigns literally being thrown out every week, national stage, voicing those opinions which is an amazing thing and at the same time its like …priorities as well" (NRM p.54).

Amos, 17, is member of the Formal Youth Organisation in Manchester. For Amos the story he told is one concerning a sense of destiny as a leader whilst at the same time moving away from some assumptions about leadership he was offered as a child. He was born abroad; he moved with the family to the UK and to Manchester at the age of 11. He started secondary education in Manchester at a High School in the inner city and his mum became ill with a heart condition. He tells a story of being called on to physically discipline his class mates aged 8 already gave him familiarity with the role of class policeman in his school in his country of origin. Nevertheless, Amos had a sense of personal struggle and continually returns to certain personal failures in relation to his older brother and his class mates, with regards to his position in the class and in exam results, and then later to some failures he has experienced in participation opportunities, such as not being elected to an important position on first attempt. The moment of epiphany represented by the conversation about revolution with his father's friend and the injunction laid on him to change the world is interpreted by him in various ways. First he will become a doctor and cure his mother's illness; then he sees becoming a successful businessman as the road to take. Finally, he mentions to have met, at a charity association, someone else who uses the term 'revolution' but encourages him to understand the term in an educational sense.

3.3.2.1.3. Making a career of involvement in associations, politics and youth work

According to Alexander, 33, from the Plovdiv Youth Entrepreneurship Foundation, personal and professional development depends on motivation. He says: "If one is not motivated or don't like the things he is doing, it also reflects on the results (including) the income" (NRP p.46). Speaking about his own motivation, he says: "Somehow I was initially thinking that there are things I cannot do, but later it appears that through the work I have to challenge myself to do things I am thinking I cannot do. Simply in order to see if I am good in them or not" (NRP p.46). Alexandre defines education as an instrument of gaining self confidence and creating contacts. Actively involved in the work of a libertarian economic NGO for the last three years, he defines himself as someone practicing economics without an economic diploma. Gradually and still in connection with the NGO, he started to be interested by "non-profit" activities, notably those of the Foundation's. He combined the job of a project-coordinator for the Foundation with research work in the economic NGO. In his opinion, such a combination of activities is necessary because of the instability of the NGO sector in Bulgaria and the impossibility to cover all its expenses by just one of them. Based on his self-presentation, it seems that he pursues a job, on the prospect of a better revenue rather than the compatibility with his experience, yet within the limit of a particular sector.

Silvia, 31, also from the Plovdiv Youth Entrepreneurship Foundation, believes that young people in Bulgaria did not have to invent anything, but just to do what their peers in Europe and America have already successfully applied. She got this conviction from her experiences of studying, volunteering and entrepeneurship abroad. Getting acquainted with some of the analysts at a famous libertarian economic NGO, she joined several of their initiatives which have eventually been followed with the creation of the Foundation she is currently a prominent member of. Her work includes dealing with accounting documents, fulfilling representative functions in contacts with institutions, managing the various organisation's projects, etc. She is also interested in politics because she believes that politics has a role in the formation of everyone's everyday life. But she does not see herself as a politician in the future. Her self-perception is that of an expert informing citizens for the opportunities they have ahead of them rather than being a leader herself. She says : "I have never wanted to exert influence, to be a person who… and I have never been such person that offers to people and unites people around some idea, but I have not been a person who stands silently and doesn't say her opinion, as well. I am rather a bit of individualist" (NRP p.46).

Basile, 22, is from Rennes Web Magazine Endless. In his self-presentation, even if his participatory activities do not reflect a logic of professionalization, his desire to create projects that would eventually allow him the possibility to live from it, follows an entrepreneurial logic. Basile has a double career: within associations and at school. He has been a student representative during middle school and high school; at local and national level. However, he says that institutional representation of students is not effective because it does not really empower students. He also mentions his involvement to the Socialist Party, as another example of his feeling that he cannot really act within institutionalised organisations. On the other hand, he speaks positively about his engagement within the civil society sector; initially on several short-term projects that he implemented alone (a lot of many different websites) or with other people, but later, on more structured and longer-term projects (Inspira

and Web Magazine Endless). Consecutive projects allowed him to quickly gain many skills. In several fields, such as in IT, he is self-taught, especially via Internet. His large experiences helped to strengthen his skills. Its failures do not reflect demotivation but learning. His participatory activities did not have a negative impact on his academic record. But studying or even finding a job is not his priority. His aspiration is to carry out associative projects.

Emil, 31, from the Student Council at a University in Plovdiv, considers as the crucial achivement of his life, his candidacy for the mayorship in the village of his childhood, when he was 23, against the acting mayor. He believes that he acquired the necessary qualifications with his hard work and experiences in the media – internship in a local TV station, full time job in a print media, then back again in the TV as a journalist covering various sectors such as local governance, courts, prosecution, criminal news. He pursued his ambition in politics by becoming, since 2009, member of various election committees on sectional, municipal and regional levels. Currently, fulfilling his "old dream" of studying law, he has been elected to the Student Council, which he describes a a forum for developing activism in university circumstances. Older than the other members, Emil thinks he "could give something, after all I do have the necessary contacts, relations…" (NRP, p.45).

Francis, 30, from the Rennes FNYC is also a professional in the political field. In his self-presentation he relates his professional choice with his long term participatory activities and his political commitment. He explains how he started his participatory activities at an early age and continued without interruption, although changing his field of interest. While he did not play football, Francis trained the children in the football club of the neighbourhood; an activity his parents were involved. He believes that this first involvement was important because he later on participated in the creation of an association of role-playing and board games. He was also a student representative during his secondary education. He says that he liked to have the opportunity to represent and defend his classmates. He also says that he had the motivation for it and he was supported by his peers. When he was a student, he opposed the blocking of his university by creating an unblocking committee. He says that these experiences, but also his interest in politics have influenced his involvement in a political party. While he would rather have been attracted by a left political party (due to his social background), he says that the charisma and ideas of the right-wing candidate lead him to join the right-wing party's youth section and then the party. Francis holds a master's degree in history and he started his professional career in the sector of public culture but, given his political commitment, he changed his professional activity. Within the party organisation, he becomes in 2014 deputy mayor in charge of youth and student life. And he is currently director of political cabinet and director of communication.

Thibault, 26, is from Rennes FNYC. In his self-presentation his participatory activities appear as a priority which eventually translate into a professionalization in the field. He comes from a family where involvement is very present and he has been engaged continuously since he was 13 years old. His commitments come before his studies. His political science curriculum reflects interests for the political and public spheres. Thibault's route is characterised by a strong homogeneity in the type of organisation frequented (professional associations such as

the MJC (House of Youth and Culture, the League of education and the FNYC), as well as a stable commitment in these associations in which he performs similar duties (mainly institutional responsibilities). This pattern is reinforced by the fact that he has not been a class delegate and that he has not taken on any responsibilities within the political party even though he has been a member for ten years.

David, 27, is a youth worker at a Youth Centre in Manchester. The key aspects of David's self-presentation concern his desire to find his own path. He was born abroad and moved to Manchester at age 16. He struggled to find a direction on leaving school because his family hoped he would go into IT, earn money, whereas he wanted to be a youth worker. He also tells about difficulties he had during his first experience in volunteering with a charity, doing youth work with young asylum seekers. After a story of struggling between the two fields, he lists all the things they have done as a youth group, which he had the chance to lead. The list of actions he has done with his youth group (themselves all signs of successful participation) have become a list in his own c.v., a set of reasons for him being kept on as a youth worker.

Salih, 26, is currently working as a youth worker at the Youth Centre 1 in Eskişehir, after having been a volunteer trainer at the same centre for 6 years. Presenting himself as someone with high self-esteem, he relates his success and failure to his motivation. He says that he is motivated by social interactions rather than academic work. Studying economics, he does not have a brilliant record, after 6 years, still not graduated. He says that he failed his first year (a preparation year of English), because he didn't like the professors and campus and when he started his major in economics, he, again, didn't appreciate the professors and neither the students. He started his voluntary activities at the youth Centre, in his second year at the university, as a voluntary trainer in creative drama, which he learned from his mother who is a professional trainer. He says that, one day, passing by the centre, he entered and he met a youth worker and asked if they had creative drama classes: "He told me that they didn't but they would love to... I said I can do it… then we started to chat and drink tea… this first encounter has been one of the turning point of my life… I started to teach here" (NRE p.60). Afterwards he also became part of the youth council initiative started by the youth centre. He even became the first president of the council. And he finally started to work at the centre as a youth worker. In the future he would run for mayor office.

Hakan, a youth worker since 2014 at the youth centre 2 in Eskişehir, tells a life story centred around "adopting" to a difficult context of deprivation and war as a child born into a difficult geography [the southeast of Turkey]. He is Kurdish but not pro-HDP; but on the contrary, he is conservative and pro-government. His ethnic and social origins, but also the socioeconomic and political conditions of his natal town seem to be the major elements of his self-perceived life story, as well as his perception of politics. A recurrent concept in his discourse is adaptation referred to as "success": he seems to perceive himself, personally, socially or in terms of education, trying to adapt to new conditions. Hakan tells how the youth helped him when he came to study in Eskişehir to catch up with what he felt was missing: "I didn't know Eskişehir. When I came here I decided to improve myself instead of enjoying social life here… One can understand that he has got things to catch up. I went to free classes provided

by the local administrations in different facilities. That is also when I learned about youth Centre. I went to Photoshop classes, diction classes. I've learned about these places from my friends, and then saw other activities on the posters. I've met many friends there" (NRE, p.62). As one of the last steps of his "adaptation", coping with his difficulties, he tells how after his graduation from the department of sociology, he applied for a job (the position of youth leader) at the youth Centre and started to work there.

3.3.2.2 Cluster 2: "Experimentation stories"

The second cluster incudes young people for whom participation means either exploring life in general, or their identity or a specific practice in depth. Experimenting is usually associated with passion, curiosity and self-realisation. Experimenting can be either observed in many different parts of a young individual's life, or only in a particular area. Exploring the world means motion; or in other words trying new things, including new places, new activities, new social environments or social norms. Motion is usually related with change. Exploring an identity means to explore personal qualities, including strengths and weaknesses. Exploring a practice appears in the form of exploring a particular activity which can be sport, music, theatre or even culinary, but with intensity. These latter usually associate with testing potential or limits and the activity is presented as an end in itself.

3.2.2.2.1. Experimenting as motion and change

Betty, 28, from Open Education Collective Zurich, presents herself as someone who is continually seeking out new worlds. After high school, she travelled a lot. Studying languages in Scotland, in her first year she travelled to Ukraine to teach English, in her second year to Greece, to work in a travel agency. She also worked in Switzerland, at a hotel. In her fourth year, she travelled with her boyfriend at the time through France. In these new worlds, she finds it relatively easy to make friends and acquaintances (integrating herself always anew). For her, all the different worlds that she has experienced constitute a fulfilling, self-structured learning process that does not conclude with the end of her studies and beginning of her professional career but continues on into the future. Betty has been able to become actively involved in the world in different ways because the early sense of being unconditionally accepted (in the family, in the village community and currently at the Education Collective Zurich) provides her a great deal of security with which she can set out into the world.

Eliane, 26, is from the Street Sports Club in Zurich. She presents herself as someone who continually tries new things, fascinated with the idea of doing something different, testing her limits, overcoming fears, identifying her abilities and improving. She enjoys travelling and discovering, even when she is not doing anything particularly adventurous, she feels that she still has a lot to discover, be it new places to hike in Switzerland or distant travel destinations. Yet because she is constantly trying different things Eliane feels as if she were in an in-between phase, for which reason she often changes activities. While she continues to engage in certain activities, she leaves others behind. Eliane is thus in a continual process, wavering between commitment and change. She is looking for a balance, but because she often gets

bored she has difficulty persevering or following through with things. At present Eliane is fascinated by street sports, however certain factors – such as lack of time due to her studies and the resulting failure to improve or advance in the activity – have a negative impact on this fascination. She seems to be searching for her own originality.

Maximilian, 23, is a member of the Hoodboys in Frankfurt. Having experienced different youth settings and activities, in his self-presentation a change of interest is always connected with searching and moving from one place to another. The moves during his life seem to be connected with orientations towards different lifeclusters and scenes in which he is always 'very much' involved; every time something gets 'too much' he initiates a change. He tries certain youth scenes and activities out, to check whether he identifies with them or not. He presents himself currently as totally committed in the three connected components Hip-Hop, spraying and politics. He describes himself as politically interested and engaged but traditional forms of policy such as elections are something with which he cannot identify himself because he is too 'unorganised' to fit in those structures. The engagement in the antifascist scene is something he tries out, but cannot agree with the 'dogmatic structures' of this scene. Graffiti is for him a form of expressing his mind-set in an unrestricted way, this fits to his interest on 'buddhism':'I like the idea behind it, it's nice, it makes it easier for one' (NRF p.60). He presents him as someone who is trying out certain identities in different scenes and is struggling to make his interests coherent with the idea of a civil life.

Jakob, 34, is from Open Education Collective in Zurich. Starting from secondary school, he was stimulated in many directions. Whether it's snowboarding, making music, meditation, theatre, fire juggling or anti-Starbucks actions, Jakob seems to have been interested in almost everything. In his self-presentation he relates these activities to his various relationships, simultaneously with his shifting interests. However, the various settings and relationships he describes seem to have in common an aspect of self-organisation. He seems to be rather interested in experimenting and creating ideal models of self-organisation together with others. These models include forms of polyamory, self-organized living or self-organized education. He encountered the Open Education Collective in Zurich early on through the occupation scene. His improvisational manner of creatively shaping his path of life so that it has the guise of normality has allowed him to continue to develop his life models directly or indirectly without the feeling that he has to commit himself to any one path. He says that he is not sure where he will be in five years.

Pauline, 16, is from the informal Girls in Frankfurt. She presents herself as someone who always sticks out of contexts which are 'too much' for her and initiates changes, whenever she feels uncomfortable. Pauline's biography can be interpreted as an attempt and searching process of the right friends and the right place for the friendship. The relationship to the girls is presented as a safe area to make new experiences with drugs, 'real' friendship and distinction to other non-group members. Pauline presents the 'girls' group as the most relevant group in her life after her genuine family 'I mean they are after my family, like mum and dad, ohm my step father and real family, they are directly the next after them' (NRF

p.69). The youth centre plays a central role during this time, because Pauline it gave her and the group the possibility to develop a core group based on true friendship.

Sara, 30, is from the Sustainable Food Youth Network in Zurich. She presents herself as someone who has a great delight in experimentation, who likes to try out, to explore and to be inspired. But she also says that she doesn't want these activities to be a burden or an additional pressure to her professional activities. Because she also wants to move forward professionally; and not primarily because of an aimed career planning, but rather because of a strong interest in her professional activity in the sector of finance and banking. She is seeking compatibility of her different interest areas and thereby avoiding pressure. The Sustainable Food Youth Networkoffers her such a vessel that not only is not-binding, but also meets her pursuit of openness and heterogeneity and behind which she can ultimately stand as a whole. The concern for a conscious, environmentally friendly use of food expresses itself in her lifecluster. However, it is important to her not to be too "extreme" and dogmatic. Such an attitude, which some other organisations or people cultivate, does not comply with her openness for the new and the foreign. She appreciates the contrast between the interest in finance and banking as well as in food and sustainability and the very different social environments connected to them.

3.3.2.2.2 Experimenting as exploring identity

Giovanna, 19, is from the High School – High School group in Bologna. In her self-presentation she associates the different activities she is involved into, with a different fulfilment. Attending the parish deals with the "faith", attending the High School group deals with the hope of a better future through a direct activation (she fulfils her desire to express her own thoughts with the interest towards social issues), being a Scout is more like a lifecluster. Giovanna thinks that she shares with her friends in the High School group the hope towards the future and a personal activation: "We are the few who hope and act for a better future, while other students are just resigned and live adapting to given circumstances day by day" (NRB p.65). She also says: "what has always been extremely fascinating in Scout experience is the fact of service as the first priority, the idea of feeling and acting as a part of a community" (NRB p.65).

Cristina, 18, is from the High School – High School group in Bologna. Cristina describes herself as someone who is interested to what happens all around. About her participative experience in the High School group and in Scoutism, she underlines how this contributes to her personal growth: "I am in the High School group mainly for me, for my growth; "I know that with my action I help other people and I feel the commitment, but it is not my first motivation" (NRB p.67). At the same time, she suggests the importance of feeling emotion, besides the interest for a specific issue: "in the end, when you become more and more active, it is necessary to feel emotion, it is not sufficient what you do" (NRB p.66). She combines enjoying friendship, will to better understand how everyday life runs, interest for social issues and curiosity. In her participative experience, Cristina shows a mix of openness to the world, interest towards social issues and will to learn through dialogue.

Rada, 27, is from a Student Council at a University in Plovdiv. Her responsability is mostly related with administrative issues and organisation of various events. She believes that her activities develops her personality. In this activity she manages to establish contacts, relations and friendships that enrich her personally and remain for good. She defines participation as "being more active, doing something". Rada is not interested in politics and does not perceive herself as a leader. She thinks that after the end of her Student Council's mandate she would not be participating in a similar organisation According to Rada, "The Student Council is a phase of her life but not her life… I want to live, right now it's good for me. Yep I want live it out" (NRP p.44). She spends more than 8 hours weekly in this activity and considers that it is a lot; she uses several times the expression "it's very difficult". She is not complaining but seems to be proud of it.

Marjane, 17, is from the Service Organisation in Rennes. The different types of motivations and justifications she mentions for her various participatory activities in her self-presentation reveals how she had the opportunity to learn about her personal qualities. Marjane's involvement started in middle school. She was a class representative for several years in a row. She says that she wanted to improve the climate of the class. She describes her participation to the Service Organisation as a search for a useful activity during school holiday: "I was looking for ... because I was not sure yet about my holidays. I knew I was leaving in August, but the month of July I knew I was there. I said to myself: better to do something" (NRR p.71). She says that the program was similar with regard to some aspects to a summer camp experience; youth groups, taking initiatives, acquisition of competences. When she has been noticed for her participation by the project leader and proposed to take some responsibilities, she decides to give priority to her education: "I warned him. I said that I was having trouble organising myself, that ... here ... This year was the year of the bac - baccalaureate degree -, all that." (NRR p.71). However, she managed to make time for three training sessions a week in athletics; what may be interpreted as a preference for individual activities rather than collective ones.

Erika from the PCC case study in Frankfurt, tells a life story which begins for the first 1 ½ years suffering from a life-threatening sickness. Around the age of sixteen, her parents have a divorce after which the younger sister begins to have mental issues and suffers from depression. "One key topic of Erika's biography is the search for a community she can develop her interests in (NRF, p. 65)". PCC in her account then "represents a place for experimentation with 'cool' people, clubbing, arts and experiences of positive socialising, making projects and also giving her a space to develop outside of the small suburb with her family and the trouble at home. She thereby describes her understanding of politics by 'community' and 'taking care' and political occasions, less with abstract political issues (NRF, p. 66)".

3.3.2.2.3 Experimenting as exploring an activity

Mario, 31, is from the Extreme Sport Centre in Bologna. According to Mario: "participating means to believe to a project and give one's best…also for bringing people together" (NRB p.63). He describes biking as his real life passion since his childhood. He has developed his

interest in biking both in terms of sport competition and as an activity for enjoying leisure time with friends and new friends sharing the same passion. After his university graduation, he started to work in his family's construction enterprise, but in 2011, the enterprise went bankrupt. Facing difficulties in finding a new stable job, Mario expanded his activities as a biker. Having spent many years as an athlete in downhill bike competitions, he started to dedicate more and more time to his bikers' association and to his activity as an instructor inside the Extreme Sport Centre. Participation to ESC has meant being part of "a beautiful, unique group of different sport realities… a sort of enlarged family" (NRB p.63) with the common aim of promoting one's own passion, fostering the growth of 'particular' sports. Mario is still looking for a job outside ESC, compatible to his technical expertise in the field of construction. He does not perceive his responsibilities in the ESC as a bike instructor and entertainer as an employment.

Antonella, 29, is from the Extreme Sport Centre in Bologna. Antonella sees her participation to ESC as an experience allowing her a personal and artistic growth, but also a professional chance for the future. Antonella describes herself as a person whose path has always been intertwined with sport. A new idea of sport as something closer to a lifecluster has grown when she began with parkour and aerial silk, described as something more than simply playing games, because of their peculiar 'world': unconventional, urban related (parkour), and artistic (aerial silk). Doing these new sports meant also developing new sensitivity and awareness. Passion and expertise were further elaborated and refined when Antonella moved to the idea of becoming also an instructor and a co-manager of an association. These recent years inside ESC have allowed Antonella to grow both as a trainer and a sport artist, and as a manager. She then looks at her current activities as a way for a personal and artistic growth, but also as an occasion for her professional career. In participative terms, what she underlines is the strong, common commitment of all people involved in the sport self-managed structure for the development of unconventional disciplines and of their underlying 'philosophy': "Each of us had his/her personal path, but inside ESC we did not limit to an individual development, opting rather for promoting a space within everyone's reach" (NRB p.64).

Owen is a 24 years old professional musician in free improvised music, from Music Group in Manchester. The relationship between the political aspects of improvisation, particularly as espoused by Music Group, and the testing of its potential for personal social action and change is the key participation story evident in his self-presentation. He started playing in experimental bands where the focus was on experimental risk and co-creativity rather than virtuosity or producing a polished finished product. Meeting with people as part of a network is the main way in which gigs are generated for Owen: " I met people who I actually wanted to create stuff with which is I think the important thing, because that's how I got into doing stuff here, by meeting people so I could do things with people and that's the essential part of it for me – you can't do it without having a relationship with someone" (NRM p.62). The nature of improvised music is central to what he enjoys: "It just kind of opens up many more questions and there's not really any need to crystallise anything into like a perfect form or idea. You can just make things and they exist. There's just like endless potential. I guess the interesting thing would be to see how far you could push that as well and how far you can

extend those networks or uncover existing networks that you might not realise exist, by doing radical art or just meeting people and talking about things" (NRM p.63).

Johanna, 20, is from Theatre Group in Gothenburg. She describes herself as having a "seeker-identity", which has characterised her personality since childhood. She is a restless soul, determined, curious and driven by nature. Growing up in a small church community has given her personal stability and security. At the same time, this very "church-life" has made her long for something else, a way of being and living beyond the traditional ways of the environment that she was accustomed to. This is where the theatre, as a collective, participatory mode of expression, enters her narrative, and stands out as a biographical element that changes her life trajectory: /.../ A completely new world opened up for me. /…/ Suddenly I was in the middle of something big, this world was suddenly here, five minutes by car from where I had grown up and lived my whole life. /…/ I had a picture of how people were. /…/ And I knew, I will never be a boring adult that cannot let loose. I will also wear clothes from the 80's and dance with hula hoops, on stage (NRG p.58). "Being different", "standing out", even being perceived as "the black sheep" of the family, are important elements of Johanna's seeker identity. Even if she has not dissociated herself from her background in any way, the theatre has been the main mode of her explorative process. For Johanna, theatre enables personal exploration and expression, as well as an arena where one can grow and learn together with others, who are like-minded, a collective and co-creative processes of the group, where every member has individual responsibility of actively engaging in the dynamics of the group.

Linda, 19, is one of the co-founder of Dance Group in Gothenburg. In her self-presentation she expresses her profound interest in Korean culture, describes the first connection with K-pop as a new experience, unlike any she had before. She has a genuine interest for Korea that stretches beyond the music. After finishing upper secondary school, she is planning for university studies, and then a move to Korea with the ambition of finding an event planning or a coordinating job within the K-pop industry, as she says, "a job that somehow is K-pop related." She thinks that her hybrid background allows her to be who she wants to be, tied to no pre-defined expectations. She conceives of herself primarily as a bearer of a cosmopolitan identity. The kind of work one does, and the size of one's salary, is more important than cultural background she says, which should not limit people to explore life trajectories of their choice.

Hanna, 32, is from the Sustainable Food Youth Network. In her self-presentation Hanna appears as a person with manifold interests, who opens up herself to new unfamiliar things. She experiences this openess as enriching as it moves her forward. Among other interests, it seems that it is particularly her sensually-culinarily enriching experiences since her childhood, which have shaped her private and professional interest in food, cooking and conscious food consumption. She seems to be oriented and driven by an idealism characterized doing things not as a means to an end but as an end in itself. With the Sustainable Food Youth Network, she does not only share her content-related interest but also her ideals. However, it is not only about the subject matter but about experiencing an

energising, supporting and keeping group feeling there. The first eat-in she attended was a "whole new experience and also so fascinating and energising, so that actually was clear to me, okay, I can do that, this is my group. I want to stay there somehow, I want to participate there, I want to engage there" (NRZ p.58). The group is supporting but not 'possessive' and allows her enough room to carry on acting independently and autonomously and involving individually based on interests, competences and ressouces. If something does not meet her ideals, she also stops it sometimes such as some of her numerous jobs in gastronomy. She does not want to make herself dependent on others and likes to do things on her own, what in her eyes has the advantage of being without expectation towards others and herself. For Hanna, it is about following sharing ideals within a strengthening but non-compulsory togetherness.

3.3.2.3 Cluster 3: Doing/changing/resisting/taking responsibilities stories

The third cluster demonstrates how young people are not happy with the system and their societies and they aim to take responsibilities and try to do and change things in their societies through participation. Previous research came up with various classifications of youth participation: around participation in political parties, social movements and youth work or around formal, non-formal and informal participation, etc. When we study the biographical interviews and young people explaining how they see their participation stories, it is possible to see on the one hand those stressing upon “resistance” and “rebellion” against things that are not right and on the other hand those stressing upon taking responsibility and providing services and care for those in need in order to create change in their lives. Even though the first classification tends to make reference to the political (especially leftist) groups and social movements whereas the second one makes reference to civil society organisations providing services and also youth work, an in-depth analysis of the biographical interviews demonstrates that the individual’s reasoning and self-presentation are more complex and do not always go in parallel with their participation settings. The cluster 3 demonstrates how young people try to have a sort of impact in their societies.

3.2.2.3.1 Stories of resistance and rebellion against “things that are not right”

Ali Müfit, working actively in the student initiative in Eskişehir, as the son of a conservative family born in a conservative city in Turkey, tells his story of becoming a leftist, a revolutionary. He tells how important it is for him to resist things that are not right even if starting with his high school years, he was criticized even by his girlfriends who accused him of being too preoccupied with politics. Even though he cannot share this leftist/revolutionary spirit with his conservative family, according to him since high school years his revolutionary activities was something valuable that distinguished him from “ordinary” young people: “In those years [high school years], being there [in a leftist movement] thinking about it and doing something different than ordinary high school students was very valuable, and the other things I did not really care about them” (NRE p. 47). He also underlines that it is a necessity for someone like him having a leftist identity to resist the things that are not right. He says “I am someone who has a certain identity” and adds: “What we do is not just a political activity, it is a search for meaning in life. What is the meaning of life a person should live for? Those

things we experience, is it right or not? I believe that to live like that is not right. What we go through is not right and I believe that it is necessary to resist that" (NRE, p.47).

Zühre, from the Eskişehir student initiative, similarly, discusses in her biographical interview the importance of resistance. She tells that she wanted to be a journalist like Metin Göktepe, journalist killed during police custody in Turkey but she also wanted to discuss as a journalist the things that were not going right also in Palestine. She said that she wanted to believe that things could not go on as they used to do if people learnt all about what was going on and that is why she wanted to be a journalist. After some years, even though Zühre seems to have lost her faith in free press/media in Turkey as well as its good influence on people, she defines herself as a leftist woman who is not only critical of capitalism and the existent political regime in Turkey but also critical of male domination in society and resisting against the gender regime.

Selim, who was interviewed as a local football club fan in Eskişehir (born in Eskişehir close to the football stadium who later on went to Istanbul to continue his education and also other countries as first AFS and then Erasmus student and then for masters) and continued to be a fan of the local football club. He tells that his childhood was marked in fact by a football carnival in the neighbourhood every two weeks and it was great to be a child in that neighbourhood. He, however, does not perceive fan groups as a positive thing, but on the other hand believes that the people who give real colour to the football club in Eskişehir is not the fan groups but the individual supporters of the team. He is highly critical of the fan groups trying to create their own "brand" and creating a certain collectivity and a leadership and he thinks that they give harm to the old spirit of football fans' culture he had experienced during his childhood and adolescence. He is also critical of the contemporary football scene which is a very commercialized and corrupted one. So for him, being a football fan was the feeling of being a part of a non-commercial activity, to become a part of a neighbourhood carnival, a feast, which changes with the commercialization of football as well as the fan groups. That is why he seems to be criticizing and rebelling against the existent football scene and chooses not to go to football matches anymore. In other words, he chooses to "exit" participation in the football scene and defines himself by this "exit" rather than participation.

Yunus, also from the local football club fans' case study, is trying to make reference to football and community of fans as a way to talk about contemporary problems of Turkey and of Turkish football. Yunus tells that it is indeed with high school (a vocational technical high school) that he started to be interested in the local football club since his school was situated just near the stadium. It was according to him the atmosphere in the stadium that tied him to the colours of the team and made him want to go to matches. He is now a member of a group of fans which has a certain political standing and attracts attention by the political characteristics of its messages. He says they try to distinguish their group from other fan groups. He argues that what they can accomplish with their fan group composed of only 30-40 people is quite limited (in comparison with other bigger groups) but on the other hand he feels that what they can do with this small number of people is still very important. They try to show the existence of people with a political standing in the stadium. They try to be

present by their posters and banners (hand-made since they are against digital posters and banners) and also try to be active in the social media. In other words, they try to demonstrate a political standing and at least (if not to change) go against the industrialization/commercialization of football as well as the changing character of football fans.

Kilian form Web Magazine Endless case study tells in his biographical interview that he started to be interested in politics in 2007, the year of the presidential election in France. Even though he admits not being able to understand all these political discussions at the time, he was attentive to the statements. He remembers even before 2007, in 2005, when he was 11 years old, he was shocked by the minister of interior's (Nicolas Sarkozy) statement "cleaning the popular suburbs with a high pressure washer" during the riots in the autumn 2005. He remembers how he started by that time to be interested in the news as a result of which he started to want to become a journalist: he wanted to inform, tell and be part of the news. He also tells that he had moments of hesitation and gave up his dreams to become a professional journalist (he continued his education to become a history teacher in secondary education). In that sense, the collective Web Magazine Endless was a means for him to get trained at first but then it evolved into a political motivation.

Cristian from social centre case study in Bologna has a double citizenship: his mother is American and father is Italian (a father he did not see much after his parents' divorce in 2005). Cristian tells that he had spent most of his childhood traveling around Europe and moved to Bologna at the age of 18, in 2010, to attend university. In his biographical interview it is evident that his political engagement has a fundamental role in his identity and that "in his self-presentation, his identity as an activist is prominent among his other identities (i.e. student)" (NRB, p. 56). He underlines the importance of the "generation without future" to take control in their hands and take the future back.

Mario from the informal network on arts and debate case study is someone who believes in the importance of solving public issues (that is why he chose to study law for example). For him, the idea of the network should fill an important gap since there are music performers of very high quality who are nor known by the public and thus remain unrecognized. He defines the project as a 'generally anti-capitalist idea', based on anti-consumerist principles: "Well the Network, its chief ideology is to be independent, not falsified, not reduced to products, non-capitalist in its attitude so to speak, and under 'capitalism, I mean consumerism. A kind of purity. It's got to be about music, music that's just how it is… not about music that aims to be something else" (NRP, p. 40).

Michel is active in the Social Youth in Manchester. In the biographical interview, he talks about how certain crises had an important place in his life story. For example, he tells that he remembers how at the age of 6, in primary school, he became aware of the ecological crisis and he felt so uncomfortable seeing that nobody is actually doing anything about it. He also tells that the economic crisis in 2008 was an important episode in his life. At the time he was 14 years old and he realized that he wants to learn about political economy in order to understand what was going on. That was also a lucky period since he had the tools to explore

that: the family started to have broadband internet in the house. When he was 18 years old and came to Manchester to study, he knew he wanted to join some sort of organisation and he joined the Social Youth which according to him was a crucial point in his life. (It is important to note that he was not at all very "far" from socialists since his father a graphics teacher at college, used to be a member of the Socialist Workers party and was involved in the 80s movement.) He says that there, he finally found a group of people with whom he could discuss political issues and engage in activism. He is someone who is very much interested in the theoretical aspect which according to him eventually bring change. Even though now he is the leader of the regional committee, he says that he is not really interested in active leadership but more in writing articles for the party's magazine (and he wants to form a blog of his own) and contribute to the theoretical discussion on the party.

3.3.2.3.2. Stories of taking responsibility, feeling the duty to help others and to bring change

Sergei, from the youth section of a charity organisation in Plovdiv, present himself as a "lucky" person from a supportive and affluent family. He says that he gets satisfaction when helping people who are not as lucky as he is. He tells in his biographical interview that he is apathetic ones who feel that it is not possible to change things. Sergei, on the other hand, feels a duty towards the society. As a committed volunteer, he wants to give his best and pay back his debt to the society. He wants to change the society.

Anita, similarly, from the youth section of a charity organisation in Plovdiv, in her biography underlines the importance of volunteering and how it serves to change the society. "She believes that through her activities the society is changing for the better" (NRP, p. 43).

Philip from the Plovdiv informal network on arts and debate case study tells that he comes from a well-to-do family and he had opportunities to live in different European cities and attend different schools as a child, as a result of which he was able to make comparisons between Bulgaria and abroad. The idea for establishing the informal network for arts and debate in fact comes from this experience living abroad. He realized that there was a lack of respect for the local Bulgarian music scene. "Hence his participatory project was created with the intention to demonstrate that one could be successful in the country if they truly believed in themselves and had a strong desire to 'push their own small stone in order to achieve an avalanche effect" (NRP, p. 39). However, it is interesting to note that even though Philip is determined to change the cultural scene in Bulgaria, he is not so eager or optimistic about changing the political scene in the country and that he is sceptic about any involvement in politics.

Amelia from the Plovdiv ecological organisation present a life story around the personal example which is oriented towards change and help. She hopes that the others would take her example and change themselves.

Milena, from an ecological organisation in Plovdiv, also gives in her biographical interview an account of how "emotions" played an important role in first getting interested in ecology and then continuing her interest in environmental affairs. As explained in the Plovdiv report: "It is characteristic for Milena's life story that she became involved in public issues through a

personal emotional involvement with a man she loved. Emotions continue to play a role in her ecological activity as she feels a responsibility to her own child, to her co-citizens, to future generations" (NRP, p. 42). In other words, even though Milena's participation is related with emotions, unlike the others, her experience is not related with coping successfully with emotions and traumas but rather related with positive experiences and relations.

Similarly, Andrey, from ecological organisation case study from Plovdiv is also telling a story full of emotions, based on "positive" emotions. Andrey explains that he has a special interest and devotion to birds and he says that birds have changed his life. This interest also led him to ecological issues and he tries his best to set an example and to influence (to touch) other people: "I want more people to be open, to have open consciousness. I want to… I don't want to change people because I cannot change people but what I want is giving my example and more people to be touched" (NRP, p. 40). On the other hand, he is aware that "everything always take time and takes patience" (NRP, p. 40).

Mihail, from the youth section of a political party in Plovdiv, explains that in his political participation, feeling responsibility towards others is central. Mihail says that his parents have strong left-wing views but it is indeed his own lived experience that he came close to this view. He says: "I should, if I can, in some way, defend the people who cannot do it themselves. And I feel responsible for it, in some way" (NRP, p. 47).

Cristian from social centre case study in Bologna has a double citizenship: his mother is American and father is Italian (a father he did not see much after his parents' divorce in 2005). Cristian tells that he had spent most of his childhood traveling around Europe and moved to Bologna at the age of 18, in 2010, to attend university. In his biographical interview it is evident that his political engagement has a fundamental role in his identity and that "in his self-presentation, his identity as an activist is prominent among his other identities (i.e. student)" (NRB, p. 56). He underlines the importance of the "generation without future" to take control in their hands and take the future back.

Cleila from university students' network case study in Bologna was born in Germany (her father is German and her mother Italian). She graduated from a scientific lyceum, known as a fortress for the left wing associations. Cleila is now studying (bachelor) at the University of Bologna and since the upper secondary school she tells that she has been taking part in student councils. She defines participation as contributing to the common good and "not for just a personal aim" (NRB, p. 62) and she experiences it as a sort of duty that pressed her in accepting candidacies and roles as a student representative: "this sense of duty killed me" (NRB, p. 62).

Sandro, a student representative in the university from the university students' network case study in Bologna, was also elected in 2014 in the municipal council of his town. Even though not all the members of the student network know about it, he became an educator within the parish in the village where he was born (near Bologna). In other words, Sandro is a very active young person in different fields (local parish, student council, municipal council). He

talks about his interest in these different fields- especially his representation in two different councils in a mocking manner: “I have a sort of habit of being a representative…” Even though he talks about that in a mocking manner, he also states that “it is not sufficient to criticize politicians and representatives, but each one should be directly committed and involved in doing something useful for the community” (NRB p. 61). In his mind, the three fields he is active in and even his bachelor in anthropology and his MA in Education are related with each other and serve all together to work for the good of the community.

Pablo, a street sports trainer from the Street Sports Club in Zurich tells how the particular form of street sports he is engaged in plays an important role in his life. He first came into contact with it in 2006 when he was 13 years old and since then it constitutes an important part of his life. Pablo finished high school and then completed alternative community service in lieu of military service and starting in 2014 he began his university studies in the field of humanities so that he could somehow combine his training with his studies. In the biographical interview Pablo tells how he is critical of traditional schooling and regular sport clubs and he is searching ways to “change” that. He thinks that in conventional schooling rights questions are not being asked and he “dislikes the jockeying and elbowing for position that take place both in the classroom and in regular sport clubs and that seem to be necessary in order to attract attention” (NRZ p. 50). Pablo tells how thanks to his training in a type of street sports where instead of rivalry working on one's own skills is important, he realized that “he can challenge himself without any form of competition" (NRP p. 50). Since Pablo thinks that it is never possible to change the entire world all at once and that he needs to start in one corner of the world, his non-competitive sport seems to offer him this “corner” where he can independently and collaboratively create a training structure for others.

Markus, an employed junior youth leader in Youth Centre in Gothenburg, tells that he feels “lucky” to have found this position. In fact, being lucky, or having luck is one prominent theme in his biographical interview. He feels lucky to come from a middleclass family with two intellectual parents who have studied at the university and having the luxury of having books at home. He also feels lucky to work as a junior youth leader. Even though he underlines his “luck”, he also shares some difficult moments in his life: his parents divorced when he was 16 years old, and he lost contact with his father who moved to another city (even though they started to have contact recently) and he had to give support his mother who went through a difficult time during the divorce. Markus is very interested in politics and thinks that “everything is politics”. He spends time thinking and talking about gender issues since he was studying at gymnasium where he was engaged in a gender group, and he criticizes the male domination he sees around him. He also underlines that he stopped seeing some old friends that are, according to Markus, not worth to keep up since these friends do not refrain from making racist or sexist comments, remarks that are not compatible with The Youth Centre or with who Markus is today: “So, after the last grade I had almost no contact with them, which is good for me because we were in a rather destructive circle then. Both as friends, they belonged to a very destructive company, but it was also sexist, racist jokes and the like. […] Very anti what I myself feel is my foundation. But it is easy to get into these things if you don’t understand what you are doing” (NRG, p. 63).

3.3.2.3.3 Stories of intersection between resistance and taking responsibility to change things

Martina, a volunteer of the social centre in Bologna, underlines in her biographical interview the importance of concrete action and making things go better. Martina has lots of experience in volunteering (for Emergency, national service inside an educational and leisure service for children, UNİCEF, a month spent between Niger and Burkina Faso and a semester in Tanzania with the European Voluntary Service), especially in international cooperation- which is also the field she studied for BA and MA. Even though she is so active in volunteering, her story of taking part in a juvenile organisation of a leftist party did not go well and resulted by her losing faith in the political system. Her involvement in the social centre in Bologna is important since there she managed to combine her need of a more "tangible" and "concrete" commitment with political engagement thanks to her involvement in the social dormitory in the centre. As stated in the Bologna report: "She feels participation's core meaning 'as dialogue and self-help; when you participate, you are part and not alone'. Volunteering inside SC [social centre] has increased her trust in the potential of the political action and in the interaction between political activists and grass roots" (NRB, p. 57).

Peter, from the youth council in Gothenburg, has been an active member of the council for two years. In the biographical interview, he says that his family played an important role for developing his political interest and engagement, especially the discussion around what is "right" and "wrong" as well as the discussions around "what kind of society we should have". When he was in the sixth grade a teacher encouraged him to run for the youth council which starts his experiences with the council. In his narrative, it is seen that school is important for him and takes much of his time. Peter defines himself as a "social liberal" and in the biographical interview he spends lots of time criticizing the adult-centrism in society as well as telling about his projects to change or change this adult-centrism. He feels that having a free public transportation system for all young people is important. He underlines that the possibilities of a young person is very dependent on the socioeconomic background of the family and that there is segregation making it difficult for young people from different districts to meet which demonstrates the importance of having a free transportation for all the young. He also argues that young people are not taken seriously in the society and that adults treat youth in a patronizing way and that there is age hierarchy in society. Even though Peter is active in the youth council and believes that it had been an important forum of learning for himself, he is also aware that it is also a forum created by adults, with clear limitations in terms of power, decision making and influence. Yet, it is still a valuable platform according to Peter since it promotes youth democracy and participation and formally voices issues of importance to young people.

Giorgio, from youth and students representation in Frankfurt, chooses to centre his biographical interview on "change" but on "real" change as well as "real politics and "real" engagement. He tells a life story that begins with a childhood in a "mixed" neighbourhood as the first child of a German mother and a father of African descent (a graphic designer). His parents separate when he was at kindergarten and he continues to live with his mother. He

goes to a gymnasium in a well-off neighbourhood and he joins the school council as representative of his class and also tries to keep the school magazine going. At the age of thirteen he joins an environmental organisation and joins several campaigns against pollution. At the age of 17, he is elected as a delegate to represent his school at the city-wide students' council and in his second year there he joins the board of the council and leaves the council after graduating from gymnasium and takes up an orientation year at a university in the south of Germany. Thus, it is possible to say that Giorgio, as a 20 year-old young person has an important experience with participation. Yet, in his narrative, one recognizes that he is also very critical of some of these activities and participation types and he often distinguishes between "real" (should one read it as important) politics/activities/participation and others. For example, he underlines his dislike for the ecologist group he was a part of becoming more "superficial" and getting interested in topics that are "not truly political" like vegetarianism. He also sees the visit of his school to a partner school in a developing country was indeed "senseless" since he questions the idea of third world development aid and thinks that they cannot really bring support to the poor pupils of that school. He also feels that the student council in school was not "well organized" and the council was only treating "apolitical" things like fighting the ban of mobile phones in school. He also criticizes the city-wide students' council for dealing with issues that he thought were irrelevant for students and was working rather as a "part of the wheelwork of city's bureaucracy". It is interesting to see the underlying of this dichotomy for participation/politics in his narrative about the organisations he already worked for and continued to be part of which he accused of not working "relevantly" or "truly political": it was ok to do it but not the real thing. This distinction Giorgio makes for participation seems to be also valid for his future plans: he wants to become a journalist in the future but not a journalist who only does day-to-day news but someone doing in-depth coverage of "really relevant" topics. It is apparent that Giorgio wants to do important things and "change" things but yet he also thinks that not every sort of activity serves to do that.

3.3.2.4 Cluster 4: Stories of rediscovery of oneself and identity

The forth cluster demonstrates how young people successfully use their participation to cope with racial, ethnic, class, and gender issues creating stigmatization or disadvantages as well as other personal difficulties such as health problems or bullying experiences in their lives. The following biographical interviews provided important insight into the role of the reconstruction of self-identity and various identities (class, gender, ethnic, religious and even district/neighbourhood identities) in shaping participation as well as life stories.

3.3.2.4.1 Stories centred around social identities

Rita, for example, from Manchester young feminist group, underlines that since childhood, she had been "sensing" the existence of a class bias in her family and happened to grow an awareness of the importance of identity since her mother's family was upper middle class and her father was a person of colour and working class. She tells that her maternal grandparents disapproved her parents' marriage and there was a lack interaction between the two sides of the family. She says: "I suppose identity is quite important to me, maybe because of so much

confusion around it, because my dad was from a country that I very rarely get to visit and I don't really get to know my family as much as I would like" (NRM, p. 48). She currently works for an organisation in Manchester working with young working class people. She does not define her activism as feminist, per se, but says that she is concerned about class issues, homelessness and domestic violence: "Class and equality, obviously, because I'm here. Then, I would say homelessness and domestic violence" (NRM, p. 49). Rita says that looking back, she feels that she had always been political and that seems to be rooted in her early experiences and the inequalities she observed in her family: "I suppose I have always been political, but I suppose, much like our RECLAIM young people, you don't know it and, I think, that is quite interesting now, when I look back. I have always had very strong views about fairness and equality and diversity, and how people are treated, and how people are treated unfairly, often, in this country or others, but you don't always have an outlet for that, I think" (NRM, p. 49).

Megan, from the Manchester young feminist movement, thinks that she was "always a feminist" and thinking back she feels like her parents raised her to be a feminist. She is the chair of her university's feminist society and is very involved in activism in the city. Even though she now thinks she was always a feminist, her feminist activism only started when she was 16 because before that she denied being feminist because it was "uncool". At 16, she started working with her local council on international Women's Day. In her activism, she says, "the Malala situation" played an important role since it was talked about at the time, its effect on young people and how we should help out other countries. She says that feminism especially became very important to Megan when she left home for university and she became independent. Feminism gave her the framework for fighting for her rights and to stand up for herself: "When I became independent and moved away from home, I realised that I needed feminism to know what was right and wrong and stand up for myself" (NRM, p. 50). Megan tells how indeed her feminism is evolving everyday: "Megan notes that she is constantly developing as a feminist and that it helps her to be a person and a better ally to other and particularly marginalised groups" (NRM, p. 50).

Zara's life story from Manchester, from young feminist group, is also highlighting traumatic experiences starting with her childhood. As underlined in the Manchester national report: "Zara discusses her anger, frustration and pain throughout the interview-first, with the medical establishment in getting a diagnosis for her autism and then with the sexual violence she suffered in her childhood" (NRM, p. 47). In fact, in her biography Zara "cites these experiences as the start of her organised feminist activism" (NRM, p.47) and that she coped with her autism thanks to the feminist lens she gained to observe and criticize what is going on in her life. She successfully merges her feminism with activism against disability discrimination which makes her activism and participation a multi-faceted one. Zara in her account of her life story underlines that her participation/inclusion in a feminist community "saved" her and she argues that "feminism has been more empowering for her than therapy had ever been" (NRM, p. 48).

Similarly Tracey, from Manchester, from Contact Theatre case study, also tells a difficult life story (of herself and her family) marked by poverty and health issues. Tracey underlines however that amid these difficulties, coming to the Youth Club "changed" her and made her more self-confident and helped her to rediscover her self-identity. Tracey is also quite happy to recently be offered a place at Manchester College (vocational qualifications) to study Performing Arts and look forward in a much more confident way to the future thanks to her participation that changed her.

Mercy, from Manchester Contact Theatre case study also tells a difficult life story marked by her family leaving Angola when she was four years old and coming to the UK. Once they come to the UK, the family continues to move from one place to the other so that she went to five different primary schools (including one in Scotland) before settling in North Manchester. As the only "girl" out of six children of her parents, she is looking after her brothers (including her twin brother) when her parents are not at home studying (mother studying health and social care at college and father at university). She explains in her biographical interview that since they were moving all the time, it was difficult to make friends for her and she was too shy to communicate with friends which started to change as she started to visit the youth club near to her house. She tells that she changed a lot and she is more self-confident now: "Feel like… as I was getting to year after. (So… you brought J here did you…) So over time I've been becoming more confident" (NRM, p. 58). Mercy in her interview does not only talk about how she changed from being a very shy and quiet person to a self-confident one but she also develops an awareness about racism (which apparently touches her life) and she feels powerful so that by the end of the interview, she articulates a clear political opinion against racial profiling and against Trump (the interview as taking place in the week when Trump was elected President).

Sarah, from The Youth Group in Gothenburg, tells the life story of a person born as a boy, even though she on the inside did never felt as a boy. Sarah gives a colourful and detailed description of her life journey, with emphasis on how she gradually has come to realize that she is a transgender person. She begins her story with what she understands must have happened during her foetal development. The interplay between hormones, chromosomes and the growth of genitalia did not function the way it usually does, with the result that her psychological and physical gender do not match (NRG, p. 68). Sarah tells: "during the early years when I was in pre-school, I have my first memories of feeling not comfortable with being a boy" (NRG, p. 68). She also tells that because of her identity, she had difficulties at school. She was seen as different among her peers and suffered from being bullied. However, she also tells that she was a good student at school, and finished the gymnasium with high grades. After many years of struggles, she finally came out as a female two years ago. She tells that it was at this point she for the first time begun to completely live her life. At the time of the interview, Sarah was waiting for gender confirming treatment, for which the queuing time is a very long. While waiting, Sarah is active in The Youth Group, and currently she and other members of the group, is putting together a letter to the responsible authorities about transgender person experiences of how the long queuing times in the medical care system effects their lives.

Amanda, from the Gothenburg youth council, was born and raised in Gothenburg. Her parents migrated to Sweden in the 1980s. After their divorce, when Amanda was 3 years old, her father moved to another country. Amanda tells how she had a privileged background since she had highly educated parents with prominent jobs. Amanda tells how her path to engagement and participation in youth politics is closely linked with her identity and her experiences of being exposed to bullying and racism: "Pretty early I was exposed to bullying /…/ and this is grounded in racism. /…/ It was like really that which made me want to engage in the society. /…/ And it is like the foundation of my engagement in work to change things in the society" (NRG, p. 55). With her will to change things in society, it is for sure possible to discuss Amanda's biographical interview under the cluster 3. According to Amanda, there is no distinction between the personal and the political. She says that even if she was not exposed to bullying, she would still be political (NRG, p. 55). So political participation for Amanda is not a matter of choice, having an immigrant background in a society with widespread racism is politics by default; what a racialized person can do is to decide the level of personal engagement (NRG, p. 55).

Abbas, from the Free Sports Association in Gothenburg, says that one of the key question for him right now is: "to try to figure out where my personality comes from". Throughout his life, he has had to cope with several losses – of his father who disappeared from the family in the early years of Abbas life, and of his extended family where many bonds have been broken through the years. This can be traced back to wars and conflicts around the world, but also to different ways of narrating and make meaning of the past (NRG, p. 65). Abbas' participation in the Free Sports Association started with positive experiences from a youth centre. When trying to find money to finance their activities, him and his peer-group was told that they needed to form an association. In a period of six months, Abbas and the group succeeded, not only to form an association, but also to build up a training facility all by themselves.

Jessy, junior youth leader at The Youth Centre in Gothenburg, also makes references to hard past experiences. Her school years were marked by feelings of exclusion and difficulties to adapt. She refers to The Youth Centre as a place that meets her hopes of companionship, inclusion and openness: "What really opened up the possibility for me is that it reminded me about the role I have had, and I opened up for this possibility […]. I had been at Youth Centre before and have seen others who worked there and felt that emotion, it was an emotion that made me feel good to be a part of" (NRG, p. 61).

Azad, from the street musicians' case study in Eskişehir, starts his life story by talking about where he was born, a city in the southeast part of Turkey, and even though they moved from that city to another one, when he was 6 years old he has a special attachment to this city. When he started primary school (in the 1990s), he tells that he was very much discriminated against because of his Kurdish name. He explains this by the political context of the 1990s and the events taking place in the southeast of Turkey where teachers and doctors are being targeted and killed which create an anger towards the Kurdish identity. Even though he did not totally get what was going on, he says that he could sense that there was some prejudice against him and especially some were really cruel against him. But he refuses to categorize

all the teachers as "cruel" and "prejudiced" since it was his arts teacher at secondary school who first discovered his talent in painting. He also remembers that the very same teacher nominated him as one of the students to paint the walls of the school. It seems that his talent in art and painting made it possible to cope with this ethnic stigmatization at school and made him a cool guy at school and also made it possible to continue his studies in art. A part from painting, he also has another interest, another talent: music. He remembers that as a child he used to play with casseroles, saucepans and barrels as musical instruments. It is also a teacher of his at secondary school, his music teacher, who discovered his talent in music and encouraged him. This passion and interest in music which started as a "personal" one became "enlargened" by his "public" street music experience. He first met the street music group in Eskişehir and after a while started playing with them. Once that group "moves" from Eskişehir to Istanbul, Azad and his friends (some of which were already playing with form another street music group (our case study).

Mithat's biographical interview from Eskişehir street musicians' case study make us reflect upon different emotions and on refugee identity. As a young person, having a refugee status from Kirkuk, Iraq, who is being "on the run" since the starting Gulf War in 1991 (coming back a year later and then "running away" again in 1996) has a traumatic life story. Mithat highlights how as someone who has "nothing to lose", he also feels totally "free". While ending his biography, he tells that even though he does not have a passport, and he needs to inform authorities even when leaving the city, he feels "free" as he thinks that only a person who has nothing to lose can really be free: "Freedom is of course something within you and yes, I live my freedom within me. When one loses everything then that person really starts to live and becomes really free. That is how I believe I live my freedom within me. Even though I cannot get out of this city without permission [as a refugee], I am free. Do you understand me?" Indeed, in Mithat's own accounts, collaborating in helping the earthquake victims and now doing street music, even though his "refugee" status restrict him, he feels "free". "Freedom" then becomes something that he discovers with his involvement first as a human duty and then as a musician.

Abdul, the coordinator of the board of the Islamic Youth Association in Bologna, was born in 1995 in Bologna as the fourth of five sons of his family. His parents came to Italy from Syria 40 years ago. Abdul says "I am more Italian than many people born in Italy are, because I have a double identity" (NRB, p. 58). He also adds that in his family they speak Italian, and not Arabic even though the sons know Arabic. He is a student of architecture at the University of Bologna and says he likes sports, especially football. He tells that he started to attend the Islamic Youth Association when he was 16, following the "family tradition", following his older brothers. He says the following about the association: "We try to help these boys and girls giving them both a religious identity and a, let's say, citizen identity (…). When we speak of 'right values to learn' we mean a dynamic balance between Islamic identity and an identity related to the surrounding and external context, so to say a balance between religion and life beyond religion" (NRB, p. 58). It is important to note that Abdul considers communication as a key dimension: "if a person is able to express his/her thoughts s/he will be a free person, otherwise if you are not able or not allowed to communicate, then

you are a slave and your emotions will be repressed". "In his opinion, participation must recall also enjoying what you do, because it is a sort of journey, and 'a journey has not to be heavy nor boring'" (NRB, p. 58). In other words, Islamic Youth Association is an important part of Abdul's personal journey and an important "path towards a personal growth, in a virtuous balance between spiritual balance and citizen sphere" (NRB, p. 58).

Vanessa/Nassine, member of the board of the Islamic Youth Association in Bologna, tells a story around a search for a new meaning in her life which she found in Islamic culture which according to her thought combines community, order and duties, and also personal activation (NRB, p. 60). This decision of "conversion" to Islam is also influenced by her beautiful memories of her Moroccan nanny in her childhood but also influenced by the sentimental/emotional vulnerability she felt for 10 years, from 9 to 19 years old (with first the quarrels and then the divorce of parents and the depression of the mother). The Islamic way of life has been an opportunity for gaining a new meaning and at the same time for demonstrating how "diverse" people can succeed (an Italian girl can become a Muslim). She says that she feels like she is reconstructing her life through Islam: "I chose Islam as a basis for reconstructing my life. Now I am Nassine and I have a blank page in front of me. Now when I wake up I know why I wake up. I know what I want and I don't want to do in my life" (NRB, p. 60).

Malik as a 32 year-old, born in Iran in an upper-middle class family, is a participant in DIDA case study in Rennes. He had been living in France during the last five years with his wife and has a child. After arriving in France, he participated in various activities on Iranian cuisine, travelling or cultural activities. Given his origins, Malik is especially sensitive in migrants' issues. Since 2016, he is a volunteer in an association for migrants. He talks about his support as follows: "So he told me that there are many Afghans and many migrants who have come to Rennes, who do not know the French language and, on top of that, they know no one. They did not have much to do. And they are rather isolated. So I was interested. I came. I saw some… The first time I came to the association, I just quickly contacted the Afghans who spoke Persian, and they were all glad that I was there. I can help them" (NRR, p. 82).

Khaled, from the youth centre in Frankfurt, is one of the five children of his family which has roots in Morocco. Khaled tells that first his father and grandfather migrated as *gastarbeiter* from Morocco to Germany and then his mother followed them in the mid-1980s. In his biographical interview, Khaled puts a special emphasis on the district where he and his family lives. He tells that his family first lived in a big flat together with his uncle in a central city district and later they moved to the outskirt district where they still live. He says that this district marks much of his individual trajectory. As a young person having origins in Morocco living in Germany, Khaled also touches upon the issue of discrimination and racism (saying that when some people ask him about his origins, he feels an undertone) but also adds that this issue is felt much more strongly by his sister since she wears a headscarf. Khaled, who now studies political science (declaring that he is also a member of a left wing party in his district), tells that he became acquainted with the youth centre thanks to his interest in rap

music. Khaled defines rap music as "his thing" and it seems that through this music of migration, Khaled succeeds to combine his migration background, his love and attachment to his district as well as Germany and is able to express his political views.

Hafsa, from Youth Job Office case study in Zurich, tells a difficult life story which started in 1991 in an East African country in a family as the second youngest of seven children. The family left the country because of a civil war and after changing several places, Hafsa's mother finally settled own in Switzerland in 2002 with five of her children. In the biographical interview, he tells that when they settled down in Switzerland, they lacked the basic information on for example the school or the legal system. He also tells that in primary school, Hafsa was excluded by his classmates (because of his stuttering) and had bad marks. A significant turning point in his life, he tells, is when he got in contact with the branch office of the open youth work provider when he was 15 years old. In the following years, he became a regular participant of the youth work and he also helped the foundation of the job office and worked in the first job coordination team. The Zurich report states the empowering influence of his participation in youth work in the following manner: "The positive turn resp. development of his life brings Hafsa to a *positive life resume*. This includes the recognition and appreciation of both the support of the branch office of the open youth work provider and his own contribution to his past achievements. Against this background, Hafsa has become convinced that many things are possible as long as someone is motivated and has a strong will. […] In sum, the initial empowerment by the branch office of the open youth work provider has gradually turned into an increasing self-empowerment of Hafsa to become resp. be an autonomous actor" (NRZ, p. 47).

3.3.2.4.2 Stories centred around self-identity

Martin, from student committee case study in Zurich, tells a life story which started with difficulties that he overcame through participation in sports activities and student council and thus succeed to reconstruct his self-identity: he was born prematurely and suffered severely from hypertonia of his musculoskeletal system and went through intensive treatment through his early childhood which luckily ended well so that at the age of four, he could play ice hockey. Having a father from Sweden and mother from Poland, he tells how together with his two year older brother, they enjoyed summer holidays on the Swedish coast where he entered the world of sports very clearly, "a world where he has been feeling at ease ever since" (NRZ, p. 44). However, in his biography, he explains that he did not really feel at ease at school. "For him, school largely means examinations as well as the former bullying by the 'cool guys'" (NRZ, p. 43). He underlines the friendship he felt with the girls with whom he used to play table tennis instead of trying to become friends with the "cool guys" excluding him. His life story, in other words, demonstrates how first he succeeded to overcome his illness that he was born with in such a way that he does sports extensively but also he copes with "cool guys" bullying him and then becomes a member of the student committee: he is the vice-president of the student council and representative of his class.

Anna, the president of the student committee and representative of her class in Zurich student committee case study also tells a life story through which she had to and still tries to cope

with different illnesses. She has birth defects affecting her hips and ligaments which tear easily and she had underwent several operations as a child and adolescent. At the age of fifteen, a tumour was found in her leg. At the age of sixteen, Anna was also diagnosed with cataplexy. In her account of her childhood and early adolescence years, she tells that her parents supported her and are economically in a good situation but they were not present most of the time on business travel and she spent time with her grandmother. Anna gives an account of herself as a disciplined person fighting for a "normal" life and thus as someone who achieves to reconstruct her self-identity amid all these health issues.

Anna, from Theatre Group case study in Gothenburg describes herself as being "anxious by nature" and says that she has had periods of depression and experience of therapy and medication. She also never felt at home at school and felt "different" than the majority of her peers. Theatre, then, is important as a place of belonging and finally she feels that starting theatre gymnasium is a turning point in her life.

Josefine from Dance Group case study in Gothenburg also tells a story of being a "shy" person and not having many friends at elementary school. She tells that discovering K-pop at the age of twelve is important in her life and she describes herself as a "K-pop fan" and a "K-popper". It is through K-pop that she begins to have a community composed of people like her, K-poppers. As described in the NRG (p.68): "according to Josefine the K-pop scene is an 'open', permissive space, that allows for variation, and where being different is the norm. This is a contrast to the general ways of the peers from her childhood, who are depicted as being similar in the way they dress and act". Josefine is also planning to spend a year in South Korea to study the language and learn about culture. Thus for Josefine, K-pop played an important role in coping with her shyness and creating friendship ties and belonging to a community.

Andrea from the Scout group in Zurich also tells a life story marked by having difficulty adopting to school life (after spending two years in Dubai with her family and then returning back to Zurich) and feeling like an outsider in school. After returning back from Dubai, Andrea had only one friend (who is still her best friend), Nadine. Together with Nadine they become scout leaders. Andrea tells about the solidarity, the support and the friendship in the Scout group. Now, Andrea is one of the oldest members of the leadership team and she takes lots of responsibility within the team.

Lucas, from the PCC case study in Frankfurt, also tells a story of school days in childhood where he felt like an "outsider" and was frightened by the school system. However, as he grows up and reaches to the upper grades, he feels much more integrated since classes are replaced by subject-related courses and since he finds friends. He tells that he listens alternative rock, wears buttons and is interested in politics. He states his starting point in politics as such: "I was some kind of isolated in this time [in school] and had a Che Guevara t-shirt and buttons and so on, the things you wear in this time, and somebody called me a 'communist' and I didn't know what that meant and I know I looked it up in the internet and thought 'that sounds kind of cool'"(NRF, p. 67). It seems that even though his life story as he tells it was not as harsh as some others already cited, he underlines how he was "different" at

school and how he was viewed "different" in the eyes of some peers. However, unlike some other stories of participation which tells that they found friendship, a sense of belonging and even a second family in the organisations they participated, he tells that he was also faced with and is still faced with at times with exclusion lack of transparency, access and insight into structures, elitist habitus, refusal of innovation and denial of the political potential of arts and culture) and he underline that it takes time to establish a "new world" (NRF, p. 67).

Paula's story from Frankfurt Youth and Student Representation (YSR) case study is also an interesting one since it is her "gift", the "intellectually gifted" diagnosis that leads to her being bullied and being excluded at school. However, as she is having hard times with peers, her high intelligence is being recognized by teachers and are confirmed by good grades. She tells that her engagement with ecological youth organisation started from a presentation about climate change at school for her geography course but then since she "wanted to engage somewhere anyway" she continued. It seems that she wants to be "present" in challenging domains, in other words be present at places where her intelligence is recognized but also wants to belong to a group and be engaged somewhere which was- before her participation-lacking. The Frankfurt report concludes (NRF, p. 74-75): "Politics is a sphere, too, where hard work, linguistic eloquence and intelligence get acknowledgement by (older) people- Paula, as a personally shy but in representative activities dominant and strong-appearing person, feels good in this challenging domain. Also she gets in contact with older people, what is highly relevant for her, as not really feeling fitting into same-aged peer groups: "the people with whom I'm doing things, with whom I feel mature in the same way and have experienced and feel the same way they are all nineteen eighteen and.. nearly grown-up" (NRF, p. 75).

3.3.2.5 Cluster 5: Stories centred around role models or theır lack

The final cluster includes young people who give a meaning to participation in association with an important figure. The centrality of important figures is presented in different forms: aspiration, orientation, or conditioning whereas there are stories demonstrating the lack of these role models/important figures. But in all forms, young people tell the importance of relating themselves to some important figures. In this particular cluster, these important figures are mostly family members or teachers. Among the family, it is either, one person, such as the mother or the father or more than one, such as the mother and a sister, but also the grandparents. This centrality is presented as positive or negative, but also sometimes in a mixed form, including feelings of gratitude and resentment at the same time. Even if it is usually argued that values, including political values are transmitted through generations during early socialization, some young people in their narrative present the adoption of some values or practices as an aspiration, rather than a reproduction; especially for political and associative engagement. Role-models other than family, such as teachers, appear and are mentioned in later periods of life. On the other hand, when they present the role of these important figures as a direct consequence of family socialization, it is rather conditioning, more than aspiration. Conditioning can be in terms of the activity itself, such as political engagement but also music or volunteering, but also related to material conditions, or more

precisely the lack of material conditions. In some examples, deciding to stop an activity or being engaged is presented in association with the lack of material conditions. Orientation means that in their self-presentation, important figures appears as the ones who guide young people's decisions in relation to participation, if they do not take these decisions themselves. Sometimes it is presented as an instrumental decision, such as a way to a better job; sometimes as engagement for itself; for a better education. Finally, the absence of such important figures and role models are usually presented as problematic creating traumas in the young person's life.

3.3.2.5.1 Participation through admiration, inspiration and empowerment through role models

Anatole, 20 is a university student who took part in the Rennes ALAB project. Even if he recently decided to focus more on his studies and limited his activities with the ALAB project, he started to be interested in participatory activities of political nature very early; first as a student representative and then as a member of the communist party. In his self-presentation he mentions the role of his parents but he relates his interest in politics to his grandparents. Both of them were leftist activists and involved into many fights. Antoine says that he exchanged a lot with them and was already politicised at 13-14 years old. He identifies himself as a communist. He chose to engage to a political party, from which he met activists in front of the high school and during demonstrations. Before making his party choice, he also met activists from two other prominent extreme-left parties as well. He believes in Marxism even though he knows its limits. He thinks that it is a way of thinking which could change the society. However, he gradually distanced himself from the party and became more interested in other forms of involvement, such as social movements, especially due to their organisational structures. He first joins a non-profit organisation and later on, the ALAB.

Antonia, 25, is a member of the youth section of a political party in Plovdiv. In her self-presentation she attributes the role of one of her teachers in her engagement to the party. Her parents being apolitical, as she identifies them, during her preparation for applying at the university, she met a teacher of history who selflessly supported her. This teacher was a party's activist and explained to Antonia a lot about socialist ideas and the party. So, Antonia decided to attend her first party meeting. She reports seeing many interesting young people and she got involved in the organisation of various seminars. This experience made her think that the party stood by youth (now she is not so "much convinced" in that) and led to her decision to join the youth section.

Paul, 28, is an employee in the non-profit organisation l'Eprouvette that created the Rennes ALAB. Before his current position he explored various academic and professional paths. In his self-presentation, even if he underlines his individual qualities, choices and preferences, his parents' influence is very much present. However, this influence seems to be twofold in his narrative. On the one hand he associates his early and continuous participatory activities as well as his initial academic and professional choices with his family socialization; on the other hand, these same conditions seem to give him the liberty and support when his

trajectory started to change. While his parents are actively involved members in trade union and party activities, he is himself a class representative almost during his all primary and secondary education, a member of the Socialist political party at 18 years old, and later on, involved in a regional election campaign within a different political group. Influenced by his father being an administrative employee at a newspaper, Paul wanted to be a journalist: "I grew up in an environment related to journalism. And I always idealised this job. There was the concept of travel, the notion of international relevance, geopolitics, investigation, investigation, I was interested in." (NRR p.87). He started his studies with the prospect to get in a school of journalism. But he says that in the meantime he has lost interest in the job but also failed the entrance exam. He also describes his experience at the Socialist party as "terrible". According to him there is no social and cultural diversity, the local unit is mainly made of "white men" and he disapproves the way activists are treated; he also says that his mother shares the very same perception as an active member of the party. He cut his membership card in half and stopped any political activities. He obtained a master's degree in international co-operation and solidarity, got involved in associative activities, and join l'éprouvette; a process during which he is supported by his family.

Lisa, an ultras member in Bologna, talks about her story of participation in the ultras group "as a process of self-empowering and progressive strengthening of her identity" (NRB, p. 54) as a woman. She tells how she was a "weak child", scared by the people around her. She now feels that she is "a stronger woman, [who is] able to confront the others and especially the men (the father and the other male ultras) or to be treated equally by them (NRB, p. 54)." She argues that in this process, she had some very good female role models (her mother and other female ultras but also underlines the importance of strong sense of community developed among ultras: "all for one, one for all".

3.3.2.5.2 Participation stories strongly related to early life conditions

Narin, 23, volunteer at the humanitarian NGO, started her participatory activities in a very early age. She relates her early, intensive as well as current participatory activities with her parents' academic environment, especially university campus facilities, but most importantly their own actively engaged lives. She was born at the university hospital, went at the nursery of the university, attended summer schools for kids organized at the university campus, lived, until high school, at university housing for professors with her parents. In her more formal participatory activities, she was again oriented by her parents. At the age of 12, she started with an international youth program for which her father was a member of the local organizing committee. As a part of the program she also started her volunteer activities at the NGO at 14 years old. The choice of the NGO was again her father's suggestion. She believes however that she quickly adapted to the environment, because of her experience with her family, her good English, but also because of the atmosphere at the NGO. She is currently a 3rd year student in Political Science and International relations. She has spent her last summer in the UK, doing an internship in an NGO. As a career, she wants to be an academic or work for the UN, but starting first with graduate studies in youth work in the UK.

Rick, 26, is a member of Music Group in Manchester. Rick grew up in a musical household in Manchester. His mother was a professional musician and a teacher, and the ambience of the household was academic and dominated by choral music. As Rick puts it: “No pop music in the house, not forbidden, but they just weren’t interested. World, folk music but all the choral music, the standard choral repertoire. I was always getting dragged to those sort of concerts.” (NRM p.58). Initially Rick was not interested in music and for a long time saw the production of music as an almost mechanical activity whereby sounds were produced purely in a formal and technical way in response to musical notation on a score. However, as an early teenager Rick became interested in pop music, particularly the UK Punk revival of the late 90s, responding in particular to the energy of music. Eventually, an epiphany occurred for Rick at one of his mother’s concerts: “I went to see…my mum was performing, well, accompanying I guess, Bach’s B Minor Mass with an amateur choir and that impressed me and I went to watch but she’d given me the score and I sat in the crowd reading the score and there’s a particular violin solo feature in the middle of the Mass and I was like “that would sound cool on an electric guitar! So I went home and I couldn’t read music fast enough to be able to…so I spent the evening finding all the dots on the fret board so I was able to play this violin solo and it finally stitched these two things together that had been getting closer and closer for a number of years” (NRM p.59).

Lorie, 25, took part in the Rennes ALAB project. The role of her parents in her participatory activities as well as her academic and professional choices is very present in her self presentation. And she believes that it has determined her trajectory: "I have had things in my life that then triggered my adult life choices” (NRR p.92). She comes from a working class social background: her parents do not have the baccalaureate degree and have alternated periods of work and unemployment; that is why, as she said, she wants to succeed at school and do not encounter the same problems. For Lorie, her parents’ professional situation had consequences on the family daily life. Unemployment stressed them, she says: "we felt it". She also said that "They wanted us to be happy"; they listened to her, supported her, reassured her, helped her with her homework. Lorie is not only influenced by her parents’ professional situation, but also by their social and political commitment. Her parents are involved against nuclear, against GMOs and against globalisation. They took their children to the demonstrations and her parents were a "model" for her. During her two-year term at the Children’s Municipal Council, she participated in commissions that were linked to her parents' commitments: prevention and solidarity. If Lorie started participation early, her path is not continuous since she wishes to succeed in school so as not to be in the same situation as her parents. Lorie says that she had this precise idea of becoming a specialised educator; a choice that she relates with her family socialization and previous experience and once she got her diploma as a specialised educator, she started to get involved intensively in an association.

Simon, 15, started to live in Residential Care in Frankfurt since he was 14. His family’s conditions are not only obviously determinant in his current living situation, but his father and brother are extremely present in his self-presentation. However, it seems that the care home offers him a safe spot where he can develop his own identity without his father

ordering him around or his brother being some kind of role model. After his mother dies (when he was 12) of a life-threatening disease, and because living with his father wasn't a suitable option, he moved in residential care with his brother. Simon tells that himself and his brother spend a lot time together and outside the house to avoid orders of their father. When his mother suffered from cancer and had her first operation, his father was accused for fraud and needed to stop working and 'my father complained and asked her to work and so she worked, because we needed the money and my parents argued more often' (NRF p.77) and the mother left the father and moved to her parents' house with the children. When the mother was taken to hospital due to her worsening condition, the siblings were alone with the grandparents "who could not do too much, they were at their flat below and we did not care about that and we just went to school and back and played video and computer games" (NRF p.77). At this time, the siblings made their first drug experiences together. While living in care home with his brother, his brother used drugs in an abusive way, the institution told the siblings to stop smoking spliffs. Simon stopped, but his brother went on, and eventually got expulsed from the institution. While in his initial narration, he talks more about his brother, than his own life story, this changed, when he starts to reconstruct the time when the siblings were separated.

3.3.2.5.3 Participation through orientation

Léna, 22, is an active member of the Rennes FNYC who is also on the track to become a professional in the sector of secondary education. However, even if her participatory activities seems to have determined her academic and professional choices, in her self-presentation she particularly mentions the decisive role of people like youth workers, or even more importantly, of her mother, in her trajectory. She started her participatory activities when she was in secondary school in the framework of the youth municipality council. She mentions that it is a youth worker from the municipality recreation centre where she used to spend time for leisure activities who suggested her to take part in the council. When she was 17, it is on her mother's advice that she obtains the public certificate for practicing youth work; a suggestion made to enable her finding student jobs easily. It is again her mother who encouraged her to do an internship at the Youth İnformation Office, in order to upgrade her youth work certificate; a period that she describes as "the best of her life". During this internship, upon the suggestion of her supervisor, she got involved in the FNYC. Even if at the beginning the aim was to work during school holidays, she is now working as a youth worker for 5 years and she is preparing for the public exam to be a Principal Educational Adviser.

Gamze, 30, is a youth worker at the Youth Centre 1 in Eskişehir. In her self-presentation her family's influence appears on many different aspects of her life: her social life, her education and work life. Very talented and successful in her various endeavours, including sports, music and academic life, she seems to be on the hand satisfied by her activities and achievements, but on the other she also seems resentful towards her parents pushing her. She started practicing music and swimming from a very early age and she says "these two activities which shaped my life and were always there" (NRE p.58). Practicing 6 times a

week, she was granted with a swimming licence and she was at the swimming team at every level of her school life. She also gets private piano lessons since primary school, which later on makes her form a quite successful band with friends. However, even if it started that way, "it turns all upside down". The family is not happy with her musical activities and she had many conflicts because of that: "they don't want you to be a woman singing in a bar in Istanbul that they even don't know, it is different for them. Consequently, we had the same fight during many years. But I never stepped back" (NRE p.58). It also seems that her family's concerns about her future have been determinant on her work life too. She describes the first summer back in Eskişehir after her BA she got from a prestigious university, as one the most difficult summer of her life: "I was away for 6 years… my personality had changed… but your family think of you as the same… it was difficult to live with them again… they were eager to decide about my future" (NRE p.58). After obtaining a master degree; back again in Eskişehir, while she says that she wanted time to reflect, a vacant position at the youth centre and: "my family heard about the job too… I remember them saying, just try" (p. 58).

Marine, 25, from Rennes DIDA, had her first experience in participatory activities at a very early age, due to her mother's humanitarian activities. While she remains quite inactive during high school she restarts after graduation and her participatory activities influences her professional choices as well. But what is particularly interesting in Marine's story is that she seems to show interest on specific area of activities, such as Africa, migrants and asylum seekers, children and teenagers in difficulties; choices which on her self-presentation relates with her family members. When she was six years old she got involved in her mother's humanitarian activities: with her mother, her sister, and other people associated with the activity, she made handmade crafts to sell them and send the money to a school located in Mozambique. Marine's mother, involved in many different associations, is presented as the one who have transmitted to her daughter, values of solidarity and openness to others. She describes her father as less open than his mother. He supports extreme right ideas. Marine disagrees with his ideas: she says that it is difficult to have a discussion with him about migrants. For the experience who seems to be central in Marine's life, a one-month humanitarian camp in Africa when she was 18 years old; it was then her sister who suggested her to go. With other volunteers she teaches French and plant mango trees in a village. While her experience was mostly positive, she also had some difficulties. On her return, while she found it difficult to share her experience with others; only her sister seemed to be able to understand what she experienced. Graduated from Psychology, she continued to volunteer in association supporting students in disadvantaged neighbourhoods, prisoners, migrants and asylum seekers, notably DIDA.

Selin, 19, is a user of the Youth Centre 2 in Eskişehir. In her self-presentation, her family, but more precisely her father appears as the person who support and pushes her in various endeavours, but he also seems to control and limit her, especially due to his conservative values (if not due to his lack of cultural capital). She idealizes her father and their relationship. She says that everyone respects her father "just to mention his name is enough to make things work". She seems to have a very close relationship with him: "he always pushes

me to do things. We go to go-kart together, buy books, read together… even when I was a little kid, he talked to me like a was a grown up… he always pushes me to go and talk to people, to introduce myself… he always told me to improve myself, to go to seminars" (NRE p.61). She also describes him as oppressive: but does not blame him for that and states that she would have done the same thing if she were a parent: "He is oppressive. He always put boundaries. My friends could stay wherever they wanted. They could even go to different cities. For us it was not possible, 'where are you, a girl does not stay elsewhere', and I got really angry at him… why I can't do it. But now I understand. If one day I got married and got children, I would be the same" (NRE p.61).

3.3.2.5.4 The absence of important figures and role models

There are also life stories demonstrating the difficulties of not having role models and attempts to continue life trajectories in the absence of role models.

David, from Frankfurt, from residential care case study, for example, tells a difficult life story between Latin America and Germany, endless journeys after his mother (who even though David does not talk about it in detail had some drug and mental health issues) and two different school systems. He chooses, however, to talk about all these negative experiences in an "undramatic" manner (NRF, p. 75). It seems that this constant mobility between geographies and relationships and thus "homes" turns his life into a "fluid" but also a "fragile" one. The only "stable" object in his life seems to be the play station (that is why he is so much attached to it) and the PlayStation network seems to be creating his link with his previous life (friends from former school, step-brother, etc.). He says that he did not have any supportive adults in his life except his former teacher who motivates him to continue his education and even shares David's passion for manga. In his narrative, his decision to move to the residential care home is an important point of self-determination since he finally makes his own decisions and have his own room and have some peace.

Stefano from Bologna ultra's case study tells in his life story the divorce of his parents at the age of eight and his experiences with anxiety, panic and fear of abandonment. He tells lower secondary school experiences marked by being bullied by peers. Even though he remembers his upper secondary school years with joy, the stories of his adolescence friends and spaces are accompanied by drugs and alcohol. After graduation, he felt forced to work in manual jobs because of the tough economic situation but he also regrets not to have continued his education. Stefano sees the ultras centre as a second home and the people there as a family that he can count on which was apparently missing in his "first" family: "UC is my second home. It is a place where I feel safe and I find people I can count on" (NRB, p. 53).

Andrea from the Scout group in Zurich also tells a life story marked by having difficulty adopting to school life (after spending two years in Dubai with her family and then returning back to Zurich) and feeling like an outsider in school. After returning back from Dubai, Andrea had only one friend (who is still her best friend), Nadine. Together with Nadine they become scout leaders. Andrea tells about the solidarity, the support and the friendship in the

Scout group. Now, Andrea is one of the oldest members of the leadership team and she takes lots of responsibility within the team.

Dennis, from the graffiti crew case study in Frankfurt, demonstrates a good example of a biography which "can be read as a struggle for control over his life since his parents separated" (NRF, p. 58). when he was six years old. Having had experiences in smoking, fights and drugs since secondary education, he also has problems with his stepfather and is kicked out from home. His involvement with graffiti helps him to demonstrate a "rebellion" as well as providing him a sense of "community" and demand for "recognition".

Magdalena an (ex-)member of the informal group in Frankfurt is 16 year old. Her parents are originally from Italy and Turkey who split up which gave Magdalena an insecure family environment that "did not work" many times and she had to go back and forth between her father and mother which also made her change between two cities and therefore several schools. As the Frankfurt report (NRF, p. 71) notes: "Magdalena's biography can be interpreted as a searching process for belonging. She wants to care of people but also needs to have something back: trust, loyalty, intensive possibilities to reliability whenever she needs someone. The recurring pattern of personal relationship that comes through her narrations is her strong wish for reliable and intense relationships. She always presents these relationships as a pattern of initial enthusiasm and later disappointment (mother, father's girl-friend, informal group)." In that sense Magdalena is a good example for demonstrating the centrality of this search for belonging but on the other hand the difficulty of maintaining this sense of belonging and intense relations. As it is stated in Frankfurt report: "Magdalena's biography also gives some hints on how difficult it is for professionals in youth work to deal with the needs of young persons like her: she is torn between the strong wish to belong somewhere and at the same time very sensitive to any kind of what she perceives as 'control'" (NRF, p.72).

Marcus, a visitor of the youth centre in Frankfurt, is one of the six children of a Turkish family, born in Frankfurt in a district to which he feels strongly attached. In the biographical interview, he tells a difficult life story which started in a "very religious" family in Marcus' terms, his mother teaching him to pray and help where possible and a "very rigid" father. The diagnosis of his "impulsivity disorder" seems to be a turning point in his life that starts with primary school, as a result of which he was assigned two assistant social workers. He also tells how after primary school, he was denied access to his preferred middle school, how he had to change four or five schools, how he was dismissed for misbehaviour, how he was forced to spend two months in a psychiatric hospital. He tells how the medicine he has to take made him feel depressive and that is why he stopped taking it. Furthermore after some conflicts his parents kicked him out of the house. In his difficult life story, youth centre- even though he has problems with "authority figures" in the centre, is an important place for him. The Frankfurt report (NRF, p. 62) notes that "the youth centre has the function of a 'home base' which he appropriated and uses for his everyday life and identity work." It seems that Marcus is ready to take responsibility in this youth centre and guarantee the "safety" of especially the younger ones. "For example, he pretends to protect the younger ones from

taking drugs - or against a specific youth worker who, according to him, acts in sexist ways towards younger girls visiting the youth centre" (NRF, p.62).

3.3.3 RELATION BETWEEN CLUSTERS OF PARTICIPATORY ACTIVITIES AND BIOGRAPHIES

Based on a wide range of biographical interviews we identified different meanings attributed to participation by young people. We mentioned earlier that structural factors such as social determinants of participants as well as characteristics of participatory settings are not necessarily related with these meanings, neither are different individual motivations, and consequences related to participatory activities. But, what we have moreover learned from biographical interviews, and through these different meanings, is that participation seems to be perceived by young people also as a coping mechanism/tactic. Young people born into specific families and habitus, as well as into a specific zeitgeist, have to create a certain coping mechanism through inventing certain tactics in order to cope with the problems faces in this transitory stage, youth. Through this stage, young people do not only strive to succeed at school and obtain a social status in society but they also try to obtain a certain autonomy vis-à-vis their parents (or have to deal with the lack of their parent's presence in their lives) and aim to be accepted and liked by their peers. While during the mapping phase we tended to define participation mainly through its function, such as self-development, if not public good, the analysis of biographical interviews suggests a much more complex picture. Accordingly, participation would be also a coping mechanism/ /tactic, and so the different meanings attributed to participation correspond to different types of coping mechanisms.

Even though it is not possible to say that a participation setting creates one single participation biography, it is nonetheless meaningful to reflect upon the links between participation settings/cases and biographical interviews. It seems for example that young people coming from different cases gave self-representations of themselves and their stories as "self-made wo/man stories", ranging from student council in Plovdiv to youth council in Manchester (clustered under the category "representation of interests as right and obligation") or Scouts in Zurich (analyzed under the "producing and negotiating own spaces" cluster), or local branch of a humanitarian NGO in Eskişehir, youth centre 1 in Eskişehir (analyzed under the cluster "inbetween service of humanity and service enterprise") (see the Appendix F for further details). However, it seems that all these cases are examples which have a certain "reputation" in their societies and are prone to give a certain "respect" in the eyes of the society to its participants. Besides, they are also institutionalized bodies and have the possibility of offering career opportunities to their participants. It seems that young people who search for this respect from the society choose certain participation settings which can provide them access to "self-made wo/man stories". Young people in those setting also learn to appreciate and value even more these "success stories" so that they choose to bring forward this aspect of their life stories.

For those biographies for which "experimentation" takes an important place, young people seem to be attracted to those settings/cases which provide them a certain flexibility and in turn aid them in this self – "exploration". Besides, through their participation in these settings, young people also happen to learn and value this experimentation. It seems that the members of informal group in Frankfurt or Dance Group in Gothenburg or extreme sport in Bologna (analyzed under the cluster "Exploring interests, developing and performing skills") or the Sustainable Food Youth Network in Zurich or Open Education Collective in Zurich (analyzed under the cluster "living social alternatives as a political model")[16], for example, do not choose to self-present their stories as self-made wo/man stories or doing/changing/taking responsibility stories but rather as experimentation stories. These are the stories which do not focus on changing the "society" or "helping the others", but focus on individual passions, curiosities and self-realization.

Doing/changing/taking responsibility stories self-present life stories centered around this willingness to make change in the society either by rebelling/resisting against the existent system or by helping those in need and making a difference in their lives. There are various settings that serve to satisfy this willingness to doing/changing/taking responsibility varying from youth council Gothenburg to YSR Frankfurt, to social Centre in Bologna, to ecological association in Plovdiv, to student initiative in Eskişehir, among others. It seems that all of these settings are the ones that give a certain worthiness of the cause and aim to contribute to the bettering of their societies.

Rediscovering identity stories seem to be centered around often stigmatized identities (racial, ethnic, gender, class, etc.) or other personal difficulties such as health problems or bullying experiences and demonstrate how young people tell their participation helped them to cope with these identity issues. Even though most of the time cases are the ones centered around these issues (ex: The Youth Group in Gothenburg, young feminist group in Manchester, Islamic youth association in Bologna, association for migrants in Rennes), young people seem to also use other cases for coping with their identity issues like Youth Council in Gothenburg, youth centre in Frankfurt, among others. It seems however, that the cases provide a certain openness for the discussion of identity so that young people tell their participation stories as stories of rediscovery of identity.

For the influence of the role model or the lack of it, young people state that the importance of role models come from a variety of case clusters ranging from municipal youth centre in Eskişehir to ALAB or DIDA in Rennes, to youth section of the socialist political party in Plovdiv to youth branch of a humanitarian NGO in Eskişehir, etc. It seems that role models and influences that come from close surroundings demonstrate the importance of these important figures in young people's "socialization" process. There is an established scholarship discussing the role of important institutions (family, school, and neighborhood) in young people's socialization and we, in this research, rather than focusing on the institutions,

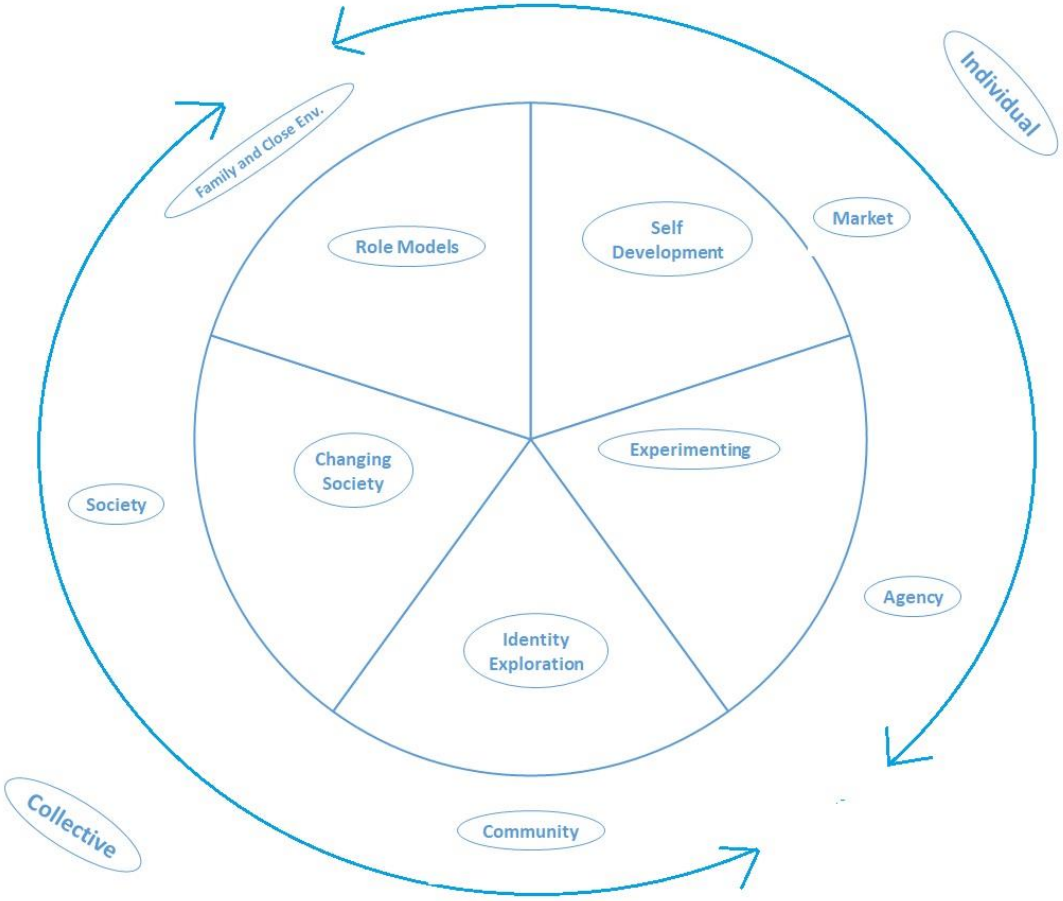
16 See the Appendix F of bio clusters for further details.

focus on specific role models/figures as well as the absence of these figures as described by young people themselves in the biographic interviews.

Emotions were present in all the cases and biographies and that is why we chose not to study it as a cluster but as a cross-cutting theme. The friendships and strong bonds created within the cases and how these groups of people were seen as a second family and how this sense of belonging empowered them is a theme that was omnipresent in all cases and biographies.

Based on this analysis and the five clusters, it is possible to determine two axes of participation in young people's lives: individual and collective based participation. Individual based participation takes two different directions. The first one is self-development and empowerment providing necessary skills also asked in the market economy. The second one is directed towards experimentation and self-exploration and thus refer to the "agency". Collective based participation/collective participation takes three directions: One is geared towards changing and helping the society which has a direct focus on the "society". The second one is geared towards participation focusing on advocacy/support or consciousness raising over a certain identity and thus has a focus on "community". The last one is role models and significant others which is related to the family and close environment.

Figure 1: Individual and collective dimensions of participation in biographies and cases



However, it is important to underline that even here – "individual participation" –, whether we are talking about self-development and empowerment or experimenting, only have a meaning when practiced "collectively", by being part of a group and sharing a collective feeling which can often also turn into collective claims. Based on the cases and biographical interviews, it seems that even exercising extreme sports considered as an individual activity takes a collective form when practiced together and lead to collective claims and the creation of collectively used spaces. Similarly, the collective participation, whether we are talking about changing/helping the people and the society, or working on identity issues, there is also individuality involved since young people declare the importance of friendships in their groups and the sense of belonging as well as the emotional gains of working together to change things in the society. In other words, our analysis of the biographical narratives demonstrates that the distinction between the individual and collective (which can also be read as private and public) in fact should not be read as a dichotomy but in direct relationship to each other.

4. COMPARATIVE CROSS-CUTTING THEMES: DIVIDED CITIES AND NATIONS - CLUSTERS OF ACTIVITIES, CLUSTERS OR BIOGRAPHIES

In this section we present a number of cross-cutting themes for consideration in which analysis draws on different national contexts, different clusters of activities and different biographical clusters. Before these themes are presented the question of *division* and *connection* as it exists within and across cities is explored.

4.1. DIVIDED CITIES

All the cities in this study are recognisably divided cities, albeit with different kinds of division and different access to cultural capital. These divisions were extensively discussed and analysed in earlier aspects of Partispace were presented in the reports for Work Packages Two and Three available on the Partispace website. At one extreme Zurich reports that 75% of all individuals in the city aged 25-34 have graduated in Higher Education, whilst other cities note a marked divide (Manchester, Plovdiv, Eskişehir, Bologna) between University student populations and other young people and significantly lower proportions of young people who have graduated from higher education. This divide is also one which relates to socio-economic status with the accompanying differential in both economic resources, and social and cultural capitals. It has been long established that access to many recognised forms of participation happens alongside economic and social status. This is clearly the case in the studies presented here, with many reports noting that they have predominantly though not exclusively engaged as researchers with those from the more advantaged sections of the population.

In each of the cross-cutting themes, there are examples of forms of participation which occur and take on similar inner dynamics but which may be assigned differential value depending

on the social and economic status and different cultural capital of participants. This is noted in each case presented.

In each of the national reports therefore issues of participation are framed and analysed according to variables and flows which have been discussed throughout the project. Spatial issues of centre, periphery and boundary marking are necessarily intertwined with temporalities, with narrative marking both boundaries of spaces and times and durations of participation and offering constructions of meaning. As mentioned in the NRP (p. 29) ”they [young people] occupy new territories. Young people construct their own spaces. They occupy the old territory with new meaning”.

Temporality is conceived in both the lifetime of young participants and the lifetimes of the sites and stories of participation in these cities. The rhythms of participation are also discussed in relation to social movements: forms of participation have been analysed as residual, emergent and hegemonic or counter-hegemonic in relation to the long histories of forms. Participation has also have been analysed as episodic, regular or occasional, with a recognition that the forms of ethnographic research have drawn us more towards sites which have more or less regular activities. Here too the marks of division can be seen with ‘onwards and upwards’ trajectories having a temporal dimension in which an expected life transition (typically between school and university and between university and early adult life) is also accompanied by an expectation of greater access to cultural capital and participation practices mirror this. Where young participants do not engage in such aspirational practices their sense of the temporalities of participation is also shaped differently. Explicitly stated in some cities during the mapping phase, the possibility of participation (whether in political action at one extreme or in leisure pursuits at another) is marked by the opportunity and time to participate without for example needing to support family members who are ill, or needing to earn money to supplement the family income.

Lastly, the orientation of participation has been discussed: the extent to which it involves work on the self or work on the wider world; its reach on a scale between the immediate local and the global; its framing as a practice which is open to all or closed for specific participants; its online or offline presence. The issue of online/offline balance varies as a focus for ethnographic attention but is specifically highlighted in discussions of Young Feminist Group (Manchester); online journalism in Web Magazine Endless (Rennes) and in the discussion of the Sustainable Food Youth Network (Zurich). The anti-activism of websites which point to organisations which appear not to exist on the ground is also mentioned in national reports. Young people who may, through poverty and/or the impact of racisms of various kinds or through sexist controls on their appropriate occupation of space beyond the home may still not move easily beyond their own homes or neighbourhoods in order to participate. They may nevertheless access global conversations and activism and leisure through the internet and especially through social media as alternative news sources.

If we were to link the discussion of ‘participation’ with the range of welfare regimes present in the study, France, Germany and Switzerland represent the conservative or employment-centric regime type (thereby allowing for a most similar system comparison alongside a most

different systems comparison (cf. Przeworski & Teune, 1970). The UK represents the liberal regime type, Sweden represents the universalistic regime type, Italy represents the under-institutionalised or familistic regime type, Bulgaria is a case of a post-socialist state in transformation, while Turkey stands for a South Eastern country characterised by a modernisation process with both Western and traditional Islamic traits. Apart from this, the country sample includes different interpretations of representative democracy and different levels of influence of local youth policy versus national governments), it is clear that the sample in each country has been influenced by the nature of these regimes. The importance of support to employment pathways can be seen especially in the institutionalised youth work and job club supported examples in Switzerland, France and Germany, though this was also present in the UK. The 'youth work' offer in a range of sites in Sweden reflects the universalistic regime and it is this type of 'youth work' offer which seems to be developing through the 'European touch' in Turkey. There are interesting similarities between the situation in the post-socialist regime in Bulgaria and the liberal regime in the UK, with a comparatively low level of publicly resourced support and many questions to be asked about the ways in which individuals navigate the formal structures and the opportunities being presented. The emphasis on forms of belonging and affiliation and on an activist and underinstitutionalised tradition of affiliation is clearly present in the Italian cases.

There are therefore interesting questions to be considered about whether and how the inflections of 'participation' discussed in this report may also relate to the social formations and national states in which they occur. Does 'participation' appear most strongly as 'voice' and 'rights' in liberal or universalistic regimes; as self- creation or self-development in conservative, employment oriented regimes; as belonging in under institutionalised and more familist regimes? It would certainly be possible to develop an argument from the evidence presented here along these lines. Such an analysis would however be significantly unsettled by the recognition of the importance of global claims and global networks for many of the groups and individuals present in this study. With the support of the internet, such relations can seem as real if not more real than those formed within a national context.

4.2. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CASE CLUSTERS AND BIOGRAPHIES: THE EMERGENCE OF CROSS-CUTTING THEMES

Structural factors such as social determinants of participation as well as characteristics of participatory settings are not necessarily related with the meanings developed by individuals in relation to their biographies, neither are different individual motivations, and consequences related of necessity to participatory activities. Of course there are specific ways in which the clusters of cases and the clusters of biographies intersect. The clusters 'Representation of interests as right and obligation' and 'Fighting with or within the political system' may clearly intersect with the CV building activities of the self-made wo/man cluster of biographies or the doing/changing/taking responsibility cluster. At the same time this cluster of cases also includes narratives where the primary biographical focus is on coping with trauma or relationship with a significant figure. Similarly there is an evident connection

between the cluster of cases which concerns making and creativity (Producing and negotiating own spaces; Living social alternatives as a political model) and the clusters of biographies which concern 'experimentation'. But again there is no necessary connection here.

Indeed it seems important to affirm the learning from biographical interviews is of the ways in which individual pathways in the same cluster may differ significantly. Nevertheless through these different meanings, participation seems to be perceived by young people as at least a coping mechanism/tactic during a life transition as well as always being seen as much more than this and with other political and cultural significance to the fore. Through this stage, young people do not only strive to succeed at school and obtain a social status in society but they also try to obtain a certain autonomy vis-à-vis their parents (or have to deal with the lack of their parent's presence in their lives) and aim to be accepted and liked by their peers. Accordingly, participation would be a coping mechanism or tactic, and the different meanings attributed to participation correspond to different types of coping mechanism/tactic that young people develop as well as corresponding to a sense of movement and change to which they affiliate beyond their own sense of self.

All of these coping mechanisms may be present in participation viewed as an aspect of transition to adult membership of a society; even whilst the struggle is occurring, according to other temporalities, to define what that belonging might yet be. For the analysis here, as for the young people engaged in participatory activities, the tension between participation as personal/familial coping strategies and participation as a wider practice of engagement is marked.

One way to explore these wider temporalities and the intersection of the individual lives within the wider social patterns is to deploy a framework (first used by cultural theorist Raymond Williams) in relation to structures of feeling: forms which can be seen as hegemonic; residual; or emergent. Both the residual and emergent have the potential to unsettle the hegemonic and through this, new spaces and forms emerge or patterns are repeated with variations. This is not a linear developmental pattern. Here is an example drawn from the Eskisehir data but which has been adapted to indicate inclusion of material from other cities.

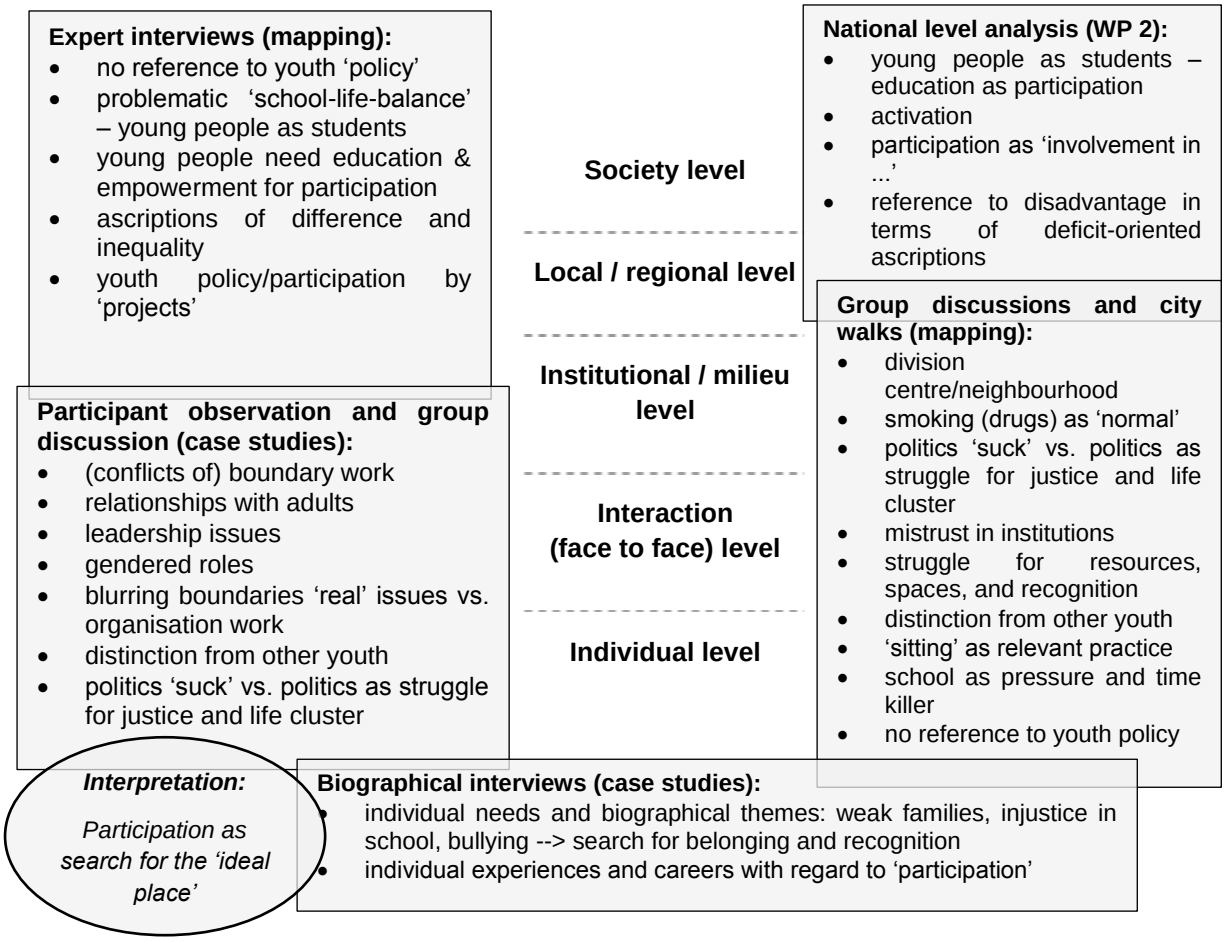
Table 3: Patterns of participation based on the Eskisehir case study

Hegemonic	**In decline/Residual**	**Newly emerging**
Careerist Young leader	Parochial participant	Volunteer trainer Creative enterprise
Post-traditional NGO/global charity	Devoted socialist Political Party member	Street artist Culture and Discussion Internet based activism

In order to further illuminate these complex interrelations, this third presentation of data derives from discourse analyses undertaken *across* the mapping, the cases and the biographies. These themes (and others like them and connected with them) can become the basis of the multi-level analysis to be further elaborated in the working papers of the PARTISPACE study. They were elaborated in a whole consortium meeting when national reports were presented, drawing on the local constellations of participation which had been elaborated in each national report.

In each national report the drawing together of local constellations takes a different form. The ambition of developing a multi-level analysis is indicated most explicitly in this diagram taken from the Frankfurt National Report.

Figure 2: Emerging issues according to type of data and societal level (cf. Helsper et al., 2010)



In other cities, the proposed local constellations draw out key cross-cutting themes, or are framed in relation to power or to temporality:

- The Eskişehir report highlights self-development as a motivating force; emotions and friendship and community building; and identity and a sense of belonging. It considers the impact of key dimensions of the city: the presence of University students; the weight of public resources; the highly politicised nature of participation.

- In Zurich the analysis moves through levels of relationship and placing; Relationing process between self and world; Positioning process within the social fabric; Placing processes in the city; and explores Self-development; positional gain; and the creation of one's own position in a structure of companionship.
- The constellations explored in Plovdiv related to key themes present in the cases: participation as being active in public life; participation as activities relating to the public good; activities against the authorities; raising awareness of neglected public issues; participation as authentic practice; and participation as youth activity in need of public support.
- In Bologna, the analysis emphasised re-appropriation of spaces; participation as membership and recognition; and participation as a learning process.
- In Frankfurt, in addition to the developed example of multi-level analysis above, the analysis focussed on the impact of success and failure and the framing of life through the school system. It also explored spaces and places, and conflicts within them as struggles for participation.
- In Manchester the analysis presented participation conflicts as a city wide struggle with dominant and counter-hegemonic practices of participation, exploring the role of youth work as pedagogisation[17] in contrast with youth work as relationship; the places of narratives in forming the boundaries of spaces of participation; a counter-hegemonic network, rooted in responses to precarious lives, which emphasised credibility, authenticity and voice; anger, violence, creativity, laughter and mental health are all presented as fuel for participation of this authentic kind; and finally the impact of living in a divided city is explored.
- In Gothenburg, the positive and also more challenging aspect of a thorough going institutionalisation of participation is explored; its nature as a never-ending process; the ways in which informal, non-formal and formal practices are intertwined. The report suggests questions of the reasons and motivations for such participation, asking: 'on whose behalf?' and highlights the ideologies of activation and entrepreneurship as well as asking how such forms connect to democratic politics.
- Finally in Rennes, constellations of participation were discussed in terms of the appropriation of places and spaces by young participants; the role of youth in the project (access to information, influence on the project, participation in the decision-making process); the relationship between participants and project leaders; and the mobilisation of participatory tools. The analysis then focussed on the effects of domination, social control, and "clichés" on young people; the defence of young people and youth culture; the will to develop actions where public authorities do not act.

In the light of all the above, we do not offer a single new typology of participation. Instead, what follows are a few examples of how nodes of 'participation' might be explored and opened up in order to illuminate complexity. The examples chosen are not chosen for their

17 "By 'pedagogisation' we mean the use of methods most usually deployed in school contexts, both overt and covert, to harness and drive the energies of young people. These methods also have a 'side' effect of minimising and displacing tension and conflict and creating an apparently consensual space. For a further elaboration of the concept see NRM.

typicality but because of the specific insights they yield. These cross cutting themes therefore which have emerged from our studies of the case clusters, the biographies and the local constellations can be taken as a potential starting point for comparative and multi-level analysis. In order to further illuminate these complex interrelations, the third presentation of data proposes one version of these themes. These themes (and others like them and connected with them), in conjunction with the analysis of temporalities briefly discussed above, can become the basis of the multi-level analyses to be further elaborated in the working papers of the PARTISPACE study. The cross-cutting themes discussed here were first elaborated in a whole consortium meeting when national reports were presented.

3.4.3. DISCUSSION OF CROSS-CUTTING THEMES

4.3.1. CROSS CUTTING THEME 1: PARTICIPATION, SPACES AND NARRATIVES - THE NEGOTIATION OF BOUNDARIES AND WHAT IS PUSHED TO AN EDGE OR BEYOND THE BOUNDARY

Space Negotiations Identity Conformity and Non-Conformity

Numerous young people involved in PARTISPACE participate in the creation of what they desire to be ideal spaces. They seek, open up and maintain such spaces. This can also include the necessity to defend their spaces. Any of these spatial practices – whereby space does not necessarily equal physical sites but can also mean social and discursive spaces – involve negotiations by the young people with other social actors. Thus, for instance, on what ground do the activists from the Social Centre in Bologna create their own place, what kind of negotiations with the public are involved and what happens with their social and discursive spaces during the very tangible building process? How is this different from the much more fluent use of urban space made by the Frankfurt Graffiti sprayers or eventually the more pedagogically framed spaces opened up by adults for young people in in youth or student councils? Is there still room to negotiate?

As such, this section focuses on physical, social and discursive spaces. While physical space is related to tangible materialities and concrete sites, (social) space refers to spaces of belonging in relation with identity and community (c.f. McLean 2008). Communities can be understood as imagined communities (Anderson, 2006), but also interacted and sensed communities that take place in the physical spaces young people use, occupy, build, rent, beautify; or in online spaces young people use to express their identities. Discursive spaces then refers to the repertoire used to narrate their practices as well as their own relationship to them. In this context, narratives are mostly conceived in relationship to identity, which stands for to the discursively constructed understandings and expressions of individuals or groups of their sense of self or group and community affiliations. Identity refers to ways to name individuals or groups (c.f. Pritchard, 2013). Thus, "[i]dentities are, in a sense, discursive spaces of belonging – labels and categories allow individuals to make sense of and articulate their attractions, behaviours and desires both to themselves and others" (McLean, 2008, p. 305). Identity formations are fluid and relational constructs, highly context dependent. They depend on the specific set of social positions, roles and other social and symbolic resources available or conceivable, or in other words, on the social and discursive spaces already available or in construction by young people themselves, and they involve splits and identifications across difference as well as sameness

Special attention is given here to (non-)conformity within discursive spaces opened up by other actors. Here young people's practices can be considered alongside perceptions of (non)conformity be it by themselves or other actors and the influence of this non-conformity on their identity formations can be considered. Conformity is understood to mean the internalisation of as well as the compliance of action with certain dominant social norms such as standards, rules and law. Different actors can interpret attribution of conformity

differently. Conformity of actions might equally be a willing acceptance or be a result of a process of negotiation between certain youths and other powerful actors.

In order to explore how the construction of physical, social, as well as discursive spaces interrelates with the expression of identity as well as conformity to norms and expectations of other actors we will first focus on the clusters "Living social alternatives as a political model" and "Producing and negotiating own spaces". The spaces of the corresponding cases are mainly or exclusively created by the young people themselves. This section then briefly turns its attention to the singular case of the Manchester Young Feminist Movement and to school and student council cases of the cluster "Representation of interests as right and obligation" in order to bring a comparative element to the discussion. Contrary to the other clusters, the settings of the latter are primarily set up and institutionalised by adults with a professional function directed towards young people (e.g. youth workers).

Place Based Lived Social Alternatives

The place based cases of the cluster "Living social alternatives as a political model" – the Centro Sociale (Bologna), the school of the Open Education Collective (Zurich) and the Political and Cultural Centre PCC (Frankfurt) – are the most typical examples of spaces that young people create giving them a distinct alternative place identity that is to a varying degrees directly in opposition to dominant capitalist societal relations. Such places can look back to a long history of nonconformist left-wing activism with occupations of more or less vacant territories. Indeed, both the school of the Open Education Collective as well as the Centro Sociale started with occupying abandoned premises. PCC conformed to logics of the highly gentrified real estate market in Frankfurt and rented the premises they were using. However, renting is not exempt from complications. The rent presents a heavy financial burden and at the time of the study, the rental contract was about to end since the private tenant was going to demolish the centre to obtain new building land. This meant that the PCC activists would have to go on another complicated and tiresome search for a new property (similarly to that which the activists of the Open Education Collective had experienced during their yearlong moving from place to place as a result of law enforcement). The quest for a new space seems to be an important element for the personal identity of the activists: "the quest for a new space seems to be biographically relevant for many of our interviewees, furthermore a good space, a friendly community, an open network for politics and art, a nice space to hang around, are motivational narratives to run the centre" (NRF, p 36).

As the PCC case shows, not only opening alternative spaces but also maintaining them, including defending them, can become an inherent part of the experience. All the three cases were faced with attempts by authorities to close their spaces or in the case of Frankfurt PCC with the ending of the contract. All of the collectives had to find ways how to continue despite opposing forces. In fact, at the time this comparative report was written, only the school of the Open Education Collective in Zurich is still running in the same premises – this might not be by coincidence as the policies towards occupied territories of the city of Zurich seem to be one aimed at de-escalation and appeasing balance of conflicting interests between

property right claims and claims of young people for *Freiräume* (free spaces), thus to certain extent showing tolerance towards alternative spaces (c.f. NRZ). Although considerable energy is invested in the defence of the territories, these alternative spaces aim to be open for all the people sharing the basic principles of the location (e.g. non-discrimination) regardless of origin, age, class, gender, sexual orientation etc.[18]

Self-governance which involves both creating openness and defence of space translates into the appropriation of the spaces on a daily basis by refurbishing and accommodation of the spaces to their needs. As the three building complexes comprise various rooms and in the case of Bologna even various separate buildings, the appropriation of the space is a long and continuous process in which the building of the physical spaces is paralleled by (sometimes lengthy) grass-root democratic discussions in open consensus-based plenaries, assemblies and discussion within work group. Thereby the work on the physical space can be an entry point into other constructive arenas as the already cited quote of Tonino has shown:

> I started from the space. I worked the space […]. At the beginning I wanted just to do some manual work. I saw all these people talking for ages about boring stuff... "How is gonna be? Who is gonna come?". But I didn't care so much. I wanted just to work the space. Now [after one year] I am here [discussing in an assembly with the whole group managing the dormitory]" (Social Centre, Bologna, PO, February 5th 2017). (NRB, p. 34)

The building of dormitories, libraries, classrooms and other facilities is a collective endeavour and, as such, it is accompanied by a process of discussion where rules and regulations, but also narratives concerning cooperation and communitarian life, are settled. These narratives figure as a basis for the development of collective identities[19]. They narrate the collective process of self-determination including the will to not conform with exclusionary logics of current private property or citizenship right systems. The narratives imply a critique of the existing social relations regarding citizenship, housing, education, work, and consumerism. The places are "won" against the "bureaucratic" and "oppressive" state. The emerging identities are distinctively nonconformist.

> Young people speak about a re-appropriation (and not simply an appropriation) since their declared purpose is to give back to the community an empty space that turns again to be socially useful (SC, for instance, refers to the idea of a "common good"); moreover, their objective is to re-create social and community ties, generally stifled by the market logic; thirdly, their aim is to self-manage a space, autonomously from

18 Despite the openness for people regardless of their intersectional background, this openness did not necessarily translate into an easy field access and some reticence versus institutional actors could be observed in the cases where the researchers where not familiar with the projects already beforehand. Access to the alternative spaces in Zurich and Frankfurt for the research was not straightforward, relied on personal contacts, having to invest considerable energy to build up trust and convince people in the plenary.

19 The same can be assumed for the joint organisation of classes or cultural events, thus building should not only be understood as construction work but as a building of both physical and social spaces (communities with specific organisational forms and forms of interaction) paralleled by the development of joint discursive spaces.

> the institutions, that are not considered representatives but oppressive and detached. (NRB, p. 68)[20]

The "place identities" (Anderson, 2010) that are created in these narratives are of an antagonistic nature, "where it is possible to promote political discourses and practices that tries to contrast the logics of the economic, cultural and political neo-liberal institutions" (NRB p. 30). In contrast to other institutionalised spaces, these spaces open for those who often only have limited spaces of belonging, limited possibilities for education, work or housing. Thus by jointly building the physical and social spaces – turning it into their place - also common discursive spaces are opened up which allow exploring new ways of thinking and allowing new ways to conceptualize the collective and oneself. These processes are not conflict-free and some people opt out. Discussions to what degree the collectives should conform or not to the rules set up by the state forms an important part of the group's identity building vis-à-vis the state. This implies discussions on how conformist the collective should be (e.g. if the Open Education Collective should accept an offer from the state for a new location in the fringes of the city of Zurich or if they should rather take their spaces in the centre by themselves, as they eventually did). This implies discussing one's own positioning towards other activist groups too: "[T]he PCC provides a plenary space and even a home for many political groups and in my opinion, you can only maintain this feeling of home if you do not reproduce this whole radical left-wing habitus that everyone knows from Frankfurt" (NRF, p. 38).

The purpose of these groups is not only to build alternative spaces, but also to explore alternative forms of work and living by immediately trying out new and alternative practices. This form of participation allows for the immediate sensual experience of alternative participation practices. The experience of being part of a joint creation of new alternative spaces figures also as a resource for personal identity and personal distinction. As already pointed out earlier, social workers and other professionals use the Centro Sociale as a compensation or a way to escape the profit-oriented logic of their jobs. It seems easier for them to identify with the Centro Sociale than with their jobs. The Centro allows them to better meet their aspirations to work for a good cause and having a part in social change, of being a "protagonist" (NRB, p. 34) of one's future – as an activist from the Centro Sociale in Bologna puts it "the generation without a future is taking back its future" (NRB, p. 34). Thanks to the places they are building up, the young people can identify as agents of change. This makes this form of participation "an intense and engaging life experience, an occasion to learn how to participate and to learn while participating. Young people interpret participation as a personal journey but also as an activity that could (or should) "attach" the present and produce actual changes." (NRB, p. 35). This is reflected in Martina's biography who after having been part of a political youth party and volunteering in other contexts, experiences a more "tangible" and "concrete" engagement at the Centro Sociale:

20 The analysis on Bologna develops a three-step model of re-appropriation, renovation and defence of alternative places opened up by young people. These steps involve material building as well as symbolic dimensions (NRB, p. 68).

> However, her history of participation acquires new meanings when she enters [the Centro Sociale]: its initiatives – namely that of a social dormitory – meet her need "of a more 'tangible' and 'concrete' commitment". In this occasion, she got "some fresh air" in relation to the state of the art of immigration policies and homeless shelters in Italy, according to information she had. The key element of her current participative experience in SC is in the perception of feeling at home and of being at the same time guest and host, thanks to the co-constructed nature of the social dormitory. (NRB, p. 57)

This coincides with the importance of PCC in Erika's biographic analysis: "PCC represents a place for experimentation with 'cool' people, clubbing, arts and experiences of positive socialising, making projects and also giving her a space to develop outside of the small suburb with her family and the trouble at home. She thereby describes her understanding of politics by "community" and "taking care" (1609-1617) and political occasions, less with abstract political topics" (NRF, p. 66).

The common opening up of new alternative spaces seems to allow for the tangible experience of agency and autonomy. Thereby the sensual dimensions of experiences of community, of belonging, of building, organising with others seem to be significant for the place identities. Various activists of the three participation settings identify these spaces by comparing them with their families or home: "my second living room" (NRF, p. 38). Also moments of conflict with exterior actors such as violent confrontation with the police are emotive resources for identity, belonging and cohesion: "space become emotionally relevant, because of three symbolically important steps: the squatting, the renewal and activation and the everyday defence against eviction" (NRB, p. 34).

Network based social alternatives

Whereas the three aforementioned cases offer possibilities for the construction of alternative nonconformist identities in a close relation with building of physical spaces, in the other cases of the cluster "Living social alternatives as a political model", the relationship between the construction of place identities, collective identities and personal social identities is less pronounced. Instead, the ecological organisation (Plovdiv), the Informal Network for Arts and Debate (Plovdiv) as well as the Sustainable Food Youth Network (Zurich) have been characterised as loose networks whose activities do not centre on a certain specific place but on specific alternative lifeclusters. Their activities do include places that are crucial for the activities in focus, e.g. the places the ecologists defend for ecological conservation, the venues of anti-establishment cultural performance of the Informal Network for Arts and Debate such as the Rorschach Stain, or the NGOs where the Sustainable Food Youth Networkmeets or public places where it organises activities such as food banquets. However, the activities of these networks take place in various places and the main focus is not in the development of a physical space but a network in order to sustain each other with alternative or sustainable practices by exchanging ideas and provide each other mutual support. The purpose is to develop alternatives to current social patterns of apolitical and ego-centric

stances, and to raise sustainable consciousness. In this sense, they see themselves as nonconforming to mainstream orientations too. A nonconformist stance does not necessarily go along with open confrontation: while the Sustainable Food Youth Networkdoes defy state authorities by mainly addressing private individuals, the ecological organisation actively and publicly advocates environmental protection and denounces its lack both vis-à-vis the state but as well as vis-à-vis private individual. The Informal Network addresses state critique although without the same public audience.

As the three cases have shown, public performances play a special role in defining the identity of the group, and in giving the group visibility and voice. Cultural performances in clubs such as the Rorschach Stain seek a cultural expression different to commercial apolitical mainstream culture[21]. Public performance plays an important role, as exemplified by the ecologists' protest and the Sustainable Food Youth Networkinterventions such as public "eat ins". Being seen and heard seems to be a major resource for their activity as well as their social or personal identity. Typically, the activists present themselves as examples who have acquired a new lifecluster, or are in the process of acquiring a better way of living or doing culture. "I don't want to change people because I cannot change people but what I want is giving my example and more people be touched", said Andrey, an activist of the ecological organisation for whom self-expression means participation. His co-activist Amelia presents herself as example for whom "personal behaviour is of a key significance and one should live more ecologically – eating local food and food of no animal origin, buying less and wearing old clothes. She does not want to change the others but hopes the others would see the example and change themselves" (NRP, 40). Being seen as an example means being different from other less committed individuals. So, one of the Rorschach Stain collective in Plovdiv states:

> The networks allows to define one's own identity in opposition to perceived current values and give meaning to one's own biography: Collectives play a leading role in Mario's self-perception. His account of his own life tries to reconcile his personal professional orientation with the civic participation cause and he shares ideas for society's better future. Like Philip he sees the work for the public good through establishing groups and networks outside institutions and challenging them. He emphasizes the importance of groups in the opposition 'Us' vs. 'Them': education system vs. street culture; creative people vs. power holders; information deficit of the current environment vs. knowledge production and sharing; art as individual consumption vs. art as community generator, etc. (NRP, p. 40)

Becoming different encompasses a questioning of what *is* or *feels* right both personally and ethically. The theme "openness" emerges in the three network-based cases as a quality given by the young people to their project as well to themselves. Openness appears as enriching and linked to personal autonomy and the quest for personal ideals as can be seen in this quote from the biographical analysis of Hanna, a member of the Sustainable Food Youth Network:

21 This is also the case in Manchester's Music Group. Here too non-commercial alternative ways of making music and especially of making music together in an open stage format are key.

"[Hanna's] driving idealisms gives her orientation. It is characterized by doing things not as a means to an end but as an end in itself. If something does not meet her ideals, she also stops it. She does not want to make herself dependent on others but decide and act alone and autonomously" (NRZ, p. 58). This feeling of open exploratory autonomy can be an important motivating factor and can even lead to self-sacrifice for a cause: "if something thrills Hanna, that is also meets her ideals, she engages in the cause and puts everything else in the background" (NRZ, p.58).

Openness is also linked to an anti-dogmatic stance in the case of the Sustainable Food Youth Network, as expressed in the biographical analysis of Sara: "the concern for a conscious, environmentally friendly use of food expresses itself in her lifecluster. However, it is important to her not to be too 'extreme' and dogmatic. Such an attitude […] does not comply with her openness for the new and the foreign" (NRZ, p. 56).

Also in these cases the participatory activities are strongly linked to sensual experiences. For instance, Amelia of the ecological organisation uses the concept of enlightening to describe her path towards her engagement for nature: ″her initial suspicion towards organized eco activity was overcome after translating an important text on these issues and seeing a poster of the Greens collecting one million signatures across Europe for launching a legislation that would criminalize the damages to nature. It came as 'enlightening' for her, and she joined this group making posters and a Facebook event" (NRP, p. 41). Her co-activist Andrey attributes special power to experiences with nature, that thanks to nature he became a better and stronger person: "[Enchantment with nature] gets people closer to each other and allows them to develop the better side of their self. Andrey says birds have changed his life. He is never "lost" in what he is doing; no hesitations and fears are discouraging him" (NRP, p. 40).

As in the place based cases, the experience of group cohesion can be an important source for engagement as well as social identity: "it is not only about the subject matter but about experiencing an energising, supporting and keeping group feeling there. The first eat- in was a 'whole new experience and also so fascinating and energising, so that actually was clear to me, okay, I can do that, this is my group. I want to stay there somehow, I want to participate' there, I want to engage there (Hanna, Zurich, BI: 1)" (NRZ, p. 58). Hanna cherishes specifically the open, non-compulsory, non-binding character of the togetherness in the loose Sustainable Food Youth Network. This in turn brings her personal self-presentation as an autonomous, independent, experimental and adventurous actor.

Niches and Safe Places

The cases of the cluster "Producing and negotiating own spaces" also offer us elements to analyse identity formations. The cluster analysis has shown that the groups rely on specific practices that hold the groups together and function as defining traits for the collective identities of these groups.[22] The two football fan clubs/ultras groups in Bologna and Eskişehir

22 These are obviously not the only activities the participation settings involve; e.g. some of them include also the consumption of alcohol or illegal drugs and spending time together seems important to all the groups.

based their activity around the fan culture and support of the team; the informal girls group in Frankfurt spends their leisure time together chilling (including hanging loose, cooking, eating, consuming drugs, etc.); the Scouts spend some of their leisure time together in common adventurous activities; the Islamic Youth Association is centred on practicing Islam; and the Sprayer Group's main activity is spraying graffiti and tagging.

Collective identities are expressed through the allegiance to one's cause or activity, the allegiance to the group, to common principles or laws (such as the "Scouts Law") and common values and goals. The activities offer a potential to build up a collective identity or at least provide experience of belonging and group cohesion because these activities are usually group activities that need collaboration with others, especially if they are due to bear emotional impact. It is the possibility of being part of an activity with others, of that niche or small world that becomes a defining trait, source for pride and identity formations. Concerning building up a collective identity, the Islamic Youth Association seems to be special. They are the case in this cluster that seems to be most reflective on their identity, of what it means to live and practice as a Muslim in Italy. Their activity aims directly at strengthening a Muslim identity in a predominantly non-Muslim country, trying also to address participants' difficulties to deal with their hybrid identity as second generation migrants.

While the six cases of the previous cluster had a political dimension in the sense that young people intend to develop better and alternative spaces or habits that can serve as example for others, the spaces that the young people of the current cluster create do not have this outward orientation. Although their activities are not aimed at changing society, they also seek spaces of self-determination. Yet, this is not necessarily linked to non-conformist stances as political messages. Non-conformism or conflict in some cases rather appear as a by-product of the incompatibility of their activities and identity claims with e.g. property rights in the case of the sprayers or the rules of the youth centre in the case of the informal girls group. Among this cluster, perception of nonconformity also relates to social stigma as in the case of the Islamic Youth centre. In the case of the scouts, they say that their activities seem odd to other young people. While nonconformity or oddness does not necessarily lead to conflict with other actors (the scouts actively try to avoid conflicts with non-scout actors), distinction in the sense of temporarily living in one's own world becomes a defining trait. Moreover, with the exception of the Islamic Youth Centre, distinction works through rivalry with actors from the same field: sometimes-violent rivalry with other football supporters, other scout divisions, other sprayer crews, and other young people from other gangs or groups (or even within the same group, as in the case of the girl's group).

Rivalry usually implies the obligation to defend themselves or their territories[23]. These groups have a strong relationship to their territories, to their sector in the stadium but also with their city, their clubhouse, their spots in the neighbourhood or their youth centre, their scout barracks or tents, and their spraying spots, graffiti and tags. In some cases, these

23 Conflict with the state in the case of the sprayers means they become invisible in order to circumvent criminal persecution.

territories seem to provide an expression of the group identity. This becomes very visible for instance in the case when football supporters from Eskişehir ornament their city with flags, jerseys and other objects of their colour. Similarly, the spots in the city marked with graffiti and tags by a specific sprayer gang marks the presence/existence of the respective group. However, possibilities of and needs for visibility vary much between groups of this cluster. Sprayers for instance want their graffiti to be seen, which is important for their street credibility within the world of sprayers, but visibility of one's own person in this respect cannot be made public. In the group's territories their own rules apply, and in some cases, especially if these rules conflict with rules established by other actors such as the government, these territories and with them the ability to define their own rules might have to be defended.

Physical and social spaces also seem to function as safe spaces. This seems to be especially important for the Islamic youth association, where the mosque provides the physical basis for the safe space and thus also the possibility to express a Muslim identity. Safe spaces can also be a necessary condition for the group's defining activity, such as in the cases of the sprayers. Also in this cluster, their spaces, territories or niches have strong affective qualities and the young people call their groups homes or families. Thanks to their activities, they can experience community and commonality, experience feelings of belonging and in some cases the thrills of the illegal. Moreover, belonging to the group sometimes allows for the experience of new roles, positions and related recognition – for instance when scouts become group leaders and bear much more responsibility than in their school or apprenticeship context or when in the Ultras group some members obtain a high status despite a disenfranchised position in the society beyond the niche. Thus, the niches provide new experiences, new orientations, competences, self-esteem and therefore the experience of agency and basis for a positive personal identity. Despite these evident positive qualities of social niches, social niches should not be idealised either, especially in the cases when the niche is understood as an answer of young people to experiences of exclusion and disenfranchisement. In order to guarantee their qualities of safe spaces and territories the young people have control of, niches can be linked to both exclusionary forms of boundary work leading to the disempowerment of others as well as a strong inward orientation and withdrawal from society that might even increase disenfranchisement from society for the members of the niche. Whether and to what degree this is the case in the PARTISPACE cases has to remain open at this stage of the research, however, considering the exclusionary potential at least questions attempts of responsibilisation strategies towards communities during the withdrawal of the state from social-welfare provision.

Online feminist spaces

The case of the Young Feminist Movement – cluster "Fighting within and with the political system" – evokes distinctive attention due to its pronounced relationship to the conquest of spaces, nonconformism and identity (politics). In addition to their engagements with feminism offline, the women of the group try to open up spaces online to discuss gender and women's rights issues and denounce online expressions of sexism and paternalism by posting

articles and maintaining an online presence. Online discussion spaces serve to raise consciousness and for sharing information about activism and current events, including the organisation of activism and protests. They construct discursive spaces as an attempt to change gender and sex dynamics in society. In this sense, the online spaces are not an aim only in and of itself, which contrasts with the cases discussed in the beginning of this chapter. Rather it is also a space for itself and for movement beyond itself. However, such online spaces seem to be an important mean for the reflective development of alternative gender identities – identities that do not conform with dominant gender stereotypes: "At the same time a young feminist unceasingly writing against male violence via the medium of Twitter is leading a life that might be said to be devoted, given over, not conforming to prevailing expectations of 'success' or 'participation'" (NRM, p. 67).

The "experience [of] a feminist journey" (NRM, p. 39) implies much identity work and meaning making of anger, frustration and a feeling of powerlessness. It involves "speak[ing] bitterness" (NRM, p. 39) associated with gendered struggles. It empowers. Part of this empowering is the presentation of oneself as an actor who has overcome or is at least continuously trying to overcome the yoke of a sexist society. One of the members of the group said in a biographic interview "I would always advocate for my own rights in my home life. […] I've always had a really strong sense of justice and right and wrong" (NRM P. 36). Thanks to the spaces that women open up online, they create a resource for voice and identity. The online spaces also provide a safe space in the sense that the women can openly protest publicly without for instance having to fear direct physical violence. However, as the young women post with their real names in order to assure the credibility of their accounts, the safety of these spaces can in fact be compromised.

Institutionalised Youth Spaces

So far we have been dealing with cases that involve aspects of non-conformity, as highlighted above. It is now important to focus on the conformity showed by young people in relation to the expectations set by adults. Moreover, after having focused on cases where young people opened up spaces by themselves, attention is turned towards spaces that were opened up by adults for young people (and then usually further developed with young people on participative grounds). This is the case in the clusters "Representation of interests as right and obligation" and "Pedagogically supervised leisure infrastructure for young people". These cases are set in a framework which limits young people's action and which in turn are embedded within wider (bureaucratic) contexts of municipal representative democracy and the welfare state system, which encompass and varying degrees of pedagogisation as already outlined above.

In the cluster "Representation of interests as right and obligation", the cases do not necessarily focus on topics that are relevant for the young people's lifeworld. However, there is considerable variations between the individual cases. For instance, while young people in the youth councils of Gothenburg and Frankfurt seem to have considerable ability to bring in their own topics and present them to members of the municipal parliament, agendas of the Formal Youth Organisation in Manchester, the committee of the grammar school in Zurich

and the High School Association in Bologna seem to be much structured beforehand by youth workers or teachers.

The young people in these formal participation settings use the already built physical spaces that were assigned to them. In addition, social spaces (in the sense of who can participate and on the ground of what rules) and sometimes even discursive spaces (in the sense of what can be said or not) are restricted. Consequently, participation and identification goes along with at least some degree of adaptation to the institutional setting and the faculty of meaning making within this situation. At the same time, there are also groups of young people who manage to adapt the institutionalized setting to their purposes by negotiating rules, disrupting or creating their own subversive spaces within (see next chapter on boundary work). Thus, even if agency is limited in these councils and the High School association, the councils' successes can be a source for potential identification:

> Nevertheless, the committee's activities can lead to successful school culture projects and can move the teachers and headmaster to change school regulations. The committee has had success in influencing school culture, classroom instruction and school's infrastructure. […] The committee also successfully proposed and organized a committee trip as a reward for its own work and was able to convince the headmaster to put an end to the mandated protocolling of committee meetings (a much disliked task). However, as no procedural rules guarantee the committee's right to co-determination, concessions are only achieved – at least from the committee's perspective – with difficulty. (NRZ, pp. 24-25)

Moreover, in the grammar school case cited above, in the eyes of the participants their moments of success are won against the teachers for the sake of the students – thus combining narratives of success stories with opposition. This redefinition of their role seems to give them a position they can more easily identify with. Yet, among the young people in the grammar school committee and in other student and youth councils, a notion of looming instrumentalisation or tokenism due to restricted possibilities of influence is present, which undermines possibilities of positive identification. Yet, there are considerable differences between participants of the various youth councils in this regard. Although the pedagogised youth councils are to varying degrees comprised spaces, there are still some young people who can relate to it, identify with and "seek to use it as a means of 'making a difference'" (NRM, p. 26). As mentioned by one of the young people in Manchester: "We are not just the future. We are the present" (NRM, p. 65), a slogan the Manchester Formal Youth Organisation has come up with, can be interpreted in this line as a stance against tokenism or deficit-oriented pedagogisation and as claim for real power sharing.

The case reconstructions have shown that identification depends on whether the young people are able to make their voices heard. This in turn favours the more articulate young people in the councils. It seems that for those young people "claims to 'greater confidence' and to possibilities of leadership and of wider opportunities [that] emerge from such spaces" (NRM, p. 64). For other participants this is not necessarily so. A similar pattern in these participation settings is a divide between participants: while a smaller group of active young people are

highly active and are able to acquire competences and skills, various others seem to rather just be present and maybe show small techniques of non-conformism like using cell-phones or mockery during the session that disrupt the sometimes highly pedagogised agendas of the youth councils. Among the cases of the cluster "Representation of interests as right and obligation", the student network in Bologna seems to be an exception in that the network was founded by students themselves as a bottom up initiative, is not institutionalised as the other cases of this cluster, however, participates regularly in the election of representatives to the university boards. Thus, although members of the network participate in the universities institutionalised participation mechanisms, the student network presents a different approach to the sharing of power within an educational institution. Yet, not even the student network in Bologna is spared from the situation that students who are not in the respective bodies do not seem to be able to make much of a connection to these bodies. This seems to indicate that in the relationship between representatives and the represented is crucial for young people to identify with the council's dynamics.

For the students in the students network in Bologna events and groups are attractive because they do not have a connection with "politics". A network member says: "The USN is a student union, it deals with politics, and if you say to a student or to your peer politics, student politics, he looks at you sideways. The LGBT group isn't just that. It's seen by students as a safe place, that is what we want to offer, the reason why it was born, it's more sentimental, it moves people more" (NRB, p.44). The same reticence towards traditional politics can be found in the Manchester Formal Youth Organisation. Although the parliamentary forms of the youth council mimic adult politics and new forms, in this group, "there is also a rejection of the common forms of politics as it is conducted in current forms of democracy. For example the youth participation spaces are consensus seeking; they do not relate to existing political parties" (NRM, p. 70). Thus although the spaces of the cluster "Representation of interests as right and obligation" were either initially carved out by adults for young people to make them participate within institutional settings or are embedded within a hierarchic institutional setting, the claim to make democracy different from traditional forms of politics is prevalent in most of the cases.

This cross cutting theme presented various forms of opening spaces by and for young people in relation to possibilities for identification as a collective or individual. The place-based cases indicated the close relationship between the concrete building of the physical spaces and the organisation of activities with the development of social and discursive spaces. In line with the analysis made by the researchers in Bologna (NRB) as well as in Eskişehir (NRE)[24], key moments of these participation settings and connected narratives allow for a tentative conceptualization of these processes in terms of three not necessarily linear phases: 1) a phase

24 For the three-step model developed on the ground of the cases in Bologna, see footnote 3. The analysis of different participation types connected to hegemonic, declining and newly emerging power relations in Eskisehir developed three orientations of their spatial practices: controlling the space, defending /closing the space and opening a space (c.f. NRE, pp. 64-66). In relation to the building of alternative physical, social and discursive spaces the notion of controlling seemed too narrowly excluding the constructional moments the young people have be adjusting the conquered spaces to their own needs and visions.

of conquest of the space (e.g. through illegal occupation or through a tiring search for a legal solution), 2) a phase of refurbishing and reorganisation; and 3) a phase of defence. These phases seem to offer distinct identification potentials with varying emphasis on opening, adjusting and creating or closing off spaces. The narratives serving for identification with the group and/or the place tend to focus according to the search for new alternatives in distinction to other actors in society; the experience of agency through building, tangible change and the construction of a cohesive and solidary community; to a threatened identity in opposition to institutional actors such as the neo-liberal bureaucracy or other actors.

The relationship between place identities and collective, social or personal identities is not prominent in the network-based cases although it may play a certain temporary role. Instead, it is the possibility to jointly develop new habits and figure as an exemplary innovative community or individual that becomes an important identity resource. Here too exploratory openness regarding the trajectory of the project as well as openness towards other people is considered important. In the case of the social niches or small worlds, allegiance to the activity, cause and group seem to be a source for identity. In these cases, distinction becomes important in the form of rivalry with other groups. Rituals also seem to strengthen collective identity and group cohesion.

The youth-led cases discussed in this section provide alternative spaces in the sense that they build up their own rules, forms of conviviality, decision taking and conflict resolution. These participation settings can provide empowering experiences through the possibility of experiencing agency, developing competences and new roles in the community. Non-conformity can be actively sought or a by-product. When young people actively seek a non-conformist stance, this is often done in opposition to materialist values and traditional forms of politics. The practices can counter hegemonic assumptions of the good life among the places of wealth and privilege. Although qualities of safe spaces can become important to varying degrees among these alternative spaces, it is clear these spaces are not exempt from tensions, conflicts and sometimes violence.

Likewise, the formal and non-formal cases of youth councils and open youth work settings discussed above can provide valuable experiences of agency, competence, influence, group cohesion and a collective to identify with. However, this seems not to be the case for all the young people in those settings, where possibilities for identification require a high degree of adaptation. Although these groups promote themselves as being inclusive to all young people, the fact remains that, due to their sometimes high degree of institutionalisation, young people may find it difficult to participate within these settings. Overall, engagement and identification depends on the possibility young people have to build up their own spaces and construct their own positions and roles or adapt already existing ones to their needs.

In the case of the youth councils, despite the high degree of institutionalisation, the bureaucratic structure, the pedagogisation and similarity with traditional politics, young people tend to identify themselves against established politics – a trait in common with several of the youth-led spaces. In order to strengthen this identity aspect as a source for productive engagement, youth councils could allow young people to build their own social

spaces, by given them the opportunity to create their own rules and agendas for change. If youth workers want young people to identify with formal settings, it seems important that young people can set their agendas themselves. Tokenistic approaches to participation are hard to identify with. This urges youth workers and other professionals dedicated to youth participation to reflect on whether they can create conditions that are open enough for young people to express their concerns in their own ways.

Youth Work and Student Council Narratives

This cross-cutting theme focuses on the narratives and negotiation strategies that both adults and young people deploy to address the social and symbolic boundaries of their spaces and activities. It concerns the cases of the clusters "Representation of interests as right and obligation" and " Pedagogically supervised leisure infrastructure for young people", where the negotiation of boundaries is a central topic. These cases are institutionalised within structures of representative democracy and/or welfare state provision, and youth workers (or other professionals whose work is targeted at youth) play an important role. The relationship between the definitions of youth participation regarding youth participatory activities (e.g. through the definition of the extents of (un)acceptable, (un)desired behaviour or of different “types” of participation) and the possibilities of young people to participate in these settings are important features of this section. Attention is also drawn upon the influence of the negotiation of subject positions by the various actors on young people’s possibilities to participate in given participation settings.

In what follows, we discuss narratives regarding the boundaries of participation settings, the definition of actors as well as the emergence of counter-narratives to the existing ones. This analysis focuses on cases where the case reconstructions made certain aspects of boundary work visible and on the themes where boundary work seemed to be of high relevance. In relation to symbolic boundary work the eight country reports highlight the importance of the founding narratives. This is inevitably bound up with issues of distinction, access to cultural capital and forms of symbolic violence (inclusion/exclusion) on the one hand, and access to alternative counter-hegemonic narratives on the other hand.

Boundaries of Trust in Youth Led Activities

The conceptualisation of youths, their competences, ways of learning and of youth participation are part of the narratives that define the possibilities of choice and action of the young people in the participation settings. The case showed that views on youth participation and youngsters by professionals of youth work are often one-sided. Young people is often characterised as being de-politicised and not yet fully able to participate in the “right” way and therefore need some sort of guidance in order to become the future active citizens. This quote on youth participation experts in Frankfurt is exemplary in this regard:

> Experts do not blame young people for not participating in the right way, they understand, explain or even justify and focus on reflecting what young people need and how they can be motivated and educated for participating in what they conceive

> as real participation. In fact, this means that professionals and volunteers reproduce a deficit-oriented view of young people who are not (yet) prepared for participation in the way they should (or that would be 'good' for them). It is noteworthy that experts concerned with youth participation in or interviews never referred to political protest as youth participation although the city disposes of one of the most dynamic and diverse political scenes, especially regarding left wing groups. (NRF, p. 85*)*

Not only political protests are posited as being outside the realm of youth participation. Also seemingly more trivial forms of being together – like "hanging out" – are also seen as outside participation:

> Probably having fun together is the most common activity of young people in the city. This is done hanging out in cafes and in city squares and parks. However, neither the youth experts nor the young people whom we interviewed defined this as 'participation'. (NRP, p. 20)

When youth workers or other experts open up formal or non-formal participation settings for young people, the boundaries of what is valuable as youth participation are already established to a certain degree, including the boundaries between what young people can and cannot do. The aforementioned deficit approach that posits young people as not yet fully capable to participate does not only incite a pedagogically framed approach but is also related to limited trust and engagement in youth-led activities, as this passage on the Eskişehir's public authority standpoint towards youth-led youth work exemplifies:

> Youth policy and youth work is still not a priority, and youth related investments do not seem to be conceived as long term and structural investment. In this particular case, local authority's 'hesitant' and 'limited' investments reveal the priority accorded to youth work by the local decision makers involved and their youth perception which also means a lack of trust in youth-led youth work. (NRE, p. 37)

Symbolic boundaries lead to direct consequences in the ways the publically institutionalised youth participation settings are organised. As such, the directly influence the social and discursive spaces open up for the young people, thus creating social boundaries. The case of the Formal Youth Organisation in Manchester is instructive in this regard. The group understands itself as a democratic, rational and consensual space where young people can take their first steps into politics. It feeds into the work of the national youth parliament and seeks to induct young people into the framework of democracy. Most of the activities are run in a 'committee style r' and take place in the town hall where also 'adults politics' is done. Besides this mirroring of adult politics, the youth council is a highly pre-structured and pedagogised space including the organisation of work sessions, thematic days, and others, destined to inform or involve young people into mainstream policies.

> Groups of young people often have to follow a discussion agenda that is structured ahead by the youth workers or other adults (e.g. regional politicians). There were several steps, and everything seems to be very schematised, with timelines and specific topics to be addressed. It is hard to miss a certain 'pedagogisation' of the

> discussion, structured by adults and aimed at young people's engagement. Although the discussion is made by young people, the entire structure for the discussion is determined beforehand. It is as if there is a fear of getting lost in the discussion if given to young people's own initiative, thus the need to control it by elaborating a set of specific rules that groups have to follow. (NRM, p. 25)

Specific rules and formal procedures shall guarantee some degree of control for the youth workers, which in turn should set the boundaries for an ordered and peaceful inception into political life. Also strategies of micro-control serve to minimise and displace tensions and conflict to create the apparently consensual space. An example is the ruling out of angry behaviour[25] , but also the ruling out of topics that might cause too much conflict. This is exemplified in one of the sections after the EU-referendum:

> Following the referendum which there had been difficulty in them being allowed to discuss, there was a high level of fear in the days immediately afterwards […] This also meant that there was a 'difficult issue' again for the allegedly non-partisan space of youth participation at the Regional Assembly. The role of the youth workers was to handle this and they managed the issue by focussing on the role of young people in the preparations for the first election of the Greater Manchester Mayor. (NRM, p. 25)

The shunning of difficult topics in order to maintain control –a kind of *Purdah*, the practice in certain Muslim and Hindu societies of screening women from men or strangers – has been observed in other cases too. In the grammar school student committee in Zurich the students are accompanied, supported and supervised by at least one teacher who interferes when the discussions do not seem to correspond to the tasks and topics of the school committee. Only topics "concerning the entire student collective" (regulation on the student committee) are allowed. Students are not allowed to discuss problems of single students and are not allowed to talk about teachers. However, the supervising teachers do not have to intervene too often as usually the president disciplines the fellow committee members before the teacher. This regulation is aimed to prevent "negative dynamics" in the student committee. However, it also prevents the discussion of some of the most significant events in school life and hinders a critical reflection of their situation at school. Regarding the initial purpose of the school committee to give students a voice in school, this seems a contradictory outcome.

A similar situation has been encountered in the Frankfurt Youth and Students Council (YSR): "In YSR, conflicts (with school or the city representatives) arise where the board members try to interpret their mandate beyond explicit school-related issues or where they criticise schools for not supporting their work" (NRF, p. 84). Eventually also in open youth work settings, where young people within the boundaries of tolerable conduct would actually be free to do what they please, there are notions of more and less appropriate participation. This short

25 "In the Youth Council the boundaried nature of the space and its pedagogisation means that the expression of anger is ruled out to a large extent. However, the young people are fully aware of its presence in neighbourhoods and the injustices and humiliations which it results from.. There is a beneath the surface tension and aggression continually in the meetings which lead to exclusions and micro controls within a group overtly committed to non-discrimination. One boy was explicitly cut out of Facebook group for example (Fieldnotes)" (NRM, p. 68).

extract from Youth Centre X is instructive: "'The manager smiles and responds that there are group who use the house for their activities instead of just hanging around. This situation can be read as a professional understanding that there are more meaningful and senseless activities within the centre" (NRF, p. 33-34).

Although the so far described settings are prestructured, pedagogised, and bounded, they seem to provide favourable conditions for some young people. The narrative of the youth council as an empowering consensual space for young people creates an atmosphere where some people can make contact with politics and although official codes and scripts predominate, young people find a reason to persist here, believing they can make a difference (NRM, p. 25). The case study on the youth parliament in Gothenburg comes to a similar account: "The FYO is a forum created by adults, with clear limitations in terms of power, decision making and influence. At the same time, from [a member of the youth parliament's perspective], the FYO is an arena for promoting youth democracy and participation, a platform for collectively and formally voicing issues of importance to young people, and in that light, enormously valuable" (NRG, p. 56). Also in the more restricted school committee in Zurich some of the students have the feeling that although they can only make small changes, "these trivial things can make everyday school life a little easier" (NRZ, p. 25) and therefore their contribution is value.

Hence we are far from negating a positive impact of the above discussed settings. However, youth worker's strategies of microcontrol to produce an environment that is hopefully conducive to youth participation also rules out topics as well as novel ways of action. They signal a lack of trust in the young people, doubting that they can handle discussions on their own. Moreover, these acts of boundary setting exclude topics that are relevant for the life of the young people: "In this context it is worth considering how relatively boundaried and constraining practices of the group mean that potentially explosive issues never get an airing: perhaps because of a fear of disintegration of what can seem a ‘working’ space of urban diversity" (NRM, p. 77).

Negotiation of Boundaries of Acceptable Conduct

Even though the boundaries that youth workers set can be absolute in some situations, in others there is room for negotiation:

> In youth work and residential care everyday life is to a great extent structured by rules which are issue of constant negotiation and/or conflict. Here, we find huge variations of relationships even within the same institution and it is not at all dependent on the generosity of rules and their interpretation but rather the authenticity, credibility and transparency in which they are communicated and the willingness to constantly explain and re-negotiate. (NRF, p. 83)

The conflicts of the informal girls group on the adequate comportment in the Youth Centre X in Frankfurt can be read as negotiation of boundaries. However, in this case, the negotiation of boundaries in the form of revolting, chilling and marijuana smoking eventually failed and

the girls left the youth centre, as the willingness of the youth workers to negotiate boundaries was not big enough to reconcile youth centre rules with the needs for identification of the girls group[26]. Also the Hoodboys left the centre due to an absence of the possibility to renegotiate the boundaries:

> Some of the interactions we observed between professionals and young people are held on a more conflict level with reciprocal accusations and rejections. The more authoritarian appearance of the professionals prevents negotiations and conflicts are solved asymmetrically in ignoring the centre of conflict. (NRF, p. 33)

Negotiating boundaries was also frequent in The Box in Manchester:

> efforts to challenge and test the boundaries of trust established by workers was a regular behaviour adopted by the men who were also accustomed to change, transition and loss. Student social workers undertaking placements at TB, were put to the test by the men who would use humour to negotiate power relations and test boundaries of compliance. At times, some workers sought refuge in procedures and structures typically associated with more bureaucratised spaces now familiar within social care practice but this was sometimes at the cost of relationship-based work. As Aaf (Manchester_FN) remarked to a student social worker who wanted him to comply in filling out a form to evidence that they had facilitated access to support 'you are meant to be looking after us not yourselves. (NRM, p. 40)

Also in the Manchester Formal Youth Organisation forms of boundary negotiation regarding appropriate behaviour can be found:

> There is considerable 'talking back' and mockery of the processes by young people and constant attempts to negotiate away from the more formal framing of spaces in to less constrained ones (the fag break; the tea break; the small group as a place to catch up with friends and gossip; texting one another and so on; requests to be allowed to go now and get on with other more social activities, whether this is a game or 'just chilling'). (NRM, p. 64)

This undermining of the official protocols, agendas and microcontrols clashes with the sometimes hidden pedagogical agendas of institutionalised settings.

The (re-)negotiation of borders by the young people can also work on a more articulate basis. These negotiations need tactics like finding the right tone to address a hot issue. The maintenance of an appropriate communication in order to be able to effect change appear to suit well the control strategies of controlling anger already discussed above. Eventually the space for negotiation within a participation setting may depend not only on the person the young people deal with and on their communication skills, but also whether the negotiation

26 "The conflicts between young people and staff in the youth centre and in residential care can be interpreted in terms of struggles for definition power and control over the space that are structured by the asymmetry between pedagogical intentions of professionals with regard to the personal development of their addressees on the one hand and the – more or less existential – needs of identification and distinction in the identity work of young people." (NRF, p. 84)

takes place on the front or backstage as can be exemplified by an observation made on the residential care facility in Frankfurt:

> Another interesting level is the interpretation of the pedagogical front- and backstage. The frontstage is based on the juridical safeguarding regulation of the care manager and fixed in formal house rules. Backstage the residents deal with those normative positioning and develop strategies of agency and the professional try to grant a margin of discretion and handling. […] The interpretation of the relation between front- and backstage needs to look into which functions certain situations have and how those functions are connected to our data collection, for example if the care manager presents us the importance of the legal regulations (frontstage) compared to the more informal everyday life of residents and professionals that we could observe (backstage). (NRF, p. 54)

The space for negotiation is different in the various adult-led and/or officially institutionalised participation settings, depending on factors such as the youth work approach, specifically on the role and possible agency attributed to youths and the trust that is given to youth-led activities. This in turn depends on the political embedment as can be seen in the case of the Eskişehir where two youth centres were included in the sample. While the centre that is founded on the influence of conservative policies, favours a more pronounced patriarchal approach including the separation of young men and women in activities outside the centre, the more liberal youth centre seems to attribute a more active role to the young people themselves. Youth participation in the centre is adjusted to the political agendas. This politicization of youth work in Eskişehir seems to attribute little space for the young people themselves, and "tends to see them as "objects" to be "constructed" (NRE, p. 65). Paradoxically, in both youth centres politics are generally deemed inadequate topics. Thus although the spaces are highly politicised, there is no space of openly political activities

Also experts in Rennes point at the importance of structural embeddedness of the participation settings: "A few of the experts also mention the fact that non-formal associations were not really keen to include young people in their governance and very often did not reflect upon their place and role. More generally, they express the fact that youth participation is limited because young people are not an important enough public problem and they suffer from the lack of money and legitimacy of this public sector" (NRR, p. 104).

Sometimes institutionalisation of power and bureaucracy seems to pose boundaries that are hard to overcome. This points towards a discrepancy between the existing structures of participation and how young people participate, raises the question of how the formal structures set in place to enhance youth participation end up creating a set of barriers that makes it difficult for young people to participate.

Boundaries Concerning Identities, Roles and Positions

Boundaries also concern the position, roles and identities of the young people in a given participation setting. The supporting narratives and the institutionalisation of the cases in the clusters "Representation of interests as right and obligation" and " Pedagogically supervised

leisure infrastructure for young people" can lead to a set of available positions that is too narrow: "In the case of YSR and of the care home, roles and routines are predefined combining a maximum of stability with a minimum of flexibility for individual appropriation" (NRF, p. 82). Where there is only little space for boundary work regarding one's own role, there seems to be only limited potential to identify for young people as the positions are already defined. The kind of boundary work left available to the young people is the setting up of one's own boundaries vis-à-vis youth workers by not following the procedures or rules established by them as outlined above in the various cases. Enlarging boundaries of one's competences and identity as self-sufficient actors however seems more difficult in these cases.

In social care discourses, which seek to embed and protect young people's rights through participation, a bureaucratic form draws boundaries that in turn need renegotiation initiated by the young people. This concerns the definition of who has the right to participate in a certain project or programme as in the case of The Box "where assessment of those who are 'genuinely homeless' and able therefore to access resources and support as against those who are not potentially limits the forms of engagement which the Creative Director embarks on" (NRM, p. 70) There is also substantial boundary work among the men in The Box. Among them one of the markers of belonging seems to be amount of time that men lived on the streets. However, these boundaries are not clear-cut and changes occur:

> Even when there is an explicit narrative which forms the boundary of a group, and especially perhaps when there is not, or when that boundary is contested or conflict ridden, there is the issue of who counts and which perspectives, voices and claims count. This is something we have referred to as 'having paid your dues'. Present in a number of settings, it is what both pulls people together, disciplines them and holds them back, and moves the level of the group on […] These practices are all checkable and verifiable; they depend on others knowing they are true; credibility and belonging and participation in the group comes from this. (NRM, p. 66)

Boundaries of belonging are also in place vis-à-vis the youth workers who seek connection with the men:

> The reality that acceptance in such spaces is based on claims to membership through 'putting in the time' and proving oneself worthy of belonging to the group is attested to in the assessment by participants in The Box of those who 'fake an interest' and who are only interested in 'looking good', compared to a relationship with others where all are working towards a common goal (Fieldnotes TB). Although there may be attempts at mimicry (for example by student social workers), mimicry will not work in this space as only fairly brutal honesty will work. (NRM, p. 67)

Foundation narratives and practices of institutionalisation in settings devised for formal or non-formal participation have an important influence on the positions, roles and identities available to young people in that they are already predefined to varying extent, sometimes leaving little space for their appropriation by the young people. The set of available positions,

however, reflects adult views on young people and specific social care discourses, not the young people's life worlds. Narratives and institutionalisation can equally reflect organisational norms such as for instance the need to efficiently and reliably organise a setting. A well-defined set of positions and clear expectations towards the young people may grant a stable and supposedly well-functioning whole. It can orient and bring the young people forward but a too stable set of positions may not provide enough flexibility for some young people to carve out the boundaries of their own roles and engagement. If the set of positions including expectations towards characteristics and behaviour of the position holders is too narrow, as it imposes institutional logics over their life worlds, the participation setting risks to become irrelevant and not foster any engagement that could have arisen from positive identification– at least for the young people who do not fit. In other words, narrowly defined sets of positions also preclude whose voices count. This is not unique to adult-led institutionalised settings but it becomes problematic for settings that pretend to be inclusive.

Reflective Boundary Work

The case reconstructions have shown moments of reflective boundary work – the reflection on and subsequent repositioning of symbolic and social boundaries - both in institutionalised settings open up by adults for young people as well as in settings opened up by the young people themselves. For instance, the Informal Network for Arts and Debate in Plovdiv is based on a narrative of political artists that aim to pass borders, defining themselves as a non-reductive anti-capitalist group. They intend to cross boundaries on the ground of ideological positions. Another example where young people actively seek to redefine the boundaries of their identities is the Islamic cultural centre in Bologna. Their participation takes the form of establishing difference and identity as Muslims practicing their religion in Italy. The Political and Cultural Centre in Frankfurt, on the other hand, is self-critical on their stance towards young people from other milieus questioning the borders of their group after themselves having had exclusionary experiences with left-wing groups in Frankfurt. This was taken up in an Action Research project (WP5) "focusing on the question of borders between inside and outside and on the relationship between culture, the arts and political activism" (NRF, p. 8). These participation settings seem to be conducive to boundary work, as they combine the reflection on biographical issues and youth cultural symbolic practice.

In the youth work cases there seems to be an awareness of boundaries and boundary work going on. As reported by the Frankfurt team, the boundaries between inside and outside are “more permeable and/or include issues, actors and practices that are excluded into the institutionalised space. Youth work seems most appropriate to analyse such boundary work due to principles being less rigidly formulated and the higher degree of negotiation between institutional representatives and young people" (NRF, p. 92).

A youth work case where boundary work has a wider societal dimension is The Youth Group (TYG) in the Gothenburg region. Here both aforementioned aspects of reflective boundary work on the boundaries of the participation setting itself as well as the boundaries of one's social identity come together. TYG is portrayed as a kind of an ideal place where the young people have a safe space to be, beyond any social expectations and discrimination regarding

heteronormative gender and sexual identities. It gives the participants the space to reflect on symbolic boundaries between gender or sexual orientations, transcend traditional ones and develop an identity of difference from which group members understand themselves. In TYG itself, young people can recognize both differences and commonalities at "crossroads of internal and external processes, as well as individual and collective challenges, that TYG has to work with" (NRG, p. 50). Furthermore:

> [T]he pure existence of the group is a constant reminder of the identity as transgender person, something that many of the members really want to get away from. TYG aims at making LGBTQ-identities fully accepted and normalized in everyday life. At the same time, the forming of the group is based on a distinction which, although it starts out from a positive identity, always risks functioning as a distinguishing identification. (NRG, p. 50)

To deal with this potential for tension, through the evocation of identity boundaries and possible hurtful attribution of gender stereotypes, TYG disposes a set of rules and codes that serves as a guarantee for the freedom of just being, doing and feeling. This is illustrated in the concluding example:

> At the same time, there are events that indicate how a common agreement about the rules and codes for internal relations must constantly be kept alive. At one occasion one members asked a critical question concerning another member's potential use of tobacco. This created a sudden crack in the atmosphere, which was dissolved when the youth leader intervened and pointed at the agreement in the group not to comment upon each other's habits. (NRG, p. 50)

A Plea for Institutional Openness

The cases showed many instances of how founding narratives define the boundaries of what practices are possible in specific cases and what practices are marginalised. The material showed moments of purdah, the shunning of certain topics or behaviours that risk to create dynamics that in the end are hard to control. Both the narratives and the actual functioning of the open youth work and youth council institutions are embedded within certain institutional contexts that predefine the aim of youth councils and youth work settings, the positions and roles of youths and youth professionals within those settings. In institutionalised formal contexts, there seems to be little room for negotiation of the boundaries of one's position and identity other than recurring to small tactics of disobedience and non-compliance. In regard to sometimes well-intentioned but narrow channels to give young people a voice within pedagogised settings, for some young people spaces opened up by themselves seem to be more conducive in marking their own identities. Also they involve forms of boundary work by collectively negotiating one's own *weltanschauung* as a legitimate in contrast to predominant worldviews.

Even though in the case of Frankfurt youth centre X some young people could not find their place within the available offers, youth work seems to be in a particular position to reflect on

the boundaries involved in their participation setting due to its permeable boundaries, that both include and exclude. There seems to be a need for a reflective boundary work where youth workers become aware of the boundaries and the consequences that are created through the foundational narratives of their settings, their institutional context and their proper youth work practices. This appeal can be extended to care for the boundary work of the young people either by reflecting on it together with young people or by ensuring that boundary work has place within the institution. This boundary work should not only be in the form of drawing back to surrogate forms of noncompliance but in the form of possible youth-led reconfiguration of their own spaces and positions within the settings. Eventually the plea could be further extended to actors of municipal youth policy to encounter attempts by young people to create their ideal place with openness to negotiate boundaries of legitimate practices beyond the traditional topos for youth participation.

3.4.3.2. CROSS-CUTTING THEME 2: TENSIONS OF PARTICIPATION - POLITICAL, CULTURAL, SOCIAL

In what follows some of the key tensions that were articulated across the case studies are explored.

Participation as Traditional Rule-Based Politics or as DIY[27] Counter-Politics

There is relatively little evidence of political party membership in our ethnographies (3 case studies) and those which are present are seen as old fashioned. The Youth Section of a Political Part (NRP, p. 15) is an ethnography "orientated towards social strata that are disadvantaged and not given the attention they deserve". Yet participants were deeply pessimistic about their involvement: "In Bulgaria parties are incapable of motivating anybody. Let us not deceive ourselves" (NRP p.15). Party meetings and events took the form of inducting younger members into the traditions of the Party, with often very much older 'Party elders' leading the discussion. During the Presidential campaign they organised street leafleting and campaigning for a candidate. There was little in the way of online or social media presence. "Many times we observed official modes of participation which were subject to predefined mechanisms and procedures of approval and enactment" (NRP p.38).

In contrast, the DIY Politics associated with autonomist Social Centres was present in five of the cities; Bologna, Rennes, Frankfurt Zurich and Plovdiv. The following account of forms of organising in NDE shows examples of organising styles evident elsewhere:

> Several times/moments of group actions punctuate the commitment to ND: the time of general assemblies, the time of commissions, the time of exceptional events, the time of collective temporary mobilisations around events about local or national political news, and finally, and like all the Occupy movement, the ND movement is characterised by a refusal of leadership and a strong attachment to the horizontality of the relationships between participants. Any attempt to take responsibility is unanimously and spontaneously banned and repelled. (NRR p.52)

[27] DIY stands for "do it yourself".

Within these spaces, there is a common philosophy: no leader, no privileged discourses for members who would be more representative, more active. Since such spaces are conceived to be a platform for citizen expressions, there is no reason to justify favouring discourses from some people rather than from others. However, the organisation of communication and dissemination materials, days of action, always remains in the hands of a "core" of people. Can we describe this "core" as leaders? These issues are exemplified in the following example from Rennes (NRR p.53); first of all, they all claim their will to maintain horizontality. But there is a need to provide contents on the website, to publish articles, to prepare the meetings, and in these activities, it is always the same people that are involved. They deplore seeing how much they become, unwillingly, the "organisers" of the movement. Informal leadership is primarily a matter of greater involvement in taking initiatives, writing posts, participating in actions and their logistical management time (managed individually) of participation on the Internet or in newspapers related to the movement. According to the activists, there are also related actions such as participation in theatre conferences, conferences on various current topics, GAs or events organised by other groups. '

If the political party in Bulgaria on the one hand and the DIY Politics cases on the other represent two different poles on a continuum of democratic politics the practice of young people in residential care in Frankfurt may be considered interrupt this apparent binary.

Some of the most vulnerable young people in any of the ethnographic case studies are here part of an experiment with enabling better voice for young people in a policy context (a development largely in line with wider discussions of democratic culture at all ages). In NRF, Residential Care Home shows staff fulfilling a legal requirement to have an obligatory youth council "to secure the rights of children and young people in the institution in an appropriate way of co-determination and the possibility of co-determination in personal matter" (NRF, p. 55) A young resident, describes living in a care home as a micro form of politics:

> I think in a certain way you can refer politics to our living here, to this interplay with the youth welfare office, because here the institution and the youth welfare office always has to negotiate…..and these are wars…there are rules which limit the young people and there are always discussions about the rules, how to change them, and to find compromises and one can say this is a compressed political system. (NRF, p.56)

Participation is Politics or Participation is Not Politics

In a number of the ethnographies, those who are politically active position themselves against the majority who 'are not interested'. In other cases those who participate in spaces are resolutely against any involvement in politics. Here by politics we refer to both traditional and new forms of politics associated with social movements.

Young Feminist Movement (Manchester) is involved in both online consciousness raising and speaking bitterness and use the affordances of online organising to experience

awakening and empowerment in their activism. Here politics is experienced as both personal and political. Though it is often single issue, it is always geared towards social change especially of patriarchal social structures. This is shown in the following extract from Manchester National Report which illustrates the link between personal experience of violence and explicit political demands.:

> Morning of first # Women's March in Manchester. I see that Georgia has shared what happened to her sister again on the FB event page; she explains she is marching because of what happened (the violence) to her sister and 'because my sister can't march herself.' It's a powerful message because one of the reasons we are protesting against Trump is his admission of sexual assault. (NRM p.36)

Online sharing here links to traditional democratic forms of protest and mass demonstrations and specific political demands.

On the other hand there are many cases in which participation is defined as strongly *against* politics. 'Young people are doing society not politics.' There are many reasons for this including the fact that extreme political repression can make overt political affiliation dangerous. It is suggested that even in cities like Bologna with previous histories of active political participation, securitisation is leading to a distrust and rejection of politics. But for some groups this is long-standing.

The story of the occupation of the bowl court (bocciofila) UC in Bologna is an excellent example of this: "This was already our place. We have just taken it back and we are not going to leave it. We are going to defend it as we defend our city" (NRB p.23).

Despite the strong resonances with the occupation of other spaces in the city by anarchist political tribes, and despite the left wing affiliations of many in UC and the strong commitment to fight to defend a space, this space is explicitly defined as apolitical:

> I think that this group is an apolitical group. Everyone is free to do what he wants outside this group but the group is apolitical and to be apolitical at the stadium is the best thing. Politics must stay outside the stadium and at the stadium there must be only Bologna Football Club and sport. There are other places where one can be politically active. The ultras movement is something that we do in certain places and politics must be done in others. They must be separate things. (NRB p.26)

Finally an even more ambiguous relation to the political can be found in the tale of two Youth Centres in Eskişehir where the apolitical self-presentation appears to belie different political orientations towards practice in each of the centres.

Cultural Participation as Politics or Cultural Participation as Leisure, Recreation and Self-Fulfilment

In the Gothenburg Theatre Group there is a clear example of theatre being used by young adults as a vehicle for exploring social and political issues:

> The group is sitting around the floor reading and cutting out articles of newspapers…Members start discussing common themes that have caught their

> attention, which all deal with problems of various kinds: war, racist politics, citizenship, gender issues.' These and other themes were improvised on by the group : short pieces which the group performed to one another during the ethnography included exploration of stereotypical gender roles, intolerance towards functionally disabled people and entitlement to various social sites, citizen fostering, exclusion practices towards homosexuals and living conditions of beggars. (NRG p.35)

The idea that gives purpose to the group is to 'spread the message' and to put on a play for public performance.

In contrast, the sprayers in Frankfurt emphasise the way their practice derived in the first place as part of a whole culture of hanging out, chilling and escaping from the pressures of school and is primarily a practice which gives them satisfaction: "tagging the city is for the group somehow a shaping of the city. 'I draw in illegal spots because we are up for seeing our pieces.' (Illegal graffiti is attractive because it is long lasting, especially if the spot is creatively chosen. Legal spots are scarce and so are always crossed by other sprayers.)" (NRF, p.26). According to the Frankfurt ethnography, "the Hoodboys stand for a crew and being a crew goes with themes like loyalty/community, recognition, representation and graffiti as a sense of home" (p. 26).

Tensions in the spaces of the social: Participation as being a good and useful citizen now or Participation in an act of collective social transformation

In many cases young people were satisfied with a sense of having made a contribution to society according to an existing sense of inherited values without necessarily any strong sense of this connecting to wider demands for social change. Nevertheless in their interactions with others and with the spaces they may in fact facilitate micro changes. Take the case of a local branch of an international charity in Plovdiv n which many young people volunteered.

When speaking about the functioning of this group, all the young volunteers declared themselves as part of a family, supporting each other in work and beyond. They often complemented each other and expressed similar views. All of them appreciated their relationships and spoke with some pride about their team as having a "good chemistry" and acting as a "mechanism", and they were proud to define this as one of their main achievements:

> In terms of participatory spaces, the volunteers are active literally all around the city – the City Centre, the Central Park, the rowing base, the Clinic of Paediatric Surgery, Oncology, Public soups-kitchens, in front of churches, stores, and schools. They occupy new territories. Young people construct their own space; they fill the urban infrastructure with new meanings. It can be seen how they adjust parts of the City Garden for the Anti-AIDS campaign, put tents, tables, materials, use the ledge of the Fountain in front of the Municipality, in order to arrange cakes at Easter, on Palm Sunday in front of the churches they put money boxes and collect donations, in food

> stores they accept aid in kind of their cities they are making a micro-difference, making a small change. (NRP p.29)

In their accounts, the participants gradually outlined a *spirit of charity* dominated by the motivation of helping others. And in personal terms, "maybe that is, I have always wanted to be useful in some way" (NRP p.30). It was described as a feeling closely related to personal satisfaction of doing things for people who were not "as lucky as me" (p. 26). The principle could be named "to give in order to receive", and it was because "the fate is measuring these things (all One's own noble self-devotion (being often repeated in the conversations) was highlighted through the opposition with benefit-seeking young people who accepted volunteering as a way to improve their CVs and use the activities as a bonus when applying for university or job.

In contrast to this are those young people who reject this form of volunteering preferring to engage in practices which specifically promote self and social transformation together. An example of this is the Sustainable Food Youth Networkin Zurich. This too is a local arm of an international organisation but here the focus is on seeking change. Collectively they work to support sustainable agriculture, conscious consumers, a diversity of tastes and appreciation for our food and those who produce it. The Zurich group, which is the focus of this case study, is the oldest and most active. It organizes individual actions in Zurich and the surrounding region, which it invites the public to attend. These actions are inspired by the existing event formats of the international youth network and are generally open to the public, combining political protest with plain simple fun. The activities are low key and low threshold of engagement so people find it easy to engage through joining a meal and experiencing new ways of relating to the food system.

It can be said that the activities of the Sustainable Food Youth Networkare characterized by the fact that group members are self-empowered in such a way that they can "just do" what seems right and important to them. While they refuse to see themselves and others as helpless consumers and insist on their status as conscious, empowered actors, they are shifting the balance of power. They are attempting to sustain this status through collective action. Thus, the activities of the Sustainable Food Youth Networkare intentionally open and directed outwards. Through specific actions they show others how the balance of power can be directly shifted. Collective sensory experiences and low-threshold experimentation and enjoyment play an important role in this process.

By means of self-empowerment the group is attempting to change the current rules of the food system, and in a sense those of the entire societal system, yet they do this constructively and not by negative measures against the prevailing system. On the contrary, the activities are intended to constructively strengthen their position within the power structure in accordance with the rules of the system. In order to increase its influence the group utilizes such tools as network structures and strategic partnerships in the form of cooperation and alliances – and has proven to be not only extremely competent but also rich in resources.

Finally, to show further the complexity and tension here, in a number of projects the term 'volunteer' is contested and difficult. In Bologna, at the SC, the 'volunteers' are distinguished from both the 'core group' who sustained the occupation and their 'supporters':

> We meet with Martina and Marianna to try to write down a brief report of the activities realized by the group managing the social dormitory from the beginning (December 2015) till now (September 2016). Our idea is to prepare a small pamphlet and to distribute it to journalists and supporters the day of the project birthday. "Please, girls", says Marianna, "let's find another name to call us. I can't stand the word 'volunteers'. It's terrible!". Martina: "Why? We actually donate our time for free, don't we? A lot of time! Volunteers is actually what we are". Marianna: "Yes, I know, but volunteers it's terrible! It's like the oratory!". Martina: "Yes, but we can't go on calling each other 'compas' [*fellows*], then we can't distinguish...". Marianna: "Let's invent another name… whatever, whatsoever… 'the welcomers', for instance! Whatsoever.. but not volunteers!". (NRB p.33)

Participation as Space for Personal Enterprise or Participation as Space for the Commons

Alongside the presence of the DIY Centres and the Open Education Collective, discussed above, in a number of city ethnographies, there is also the presence of 'extreme sports' projects in which young people test their individual limits. Both emphasise self-activity, but to apparently different ends. Extreme Sports projects are often found in the same kinds of large former industrial buildings or warehouses which shape the postindustrial city.

Free Sports in Gothenburg is an association for and by young people who are interested in the sports parkour and free running. In both sports the natural landscape of the city is used. The aim is to conquer the landscape by bodily manoeuvres and a focused mind. Concretely this is realized through jumping from one rooftop to another, climbing walls using only feet and hands, or doing somersaults over park benches. Besides outside practicing, Free sports has a training facility at Action Hall. This is a place for spontaneous, adventurous sports where the group co-habits with associations for gymnastics, wrestling, skateboarding, cross fit, BMX-riding and kick boarding. Besides being a sport hall, Action Hall is described as a place for friendship and social interaction, where a substantial group of young people spend their free time just hanging around.

The street sport of parkour (which is discussed here in Free Sports and also in Zurich and Bologna) is hard to understand if taking away the extent of challenge and control. It is about to find out about and also to transcend your (thought of) restraints and in this way, increase your self-confidence. While this control is demonstrated by bodily movements, the greatest challenges is more up to your psyche to master. You have to renegotiate with your mental schemata about what is possible and what is not and what risks you are willing to take.
Young people really do want to participate and put a lot of time and energy into it, when the setup and content meet their preferences. First and foremost, for Parkour this relates to the perception of being part of a community living on the edge and the activity of transgressing inner and outer boundaries for what was thought as possible. This both demands for and

produces a sense of awareness of oneself, one's capacity and the accompanied social group. The meaning of participation is translated into being part of a collective process, to hold inclusive values towards those interested to invest in the activity. Your possible influence is based on previous efforts, skills and character, not the least your affinity for leadership and social responsibility. Participation is in this sense closely linked to both self and social recognition, resulting in a sense of personal and social worth and an emotionally charged sense of belonging to a team where one is a positive resource.

In contrast with this re-appropriation of space to enable a form of individual participation at an edge, the autonomous Social Centres (discussed here in the case of Bologna) re-appropriate abandoned places, subtracting them from economic speculation and turning it into a common good. Since the beginning the group organized cultural and political debates and initiative to meet the Bologna's inhabitants also outside the occupied space; at the same time, it started to promote some projects inside the squatted building such as *Urban Garden*, a community garden managed together with the neighbours. Almost one year later, the activists launched the campaign *We want Bread but also Houses*, calling for resources (economic support but also voluntary work) to renovate part of the space with the aim of adapting it for living purpose[28]. Moreover, in order to produce an income (to support the activities promoted in the social centre, but also the single activists), SC members created an organic pizzeria, a micro-brewery and a carpentry. Since June 2013, each Wednesday, the social Centre have hosted an organic market of local producers organized in an association. As soon as the SC Wednesdays became popular in the city, attended also by family with kids, a group of activists decided to create a social children's playroom. The project, named *Kindergarten*, is now carried on by a group of around 15 young volunteers (all of them female), supported by around 20 families, that organize together thematic workshops, movies and other activities for kids (30/35) who frequent the space twice a week (on Wednesday evenings and Sunday afternoons). Lastly, in December 2015, SC launched another project, i.e. a self-managed social dormitory aimed at providing shelter for migrants, refugees and homeless people (NRB p.30).

The volunteers for the NGO in Eskişehir can be evidenced in a final twist in this complexity. Understood as the form of 'careerist volunteer' with an international charity, self-development and indeed self-promotion is to the fore, in the context of a contribution to a charity focusing on relief work.

3.4.3.3. CROSS-CUTTING THEME 3: RELATIONS BETWEEN YOUNG PEOPLE AND ADULTS AND IMPLICIT AND EXPLICIT MODELS OF LEARNING AND EDUCATION

This cross-cutting theme takes up issues concerning the relation of participation to models of education and learning. In existing typologies of participation (as discussed in reports in Work Packages 2 and 3) which are widely drawn on by youth work professionals, the question of whether work is adult led or young people led is highly significant. Similarly the

distinction in discussions of lifelong learning between informal, non-formal and formal modes of learning shaped the heuristic structuring of this enquiry and indeed the sampling strategies, In what follows we seek to complexify these discussions.

Given the widespread rejection of the term politics in the ethnographic sites, even when power struggles are evident throughout, it is as well good to recognise and acknowledge the extent of engagement with a politics of the social: the desire to change the nature of social relationships or to value existing forms of sociality. It is in this context that both vertical relations between generations and horizontal relations among peers can best be understood. In this way, the variable intersections between temporalities and spaces can be interpreted through a lens which considers access to inter-generational narratives.

So whilst social life for some participants is deeply imbued with the instrumentality needed for 'getting on' in the upward trajectory of their lives for others their participation implies a long-lasting sense of belongingness and 'staying here' even when the 'here' and the belonging it is with to a defeated and apparently deviant political or religious tradition. For still others sociality this is related to occurs in membership of a community of 'alternative living' in the here and now in now among which there are none the less recognisable forms of seniority and accomplishment.

Therefore there are implicit and explicit pedagogies and forms of education throughout the cases. We can see learning and development of participation in which adults and older generations offer a framework and sometimes inherited moral and practice codes; forms of participation in which the focus is on skill development where the novice/expert dynamic is to the fore; and a marketization of participation in which learning is replaced by a proliferation of opportunities for leisure and collective consumption.

Tensions and frictions concerning participation may therefore not be best understood as youth vs adult but as youth vs authorities/State or youth vs market/commercialisation; or youth vs youth in the struggle to 'get on'. Therefore, rather than propose a set of models for inter-generational transmission of 'good practice in participation' this section of the report centres on the forms of relationality through which learning is experienced and encoded in these ethnographies.

Much of the relationship between younger (pre-adult) participants and adults in the ethnographies can be related to the experience of schooling. In some cases where there are pedagogues/teachers/youth workers involved there is an approximation to forms of schooling with a subsequent set of concerns about manipulation and control of agendas, tokenism and infantilisation.

There are examples across many cities of the extremely constrained forms which participation takes in the context of schooling and even in Universities. On the whole however the relation can best be described as a negotiation with "the all powerful school order". In some cases, where the old system was clearly broken, there arises scope for imaginatively focussed small projects: for example the University Student Network Bologna

seemed to be most effective with new projects and groups such as an anthropology group and an LGBT Project.

In other cases, the participation practices are explicitly developed in contrast to schooling and education; either offering moments of refreshment and relaxation such that even 'just hanging out' can be understood as a counter-practice of participation; or else agentic moments of control and direction of experience in contrast to the subjection experienced in schools and throughout the education system. For example participants in the Music Group's performance in Manchester exemplified both in their self-organisation and their open and collaborative performance a direct contrast to the practices of schooling. Here relations are horizontal rather than vertical; both the adult –child/and the novice- expert hierarchies were consciously abandoned, even if they were always threatening to re=emerge.

When participation is seen as essentially a form of personal development this can have both an expressive and an instrumental quality. Some saw themselves and others as essentially 'careerist volunteers' (NRP) whilst for others personal development was closely related to the development of a particular and improvisatory practice, often in artistic expression (Manchester Music Group; Gothenburg Theatre Group).

Relations between young people and adults also consist in practices of intergenerational inheritance. In some contexts such learning was subsumed within a sense of the 'passing on of tradition' (Scouts Zurich) in which participants both inherit and shape the traditions and practices of Scouting in ways that remain recognizable over generations and internationally and yet are adapted by the current and local group. This is also the case with the transmission of religious traditions, as well as with the practices and morality of sub-cultural scenes, so that for example the Hoodboys/Sprayers in Frankfurt pass on a morality that means they do not graffiti on citizen's property but 'just against the State.' Role models are said to play a part in learning for both individualised and personalised practices and in the passing on of traditions. In Street Sports and Parkour (Gothenburg, Zurich, Bologna) for example the readiness to cross (learned) limitations is facilitated by a learning process in which role models play a crucial part. You look at what the others accomplish, try to do it yourself and after time and time of practice you might eventually succeed. Individual self-expression and self-determination can paradoxically also be a powerful connector between generations as in the Action Hall (Gothenburg) where extreme sports are enjoyed by people aged 15-50 and in Sustainable Food Youth NetworkZurich where many members are no longer young in terms of age but the Youth Networkis more open, dynamic and flexible

This kind of learning is fuelled by a force than not always see in the formal learning system – the fun of it all. To have fun, to play and to be able to identify yourself with the activity and the group occupied in it, as well as explore possible ways of self-realization is something that seems important for their motivation.

Such shared fun and enthusiasm is extended further as a basis for learning in the shared experience of 'safe (enough) spaces' where identities that are contested and undermined in

wider social networks can instead be affirmed. This is the case when participation becomes a refuge, as in The Youth Group (TYG) in Gothenburg.

Learning within groups where the sharing of an otherwise despised identity is strong suggests that participation can have a 'double cathartic function – it both dismantles social stigma and gives an outlet for performance of a 'real self' dismantled in everyday life.' (Bologna Ultras; The Box Manchester).

Sometimes the pleasures of learning mean that participation spaces are or aspire to be places of experimentation and improvisation: spaces are themselves laboratories. Consider the experience of participation in an occupied space. Squatting a space; making music in a squatted space: such spaces become 'not just a collective but a hybrid space; a laboratory of social change. One participant in the Bologna Social Centre speaks of it as a place to test ideas, learning and skills acquired at University. Learning is located in co-participation via legitimate peripheral participation (NRB p.34).

As well as models of learning by 'just doing it', models of learning through reflection and collaborative conversation can also be found in the ethnographies: the Plovdiv national report mentions young people's intense thinking about their role in society. Throughout the cases it could be said that the Personal orientation/other orientation are in dialectic: if there is a learning model implicit in them it would both promote both skills development and also open-ness and critical reflection on action. This also can be found in the partnership model implicit in the Rennes SO here these forms of learning have been powerfully institutionalised

Throughout the ethnographies are examples of people of all ages being involved in participation and learning together. Sometimes this is as a result of family traditions (as with the Rennes SO); sometimes through a wide political commitment (as in Open Education Collective Zurich and DIDA in Rennes); or musicianship (as in Music Group Manchester); and sometimes young and old come together in mutual recognition, as the old women who support the young Kurdish musicians in Eskişehir who are playing Sufi music they recognise from long ago.

There are also examples of self-education throughout; sometimes this is self education in a tradition now (or always) outside the school curriculum (Social Youth reading Marx; a discussion group on the Koran).

Of course, the youth/adult relation is readily characterised in terms of infantilisation; manipulation and caricature. The term 'participation' already posits a framing from existing social relations. Key terms instead of 'participation' might be 'engagement' and 'commitment.' Outside this environment of negotiation 'looking for an ideal place' is a recurring question and utopian yearnings have a significant part to play in this questing, a yearning often associated with both the old and the young, and less with the necessary compromise of the middle years of the life course.

To consider young people's participation and the forms of learning it involves must therefore be thought of in a much more complex way than that suggested by earlier typologies of 'adult led' or 'young person led.' Questions of how traditions might be inherited and how new

democratic forms emerge are key questions for democracy and education which cannot be reduced to a position or status in the life course.

3.4.3.4. CROSS-CUTTING THEME 4: "WE ARE LIKE A FAMILY" – EMOTIONS AND PARTICIPATION IN YOUNG PEOPLE'S LIVES

The PARTISPACE research project demonstrated how "emotions" play an important role in young people's lives guiding their participation stories. In the different city reports, feelings of anger, stress, pressure, anxiety, as well as loyalty, trust, joy and happiness seem to guide young people's willingness to come together and aim to "do" certain things, "take responsibilities", "change" and "resist against" what is going on in their close surroundings (family, peers, school), neighbourhoods, cities, countries and the world as a result of which they feel the feelings of commitment and pride as well as more ambivalent feelings of frustration and disappointment in what they do. Even though each of these emotions are crucial to reflect upon, we would like to especially elaborate on the search for "belonging" as a way to revisit the concept of "participation".

Participation creating a sense of second family and friendship ties

It was interesting to observe how crucial it is for young people to be in places (online or offline; real or virtual) where they will be accepted as they are and be able to build a place of their own. They frequently used the metaphor of "family" for explaining the warmth that they search for.

This warmth and hospitality seems to be especially emphasised in groups who feel excluded and rejected from other places and institutions, sometimes even from their own families. In Manchester, in the LGBT group discussions conducted during the mapping process, a young person was responding to the question of "where they felt belonging" as following: "Here (The Project) and Here Manchester: not the small town or place I come from. Not school, college or university: not out as trans anywhere. This place is my community. Because as queer people we can't always be family with our own families, we choose our own families and make our own communities. It's about a lot more than blood ties" (NRM, p. 17). Here, the key words seem to be "choosing your family" rather than being born into one and "making your own community" which of course brings into minds agency involved in this process. Similarly, The Youth Group (TYG) in Gothenburg functions, according to the words of participants, as a "refuge" where they meet and do activities once a week: "It's a safe refuge. I go here once a week, and we have never cancelled any meetings, so it's quite often. Also, you meet the same group here, and this is really nice people. And we do different stuff, we plan fun things, very fun, casual things, and it's very nice to come here. To know that there are people who often face similar problems as yourself, because we have the common factor that we are LGBTQ-people" (NRG, p. 48). The Box case study in Manchester demonstrate how The Box provided a familial experience into the difficult lives of these young men. One of the participants state that by saying "The Box is like a family" (NRM, p.40). For the ultras centre in Bologna, the bonding between the participants who suffer from social stigma and who try to prove they are "something more than a 'fucking manual

worker'" (NRB, p. 27) is also strikingly important: "No one is left behind" in the ultras subculture.

It is important to note, however, that this sense of belonging is not only crucial aspect of participation for those socially stigmatized and excluded categories of young people but even for more advantageous, privileged groups. In the Bologna report, it was stated for example that for the University Student Network case study, there was this common issue that was aroused and it was the "will to belong to a group" (NRB, p. 45). A young participant in the group discussion in Bologna was stating that emotional side to their participation: "That's also an informal group, a group of friends that makes a lot to people, it's like a family environment, really important to feel free to express oneself" (NRB, p. 45). In a similar manner, in Plovdiv, the young volunteers in the youth section of a charity organisation stated that they, just like a family, support each other in work and beyond: "All of them appreciated their relationships and spoke with some pride about their team as having a 'good chemistry' and acting as a 'mechanism', and they were proud to define this as one of their main achievements" (NRP, p. 29). In fact, not only for the charity organisation youth section but for all of the cases in Plovdiv, the researchers had witnessed the family was used with a metaphorical content: "All the groups, with no exception, declare their strong ties of internal cohesion which make them consider their group (organisation, party) as some kind of a new family of their own allowing for mutual help and compassion" (NRP, p. 51).

This making of the group a close community might seem as a difficult task especially if the group is not an informal group but a well-institutionalized (well-structured) formal or a non-formal one with a long past/tradition. However, our PARTISPACE field research demonstrate that even in groups with a long history, like the Scouts in Zurich, friendships and enjoying the company of the others is a dominating factor: "The truth is that you join scouts because of the people. I don't think that any of us would be a leader [scout leader] if we didn't enjoy coming because of the people" (NRZ, p. 30). The researchers in Zurich underline that these leaders also meet outside of scout activities as well (ex. barbecues) and "develop a strong sense of closeness" (NRZ, p. 30). Nevertheless, it seems that for young people finding a group to belong to, finding the right place is still a difficult search as it is stated in the Gothenburg report (NRG, p. 75) as a characteristic crosscutting various cases and biographical interviews studied in Gothenburg:

> Participation through various clusters and forms is fundamentally about figuring out who one is in relation to the outer world, about finding a place of belonging, recognition and acceptance, about being and doing things together with like-minded equals. Arriving at this place is for many interviewees characterized by a history of participating in contexts where they for various reasons have not felt at home. Therefore they have continued to seek further, until eventually finding a community that has become their own.

One can also argue that indeed it is not just enough to "find" the group but it is also a day-to-day job to strengthen or loosen the bonds. Besides, as already discussed in the section

concerning the temporalities of participation, there is the issue of temporality that should be taken into consideration.

Friendship bonding a second family and ambivalence of closeness and openness to the group: Is this a trap against opening the participatory space to others?

It seems that belonging to a group, creating bonding and creating a close community atmosphere, is a crucial aspect of participant's starting and continuing participation. However, it is also possible to ask whether that also acts as a trap for "closing down" the group to a "bunch" of close "friends", to a well-engaged "family" while making it difficult for others to enter in the group. Bologna report (NRB, p. 29) highlights this trap while ending the report on the ultras centre case study: "since the entrance in the group is still largely mediated through friendship, it appears unlikely that people who have not pre-existing contacts with members of this case could access the ultras group." Even though ultras is an informal group, this risk also pertains for non-formal and formal groups for which the people from outside the close circle of friends is difficult to reach into. In that sense, even though, it is not an issue to be discussed in this report, it is important to scrutinize over the issues of "closeness" and "openness" of the groups, for which the project fieldwork reveals some leads.

The risk is supposed to be less evident for formal and non-formal groups due to factors such as the existence of explicit membership/ entrance and functioning rules and the presence of professional staff in the setting. Yet, the fieldwork revealed that settings with explicit membership rules, such as political parties, as with Plovdiv Party youth branch, or settings where youth workers are present, do not necessarily either ensure or avoid the formation of "core groups" which might eventually lead to some sort of closeness, at least in the perception of young people.

For informal groups, the nature of the activity, the physical space and funding strategies seem to be factor of openness vs closeness. For example, for the Frankfurt informal girls group, the very nature of the group being friendship, its openness is less likely. But with the case of the Open Education Collective in Zurich, education being the major collective activity, its openness seems to be more likely, as the high number of participants reveals as well. On the other hand, there are also cases, for which activities might be associated with openness at first sight, such as the Gothenburg Theatre Group, but due to other factors, may tend to remain as a group of friends. Besides, funding strategies as well as other organisational concerns also appear as factors of openness. As in the case of the Bologna Ultras, Bologna Social Centre or the Frankfurt Political Cultural Centre, there are activities open to the larger public, or allocation of space to "outsiders", which can be a factor for openness. In that sense the space of the setting appears as a precondition. Another interesting example is the Bologna Extreme sport case which low membership fee is also a factor for openness. Yet, more in-depth observation is necessary on this specific subject for an appropriate analysis.

3.4.3.5. CROSS-CUTTING THEME 5: TEMPORALITIES OF PARTICIPATION

Even before starting the cases or the biographical interviews, while thinking about youth participation in the cities and doing the mapping of youth participation, all the PARTISPACE research teams were faced with the difficulty of conducting research in cities which are not homogeneous and not static. Just like the cities, the youth participation in the cities similarly was not homogeneous and static (taking different forms such as: regular, episodic, occasional/spontaneous participation). Even if each PARTISPACE team has adopted a different approach during their mapping phase and focused on various aspects in their in-depth case studies, respective fieldworks revealed that temporality was a major aspect to apprehend different clusters and forms of youth participation (NRE; NRF).

Seasons of Participation: Different Seasons, Different Cities, Different Youth Participation

In the mapping process, while talking about youth participation and cities with experts, it became evident that the city "changes" from season to season which also "changes" the youth participation in the cities. This phenomenon is especially much more visible in the student cities (Bologna, Eskişehir and Rennes) where an important portion of the city is composed of students and the city life is affected by the academic/university calendar. In those student cities, since in all of our university city cases the university is situated in the city centre but not in a faraway university campus, it is possible to consider the whole city as a university campus. In one of the expert interviews in Eskişehir, Mahmut, who had first come as a student and then stayed there for 10 years said "the city itself is indeed a campus" (NRE, p. 18). The youth participation accordingly "fades" or becomes "latent" during summer holidays and also exam periods since the students are either concentrating on their exams or on their holidays.

However, not only the academic calendar but also the weather conditions seem to influence the type of participation. One notes that for the "outdoor activities" and groups of young people organizing or participating at summer camps, good weather is essential. In the Gothenburg report (NRG, p. 5), for example, it is stated that "In Sweden very few activities, including those that can be characterized as youth participation, take place outdoors on a larger scale during the autumn, winter and early spring months". Notably for the case of Free Sports, when the weather allows it, parkour is practiced outside, but they also have their facilities in an old warehouse building; an indoor place for a variety of actions sports ran by the young practitioners themselves (NRG, p. 9). Another case influenced by the weather conditions is the NDE in Rennes. With the cold, General Assemblies which took place outdoor have started to be cancelled due to the decrease in participation (NRR, p. 54). Putting aside any participatory activity, the weather conditions seem to influence the visibility of young people in the city. For example, the riverside in Eskişehir is usually full of young people hanging out during spring and summer (when it is not too hot and when there are still students around), whereas during winter time (since Eskişehir is also a cold city during winter), young people choose to stay "indoors", especially in the student houses.

The PARTISPACE scholarly research also had to adopt to this calendar and weather conditions and was most of the time interrupted during summer season and proceeded in autumn with the beginning of the fall season (see for example the NRP, p. 12) but some

chose to do their ethnographic studies during summertime especially with those groups whose activities are more visible during summer like the Street Sports Club and Scout case studies in Zurich (see NRZ, p. 10).

Youth's Transitory Character affecting Youth Participation in the Cities

As it will be discussed in the section below, the continuity of youth participation is quite difficult, especially keeping in mind that youth in itself is a transitory stage between childhood and adulthood. Furthermore participation is conditioned by status (such as being a student) and conditioned by age in some cases such as membership of Youth Councils, or being in or out of school. As well as being status-related these conditions are in themselves highly transitory, whilst other aspects which become the focus of youth participation (such as identity and sexuality most obviously) may be enduring across a lifetime. The young people we had conducted research with were indeed going through this transitory stage. The relationship between young people and the city is also being affected by this transitory stage since a certain number of young people might choose to migrate to other cities for their "adulthood" lives. This phenomenon is especially more visible in student cities where the students come to study at a certain city and then they "leave" the city after graduation. This was especially a discussion issue in Eskişehir research that the researchers by making reference to the concept of "country of transit" from migration studies adopted it to their research and called Eskişehir a "transit city" (NRE, p. 18). Throughout the fieldwork in Eskişehir, these transits from Eskişehir to Istanbul or other big cities were observed. It seemed that even though young people enjoyed Eskişehir's living conditions during their stay as university students, they seemed to have difficulty perceiving a "future" there, mostly because of the lack of job opportunities. They tended to pursue opportunities in bigger cities such as Istanbul, after their graduation. Throughout the fieldwork, these transits were observed. For example, the members of the street musicians' case study left Eskişehir sometime after their graduation and so this informal group's existence came to an end, and members of the group ended up in different big cities like Ankara, İzmir and Diyarbakır. It is possible to say that the group became an "episode" in the life of the city that does not continue anymore. However, one also has to note that "their street music influenced other musicians in town since they had already opened a space/path and showed that it is possible to make street music in Eskişehir" (NRE, p. 28). It is of course not only the student status and its ending that changes the participation of the individuals but also the concerns and priorities might came as the time passes. For example, the girls group in Frankfurt occupy themselves with issues related with gender and sexual relationships and as the time passes it is evident that these concerns will be replaced by new/other ones. This is especially visible in the biographies where we reconstruct young people's life journey and observe their development over time through different activities.

A part from these transitions in the life trajectory of an individual, one notes that formal participation (ex. Youth and student councils) are often determined by age and that after a certain age, young people are forced to "exit" and end their participation. In a similar manner, once a young person finishes university education, s/he can no longer be a member of the

student council, (see especially the case of YSR in Frankfurt). Rada, from student council in Plovdiv, for example, explain in her biographical interview that in the council they are often reminding themselves that the student council is not their lives but only a phase of their lives. From the various biographical interviews, we had observed that once that phase is over, young people need to find other activities to continue their life and participation journeys.

Regular, Episodic, Occasional, Spontaneous Participation

An essential aspect of temporality is the regularity of the participatory activity. This aspect has two dimensions: the frequency of participation which is observed at the individual level and the continuity of a participation setting, observed at the collective level. Both related to the institutionalisation of a participatory activity. This aspect seems to be even more relevant regarding current debates such as the decreasing level of participation, more specifically in its conventional forms; the spread of spontaneous forms of participation, such as the occupy movements; and the proliferation of project-based activities associated with short-term financial support. The reproduction or the institutionalisation of a participatory practice depends on both dimensions concomitantly. And both are usually, if not always, perceived as desirable by the actors/participants themselves as well as by youth policy makers. The major conditions usually associated with institutionalisation are legitimacy and resources, including funding, physical place and staff/members. Even if the legal status/ personae of a setting seems to be associated with these aspects, our case studies revealed that it is more complicated than that.

Even if the project's fieldwork was not designed to provide systematic empirical material on individual level, initial fieldworks, case studies as well as biographical interviews reveal some patterns concerning the frequency of participation. An accent on this dimension is particularly necessary for a better understanding of the second dimension which is the main focus of reflection of this part. Through this material, we observed that the frequency of participation can be either regular, episodic or occasional. These categorizations which already exist in the literature on participation, under various combination and with different measures. Based on the fieldwork of this project, regular participation can be identified as to be involved frequently in participatory activities but also for a relatively longer, indefinite time period. This can be activities associated with a same participatory setting, or with different settings at the same time or consecutively. Episodic participation means to be involved in participatory activities on a relatively regular basis but for a definite period; in other words, temporarily. Occasional participation would mean to be involved in participatory activities for short time periods but also within larger intervals. In the majority of the case studies, there is a core group which number of members varies according to different cases, who are usually the regularly involved ones. In most of the cases, there is also a second layer, for more occasional participants. And, there are also those who were regularly involved but stopped, notably to focus on their academic or professional life. Since these latters have been encountered within participatory settings, this means that they are back in their participatory activities; but these are the examples corresponding to the episodic type of participation. Case studies and biographical interviews reveal that these different types of

frequency can be observed within very different settings, including youth centres, political parties or self-managed centres.

For example, among the description of the various youth centres included in the research, a regular volunteer type is usually identified, as it is for FNYC Rennes, Frankfurt Youth Centre, and Eskişehir Youth Centre 1. In fact, various national reports mention the presence of the "same people" in the meetings of a particular setting who are the regular ones, as it is for the Gothenburg Youth Council and Manchester Social Youth. Among the associations as well, even if the number of members is very large, as it is for the Extreme sport centre which counts around 3000 people that owns a membership card to enter the place, there is a group of "10-15 people, who spend 5-10 hours of their every day life" (NRB, p. 46). Even for associations which have less frequent meetings, a core group is identified, as it is for the Zurich Sustainable Food Youth Network. For self-managed settings as well; such as the Bologna Ultras, there is a group of 25-30 people who are daily involved and managing the activities of the centre.

It seems that it is usually those with more responsibilities who are constituting this "core" group, and usually spend more time for the activities; such as the leaders in the Zurich Scouts (meeting every Monday in order to organize the week-end activities), the board members in Bologna IYA, the co-founders of the Plovdiv Foundation, the members of the board of the Eskişehir NGO (sometimes spending everyday at the NGO), the founders of the Bologna Extreme Sport (the core group deals with organisational stuff and training). The Rennes DIDA case also reveals other factors influencing the frequency of participation: "besides members of the board, among the volunteers, job seekers and people who are changing professional reconversion dedicate btw 10-20 hours per week to their engagement" (NRR, p. 47). This regularity associated with the training aspect of volunteering is also found in the Eskişehir Youth centre 1 (classes designed for self-improvement or leisure time are provided by volunteer trainers). There is also a specific regularity in settings such as Rennes Service Organisation focused on summer jobs, or in the framework of a course, as it is with the High School High School group. Activities such as sport, music or theatre which depend on practice and rehearsing seem to require a more regular participation; such as the Zurich Street Sports Club (twice a week), Gothenburg Theatre Group (once a week), and Manchester Music Group. Concerning the frequency of participation in settings created quite exclusively for the founders themselves, there seems to be a regularity as well; such as Frankfurt Hoodboys, Gothenburg One-Way Korea, and Frankfurt Girls. However, the continuity of their participation, at least in these very same settings, is rather associated with the existence of the setting itself.

The continuity of a participatory setting, which can be observed at the collective level, can also be either regular, episodic or spontaneous (rather than occasional). Some of the more evident cases at first sight, for regular settings are youth centres, student or youth councils. Examples for episodic cases are those which are intended for a definite time period, such as the Rennes ALAB

which is designed for 6 months (NRR, p. 41-45), but there are also cases such as the Street Musicians in Eskişehir, which did not have a pre-determined expiration date, but which ended after the fieldwork because the members were students who were came to Eskişehir for studies and left after their graduation. "The" spontaneous case of our fieldwork is Rennes NDE. Even if spontaneous occupy cluster movements are mentioned in past experiences of other cities' participants (such as the Gezi movement in Eskişehir), in order to observe a spontaneous case, it had to be taking place during the time frame of the project; which was only the case for NDE. However, in-depth case studies revealed that there are less evident cases which correspond to these different temporalities, and which eventually lead us to reconsider some of the major dimensions usually associated with institutionalisation.

Youth centres, student or youth councils defined as regular settings above are public institutions. These institutions are established according to a specific public policy and enjoy a relatively wide legitimacy. They have relatively stable funding and place, as well as a regular, usually professional staff such as youth/ social worker. These public policies are the results of political decision making process, sometimes due to emerging needs (Frankfurt Youth centre), or competition over youth policy (Eskişehir Youth centres), or the result of a tragedy (Gothenburg Youth Centre with its youth led structure). However, the frequency of participation seems to be an important factor for the continuity of these structures. The low level of participation in Youth Councils, as in Manchester or Gothenburg, can be threatening for their legitimacy in the long run. Notably, the Zurich case mentions that members of the council are mostly designated by teachers due to the lack of volunteer participation. Besides, the physical places allocated, which are usually a small room or a not exclusive meeting room, can easily be transformed for other purposes. In other words, even if these structures are established for relatively long terms, they may still be vulnerable. (It is also important to note that students may choose to create informal structures outside the public institution framework, such as the Bologna Student Network, whose members run for the university council.)

In terms of legal status and its relationship to institutionalisation, a series of cases which have an association status are very different from each other in terms of resources and legitimacy. Old, historical associations usually enjoy a wide legitimacy originating from a public trust which has been built in years; such as the Plovdiv humanitarian NGO, the Eskişehir humanitarian NGO and the Zurich Scouts, which are all described as the "number one" civil society organisation in their respective cities in terms of resource, members or volunteers. This legitimacy and public trust is also closely associated with the values that those associations represent, such as altruism, which are usually not perceived as controversial. Basically depending on donations, they don't have financial or place/space related problems. Moreover, having good relationship with public institutions (even sometimes too close as it is with the Eskişehir NGO case), they have easy access to public spaces and other public institutions. They have their administrative staff and many members and volunteers. Another historical type, association-like institution is the political party, and concerning our subject, the youth branch. Having become a major component of representative governmental systems, parties as well as their youth branch usually enjoy a wide legitimacy. However, their

resources depend mostly on the party's success to attract members or/and votes; either depending on donations and members' fees (Manchester, Plovdiv), or receiving public subsidies (which conditions depend on national regulations/laws). Youth branches usually do not have a budget or professional staff of their own but they enjoy the party's resources in various extent. Our case studies (Manchester Social Youth and Plovdiv youth branch of a political party) reveal that, despite their historically acquired legitimacy and resources, the frequency of participation and adaptation to current conditions are very important for the very existence of the youth or student branch. Besides intra-institutional struggle is also determinant, as it is for the Plovdiv party youth branch being created in 2009 after many unsuccessful attempts and internal quarrels; or the national youth policy as well as its adoption by the institution, as it is for the case of the Eskişehir NGO, created in 2010.

Other than these old/traditional ones, among our cases, there are also more recently established associations. Some of them, intended to realize their activities under the framework of an association almost from the very beginning, such as the Plovdiv Youth Entrepreneurial Foundation, the Zurich Sustainable Food Youth Network, or the Rennes Service Organisation. Other settings, already operating, have opted for the creation of an association for more practical-instrumental reasons, such as the Gothenburg Free Sports, Bologna Extreme Sport, Frankfurt Culture Centre, Zurich Open Education Collective in Zurich or Bologna Ultras. Having squatted abandoned building or places, those self-managed and self-funded settings create an association in order to negotiate contract with owners or public authorities. Even if they continue to be self-managed, this status makes also easier to collect money through some activities open to the general public, as it is with the Bologna Ultras, or through membership fees as it is with the Bologna Extreme Sport. However, this does not mean that an association status guarantees their contracts; the Open Education Collective had to change eight times its location due to the short term arrangements. Having the status of an association does not neither secure a stable funding; as it is with the case of The Box. Besides, this latter is reluctant to receive public funding due to the conditions associated with public funding. Among our case studies there are also example of settings which do not have a legal status but which are related to some associations, designed by these latters as "projects" for definite periods, such as the ALAB, or without a time limit, such as the Web Magazine Endless. Even if they might get professional help and periodical funding, it seems that their continuity depends among other things, to the regular involvement of its participants.

The settings with non legal personae are usually perceived as more problematic in terms of institutionalisation. However, our cases revealed that on the one hand institutionalisation, at least in its conventional form, is not always desirable, and on the other hand they seem to be able to ensure continuity in their own way and for relatively long time periods. For example, participants of NDE, desiring to continue the movement, while discussing their possible options, agreed to avoid conventional forms of political institutions and practice. The Plovdiv Art Network, which has so far achieved to establish a solid presence on the city cultural scene is also willing to stay autonomous in public policy platforms. In terms of place/ space, some of them are using occupied places (Bologna Social Centre), others are using public spaces

without permission (Frankfurt Sprayers; Eskişehir Street Musicians) or with permission (Rennes DIDA); some others are using youth centres (Gothenburg Dance Group; Frankfurt Girls), or private places such as bars (Manchester Music Group; Plovdiv Art network) or stadiums (Eskişehir Football fans). Self-funded and self managed, they create resources, if needed, through their activities; such as selling pizza and beer in Social Centre, or playing music in the street for street musicians or in the bar for Art Network and Music Group. However, besides their legal or material conditions, their legitimacy depends also on various factors. For example, for the Football fans, their legitimacy originates from tradition and culture, while Social Centre and the Sprayers are at the limits of illegality due to their place/ space; with DIDA, their legitimacy derives from the saliency of the issue that public institutions did not attempt or have the capacity to deal with so far; or for the Girls and Dance Group, it depends mostly on the rules of the youth centres; for those dealing with music (Music Group, Art network, Street Musician) it seems that it depends mostly on their ability to attract an audience. As a result, while some of them have already disappeared, others have a long history and some more recent ones seem promising in terms of continuity regarding their presence so far.

5. CONCLUSION

This report shows that the youth participatory scene of Europe is vibrant and alive, in many respects, which confirms and connects nicely with the starting point of Partispace: that all young people participate while not all participation is recognized as such. The initial mapping phase, 48 ethnographic case studies as well and the biographic interviews show a mosaic of the different practices, activities, styles and spaces wherein young people situate their participation in society, even if young people themselves very seldom use the term participation to describe their different forms of engagement. There is also a tendency for young people to avoid using the work politics, because of its association with conventional and traditional party politics. Young people in general feel an aversion and skepticism towards the established systems of democratic government, towards traditional forms of representation, towards party politics (regardless of ideology). Party-politics seems primarily to be understood as an arena of power relations, which individuals enter with the purpose of personal gain, rather than a mode of governance for the common good. Parties seem to be understood as organizations who represent specific groups and their narrow interests. For young people it is thus hard to identify with forms, ideologies and structures which are not their own, from which they feel alienated. This general sentiment or positioning towards traditional forms of representation is in turn in line with the discourse on the post-political society. Characteristic for a post-political reality is that politics have been reduced to deal with administration, management, and issues of a technical nature (lower/higher taxes) – which only administers the current order of power relations without ever challenging it – an order which represents itself as apolitical, but in fact its highly political, in that it maintains the status quo.

In contrast to this, or as a response/revolt/resistance to this – groups of young people throughout Europe are putting together their own form of organization, where politics is either explicit or implied – they are initiating movements for change, thereby creating participatory scenes that counter the (political)hegemony of political parties. Young people are then not at all "apathetic" and "disengaged" (in relation to party politics, yes) – it's the other way around – young people are indeed political, but political in ways that are not recognized as such. Ultimately, the question is: the participation deficit, whose problem/fault is it? – a problem of disengaged youth, or a problem of a political system in crises?

This is perhaps one of the main messages coming from the Europe youth of our study – politicians, officers and so on need to address this when thinking about future integration, cooperation, and the work towards the constitution of a European identity. Young people are not rejecting politics – they are rejecting traditional politics (formalized in political parties).

Moreover, questions of ambivalence, of tokenism and fakery accompany the discussion of participation throughout this study, of a failure, even in the most alternative sites, to be able to fulfil what they seem to promise. When young people (or adults) turn away from political participation to cultural or social life or indeed to a certain kind of self-making and personal entrepreneurship this should not and cannot on the evidence found across the eight cities

studied here as a kind of educative failure which needs to be corrected by, for example, more information about voting. Rather we might look to these conjectural cultural and indeed bodily practices in which young people engage as 'signs of the times' and 'signs for the times' reading them for what they might say to us about the failures of current representative democratic forms and the possibilities for a democratic Europe to come.

In the guise of conclusion, we address below some of the core questions of the project, with the aim of synthetizing most of the extensive results that compound this report.

Formal, non-formal and informal contexts

In relation to formal and non-formal contexts we found more constraint and ambivalence reported by young participants compared to young people involved in informal participatory practices; the informal contexts spanned many forms of practice, some explicitly political, many explicitly non-political, with social and cultural and sport participation all very important across all cities.

Although exclusionary practices were especially highlighted in the analyses of formal and non-formal cases – due to their frequent institutional claim of inclusivity – exclusive social boundaries were present also in many informal cases.

The potential for identification with a given participation setting seems to be highest in informal cases which is related to a high degree of engagement for these youth-led participation settings. In general – in formal, non-formal and informal settings – identification is highest for an inner circle of very active members. In formal cases these are often those who have been involved for longer time and have higher positions in hierarchy, in the informal cases these are often those upon whose initiative a collective practice emerged, or who have recognised authenticity and expertise within the space.

As a general conclusion, the differentiation between formal, non-formal and informal forms of participation is often difficult and other categorisations may be of greater use. These were for example the continuum between activities reaching out to a broader public and activities focussing on the interests of a particular group as well as the temporality of continuous and episodic activities.

How and where are formal, informal and non-formal participation interconnected?

The age of participants makes a big difference to the forms of participation with a big shift occurring once young people are formally of the age of majority as youths younger than that age were often active in formal or non-formal participation settings that often go along with a high degree of prestructuration by adults and sometimes forms of pedagogisation. This is to say forms of activation and disciplining that can be found in school contexts. Many of these participation settings have a fixed age limit and are therefore not accessible to older youths and young adults. Moreover, formal and non-formal participation settings meet the interests and real-life concerns of especially older young people only partially or not at all. The presence of networks which 'go beyond' the formal is evident throughout; the extension of non-formal and informal into traditional forms of politics can be seen especially with

environmental activisms and autonomist organizing that try to influence society without replicating traditional political forms, the intermingling of traditional forms of political representation with non-formal forms can also be seen in pedagogised arenas of youth councils where youth work methods (non-formal) are applied in a formal context. The differentiation of formal, non-formal and informal is often blurred and seems to be rather of first broadly orientating use for sampling than of deep analytical value.

Formal, non-formal and informal are also connected in a temporal perspective through processes of formalisation and informalisation. On the one hand, some informal groups in their attempts of stabilisation undergo processes of formalisation (e.g. by creating material space or by explicit membership). On the other hand, formal participation settings undergo processes of informalisation where you people try to reconcile formal mandates with youth cultural life styles or simply their desires of having fun.

How are formal, non-formal and informal forms of youth participation linked to different issues and objectives?

Numerous participation settings, especially youth-led ones, are based on specific issues and objectives that have a straight connection with important spheres of life of the young people, with their everyday lives and youth cultural life styles. These issues and objectives can address the self (e.g. acquisition of specific skills), specific communities (e.g. building of communities or social niches) or the world (e.g. addressing themes of social justice through forms of protest or civic engagement). These dimensions between self, we, and world can be found across different degrees of formality.

The negotiation and appropriation of place and space is evident in all the sites. It becomes a site of struggle and recognition in itself, especially in informal cases, where young people are confronted with systematic social exclusion and where participation provides resources, positions and trajectories they normally would not have access through education or employment. Thus, in some cases they create services the state does not provide.

Key actors in youth participation

One could also ask who is not actor of youth participation. If we understand participation as the interaction of discourse, policy and politics, pedagogical practice and young people's activities, the list of actors includes

- Young people themselves (in different ways depending on age, biographies and access to resources for participation);
- Policy makers at local, national and transnational level producing programmes and documents around youth and youth participation
- Professional and voluntary representatives of key NGOs, youth and welfare agencies and newly emergent enterprises; sports clubs; political networks, traditional youth associations
- Practitioners in organisations and institutions addressing youth from school to youth work.

While young people are involved as participants, all the other actors frame and structure, enable and disable young people's participation. On the one hand, they expect young people to participate (in specific ways), on the other they recognise certain activities as participation – and others not.

Young people's motivation to participate

This is a complex issue and the evidence from the biographies does not make it less so. In principle, there are no young people not motivated to participate but there are different motivations for participating in different ways – not all of them recognised as participation. The question therefore needs to be re-formulated: Why are some young people motivated to participate in forms that are recognised as participation while others are de-motivated by these forms and/or attracted by other practices in the public regardless – or because – of not being recognised as participation. We found different clusters of biographies into and through participatory activities which emerged from young people's narratives on how they encountered and entered these activities and what makes them relevant for:

- Self-made man/woman stories,
- Experimentation stories,
- Doing/changing/ taking responsibilities stories,
- Rediscovering oneself and identity stories,
- Stories demonstrating the centrality of important figures (or their lack).

Major reasons why young people do or do not participate

A way to formulate this issue is by posing the question: What are major reasons why young people (try to) participate in one or another way? The motives emerging from biographical analysis do not distinguish much from motives of young people for other activities:

- Seeking belonging, recognition and visibility;
- Resisting pressure and wanting to chill (this may be a form of counter-participation);
- School work
- Need to earn money
- Having a place for the activities which are subjectively important for identity and coping with everyday life
- Friendship: either being with existing friends or making new friends

Then we find motives of young people that – during their participation biography – have reached a more general level, from particular needs and interests here and now to more universal issues (concerning wider social contexts beyond here and now):

- Seeking influence and voice and to bring about change;
- Making a difference for the good of others. Do not: seeing it as fake.

Main issues in youth participation

As the study aimed to widen the conceptual lens of participation, the sample was conceived to include as many different issues as possible. In fact, issues addressed by young people was one of the sampling criteria. Consequently, there are many diverse issues in this study which cover the whole spectrum from political participation (environment; democracy itself; support to refugees) over coping with the life course and demands of growing up (employment and work futures; health and wellbeing; housing and homelessness, anti-violence) to what we call everyday life participation (cultural life, self-expression and self-development; need for safe spaces to explore identities and coping with everyday life challenges); to name a few.

Styles and spaces of participation

Participation settings that were initially labelled as formal often concern the political representation for youths giving them some access to local municipal government or the representation of students within their educational bodies. Here, negotiating an agenda partly pre-scribed by adults in authority is a key aspect. Participation settings initially labelled as non-formal often deal with the acquisition of skills for the inclusion into the labour market or host society in the case of migrant young people issues. Here, the agenda is less obviously prescribed although adult practitioners have objectives and intentions which are more or less clearly communicated and/or which result from more or less open dialogue with young people. Informal participation settings are often located outside the political system, sometimes actively seeking a non-political stance. Even when they are aimed at the 'world' dimension, they are often non-confrontational and aim to induce change by change of personal habits and forming communities or networks. These can be existing spaces which are ‘occupied’ for issues of everyday life participation (school, youth centre, streets) while others are being created (e.g. self-organised social or cultural centres).

Practices, meanings, relationships and dynamics of formal, informal and non-formal forms of youth participations

Meanings of participation are negotiated between individuals, collectives (groups) and external societal actors and are therefore multifaceted. Yet in cases of activities as well as in individual biographies some aspects may dominate (see also motivation and biography above). In this report we have elaborated a set of clusters of participatory activities based on the 48 in-depth case studies. When the cases were clustered two to three of the following dimensions were decisive criteria: the nature of the activity and its actors; the organizational form; the objective linked with the dimensions addressees and efficiency; and the location or space reference:

- Representation of interests as right and obligation
- Fighting within and with the political system – explicit activities in and out of political parties
- Living social alternatives as a political model
- Producing and negotiating own spaces

- Inbetween service of humanity and service enterprise
- Exploring interests and performing skills
- Pedagogically supervised leisure infrastructure for young people

Cross-cutting to the clusters, a range of themes have been elaborated which try to relate different aspects of the meaning participation can take in an interactive perspective. These are:

- Participation, spaces and narratives: the negotiation of boundaries and what is pushed to an edge or beyond a boundary.
- Tensions of Participation: Political/Cultural/Social
- Relations between Young People and Adults/Older Citizens: Implicit and Explicit Models of Learning and Education
- ’ We are like Family: Emotions and participation in young people’s lives
- Temporalities of participation

Meaningful participation to young people

As previously said, 'participation' as a (theoretical or political) concept does not have any personal meaning to most young people in this study. Instead, what is in the focus of young people are concrete challenges in life some of them closely related to the transition from youth to adulthood (see biographies and motivation). We have explored the temporalities of participation as an aspect of transition; as occasional; regular; episodic and as residual; hegemonic; and emergent. It is necessary to recognise that participation that does not engage with young people’s own sense of themselves and their world is readily experienced as fake or tokenistic.

Identity aspects of youth participation

Here, we need to differentiate analytically between individual and collective identities as well as their interplay. In every city, there are minoritised identities who have provided some focus for participation (e.g. identity issues related to migration background, sexual orientation, gender, religious affiliation, political orientation,.). For many of the young people involved in these participation settings achieving visibility and recognition of their identities is chief. Belonging, visibility and recognition are key aspects when it comes to the individual level when they are among are the main drivers and benefits of participation. Although identity issues are important in both already existing t and new youth-led settings, e youth-led settings especially can become an important source of identification and engagement.

Key findings, definitions and methods used in the elaboration of local constellations of youth participation in terms of qualitative multilevel analysis

It has proved impossible to elaborate single and comprehensive local constellations. There are social, economic, political and cultural specificities in any city that are reflected in and by some of the participatory activities but not in others, especially if one considers the wide range of different activities that have been studied. At the same time the emergence of participatory activities depends on many different factors (considering only the diversity of

biographies involved which in turn are much more complex than being broken down to 'local' factors). Here we will refer to 'cross-cutting themes' and possibilities they offer for multi-level analysis with links back to WP 2 etc. In WP 6, a thematic group focuses on the link between local youth policies and formal participation activities in this respect.

Effective forms of involving young people in public decision-making processes

It needs to be said that few young people are attracted by involvement in formal decision-making which covers issues that are not subjectively relevant for them and which they expect not to be effective in terms of power. Where young people actually get involved this depends on times and places where this involvement emerges from real activisms and necessities. The analysis of symbolic and social boundary making practices has shown that many formal or adult-led, often pedagogised forms, rely on narratives that draw tight boundaries around possible themes and forms of engagement. Thus forms that were open enough to accommodate young people's perspectives, interests, needs and own forms of participation seemed to be more promising. Moreover, we could advocate for reflexive boundary work in adult-led settings, this is to say to take the exclusionary potentially of narrow definitions of both youth and participation into account. On the other hand, few cases which emerged from youth-led initiatives seem to be successful. In the sample, the city of Gothenburg seems effective in responding to a diversity of youth-led initiatives by providing spaces and resources – and thus recognition. In some cases this brings young people closer to formal decision-making. Yet, this cannot be generalised.

Importance of local constellations for youth participation

The local is important in many ways: it is relevant for different life conditions and thus the contexts in which young people's biographies evolve, local youth policies are more or less resourceful and open for youth-led initiatives; cities provide spaces to young people – either as a determined policy or because there are accessible (public) spaces that young people can use (although less and less in as much as urban spaces are being more and more marketised and commercialised). In some cases the local becomes a mere localisation of given opportunity structures, especially in cases that are interwoven in international networks, in other cases, the participation settings relate to specifically local contexts. The significance of the national and the European is less clear in the cases we have studied.

How do different ways and intensities of youth participations depend on local constellations?

As stated above, the local context is of varying importance. For some participation settings the ways in which local shared or contested narratives create the boundaries and possibilities for participation are very important, for instance, how local political authorities encounter claims of young people for their own spaces. While in some cities public authorities were seeking to find a balance among different competing interests, others were more confrontative vis-à-vis youth-led claims.

How should constellations change in order to increase participation?

The project started by assuming that all young people do participate, but in a variety of diverse ways, and sought to identify what might be previously unrecognised forms of participation. From this perspective, the claim for 'more' participation does not make sense. The first answer would be that more activities of young people need to be recognised as participation in terms of attempts of participating in public life. As regards formal, adult-led forms of youth participation to become of relevance and thus increase participation within these projects and programmes, it is important to be as open as possible to include challenges and topics that matter for the young people and to include youth-led (alternative) forms of participation. Participation biographies of these young people involve processes of 'translation' (or 'learning') from individual needs here and now to more universal issues and time frames. The prerequisites of these processes are too complex to be generalised but one cross-cutting aspect is that these young people have experienced recognition of their individual attempts by significant others of coping with their everyday life and biographies in the context of 'the' public. However, there is no generalisation possible (yet?) who, in what situation, in what way. Biographical interviews conducted within participation settings revealed that participation is perceived by young people as a way to fulfill the following individual needs: self-development, experimenting, identity exploration, changing/ helping people and society, role models. In that regard, participation appears as a way to cope with these needs created by more general market conditions, or society and community issues.

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A – TABLE CASE STUDIES

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APPENDIX A – TABLE CASE STUDIES

BOLOGNA

IDENTIFICATION OF THE CASE/GROUP	JUSTIFICATION/RELEVANCE FOR INCLUSION	SITES AND RESOURCES	CONTEXT AND HISTORY	MAIN ACTIVITIES	MAIN ACTORS	HOW CONTACT DEVELOPED OVER TIME	HOW PARTICULAR FEATURES OF THE CITY INFLUENCED THE GROUP AND THE RESEARCH DYNAMICS
ULTRAS CENTER ["UC"]	Informal case of subcultural participation involving a processes of spatial and symbolic re-appropriation on behalf of a group mainly composed by working class young people. Example of dynamics of embodiment, coping and subverting of a social stigma through collective engagement. Expression of a form of engagement that stems from the refusal of "politics". Case of participation where leading hierarchy does not overlap with age hierarchy.	Former abandoned bowl club, squatted and restructured by the group. The space is located in a working class district, in front of the stadium. Completely self-funded through cultural, music, and leisure events organized in the center.	Created at the beginning of 2015 by two ultras groups of the local football club, that turned the place into their "headquarter". Soon after an initial period of illegal squatting, the leading group signed a formal agreement with the Municipality , through the creation of a formal association	Several activities are promoted with the ambitious aim of changing common perceptions toward the ultras world. The activities include: a. weekly music and recreational events; b. monthly cultural events devoted to the ultras subculture; c. free "popular" gym; d. kid's corner; e. "historical archive of the cheer" .	Core segment is composed of a dozen of adult and about 20-25 young people, aged between 18 and 30 yo, mainly from a working class background, employed in manual jobs, with a low educational level. Among the core segment there are few ultras women All the group's members are born or grew up in Bologna	Contacts with the group started in Autumn 2015. From Autumn 2015 to Winter 2016, the research team attended the centre, spent time with the group at the centre, in the stadium, and in other "external" settings (i.e. dinners at the supporters' houses).	Being located in a convenient and strategic position, the centre is a daily meeting point for the members of the group and other supporters. The agreement with the Municipality is largely depending on good, but unstable, relationships with few local representatives. The municipality's urban requalification plans of the stadium area could endanger the existence of the centre in the long run.
SELF-MANAGED SOCIAL CENTER ["SC"]	Informal space of participation showing a well-defined organizational structure. Example of innovation of the forms and styles traditionally adopted by antagonistic groups, although well-rooted into the leftist political tradition (political heritage *vs* innovation) It represents a case of	It's a large (9.000 mt2) former and abandoned barrack, partially renewed by the activists, adapted also for living purpose. It constantly risks to be evicted. It's a self-managed/organized and self-founded	An antagonistic political group has squatted the building in November 2012, transforming it into a place to carry on political and cultural activities open to the public, i.e. students, families, other city inhabitants, with a special attention to include marginalized populations. Since 2014,	"internal" activities (daily living - 6 flats for the activists-; assemblies -with political or managing purpose-) (2) projects (social dormitory; children play room; organic garden,etc.); (3) economic activities (organic brewery; organic pizzeria; second hand shop; carpentry); (4)	The activists (manage the place; define the political strategy, carry on the projects). Among them around 20 people live inside the center. The volunteers (carry on the projects, help to manage the place)	Our research team approached the activists in the Autumn 2015. Since Spring 2016, we have started to volunteering mainly in one project (i.e. a self-managed social dormitory).	Within the group, especially among the volunteers, there are many university students mainly coming from other cities. This causes a high turnover among the activist and volunteers since many of them move frequently. The political affiliation with the Municipality and the neighborhood committee

	appropriation of an abandoned urban space located in the city center		the building owner (a public back) has required the eviction	public event to rise political awareness, to promote culture and alternative lifestyles, to create occasion of sociability			could affect the possibility to be (more or less) supported or blamed during the negotiations aimed at avoiding the eviction
ISLAMIC YOUTH ASSOCIATION ["IYA"]	In our sample, it is the only association with a religious purpose. It's a non-formal space, working alongside the Bologna's Islamic Cultural Center. The participants raise issues connected with their twofold identity, as Italian citizens of Muslim faith, and more in general, as second generation migrants.	The group meets inside the spaces of the Bologna's Islamic Cultural Center, located in the city outskirts. The IYA's activities are financed through donation and by the yearly of some members	The Bologna section of IYA was founded in 2014. It's main aim is to promote the inclusion and civic engagement of young Muslims in the Italian society, as well as forms of intercultural and interreligious dialogue.	Till now, it was possible to observe the following activities (organized once per week): Lectures and discussions on topic related to the Islamic religion; Debates and discussions on current events concerning Italian politics; Workshops aiming at promoting cohesion among the participants; Interreligious meetings; Participation to events (sit-in, conferences, debates etc.)	The leading group (8 people); The previous leading group; (See 2.1) The participants (See 2.1)	First contacts started during Summer 2015 (expert interview to the previous leader + local advisory board + group discussion). Since September 2016 we are taking part to their activities. We are conduction our ARP with them	The Islamic Center is located in a peripheral area. In the same district there is the biggest refugee "camp" in Bologna and a center sheltering homeless people. The guests of these structures, many of whom of Muslim faith, usually spend a lot of time in the premise of the Center, generating some conflicts between the "native" Italian Muslim and the "new comers", conflict that partially interests also young people attending the Mosque.
UNIVERSITY STUDENT NETWORK ["USN"]	A great share of Bologna youth population is composed by University students. It is a non-formal extension of student's participation within the formal University frame (the members of the network participate in elections of students committee). One of their project focuses on gender and LGBTQ issues	The place where the meetings are organized is in the Bologna's university district (city center). The premises are provided for free by the University	USN is an association established by a group of students of the School of Political Sciences in 2013. In 2015 USN a project dealing with LGBTQ issues. The main objective of the association is promoting inclusiveness and providing a safe and secure place where opening opportunity for discussion	Participation in the elections and in the University student councils; organization of meetings between students and experts on topic such as, gender theory, social recognition, etc.; debates or seminars on cultural themes or current events; films; social and cultural actions in the urban space	Around 50 members, age between 21 and 26. All of them are university students. The share of boys and girls is almost the same.	In March 2016, we contacted one of the leader of the network to organize a GD. Since then on, she invited us to participate in their public meetings (in Spring 2016)	The USN is part of a network of associations involving also high school and low secondary school students. While the high school and low secondary school students networks are developed all over Italy, Bologna is the only Italian city where the network has created a section for the university students
EXTREME SPORT CENTER ["ESC"]	It can be described as an "incubator of socialization" for	It is located in a huge dismissed factory, 2 km far from the city center	It represents one of the biggest place in Italy for action sports. An existing	practicing extreme sports. More than 20 different	The leading association has 3.000 members (membership is	We had the first contact with one of the member of the association in	Extreme sports do not represent an issue in the institutional agenda in

	different group of people interested in extreme sports. It is the result of a project aimed at the re-appropriation and re-qualification of a dismissed urban area: this contributes to stimulate new approach towards the collective use of public space		groups of young people involved in informal sport activities decided to rent the dismissed factory. They founded a leading association, in order to formally interact with the propriety and activate a rent contract granted by the Municipality.	groups and associations are involved in different activities and other sports plus cultural and musical activities (theater, video making, photography and so on).	compulsory and allows to use the structure; the cost is very low, 20-30 euro). The group of the founders actually involved in the activities includes 10-15 people.	October 2015 to organize the GD. Since Autumn 2016 we have accessed the place, observing the interaction occurring during the sport and leisure activities.	Bologna. The practice of extreme sports is still looked with suspicious by the institutions, that consider them as anomalous, juvenile and sometimes deviant; however institutions don't generally interfere with these practices, and this allow the extreme sport center to be not involved into political dynamics within the city.
HIGH SCHOOL ["HS"]	It is a formal space of participation, that represents also our youngest research's target. It is one of the leading school in the city, attended mainly by middle class students. The school tries to offer to the students several spaces of autonomy, even if framed within a rigid set of rules (youth autonomy/creativity *vs* discipline)	It is one of the biggest high school in Bologna, located in a quite rich district outside the city center, representing a social context of widespread economic prosperity and cultural sensitivity. it is a public school	The school offers a variety of extracurricular activities, which are interwoven with the curricular offer. Among them, there is an association, that constitutes the local branch of a national organization, that promotes campaigns to raise awareness on the topic of mafia and corruption in the Italian society	Students are invited to participate in the implementation of their educational program. They are involved in the organization of "special days" in which they work in partnership with teachers and experts on topics they are interested in. Students can access school also in the afternoon, and using the available equipment	Students, aged between 15 and 18 yo. The majority of them come from middle class families (there are not so many students with a difficult economic background)	We first contacted the Principal, interviewed in October 2015. We participated in some general events (i.e. the the 1st school day , etc.). Since November 2016, we participated in the events organized by an association dealing with mafia issues	The school is located in a quite rich district, and is attended by middle class students This element could affect participation, since we could expect the Institute and the students to be more active compared with other schools located in a working class districts
				ESKISEHIR			
IDENTIFICATION OF THE CASE/GROUP	**JUSTIFICATION/RELEVANCE FOR INCLUSION**	**SITES AND RESOURCES**	**CONTEXT AND HISTORY**	**MAIN ACTIVITIES**	**MAIN ACTORS**	**HOW CONTACT DEVELOPED OVER TIME**	**HOW PARTICULAR FEATURES OF THE CITY INFLUENCED THE GROUP AND THE RESEARCH DYNAMICS**
Youth Centre 1 (YC1)	Youth work and youth Centres are new phenomena in Eskişehir (and in Turkey in general) and very few researches exist on the subject. Moreover, it seems that	Two main sites. The first one is on the ground floor of a building; the other, a medium-size 4 floor building. Resources: local municipality and EU resources.	The two sites has been established within the last decade. Due to its dominant student population, public authorities have been providing youth-specific	All activities and services provided by the Centre are free. Leisure time, skill- development, professional development, charity, mobility activities. The	Youth workers (almost all under 30 are professionals and hired by the municipality but regularly trained by EU-led programs), voluntary trainers (university	After a first spontaneous visit to the Centre, regular encounter with youth workers and participants have been realized. We started with expert interviews with	The city identified as a university town explains the choice of the Centres' location, that almost all volunteers, "users" and "service takers" are university students, and

	they became an object of political competition. In Eskişehir, public youth centres have been recently established with association to different political parties. The inclusion of two different cases similar in appearance in terms of setting and activities will show how they produce different types of participation. Among other things, with this particular youth Centre it has been possible to observe the European touch on youth work.		services for years. However the particular decision to establish a youth Centre seems to be influenced on the one hand by EU-funded youth policies and activities in Turkey and on the other, by the youth-oriented activities of the Turkish ministry of youth and sport.	Centre is also used for hang out as well as to study.	students or recently graduated), professional trainers (very few), participants who can also be distinguished as volunteers, "users" and "service takers" (almost all, university students)	youth workers, group discussion with volunteers, "users" and "service takers", and ethnographic work. Afterwards we realized, biographical interviews and finally an ARP is still going on. It has been very easy to communicate with all the different actors we encountered in this setting.	consequently the main features of the Centre. Moreover, the political equilibrium in Eskişehir has also influences on these features, especially since this is a new sector.
Youth Centre 2 (YC2)	Youth work and youth Centres are new phenomena in Eskişehir, and in Turkey in general. Moreover, it seems that they became an object of political competition. . In Eskişehir, public youth centres have been recently established with association to different political parties. The inclusion of two different cases similar in appearance in terms of setting and activities will show how they produce different types of participation. In this case it has been possible to observe how European youth work practices have been tried to interprete within a more conservative setting.	The ground floor of a building (with a mezzanine and a basement). Central government resources.	The Centre has been established a few years ago. There is a proliferation of youth centres since the mid-2000; the establishment of this specific Centre is a part of the same policy.	All activities and services provided by the Centre are free. Leisure time, skill- development, professional development, charity, mobility activities. The Centre is also used for hang out as well as to study.	Youth workers (almost all under 30), professional trainers, participants who can be distinguished as "users" and "service takers" (almost all, university students)	Very difficult to get access. After a spontaneous visit which was not very welcoming, we have been persistent and managed to realize our study.	The city has been identified as a university town; which explains the choice of the location of the Centres and that almost all participants are university students. Moreover, the political equilibrium of this particular town reflects on youth work which is a new sector, and youth Centres a new phenomenon in Turkey.

Youth branch of a humanitarian NGO (YBN)	This NGO's local branch and more particularly its youth organization was known for being an "active" setting of youth participation in Eskişehir during our field research. However, its unusual activities for a humanitarian NGO and the emerging type of participation seem to reveal the conditions of the civil society sector in Turkey and the European touch on youth work. The civil society sector in Turkey is still relatively weak and existing NGOs seem to have trouble to ensure their autonomy. They seem to heavily depend on public funds in terms of resources and functioning; what makes them vulnerable vis-à-vis public and political authorities.	The basement of the building where the NGO is located at its 6th floor. The NGO's, which resources are private donations, are very considerable. The youth organization benefits from the NGO's resources but doesn't have an autonomous budget. The youth organization is driven to generates resources from EU projects for its activities.	The NGO is known as the oldest civil society organization in Turkey. This local branch's youth organization has been created in 2010.	Self-development, mobility, humanitarian activities	A group of young people constituted mostly by university students but also some high school students. The director of the NGO's local branch who has been the one to initiate the youth organization and who identifies himself as a youth worker is also a major actor.	A first meeting for expert interview with the director. This latter introduces us with the head of the youth organization. Then, we organized a group discussion with a few members of the organization. Afterwards we participated to their various activities, met other members, did ethnographical work. We also realized biographical interviews.	This case shows that the competition on youth work sector goes beyond political competition and is influenced by local dynamics.
Street musicians (SM)	The street musicians' case study was chosen for providing an informal type of participation. We also aimed to see the relations between the city and young people from a different angle. The Kurdish origin of the street musicians as well as the ethnic music they perform on the streets also give a "political" dimension to their activity.	The group plays music in the streets at the city Center. They have some specific spots in the city, which are in the most popular and crowded streets of Eskişehir where young people hang out and spend their leisure time. They don't have a precise schedule; in some periods they play more often, sometimes less, depending on their courses at college or the weather. But they still	Even if there has been some change in its composition in time, the group at the time we conducted the case study had been active for three years (from 2013 to 2016).	The group plays ethnic music and has a large repertoire of songs of Anatolia and the Middle East (covering not only songs in Turkish from different regions or in Kurdish but also in Armenian, and even in Arabic, Persian, etc). The group merges different music instruments in their music such as the guitar, santoor and *erbane.*	This is a group composed of young musicians of Kurdish origins, from the south-eastern region of Turkey. There is also one musician with a refugee status, migrating from Kirkuk, Iraq. The group is composed of all men, with the exception of one woman who joins the group occasionally.	We contacted the group with the help of one of the students at Yeditepe who later worked as a student assistant at Partispace. She first made us meet S., who helped us meet various groups and initiatives in the city, which according to him are examples of "opening a space" in the city.	As the group members express themselves, it is very important to mention that in Eskişehir, compared to many other Turkish towns, street music is appreciated or at least, it is possible to play music in the streets. On the one hand it is a modern "student" city. Consequently, it is not a "strange" thing to do, still marginal though. On the other hand, more precisely related to their

		have some regularity since the group members also have a motivation to earn money from this activity					ethnic identity, Eskişehir seem to not be hostile to Kurdish musicians openly expressing their identity in public. This might not be the case in every Turkish town, since the public claim has been politically repressed for a long time.
Local football club fans (LFCF)	We thought that the study of the football club and its fans would provide the opportunity to extend the definition of urban participation of young people and think about the larger relationship between the city and young people. Our hypothesis was that before focusing on "participation" and discuss what is participation and what is not, it is important to focus on the "presence" of young people in the city.	The stadium where the matches take place is for sure the most significant site for the case study. On the other hand, during the match days, the fans are visible in the whole city.	Eskişehir football club was founded in 1965. There is not only one fan group but several of them: Nefer (Soldier), Old City (the name is in English, the English translation for Eskişehir), Aşk-ı şehir Eskişehir (the city of love Eskişehir), Altes (SubEs), Ultras Problem (the name is in English). There is also Uni-Es-es, as the university organization of Eskişehirspor football fan club which is not only organized in Eskişehir but also in other cities. Nefer, at the time we conducted the fieldwork, seemed to dominate all the others in number and visibility**.**	The fans consider their most important activity as "supporting their team".	Local people (apparently not only youth) as supporters of the team. A part from individuals supporting the team, there are also various fan groups.	We had started our research by making an expert interview with Özgür Topyıldız, an expert on the history of Eskişehir spor football club. We also had a chance to make participant observation in the city for different weekends during which there was a match in the city. Then we started doing research on the net and started contacting fan groups. Our prior contacts in different settings also helped us to find interviewees. Since this is a male culture, we also used the help of a male PhD student in Sociology gy at Eskişehir Anadolu University.	The football scene in Turkey is dominated by "three giants", three football clubs of Istanbul (Galatasaray, Fenerbahçe and Beşiktaş). Only two other clubs, Trabzonspor and Bursaspor, have won the Turkish league title. In this football scene dominated by football clubs of Istanbul, Eskişehirspor and its fans has a distinct and important place.
Student initiative leftist (SIL)	As the Eskişehir branch of a nationally organized opposition student initiative, it offers insight about a marginal leftist opposition movement.	The university campus and the cultural Center in the city Center. The students fund their activities themselves and they sometimes look for partnership from various ally institutions.	Established in the beginning of 2000s at one of the universities in Istanbul, it is organized in more than 40 universities in 25 cities of Turkey.	Organization of events, conferences and marches as well as protests.	University students	The initiative was open to contact since the very beginning and we did not have any difficulty during the research.	Of all branches of the initiative in Turkey, Eskişehir branch is claiming to be one of the very active and visible one in the city.

FRANKFURT							
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Hoodboys/ Sprayer (HS)	- Graffiti is often perceived as vandalism, but for the group it is a form of appropriation of the city, of self-expression, community and competition - Learning about not accepted forms of participation and youth cultural activities	- Main meeting points were an abandoned factory and an area of a youth centre where they hang out together - "Ghettospots" which are public and visible spaces but concealed enough	- Members know each other since childhood/youth - there is an inner core (about 8 young men), the supporters and the newcomers - the members are in their mid-twenties and students, doing apprenticeship or working - crew has an official name for legal graffiti and an insider-/scene-name for their semi-legal activities	- The main activities are between friendship and community activities (hanging around, talking, and smoking), leisure-time (BBQ, sometimes partying and drinking) and developing their style	- Main actors are the members of the inner group; they coordinate, set the tone - Negotiation of the graffiti-activities and are also networking with scene-specific significant others (e.g. the owner of a graffiti- demand-shop)	- First contact: May 2016 via a gatekeeper - After a participant observation and group discussion the group showed interest on action research - Organisation of a Jam in November 2016 which was filmed and is now subtitled and in the editing process	- threat of prosecution by the authorities - Difficult work with the group caused by this precarity
Youth Centre (YCF)	- Open youth work as one of the central spaces for youth participation, offers spaces for all young people to engage in activities voluntarily and with co-determination	- The Youth Centre has three levels and an outdoor area - There are rooms for special usage (e.g. rehearsal space etc.) but also the open meeting room (with kitchen) offers a range of activities. There about 3,5 professionals who do open youth work	- The Centre was founded in the 1990ies, first with a focus on young people from socially marginalised backgrounds, but is an offer (Child and Youth Welfare Act) for all young people between 13 and 21 years - The Youth Centre is widely known among young people and professionals for its projects and offers (e.g. rooms for sports, music, dancing, etc.). - located in a district next to the city centre	- The centre offers many projects, such as sport projects which the young people attend - There is support for recording own songs, for workouts or dancing trainings - Some bands have a key for the institution to do their rehearsal - open meeting room and back yard of the youth centre, where young people spend informally time together	- We identified 3 different visitor types: self-organised groups which use the projects rooms, the visitors who use the Youth Centre for projects and special occasions and the regulars, who use the centre daily for their gatherings	- Since end of May 2016 we made participant observations in the centre with permission of the management (with 2-3 observers) in different occasions and contexts - We conducted a group discussion with 4 male regular members, 2 biographical interviews and an expert interview with the manager of the Youth Centre - Beside we did some ethnographic interviews with the professionals and visitors	- The youth centre is as it's common in open youth work understaffed - To compensate this lack, the centre is more involved in doing successful projects.

Political cultural centre (PCC)	- The political groups in Frankfurt vary from political-cultural, political-radical and capitalism-critical left, anti-nationalist, anti-imperialist, anti-German groups and topic-concerning groups like feminist-antifascist groups - The chosen case is part of these "scenes", but it is particularly interesting because it declares itself as open for different groups and is highly visible through the inner city building	- The main meeting point is a demolition building in the inner city of a city next to Frankfurt - Most social and all political, and cultural take place in the 3-floor-house - Since a few weeks they also have warm water and heating - The group finances itself by winning prices for art-events and youth work, donations (e.g. for drink) and private credits - For some bigger events, like a party or bar evening, the young people appropriated space in the city to be seen and invite people	- The PCC is self-governing by young people - Started in 2014 by a politically and artistically active circle of friends in City B. Initial idea of a "lounge" and space for events. After one year of networking, discussions, house viewing and making plans they founded a non-profit organisation in 2015 - In September 2015 they rented the space "PCC", In February 2017 the PCC got the notice to leave until may – the building will be demolished end of April	- Arts (changing exhibitions, handicraft-projects and workshops, working on the building, spraying), politics (discussions, events, group meetings, film evenings, interference in city politics) and culture (jam sessions, concerts) but also leisure time and joint practice (cooking evenings, hanging around, flee markets, bar evenings)	- The core group includes 10-15 persons with an outer circle of about 30 people - The active young people are around the age of 16-35 years old, going to university/school, working etc. - A leader figure and our first gatekeeper is the a founding member	- In beginning of may 2016 we were introduced by a gatekeeper and were welcomed after presenting us to the plenary - The contact is relaxed, we got insight to all structures and also messenger-groups - We have conducted a group discussion and have conducted four biographical interviews - PCC is currently conducting a piece of AR focusing on the question of borders between inside and outside and on the relationship between culture, the arts and political activism	- In Frankfurt we had problems with our access to a left-wing-groups - City B has developed a left-wing and artistic scene (by gentrification in Frankfurt many young people look for flats in City B) - It has a big art academy with high reputation of being critical and creative - Even though the PCC is the first "left-wing space" in City B since the 90's
Youth and students' representation (YSR)	- It is one particularity of Frankfurt as a city that has no youth council, but a school students' council as a form of youth parliament - it is interesting as one classic and established form of (formal) youth participation. It has a legal framework and founding by the city, which assures the council a right to be heard in the city council and opens doors to different city-wide networks and committees	- The main space of the YSR is their bureau in the inner city of Frankfurt - It has a big conference room (freshly renovated) for meetings and representation and a small bureau with computer, printer etc. and a few cosy seating - The YSR has a budget of 6.800 Euro per annum provided by the municipality.	- We weren't able to find out, the exact date of existence of the YSR of Frankfurt (anchored in the Hessian Education Act) - In Germany, all schools have student representations at the level of single school councils - In Frankfurt, all schools have the right to send two delegates to the YSR which meets two to three times a year - Mostly in October elections take place	- This board is responsible for the day-to-day business - It meets on a nearly weekly basis - It is supposed to coordinate the student councils, take care of the learning infrastructure and represent the 60.000 pupils - Politically it works on youth- and student-topics (like sexual education) but also daily politics (like the rising racism in Germany)	- The current board consists of 10 to 15 young people aged 15 to 19 years, most of them elected as board members by the general assembly of the YSR	- We have contacted the YSR in June 2016 and directly got in touch with the head of the YSR invited is to a meeting after school holidays and we introduced ourselves - We conducted 1 group discussion with board members, 1 expert interview with the adult secretary of the YSR and 3 biographical interviews	- The city of Frankfurt has a wide range of schools and school systems - The most active young people are from high schools with good reputation and about 15/16 years old - difficult to reach out to all pupils and student councils (e.g. some schools don't have a proper student council or the pupils don't know about the YSR and their rights)

Informal group "Girls group" (IGG)	- The results of the mapping process highlighted the importance of informal groups in shaping and negotiating public space - We were looking for a group of youngsters who appropriate certain public spaces and get in conflict with other users of these spaces	- The informal girls group mostly spend it's time on the area of the Youth Centre or inside the centre in its open meeting room - After some confrontations with the professionals about the rules of the space and the style girl's behaviour within, they announced, they'll never come back and had a house ban for a few weeks - In this time they tried our several different places but realized that the youth Centre is a routine of their daily gathering	- They seem to have emerged the group before and the summer break in 2016, during summer break they got a real exclusive group (dismissal of some members after conflicts) - The girls and boys met by school-, friendship circle and district-based networks, but become friends with the common visit of the youth centre, which is nowadays their central meeting point.	- The group mostly spends their free time together. They hang around, smoke weed, listen to music, accompany friends to daily appointments, drink alcohol, organise sleep-overs, cook and do trips (e.g. hiking or visiting the swimming pool) - Sometimes they skip school to spend time together.	- The girls group are 6 girls in the age between 14-16 years - They are have some peer male friends (about 5 young men in the same age or older) and some recent friends, who are allowed to hang out occasionally - 4 of the girls visit a school for textiles together, two of them in a special course for young girls without school-leaving qualification	- During our observations in the Youth Centre we contacted and observed the informal girls group who caused a lot of trouble - We contacted them to conduct some observations during the summer break - Furthermore the group was first interested in doing action research and then stopped the cooperation by being too busy with school - We conducted 2 biographical interviews, one group discussion and some observations	- As the young girls try out certain youth cultural activities, they need a safe place to consume for example drugs - The inner city area in contrast does not provide these safe places
Residential care home (RCH)	- Young people in care homes are a stigmatised group - there is little research so far on participation in care homes, so this case study is special for Germany	- The institution is a residential care home for male young people from the age of 14 years with two resident groups, one testing flat for transition to independence and several other-directed flats for young people from the age of 18 upwards - The provider (a branch of a big welfare organisation) works gender-segregated and has therefore another institution just for girls and young women	- The groups in the Care home are pieced together by the youth welfare office and therefore no natural voluntary groups - The residents go mainly to school, some do an apprenticeship - Their domestic and socio-economic status is diverse - Young unaccompanied refugees live in the resident groups together with 'German' young people	- The Care home offers the young people support, a shelter and living space - Some formal participation-structures are given: There is usually once a month a care home council meeting where the two group speakers, who are elected by the residents, the care home counsellor and the care home manager, take part - We observed the daily routine which is marked by cooking, doing homework, negotiations and some conflicts	- The young people and the professionals are "the main actors", we identified a front- and backstage of pedagogical actions and concepts	- It was very difficult to get access to a Care Home – we tried it more than 5 months - Since October 2016 we had the permission of a care manager, the staff and the male residents of the institution - We collected data through two group discussions, two expert interviews, participant observation (10) and six biographical interviews - Furthermore, we took pictures of the institution itself and took part in the care home councils conference	- The care home is located within a residential quarter in a dwelling house and is from outside not recognisably labelled as resident group - It is placed very discrete with a small sign, referring to the purpose of the house

GOTHENBURG							
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Formal Youth Organisation (FYO)	Issues regarding the relation between youth participation, democracy and society are at the core of this case. The FYO is the main politically and administratively supported channel for youth participation in the city of Gothenburg, and therefore highly relevant. It provides us with important understandings about the formal processes of youth participation.	The FYO has its meetings in the town hall. However, the members of FYO represent all ten districts of the city.	FYO has existed since 2004. It has representatives from all areas of Gothenburg. There are 81 regular members, 20 replacements, ages 12-17. FYO meets 5 times per year. These gatherings are called “grand meetings” (stormöten).	The members are divided into working groups, so called committees. The committees work with questions that the young themselves think are important to address together with the politicians. The most engaged members meet twice a week at the municipality hall, where they, assisted by an administrator/secretary, engage in and initiate issues they think are of importance.	Actors: young people between 12-17 from all 10 districts of Gothenburg, represented by proportion (number of seats awarded according to number of young people living in a district), politicians and administrators with whom the FYO has regular contacts with, a head administrator who coordinates and manages administrative tasks of the council, other actors who FYO interacts with (public, private).	A first contact was established through the head coordinator of the FYO, who has been a member of our Local Advisory Board. She has been crucial in mediating access and introducing the team to the members of the FYO. In June 2016 we visited the group for the first time, during one of their working sessions. The research team presented the project Partispace and asked for their participation. This was met with enthusiasm. The research team was given access for ethnographic observations. After a summer break the FYO started its activities in September. This is when we initiated the ethnographic fieldwork.	The FYO is modelled after the City Council of Gothenburg. In many ways the structure, functioning and existence of the FYO is dependent on the City Council and the realm of real (party)politics. The formal structure and functioning is decided by the City Council, the budget and other resources (access to facilities, staff) as well. Further, the FYO has to continually rapport its activities to a group of politicians with the responsibility for overseeing their work. So, the political-institutional features of Gothenburg definitely influence the existence and the formal functioning of the group. As for research dynamics: considering FYO is a formal, open forum for youth participation, gaining access to the research site was quite easy. The whole ethnographic process (from gaining access to attending

							meetings/working sessions/conferences and interacting with the members) was characterised by transparency and openness.
Theatre Group	This is a driven and self-going group of young people (ages 18-21) with a passion for theatre and culture. This is a politically conscious group wanting to address what they define as some of the biggest problems/dilemmas of current times (sexism, racism, citizenship, belonging/non-belonging, identity).	The group meets regularly once a week (Monday evenings) in a theatre facility managed and owned by the city. Those of the members who can also meet on irregular occasions during the week, they discuss on-going issues and activities which are then reported back to the whole group. They have a closed Facebook group through which they regularly communicate. Resources are scarce: access to the theatre facility on Monday evenings and a drama pedagogue with salary to help facilitate their work on these occasions.	Most of the members have a background in the theatre programmes organised by the public *Kulturskolan* (Culture school). However, since all of the members have turned 18 they are no longer entitled to the programmes at *Kulturskolan*, which is why they have come together voluntarily and formed this group. Some of the members go way back (as friends and/or peers at drama-classes at *Kulturskolan*) and others are meeting for the first time.	Main activities can be grouped in two categories: on one hand the group meets because they share same interest in and passion for theatre – improvising, doing exercises, "playing around", experimenting with form and content is an important part. On the other hand the group also has a concrete goal in mind, they want their activities to result in something – a staged play that addresses socio-politically important issues.	The group consists of 10 members (young people ages 18-21, 9 females and 1 male). Another important actor is the drama-pedagogue who helps coordinate the work of the group.	The initial contact was mediated by a coordinator/drama-teacher at the *Kulturskolan*, who also was a part of the local advisory board. She put the research team in contact with the drama-pedagogue who works with the group. We contacted her and were invited to present Partispace, upon which access to do participant observations was granted.	The infrastructure of the *Kulturskolan* (public sector) facilitated the existence and the activities of the group. Starting from January 2017 the group will no longer be facilitated by the *Kulturskolan*, they will be self managed in terms of rehearsal facilities, funding, and the production of the play.
Free Sport Association (FSA)	The FSA started out as an informal group, where the young members shared a common interest for spontaneous sport practicing. Later on, they built up an association with many members. This fluidity makes the FSA a case characterised by both informal and non-formal	FSA have their training facility in an old warehouse building – an indoor place for a variety of spontaneous sports, entirely ran by the young practitioners themselves. In here the FSA members do a lot of their wintertime training. But when the weather allows it, their sport is practiced	FSA started as an informal constellation of friends with a passion for a special kind of spontaneous sports. In 2010, the group received requests to do some events in Gothenburg, and young people who were interested in the sport asked for lessons. These requests grew in	FSA gives lessons to practitioners with varying skill levels. They also arrange public events and competitions, both indoors and outdoors. The FSA is also engaged in volunteer work. For example, they arrange summer camps where they, along with other participants, invite newly	Main actors are the young persons with prominent positions within FSA (board-members, trainers and group leaders). An engaged group of five to seven individuals make up the inner core.	A youth workers in our expert sample told us about the FSA. After establishing contact, we did a group interview with the some of the members. At this occasion, we also asked them if they wanted to be a part in the research-project as one of our case studies.	A couple of years back, when trying to establish FSA as an association, the members of the, at the time, informal group reached out to different sport clubs for help. But since they did not feel that the sport was administered and practised in a way they perceived as suitable for

	participation. Their sport activities also differ from more traditional youth sports in several ways. For example, there are no adult leaders – it is run entirely by the practitioners themselves. The fact that the members have designed and built everything themselves (practise grounds, ramps etc.), is by outsiders often viewed as astonishing. FSA is also interesting from a perspective of micro-level democracy. The group has a way of organising themselves, where lots of effort is put on listening to individual members' voices and ideas.	outside, wherever an attractive spot is to be found.	number and in 2013 FSA became an official sport association.	arrived unaccompanied refugee children to participate. They have also been on international volunteer trips where they have given free lessons to interested youth people.			them – they found them quite rigid and malfunctioning – they formed an association of their own.

The Youth Centre (TYC)	TYC is an important youth cultural centres in Gothenburg. Since the start in 2012, over 400 youth-initiated events of various kinds have taken place there. TYC has far-reaching participatory ambitions ("by youth – for everyone" being the main motto) which provides fertile ground for generating valuable knowledge about young formal/non-formal participation, through cultural and political expression.	TYC is one of many organisations and businesses stationed in an old, but quite newly renovated warehouse. To satisfy as many fields of interest as possible, it was early on decided that the place must allow flexible solutions. This is manifested by for example flexible opening hours, garage door walls and a possibility to put wheels on all furniture. Even if the various rooms are equipped in different ways, they are all intended to be used for several purposes. All the youth initiated arrangements take place in an activity area on the ground floor.	In the 1990s groups of young people took initiative to a centrally located youth house in an old municipal building. For a few years, this was a place for lots of cultural activities, but after a City Council decision to start a casino there, the youth groups had to move. In 1998, there was a catastrophic fire in Gothenburg, where 63 young people were killed and 200 were injured. This horrendous event is also a part of the history behind TYC. In the aftermath of the fire, the question about the lack of meeting places for young people aged 16–18 years in Gothenburg became an important issue, which eventually led to a realisation of a centrally located youth centre where young people from different parts of the city could meet.	Young people arrange cultural events of various kinds, without any charge. Since the start, over 400 events of all kinds have taken place, such as heavy metal festivals, fashion shows, exhibitions, charity events, debate evenings, 70s disco, etc. Even if the general rule is not to have recurrent activities at TYC, there are exceptions. For example, every Tuesday night a "hang out" for young LGBTQAI+-persons takes place. On the premises, there is also a café.	All events must be initiated and performed by young people (aged 13 to 30). Other groups are welcome as visitors to these events. Employed staff members facilitate the activities at the centre.	The director of TYC is a member of the PARTIspace local advisory board in Gothenburg. In May 2016 we met the director and a member of the staff to present the ethnographic phase of the project. It was met with enthusiasm and access was granted.	TYC is a municipally administered youth centre that has its roots in long standing discussions about the necessity of a place that promotes youth engagement and events. It was established after continuous dialogues following the fire in 1998.
The Youth Group (TYG)	TYG is run by the young members themselves. A youth worker is connected to the group. She frames her role in the group as a professional facilitator of youth participation. TYG is a free-standing group, and is not part of a more institutionalised LGBTQ-	The youth worker, the premises and the activities of the group are funded by the municipality. The group meet every Tuesday. TYG has also received external funding for some of the events they have conducted, for example an international	The purpose of TYG is to be a safe and fun place for young LGBTQ-persons. It is first and foremost about friendship, but also about engagement and activism. It started as an initiative from a group of young people and a youth worker a couple of	The main idea of the funder is to facilitate youth initiated activities and events in for example music, culture or sports, and to give guidance about how to make this possible.	TYG involves about 10–20 young persons who meet and socialise once a week. They are also engaged in a number of activities connected to LGBTQ-issues.	The initial contact was established through the youth worker connected to the group, who was one of the interviewed experts. When we did a focus group interview with some of the members, we asked them if they were interested to participate	TYG is part of a city wide working model created to enhance youth participation. The same concept also exists in some city-districts of Gothenburg.

	movement. In the group interview the participants presented themselves as members of a minority group with common experiences of having been exposed to hatred and condescending treatment from others, because of their gender identification or sexual orientation. They also shared stories about strong bonds and a caring atmosphere among the group members, and a great engagement in Human Right-issues. To more closely follow the LGBTQ-The Youth group members for a longer period of time, brings valuable knowledge about non-formal participation.	exchange-project for groups of young LGBTQ-persons from different parts of the world.	years ago. At the time, there were quite many youth clubs nearby, but no meeting place explicitly for young people who identified themselves as LGBTQ.			in the ethnographic phase of the PARTIspace-study. After they had taken the question back to the rest of the members, they agreed to become one of our research-cases.	
Dance Group	A relatively new community in Gothenburg, inspired by the highly commercialised Korean pop industry. An emerging form of youth participation, powered by Internet and social media.	The group has its facilities at a youth centre. Funding through smaller grants and low fees for their dance academy.	The group was created in 2015, by a couple of friends passionate about South Korean pop music. The overall ambition is to promote Korean pop music and culture.	Since the start the group has organized a number of events. The group also organizes a beginner's course in Korean.	Five young people in ages 18 to 20 make up the core crew.	Contact was established in January 2017. We met with a youth worker at the youth centre who informed us about the emerging K-pop community. We made contact with one of the members of the group who expressed interest to participate in the study.	The activities of the Dance Group, as well as the activities of other dance groups who make up the K-pop community, are facilitated by a municipally administered youth centre.

MANCHESTER							
IDENTIFICATION OF THE CASE/GROUP	**JUSTIFICATION/RELEVANCE FOR INCLUSION**	**SITES AND RESOURCES**	**CONTEXT AND HISTORY**	**MAIN ACTIVITIES**	**MAIN ACTORS**	**HOW CONTACT DEVELOPED OVER TIME**	**HOW PARTICULAR FEATURES OF THE CITY INFLUENCED THE GROUP AND THE RESEARCH DYNAMICS**
Formal Youth Organisation (FYO)	This is the key forum for recognised youth participation in the City of Manchester, with strong links to other fora in the City Region (Youforia; Greater Manchester Youth Assembly; Reclaim); It is the space in which there is the most clear and explicit commitment to 'young people's participation' in the city and it directly frames 'participation' as an induction into democracy, concerned as it is with voice and representation.	The Town Hall; Council Chamber and Committee Rooms; linked to schools and local youth project based Youth Fora; and also to national Youth Parliament.	2011; Youth Parliament; end of Local Authority Youth Service; European City of Youth bid	The Hive is the name of the small group of young people who meet regularly to run the Youth Council; it is called The Hive after Manchester's symbol the bee. Make Your Mark is the annual survey of young people run by young people in which a vote is taken about the most important issues to be addressed by the national Youth Parliament; Youth Parliament elections; links to the Council; Chambers meetings in which young participants from a range of Youth Councils and local areas meet and debate in the Council Chamber	The Hive; Members of Youth Parliaments; Youth Workers; Head of Local authority Youth Offer	From the beginning; attendance at meetings; group discussion; expert interviews; links to North West network; links to DevoManc. Use of University buildings. Bio interviews	it was easy to access this group but difficult to reach a depth of engagement.
Social Youth (SSSP)	This case study was included in the sample because it is drawn from an older and more enfranchised student community with strong links with Manchester University, whilst at the same time positioning itself against mainstream politics	University of Manchester and MMU students' Unions building (Socialist Students); The Briton's Protection (pub) (Socialist Party).	Social Youth is the student wing of the Socialist Party, a party that resulted from a split from the Labour party in 1997. *Main Activities:* The Socialist (newspaper), different forms of political activism (protests, stalls, manifestations) and weekly meeting	The Socialist (newspaper), different forms of political activism (protests, stalls, manifestations) and weekly meeting	Michel_Manchester_EI; Anabel_Manchester_GD	First through participating in the weekly meeting of the Social Youth, and later on the weekly meeting of the Socialist Party	Manchester is a city historically associated with the working class and socialism (Marx and Engels wrote the Community Manifesto here), it is considered to be a city of struggle, and this reflects on the political logic of the group and the partnerships with other activist groups.

Youth Work Up (YWU)	This is a project in one of the former working class heartlands of the city; still the poorest wards with a very strong negative reputation. One of the reasons for inclusion is to provide a balance to the continual pull to South Manchester, which is the more affluent part of the City and the part with a strong student focus. There is no student culture as such in these North Manchester wards. Other reason for inclusion concerns the presence of facilitators/animators and youth workers and the access to significantly disadvantaged and disempowered populations.	Youth Work UpFriday night Youth Club; supported by one part-time Youth Worker; The Agency (meets at Factory on a Wednesday and The Miners Community Arts Centre on a Saturday; 12 young people; 3 workers; plus occasional presence of others).	The Agency is a project which originated in Brazil and is also happening in London. It is a community's Theatre's major outreach programme. This is the third year of its operation.. It has been profiled in the House of Commons.	supporting Creative project design by twelve young people, leading to competition and four awards for project development. *Main Actors:* Agency team; staff at The Miners; 12 young people.	Agency team; staff at The Miners; 12 young people.	initial link with the communityt Theatre in Year One of the PARTISPACE project. Expert interview. Ethnographic engagement from Autumn 2016.	The PARTISPACE team decided to address the North/South divide in the city which is one which hinges around the dominance of the Universities and affluent suburbs in the South compared to poverty in the North. Within the local area there is a long established Manchester community alongside recently arrived African heritage communities. The contrast in level of staffing between youth club and the Agency had significant consequences for researcher's ability to engage
Young Feminist Movement/Groups (FG)	Manchester is home to a growing, contemporary feminist movement that has deep historical roots in the history of the city. The case study was included in the project because of the increasing centrality of feminist groups in the political activism of the city and the intersectional work of these groups across a range of social issues. As well as campaigning for women's rights, feminist groups are involved with, for example,	Online	The feminist and women's liberation movement is deeply embedded in Manchester's social, cultural and political history. The feminist, activist movement now includes young women and girls, and collectives, from all over the city	The movement is characterised by 'single issue' groups (e.g. education around child sexual exploitation) to groups which mobilise 'as and when' to protest against a range of issues relevant to women and girls' rights. The main activities are campaigning and protesting for, and raising awareness of, women and girls' issues.	The young women and girls involved in the movement are members of, or affiliated with, a number of activist groups across the city and also campaign individually across a range of issues. Groups and individuals are also active on social media and use these platforms to organise protests, raise awareness of women's and feminist issues, share information and debate and learn. Online activism takes place alongside offline	The case study developed out of ongoing work by a member of the UK team who is also a feminist activist (online and offline) and who had contact with a number of the groups and individuals included in the case study. As an activist (and woman), it was possible for the team member to approach groups and individuals and to become part of their often women-only spaces (again, online and offline). *Sites and*	As above (history of Manchester, growing feminist movement, and involvement of GM in that movement). The justification for inclusion of this study is as a self-organised form of participation, which addresses both personally orientated and wider issues.

	campaigning against austerity and cuts to public services, homelessness in Manchester, and climate change and the environment. In all, the case study allowed for an exploration of participation that is explicitly gendered.				activism.	*Resources:* The case study for the project comprised a small number of activist groups, and their members, as part of the city-wide activist and feminist movement. Most of the ethnography took place online and also included offline activism and events of multi-groups and activists	
The Box (BOX)	Homelessness has become a key issue in Manchester and site of participation as per the broader definition that PARTISPACE seeks to investigate. The Boxhas a distinctive creative and social care methodology to support marginalised men aged between 18-30 years old. This case was included in the sample because it enabled us to explore the issues of PARTISPACE from the perspective of a highly disenfranchised group of participants; it enabled the project to address one of the key but transient issues in Manchester (that of the homelessness camps) and it presents an example of facilitated non-formal participation	Until recently creative sessions were run on a weekly basis, together with drop-in social care sessions and outreach street work. Due to issues of funding the worker who ran the creative has not had his contract renewed and so these sessions ceased in December 2016. The charity continues to employ a lead social worker and accepts student social work placement students, an administrator and director.	The history of the organisation can be traced back to 2004, and has primarily been funded by Arts Council bids and national charity funding campaigns. Although, it gained independent charity status in 2009, The Boxcontinues to be in precarious position in terms of future sustainability due to short term funding agreements;	Creative sessions/projects, visits to cultural opportunities in the city, social care support and access to other services/sources of support, outreach street work;	Young Men accessing The Box, Creative Lead, Social Care Lead, Student Social Workers, Director, Board members, community workers from other supporting organisations.	From the beginning; attendance at meetings; group discussion; expert interviews; eight months of ethnographic fieldwork; action research project – WP5.	it was easy to access this group but time intensive due to the need to build trust with participants.
Music Group (MGM)	This site is at the hub of an improvised music scene in Manchester		growth over the past ten years; links to squat and art DIY culture.		MGM Collective; two curators one as the key link; regular	researcher participation in Northern improv scene; gig links;	The fact that MGM is at aCafe in Withington and the

	brought together by a group of young players from different music backgrounds (conservatoire; alt rock). It has recently (2016) been given serious attention in the experimental music press in a way that uses a particular rhetoric (second city, northern powerhouse). In terms of the selection of the case studies this is a self-organising form of participation among people with a relatively high level of cultural capital, who nevertheless are positioned in an alternative relationship to the powerful cultural institutions. The MGM case study offered an opportunity to study participation in an increasingly nationally recognised Manchester-based improvised music scene and thereby offered a contrast to most of the other case studies.				MGMparticipants, workshop participants.	attendance at MGM; Bio interviews.	intensified production of Withington as a Bo-ho location through a period of expanding student numbers and precaritisation of the local, ethnically diverse working class over the last decade and a half.
			PLOVDIV				
IDENTIFICATION OF THE CASE/GROUP	**JUSTIFICATION/RELEVANCE FOR INCLUSION**	**SITES AND RESOURCES**	**CONTEXT AND HISTORY**	**MAIN ACTIVITIES**	**MAIN ACTORS**	**HOW CONTACT DEVELOPED OVER TIME**	**HOW PARTICULAR FEATURES OF THE CITY INFLUENCED THE GROUP AND THE RESEARCH DYNAMICS**
CS1 – Informal network for arts and debate	Network of friends interested in music, literature and various forms of culture. The	It occupies the underground level of a club "Rorschach's stain" but also uses different	It was established in 2015 and exists in close relation to a music band, TDK and an official club.	Concerts, educational presentations, literary promotions, public debates. Through	Variety of people occasionally engage but there is a core of less than ten regular	One of the researchers was familiar with the group and its organizers from the very beginning	

	group is interesting because it tries to make bridges between different genres, online and offline modes of communication, and positions itself contrary to the establishment.	stages around the city and especially in the Kapana district. It is self-funded through payments by audiences, club promoters or friends.		organizing events it promotes Bulgarian non-mainstream performers, gives non-traditional reading of popular themes and advertises its specific ideological treatment of youth identity	members among which the two initiators clearly emerge as "leaders"	and has been attending many of their events. This connection continued through the ethnographic work.	
CS2 – Ecological organization	They are representative of the influential preservation movement combining expert eco-activists, political party members and ordinary eco volunteers. It is important that they distinguish themselves from paid ecologists and function in resistance to nature-damaging decisions of authorities. They are an example of young people with very concrete causes and multiple successes in accomplishment of results.	Some of them have their offices as members of organizations; others are active on Facebook and prefer online communication and mobilization. Their favourite places are places of protests against bad municipal decisions or lack of reaction, and they depend on the concrete cases. Their activities as a group are usually self-funded, though as part of organizations they often apply for various projects.	They established themselves on the basis of the experience of previously existing political parties and ecological NGOs, in order to be more effective in mobilization in Plovdiv and the region.	Monitoring of endangered places and species; protests and actions on various occasions; raising awareness through social media	Many people with different professions and engagements, no clear leaders, horizontal organization	Contact is difficult because of their numerous activities and travels; it was easier to "catch" them on the spot during some events or discuss with them on Facebook. No persistent relations ensued.	
CS3 – Youth section of a charity organization	Plovdiv's youth section of the largest voluntary NGO in Bulgaria. It is interesting because of entirely positive image among youth, mass participation and serious experience in organizing events.	They have an office in the city which is a place for coordinating work and distribution of tasks but also for having fun together. They regularly organize campaigns at most popular outdoor places (in order to meet more people) and also in hospitals, orphanages, schools and universities. They are funded through donations and projects sometimes financed by the city municipality.	They have an almost century-long tradition and are familiar all around the city. The young were proud of the traditions and the history of their organization.	Social work and assistance for young people in vulnerable situations, lonely elderly, cancer patients, raising awareness campaigns for health risks, humanitarian law	A small management team and many volunteers aged 14-30, more girls than boys and more school students than university students, rarely working youth	Contacts with them are easy but they did not develop over time because of permanent changes in activities and volunteer turnover.	

CS4 – Student Council at a university	The only statutory organization legally representing the students' rights and interests in one of Plovdiv's universities. An example of formal structure often regarded negatively as empty of meaning. Also, relations with "adults" in the university's administration are of interest because students' autonomy is sometimes perceived as transforming into just part of the administrative mechanism.	They have an office in the University's building. Activities are arranged inside the university and, if outside, at publicly accessible places, including bars and clubs. Funding is provided by the university's budget and much less from projects.	They have been carrying out activities for some 20 years, according to the Higher Education Act.	Organizing leisure, sports events, student competitions; providing funds for conference registration fees and publication fees for student articles; arranging of students' parties; cultivation of outdoor spaces; sometimes urging protests on occasions of violation of students' or university's rights.	Hierarchical structure comprising of two administrative levels (copying the structure of the university) and numerous students occasionally involved in activities.	Contacts with them are not so easy despite of some researchers being personally familiar with Council's members. The chairmanship members could not be found for long periods.	
CS5 – Youth entrepreneurship foundation	Youth NGO with economic profile. It is interesting as an example of the "project-type" thinking among some of the young people, and also because they advocate for the necessary application of Western practices to the local society.	They have a new office in the city centre, and sometimes organize public lectures and trainings at schools. Funding comes entirely from projects with donors, some of them abroad.	Established in 2013 as a continuation of the activities of an economic institute in the civic sphere, the group managed to become recognizable in the city and reaffirm as partner by many organizations, public authorities and media.	Monitoring of the Municipal Council's decisions, organizing lectures, entrepreneurship trainings, discussions and working through policy recommendations	They possess a typical NGO structure with CEO, according to the law. At the same time, members emphasize on actually functioning as a common horizontal enterprise of six-seven people who are equally free to suggest and implement ideas without approval from 'above'.	Contacts with them were easy because of their openness and perception of our research as yet another occasion for cooperation with different structures to mutual benefit. Relations with them proceeded after the ethnographic work on the same "project-type" basis.	
CS6 – Youth section of a political party	Plovdiv's branch of the youth section of the political party which exemplifies the experience of young people in formal mechanisms of subordination and conventional politics. It is also interesting because of the generally negative image that this party has among youth.	They have some large offices inside the party's Plovdiv headquarters and also in the different city districts. They prefer to make activities in central places where as many people as possible can be contacted. Funding is provided through the party's budget and is relatively limited. Not publicly, some funding is	Established in 2009 after some non-convincing attempts to make a youth section of the party.	Political propaganda (especially before elections), youth events on various occasions such as holidays; petitions and protests against governmental or municipal policies; information support for young people, charity campaigns	Hierarchical structure following the administrative divisions in the city. Perhaps almost 100 young people are members but observations show that no more of 20 are really active.	Contacts with them have been easy and encouraging after recommendations from senior party officials. Discipline, good ideas and organizational experience made us proceed with meeting them and involve some of the members in the next phase of the project.	

		received through big businessmen close to the party.					

RENNES

IDENTIFICATION OF THE CASE/GROUP	JUSTIFICATION/RELEVANCE FOR INCLUSION	SITES AND RESOURCES	CONTEXT AND HISTORY	MAIN ACTIVITIES	MAIN ACTORS	HOW CONTACT DEVELOPED OVER TIME	HOW PARTICULAR FEATURES OF THE CITY INFLUENCED THE GROUP AND THE RESEARCH DYNAMICS
Forma/Non-formal *Youth Centre (YC)*	A very symbolic and important organisation for the territory Interesting to see how rather formal associations are (or not) able to really take into account the issue of youth participation	The association is located in a large and costly building in the centre of the City The association counts a quite large number of permanent youth workers (almost 20 people) The YC is funded by public authorities: both by the State (the Ministry of Youth) and the local authorities (the City and the conurbation)	A national framework but works with regional and local issues, an association created during the 60s The YC is quite strong and wealthy compared to similar organisations elsewhere Nevertheless, it faced an important financial and managerial crisis during recent years	The association has developed numerous actions aimed at young people (information and orientation about health, summer jobs, housing, music production support). It provides a magazine It is very well identified in the City	(young and adult) elected people members of the bureau, of the board and of the general assembly Youth workers	A close partner of the Youth research chair We chose to hand this LCS to Isabelle Danic in order to avoid institutional and professional conflicts We are quite close to the organisation (both to the elected people on the board and to some of the youth workers too)	The place of young people in the governance of the association is quite a burning topic both for the funders and for the organisation itself In particular in the aftermath of the crisis the association faced during the last years
Service Organisation (SO)	A new initiative on the fence between non-formal education and the social and solidarity economy Will to mobilise young people on citizenship issues through summer jobs The SO is gathering young people (between 16 and 18 years old) from	The SOis funded by the City (youth service and social and solidarity economy service) and the State. It is also partly self-financed.	The SO is a model used in Quebec for nearly 30 years to promote cooperative entrepreneurship among young people. Each summer, groups of 15 young people are created to offer different services to the population of their territory.	Young people are involved during the two summer months and have to create and manage the cooperative. To do so, they develop several types of activities: Training sessions, Self-financing activities (market sales....).	Several actors are involved in the experience : The group of young co-workers gathered during the summer. (the managers) The “facilitators”, provide daily support to young people. The local committee prepares and evaluates the project	Links have been developed with the local committee since 2013, due to the interest in this experience of the two researchers and authors of the LCS at this period. By 2016 the fieldwork has been facilitated thanks to the good local knowledge of the actors.	The SO covers two districts:, with a view to enhancing social diversity and bringing neighboring districts closer but without a real link. The SO was developed within the framework of the urban policy.

	M and B areas to work during the summer.			The completion of contracts for the provision of services			
Artistic LaB (ALAB)	It is led by a small bunch of very articulate young people who intend to organize a group of 25 young people to train them in questions of citizenship and participation through cultural practices for a period of 5 months. For us, it is a very good example of an initiative promoted directly by young people which could be qualified both as non-formal and informal.	The initiative takes place in the H (a place dedicated to new experiences) A Facebook page is used for internal and external communication The ALAB is funded by public authorities: the youth and cultural services at local level, family benefit body, students' benefit body)	The project was built between May and December 2015 and was officially launched on 4th December until May 2016 It was created at the initiative of a small group of young people who considered that young people's needs and expectations were not meet at a local level (regarding youth and cultural local policies)	Cultural and artistic activities for young people, provided by young people Support of 25 young people in the formulation of a "grass roots, bottom up" project to be presented to local decision maker in the field of local cultural policy addressed to young people. Training in decision and making progress Towards citizenship education	Young leaders, young artists and young participants : 3 civic service workers 1 employee 2 volunteers 1 group of 20 participants	Identified as youth expert, Patricia was contacted by the leaders of the ALAB at the beginning of the project and first contacts were made with the rest of the team since July 2016	A lot of doubts from "regular" youth workers toward this initiative. A legitimacy which came indirectly because of considerable tensions between the Municipality and the students. This group has a critical view of the place of young people in public decisions Youth institutions have difficulties in mobilising young adults
DIDA	A new association whose objectives are to provide French courses and cultural activities for asylum seekers. A large range of young volunteers (mainly job seekers and students) and of young migrants	The initiative also takes place in the H. (Cf ALAB) Several Facebook pages No public funding yet The (scarce) budget comes from funding-raising operations	An association launched in May 2016 An association created at the initiative of a nurse who considered that asylum seekers were not properly taken care of at local level.	French courses Administrative support Cultural and leisure activities	Volunteers (both young people and adults, mainly women) Migrants (idem but mainly men)	An easy access as we were involved from the beginning of the association… But a large risk of embedment	A very unfavourable French context: public authorities (the state and the local authorities) deny the public problem of migrants This leads to the mobilisation of community organisations whose members are not always very well prepared to deal with these issues
NDE	A mobilisation which was	The movement was first	A national (and even	Collective mobilizations	The first movement "NDE" in Rennes was	Two researchers were also part of the	There was quite a lot of

	very linked to the general French political debate. This mobilisation proposes new political values, new organisational features and tools	established in the south of the city center, named "The Place of the People" by organizers. Additionally, they organised many demonstrations in different places of the city of Rennes. Significant mobilisation on Facebook and twitter pages	international) mobilisation with particular local stakes . It was a very big movement during 2016, in particular in Rennes where extreme tensions took place between the Municipality and the students (and more widely)	and demonstrations around local or national political events. Participation on the Internet, participation in radio broadcasts or writing in newspapers linked to the movement, etc.	organised by young people (students, high school students, precarious people, etc.). Adults also joined the movement.	movement from the beginning. They also sent email addresses / Facebook profiles of some "NDE members" with whom trust links were built to facilitate access to the field and therefore conduct interviews.	tension between the municipality and the movement NDE Intensive local activity contributed to transforming Rennes into a theatre of many demonstrations. In this context, NDE was perceived by other activist movements as "care bears" – that is to say insufficiently active.
Web magazine Endless	A magazine led by young people on Internet. For us, it was important to have a LCS which took place through the ICT	ENDLESS was born in the city of Cherbourg. with the support of the European Commission. Endless is composed of nearly 100 members.	Born in 2009 in the form of a junior association bearing the name x. If Endless remains at the heart of their project, they still want to continue to diversify, to launch ideas, wherever possible.The legitimacy of endless magazine allows them to imagine others projects.	Publication of information web magazine by young people and for everyone. The project has also been temporarily enriched by other support (radio), they still want to encourage other projects imagined by young people.	The two leaders and nearly 100 other members (« journalists », communication manager, graphic designer, etc.)	The first contact was developed by Fransez Poisson and Céline Martin, then Bénédicte Toullec contacted the main manager and the assistant manager before taking part in the ENDLESS days (at the end of January 2017).	Endless Magazine's meeting take place in Paris, the manager lives in Rennes… And the hundred members of Endless manage to work together separated by several kilometres…
			ZURICH				
IDENTIFICATION OF THE CASE/GROUP	**JUSTIFICATION/RELEVANCE FOR INCLUSION**	**SITES AND RESOURCES**	**CONTEXT AND HISTORY**	**MAIN ACTIVITIES**	**MAIN ACTORS**	**HOW CONTACT DEVELOPED OVER TIME**	**HOW PARTICULAR FEATURES OF THE CITY INFLUENCED THE GROUP AND THE RESEARCH DYNAMICS**
Student Committee	1) As the city of Zurich	School ground; class	Student committee at a	Organising & holding	Class representatives	The contact was	1) As many of the

	does not have municipal or district youth parliaments but youth participation is delegated to youth work, the most formal form of youth participation for youths under 18 years of age in the city - apart from youth parties that mostly engage in adult politics - are university and school student councils. 2) Secondary education (academic or vocational) concerns virtually all the young people in Switzerland. 3) Student's participation has recently been declared a goal for all the schools (starting from kindergarten) in the city of Zurich and as a result, also many state schools dispose of pupil and student councils.	rooms, principal's office, school yard	private grammar school in the city of Zurich. A student committee has been in place at the grammar school for approximately six years. The existence of the council and its modalities have been decided by the school principals' conference of all the branch schools that are under the same parent organisation and have been further regulated by the principle of the grammar school.	committee meetings Discussion and representation of the opinions, needs, concerns, and suggestions of students within the school before the teachers conference and the principle Organisation of social activities for all the school	(delegates and substitutes) President Vice-president Principal Teachers' representative	established trough the rectorate and the student committee's president. She and the vice-president co-ordinated the research process with the main researcher. The contact with these two people became more relaxed during the research, however, the contact to the other delegates stayed rather distant / impersonal until the end.	students only go to school in Zurich but do not live in the city they sometimes were eager to end sessions to catch a train. 2) The school could be seen as an island within the city, a world on its own, therefore, the city was not very present during the research. The only topics related to Zurich apart from their way to school was night life / going out in the city of Zurich and not disturbing the neighbourhood with the yearly school party .
Youth Job Office (YJO)	The Youth Job Office (YJO) is the mandatory youth work case in the city sample of Zurich. Interesting aspects of the case (to contrast with other cases): the age of the young people involved (13-16y and therefore, covering the lower edge of the target group of the Partispace project); the topics "lucrativeness of	The job coordination team uses the premises and resources of the branch office of an open youth work provider.	The YJO was founded 10 years ago by the branch office of an open youth work provider and the reformed church in collaboration with 10-12 young people. Up to now, the YJO has become more or less the "flagship project" of the branch office of the open youth work provider.	Job coordination service and related tasks (paid activity) Association activities (e.g. promotion activities for the YJO) (unpaid activities) Completing various kinds of jobs resp. work orders (paid activities)	Job coordination team members (3 girls, 1 boy; aged between 14-16y) Professionals: youth workers, the head of the branch office of the open youth work provider; intern Various young people completing jobs or visiting the youth shop during the opening time of the YJO.	During the case study, the main contact partners were the professionals. The dominant role of them made it difficult, for example, to stay in touch with the youths directly or to plan field visits without asking the professionals first. In the course of the fieldwork, the researcher was rather a visitor than a	No greater influence of the group/research dynamics by particular features of the city (certain research steps were rather influenced by the professionals (see left column).

	activities" and "transition from school to employment"; various degrees of involvement/required commitment within the YJO.					part of the setting/group.	
Scouts	The scouts are the biggest youth organization in Switzerland and have a long tradition. Furthermore, they are part of an international network. In contrast to other youth groups, the scouts seem to be strongly organized and have strong hierarchies. In the selected case, the scouts leaders are aged between 15-24y and therefore, cover a wide age-range (in comparison to other cases).	The scout-leaders share their premises with other groups like an Christian youth organization, a company etc.	The international scout movement was founded in 1907 in England. In Switzerland, the first scouts organized themselves in 1910. The local scout section, which was selected for the case study, was founded in 1964.	Weekly meetings of the scout leaders to plan, prepare and discuss their Saturday activities, camps and special activities for the kids.	The group of scout leaders consists of around 18 youths aged between 15-24y. Sex is balanced.	The main contact person during the case study was the head of the scout leaders. During the field visits, the researchers were rather visitors than part of the setting.	No greater influence of the group/research dynamics by particular features of the city.
Street Sports Club	In contrast to other cases, the activities in the case Street Sports Club always take place in the public urban space. Therefore, (public urban) space has a special meaning and importance in the case. The participants are aged between 12 and (approximately) 35 years and therefore, cover a wide age range.	In the course of the training, the group uses different public locations in the city centre of Zurich for their training sessions.	The training group is part of a private limited company, which was founded in 2008. Since then, the company has grown and is now represented in three countries.	(Fee-based) street sports training sessions guided by a trainer.	Training group (up to 14 participants) (from the age of 12 years up) The trainer of the group (23 years old)	Four training sessions were observed. In this short time no closer contact could be developed. However, the trainer was very helpful and open minded about the research project.	No greater influence of the group/research dynamics by particular features of the city.
Open Educative Collective (OEC)	The OEC and the affiliated association	The OEC shares a building with start-up companies,	The OEC was founded in the turn of the year	A combination of free language courses and	A group of main activists (approximately 30 people	It took more than 3 months to enter the field.	The very expensive costs for rooms in the city of

	could be regarded as part of a left-wing political movement. As a self-governed education project, they differentiate themselves from institutionalized politics.	a branch office of the open youth work and an organiser of photo exhibitions. The OEC gets voluntary donations (without giving up its independency).	(2008/2009). Since the foundation, the OEC moved more than eight times within the city of Zurich.	political activities, based on the idea of emancipation.	within a group of more than 500 “users”).	After the permission of the plenary assembly to conduct the case study, entering the field was uncomplicated.	Zurich is one reason that the OEC is in a constant battle with the government.
Sustainable Food Youth Network	The Sustainable Food Youth Network fulfils the sample criteria, as it stands for a low-threshold, open and non-compulsory group activity that aims at reaching the broader public. It is part of an international movement and addresses issues of conscious and sustainable food and lifestyle. The group members cover the rather upper age range of the research project (20-40y).	The Sustainable Food Youth Network owns no rooms and uses ever-changing sites, e.g. rooms of cooperating organisations for their informal monthly meeting. The group's actions take place in institutions or in public space every month	The Sustainable Food Youth Network Switzerland is part of a global movement and the equivalent youth movement in Switzerland, the Youth Network was founded in 2011 in Zurich and has active groups in around 4 cities resp. regions including the city of Zurich.	Organising and con-ducting actions (some of them in public space), with which they address the responsibility of the society for a conscious, sustainable food consumption. Discussing and planning past and future projects, actions and events at the informal monthly meeting.	Young people between 20 and 40 years old, the professions of some are tied to the themes of the network but are generally mixed. Actors are mainly higher educated. The group consists of a core team (10-20 persons) and the participants of the informal monthly meeting in ever-changing constellations.	First contact had been made through the participation in one of the events organised by the group. In the course of the ethnographic work, the researcher has had access to all activities (including core team meetings) and had been actively participating in the activities of the group.	No greater influence of the group/research dynamics by particular features of the city.

APPENDIX B – TABLE BIOGRAPHIES

BOLOGNA

NAME OF THE INTERVIEWEE	*AGE*	*GENDER*	*PLACE OF BIRTH*	*PLACE OF THE INTERVIEW*	*JUSTIFICATION/RELEVANCE OF THE INTERVIEW (WITHIN A GROUP CASE AND THE CITY CASE)*	*PROBLEMS AND/OR OBSTACLES NOTICED DURING THE INTERVIEW*
Stefano, Bologna	21	M	Bologna	Within the Ultras center	Representative example of a common path of engagement/access in the ultras group combined with a very peculiar and complex personal history that influences the meaning the interviewee attaches to his participation.	In consideration of the sensitivity of some events mentioned during the dialogue, the interview was particularly demanding on an emotional level.
Lisa, Bologna	25	F	Bologna	Within the Ultras center	Example one of the few young women engaged in the group: representative case of gender dynamics within the group. Case of early involvement in the ultras community (ultras since late childhood).	Any major problem was encountered during the interview.
Cristian, Bologna	25	M	Medium city in the Centre of Italy	Garden of the Department of Sociology	The interviewee is one of the activists that started the occupation. Despite his young age, he has a long story of political engagement in antagonist political settings that led him to experience also some legal troubles.	The interviewee and the interviewer met the day of the interview for the first time and it is possible that this has influenced the level of confidentiality of the dialogue.
Martina, Bologna	28	F	Small city in the North of Italy	Common room of the Social Center	The interviewee is one of the more active volunteers of one of the projects carried out with the social center. Despite being interested in politics, the participation in the social center is her first real experience of political engagement.	Any major problem was encountered during the interview.
Abdul, Bologna	20	M	Bologna	The premise of the association, close to the city Mosque	He has been recently elected as the leader of the Bologna section of the association; other members of his family have a long lasting experience in participating in Islamic local and national organizations	Instead of focusing mainly on his own experience, the interviewee "performed" the role of the spokesperson of the group; the interview was conducted at the beginning of the ethnographic work, so in the conversation there have been numerous detours useful to describe the participatory context (but not necessarily starting from the interviewee's own

						experience)
Vanessa/Nassine, Bologna	23	F	Small village in the Emilia –Romagna Region	The interviewee's house	Peculiar story of conversion to Islam; member of the leading group of the Muslim association	After hearing her personal story, it was a little bit difficult to continue with the "exmanent" questions
Sandro, Bologna	25	M	Bologna	Department of Education Bologna	He is one of the leaders and founders of the student network	Time shortage: he had to leave and we could not continue the interview
Clelia, Bologna	23	F	Big city in Germany	A cafè next to the Student network headquarter	She is a member of the board, elected in the University Senate and in the Regional Institution for the right to study	She answered to the initial stimulous focusing only on her participatory career. She talked for a very long time, so then it was very difficult to continue with all the other questions.
Mario, Bologna	30	M	Small village close to Bologna	A cafè inside the structure	He joined the urban sport center from the very beginning, constructing the bike park and currently teaching bike-riding	The interviewee was very shy and so the interview was not fluent and hardly touched the expected issues; furthermore at a certain point other people entered in the cafè embarrassing him even more.
Antonella, Bologna	28	*F*	Bologna	A cafè inside the structure	She is one of the founding members. Actually, she teaches a sport, supervises a project with the social services and is actively involved in the management	None
Giovanna, Bologna	18	F	Bologna	At school (classroom)	She is one of the leaders of the association dealing with mafia issues at school	After the beginning, it was very difficult to go in-depth in the emerging topics.
Cristina, Bologna	18	F	Bologna	At school (classroom)	She is one of the leader of the association dealing with mafia issues at school	After her story and the immanent questions, we had very small space to ask other questions

ESKIŞEHIR

NAME OF THE INTERVIEWEE	*AGE*	*GENDER*	*PLACE OF BIRTH*	*PLACE OF THE INTERVIEW*	*JUSTIFICATION/RELEVANCE OF THE INTERVIEW (WITHIN A GROUP CASE AND THE CITY CASE)*	*PROBLEMS AND/OR OBSTACLES NOTICED DURING THE INTERVIEW*
Mert_Eskişehir	Born in 1992, 25 years old	M	Izmir	Coffee place	His participation type corresponds to one of the emerging type we identified in our case studies: the careerist volunteer. His life story contributes to a better understanding of the type.	Recently involved in a politics-related conflict with the "adult" part of the organization, he was confused about how much to tell about it. On the one hand, he was extremely eager to tell that what happened to him was unfair, but on the other hand he was not sure how much to tell about the "internal stuff" of the organization. Some "manipulation" might have taken place, towards the end of the interview, to make him talk more about it.
Narin_Eskişehir	Born in 1994, 23 years old	F	Eskişehir	Coffee place	Her participation type corresponds to one of the emerging type we identified in our case studies. Her life story would complement the definition of the careerist volunteer type.	As one of the most active member of the organization she is a part of, even if she had been informed in a detailed way about the biographical interview process, she was so much focused to talk about her participatory activities that she blocked when she had been asked to tell about her life in a more general way. Questions had to be asked to make her continue.
Salih_Eskişehir	Born in 1991, 26 years	M	Mersin	Youth Center	His beginning as participant which ends up being a professional youth worker makes his story interesting, and tells us more about the particular functioning of the youth	None

	old				Center.	
Gamze_Eskişehir	Born in 1987, 30 years old	F	Eskişehir	Youth Center	Her values and her artistic and sportive activities make her story interesting, and tell us more about the particular functioning of the youth Center.	None
Hakan_Eskişehir	Born in 1989, 28 years old	M	Yüksekova	Youth Center	He was a user of the youth Center and became a professional youth worker. His conservative and disadvantaged social background reflect some aspects of the Center.	The setting, this interviewee is a part of, was one of the most difficult in terms of access. The interview has been realized in an early stage of our relationship, and the interviewee was a little bit prudent.
Selin_Eskişehir	Born in 1998, 19 years old	M	Eskişehir	Youth Center	Her conservative values, her low social and cultural capital on the one hand, her aspirations, notably, in terms of education on the other, reveals the perspective of a participant which can be associated with this setting we identified as post-traditional conservative.	The setting, this interviewee is a part of, was one of the most difficult in terms of access. A youth worker intervened a few times during the interview. We still decided to choose this particular interview because it reveals some major features of the setting.
Mithat_Eskişehir	Born in 1984, 33 years old	M	Kirkuk, Iraq	Coffee house	A member of the street musicians, we especially wanted to interview him since he is a refugee from Iraq.	None
Azad_Eskişehir	Born in 1991, 26 years old	M	Yüksekova	Coffee house	A member of the street musicians, we wanted to interview him since he is very talkative.	None
Ali Müfit_Eskişehir	Born in 1995, 22	M	Bursa	Cultural Center of the student	He comes from a religious family, who are Justice and Development Party voters, whereas he . is active in a very strong opposition student initiative. We thought it is important	None

	years old			initiative	to study this contradiction.	
Zühre_Eskişehir	Born in 1995, 22 years old	F	Bursa	Cultural Center of the student initiative	She was one of the very active young people who was very friendly with our Yeditepe University research team during our student initiative case study. In fact, our research team members had done another biographical interview but then as our case study continues, she left the group and that is why we decided to make a biographical interview with Zehra. Since she comes from a conservative family we thought that it is interesting to study this political difference between the family members and Zehra.	None
Selim_Eskişehir	Born in 1983, 34 years old	M	Eskişehir	Coffee house	Based on the argument that not only fan clubs but individual support and participation is important, we chose him as an individual supporter of the team	None
Yunus_Eskişehir	Born in 1990, 27 years old	M	Eskişehir	Coffee house	We interviewed him as a *member of a certain fan group, a marginal one though: Ultras Problem.* We chose to interview him as a disadvantaged young person who had been looking for a job for a long time but also as someone who has a political standing to better see the links between politics and the local football scene.	None

FRANKFURT

NAME OF THE INTERVIEWEE	*AGE*	*GENDER*	*PLACE OF THE INTERVIEW*	*JUSTIFICATION/RELEVANCE OF THE INTERVIEW (WITHIN A GROUP CASE AND THE CITY CASE)*	*PROBLEMS AND/OR OBSTACLES NOTICED DURING THE INTERVIEW*
Dennis	20	M	Frankfurt	Biography full of ruptures; marginal role in the crew (no typical sprayer), graffiti as rebellion, later to make city more beautiful. Dennis is one of the youngest members of the crew, as he is new he is in a testing phase and not an official member we thought it could be very interesting to conduct an interview with him to find out about the access to the group.	
Maxi-milian	23	M	Frankfurt	Member of the sprayers inner core. Maximilian is the one, who wanted to talk to us, as he is a student of social sciences he was very open-minded for our research.	
Marcus	20	M	Frankfurt	He is one of the frequent visitors of the centre for more than 10 years now. During our observations, he was always very interested in talking and working with us. As he is also involved in the girls group, so he was very interesting for us.	Problem of chronological order in interview and transcript
Khaled	21			During our participant observation we met Khaled who records his songs in the youth centre with Franz – the professional of the recording studio. We asked Khaled if he likes to talk to us and so he explained us his access to the centre as someone who is not a regularly visitor.	Interview postponed by interviewee several times
Erika	18	F	Frankfurt	She is a young activist in the PCC and a part of the inner group, even though she is just 18 years old. Erika seemed always very active, enthusiastic and is good in representing herself. Her age, her high level of activity and strong presence was the motivation to interview her.	
Lucas	26	M	Frankfurt	He is the gatekeeper to the case, a leader-figure and the only member of the old founding-group of the PCC. Also he was our main contact person during our research. We decided to interview him for a broad view on the PCC's history and also his.	Lucas and his interviewer knew each other personally, which is why a second interviewer was also present the situation to prevent implicit narration.
Giorgio	20	M	[City A]	He is an ex-member of the board from 2014-2015. During a group discussion, he had criticised the YSR for its lack of "truly" political work, the privileged position and the lack of content.	

				Also, he was involved in a self-organised network of political students demonstrating for the rights of young refugees. We wanted to hear more of his critical stance, his political work and personal way of live.	
Paula	16	F	Frankfurt	She is a newbie in the YSR. We have seen her at a board meeting for the first time and she was very keen of getting involved, even though some of the (male) members seemed to thwart her out. We wanted to inform us about her life, her way into the YSR and her motivation to do so. Also she told us, she is also involved in more informal politics.	
Pauline	17	F	*Frankfurt*	It was difficult to keep the contact with the very fluid and volatile group. Pauline was the one who told us, that if one starts something, one has to finish it and so she did a biographical interview with us. As she is a member of the group, we wanted to talk to her.	
Magdalena	17	F	*Frankfurt*	Magdalena is, after a conflict with the group, an ex-member. We were interested in her position as an outsider of the group, her reasons and her perspective on her former group. She was very open-minded and wanted to help us out.	
David	18	M	Frankfurt	"Typical" care background with precarious living conditions leading to his move to public care. As David is the only full-aged resident of the groups, we asked him, if he likes to do a biographical interview and he did so.	
Simon	15	M	*Frankfurt*	During our observation we got to know Simon, who is very much involved in discussions with the professionals. As he has academicians as parents and is one of the youngest residents, we asked him for permission to ask his father for permission to let us talk to him.	

GOTHENBURG

NAME OF THE INTERVIEWEE	*AGE*	*GENDER*	*PLACE OF BIRTH*	*PLACE OF THE INTERVIEW*	*JUSTIFICATION/RELEVANCE OF THE INTERVIEW (WITHIN A GROUP CASE AND THE CITY CASE)*	*PROBLEMS AND/OR OBSTACLES NOTICED DURING THE INTERVIEW*
Amanda, Gothenburg, Formal Youth Organisation	*17*	*Female*	*Gothenburg*	*Institution of social work, University of Gothenburg*	*Active member.*	*Couple of short interruptions due to the interview setting.*
Peter, Gothenburg, Formal Youth Organisation	*15*	*Male*	*Gothenburg*	*Institution of social work, University of Gothenburg*	*Active member.*	*A narrative less about personal life experiences and more about general, political outlook.*
Johanna, Gothenburg, Theatre Group	*20*	*Female*	*Gothenburg*	*Institution of social work, University of Gothenburg*	*Three of the members agreed to biographical interviews. All three were interviewed. Following selection criteria two of the biographies were chosen for transcription.*	
Anna, Gothenburg, Theatre Group	*20*	*Female*	*Gothenburg*	*Institution of social work, University of Gothenburg*	*See above*	
Linda, Gothenburg, Dance Group	*19*	*Female*	*Gothenburg*	*Youth centre*	*Active member in the association. Involved in various activities concerning the group.*	
Josefine, Gothenburg, Dance Group	*18*	*Female*	*Gothenburg*	*Youth centre*	*An engaged member of the group.*	*Shortest of the interviews (about 45 minutes). Touched upon key life experiences but did not elaborate. Narrative mostly about the meaning of music.*

Jessy, Gothenburg, TYC	***20***	***Female***	***Sweden***	***Department of Social Work, University of Gothenburg***	***Junior youth leader. Her biography characterised by struggles, ups and downs and feelings of exclusion. Interested in art. Inequalities connected to race, class and gender is being put forward in the interview.***	***After the interview, J concluded that she wanted to do the interview again, because she would have liked to be more open-hearted about some things she had left out of her story. But we never did.***
Markus, Gothenburg, (TYC)	*20*	*Male*	*Sweden*	*Department of Social Work, University of Gothenburg*	*Junior youth leader. The life story is framed by a great interest in music. Inequalities connected to race, class and gender is being put forward in the interview.*	
Sarah, Gothenburg, (TYG)	*20*	*She, Xe or The One*	*Sweden*	*Department of Social Work, University of Gothenburg*	*The biography is characterised by feelings of exclusion – from early childhood and through adolescence – related to being a transgender person in a heterosexual world. The youth group is presented as a free space where the members can rest, empower each other and have a chance to "be the norm".*	
Abbas, Gothenburg, (FSA)	*25*	*Male*	*Sweden*	*Department of Social Work, University of Gothenburg*	*One strain in this biography is about existential questions about identity, and another about not fitting into the school system. Yet another track is about a rich fantasy, persistency, a constant desire to innovate, and a huge drive to create things and structures that "makes the world a better place".*	

MANCHESTER

NAME OF THE INTERVIEWEE	*AGE*	*GENDER*	*PLACE OF BIRTH*	*PLACE OF THE INTERVIEW*	*JUSTIFICATION/RELEVANCE OF THE INTERVIEW (WITHIN A GROUP CASE AND THE CITY CASE)*	*PROBLEMS AND/OR OBSTACLES NOTICED DURING THE INTERVIEW*
Zara_Manchester	26	Female	UK	International Centre, Manchester	Zara is an active feminist involved in a number of groups in Manchester and both online and offline activism.	Aside from the need to prompt and make the interview more conversational, none.
Rita_Manchester	25	Female	UK	RAPAR, Manchester	Rita is an activist and works for a prominent young people's charity in Manchester.	Aside from the need to prompt and make the interview more conversational, none.
Megan_Manchester	21	Female	UK	MMU, Manchester	Megan is chair of the MMU Feminist Society and active in campaigning for social issues within the university and outside.	Aside from the need to prompt and make the interview more conversational, none.
David_Manchester	26	Male	Nigeria	Youth Centre	David is a youth worker in the North Manchester case study.	The interview was a long narrative. It may have been constrained by time.
Tracey_Mancehster	16	Female	UK	Youth Centre	Tracey is a participant in the North Manchester case and a Behaviour Ambassador.	The interview took place in the Youth Club and may have been constrained by the timetable there.
Mercy_Manchester	17	Female	Angola	Youth Centre	Mercy is a participant in the North Manchester case study.	The interview took place in the Youth Club and may have been constrained by the timetable there.
Rick_Manchester	26	Male		F Café, Manchester	Rick is a professional musician and university music teacher specialising in composition. He participates in Noise Upstairs	None
Owen_Manchester	24	Male		Brooks, MMU	Owen is a professional musician specialising in free improvised music. He participates in Noise Upstairs	None

Michel_Manchester	24	Male	England	Brooks, MMU	Michel is one of the most active members of the SSSP group, and offers good elements to understand youth's engagement in formal politics.	None
Amos_Manchester	26	Male	Nigeria	Youth Centre	Amos is an active member of the Youth Council in Manchester.	None
Abraham_Manchester	25	Male	UK	Brooks, MMU	Abraham is an active member of a prominent charity and the Youth Council	None

PLOVDIV

NAME OF THE INTERVIEWEE	***AGE***	***GENDER***	***PLACE OF BIRTH***	***PLACE OF THE INTERVIEW***	***JUSTIFICATION/RELEVANCE OF THE INTERVIEW (WITHIN A GROUP CASE AND THE CITY CASE)***	***PROBLEMS AND/OR OBSTACLES NOTICED DURING THE INTERVIEW***
Philip, Plovdiv	*26*	*M*	*Sofia*	*Philip's home*	*One of the two founding members of the group*	*Wish of the respondent to cooperate; no problems except for several interruptions for phone calls*
Mario, Plovdiv	*24*	*M*	*Varna*	*Mario's home*	*One of the two founding members of the group; the main author of its ideology*	*Benevolence of the respondent; pleasant talk interrupted several times for phone calls and coffee-making; informal continuation of the conversation after the end of the record*
Andrey, Plovdiv	*29*	*M*	*Haskovo*	*Office of a society for bird protection*	*Expert ecologist dedicated to concrete nature preservation issues, with no out-of-job serious public affiliation; one of those that can scientifically back eco-causes*	*Light and pleasant conversation, uninterrupted; readiness of the respondent to speak about all topics except personal life*
Amelia, Plovdiv	*27*	*F*	*Plovdiv*	*The interviewer's*	*Green party senior officer; one of those that*	*A little bit strained during the interview; apparently*

				home	*organizationally and ideologically develop eco-causes and seek supporters*	*a person with very little free time; highly resolute and determined in convincing the interviewer*
Milena, Plovdiv	*34*	*F*	*Small village near Plovdiv*	*On a bench at the City Garden*	*An ordinary eco-activist who does not accept this as her chief job; there are many of the same type*	*Very calm, willing to give the interview, at the same time uneasy when speaking about her difficult childhood*
Sergei, Plovdiv	*25*	*M*	*Pazardzhik*	*The organization's Plovdiv office*	*Deputy coordinator of the organization; devoted to its activities on a long-term basis (unlike most of the accidental volunteers) and willing to proceed with volunteering in other spheres afterwards*	*Familiar to the interviewer from the first Partispace phase; very open and sociable, speaking with pleasure about his own activities; after the end of the record proposed mannerly coffee and water to the interviewer*
Anita, Plovdiv	*23*	*F*	*Plovdiv*	*The organization's Plovdiv office*	*Regional coordinator of the organization which proves to be 'her life' (much more important than the jobs she is doing just for subsistence); moreover, willing to have a career in the same organization after leaving its youth section*	*Emotional, ready to speak a lot about all initiatives, more than about herself*
Rada, Plovdiv	*27*	*F*	*Bourgas*	*In a bar in a seaside resort during a "summer university"*	*One of the middle "senior" staff of the Council that entered the organization almost by accidentally; interesting because of the hypothesis it was the same with many student activists*	*She declared eagerness to retell everything about her life; then during the interview we saw uneasiness and preponderance to clichés and drawing rosy pictures; after the end of the record she admitted personal and emotional problems*
Emil, Plovdiv	*31*	*M*	*Plovdiv*	*In two restaurants and in the interviewer's car*	*One of the middle "senior" staff of the Council that joined the organization because of career ambitions and pre-university activism; it is an example for such people who consider membership in student structures as a "necessary" step for their development*	*Very intermittent interview as a result of constant change of places due to limited time available of the interview; despite that, he proved to be a good speaker, in need of very few questions to structure his narration.*
Silvia, Plovdiv	*31*	*F*	*Karlovo (small town near Plovdiv)*	*The Foundation's Plovdiv office*	*CEO of the Foundation; a person with experience from civic activities abroad and wishes to "translate" them in a local environment*	*Some distrust with the interviewer despite acquaintance from the previous Partispace phase; haste and uncertainty to be observed during the whole conversation*

Alexander, Plovdiv	*33*	*M*	*Plovdiv*	*The Foundation's Plovdiv office*	*Project-coordinator of the Foundation; such a work is simply relevant to his plans and career ambitions for the moment*	*Concentrated and self-confident in the interview; no problems – just like some professional engagement*
Antonia, Plovdiv	*25*	*F*	*Plovdiv*	*The political party's Plovdiv office*	*Chair of the organization; a young person who entered a political party on emotional reasons, without family background and contrary to the mainstream attitudes*	*She was willing to cooperate but at the same time seemed to be hiding problems in the organization or speaking about them in an abstract manner; at several times it happened that she gave answers which later on were modified to become more "acceptable" from the party viewpoint.*
Mihail, Plovdiv	*26*	*M*	*Plovdiv*	*The political party's Plovdiv office*	*Chair of one of the sub-section of the organization in one of the Plovdiv districts; an example of a young person who enters a political party because of his family background and affiliations*	*He had the tendency of speaking much more about the social and political environment than about himself; both with Antonia were switching off phones during the interviews.*

RENNES

NAME OF THE INTERVIEWEE	***AGE***	***GENDER***	***PLACE OF BIRTH***	***PLACE OF THE INTERVIEW***	***JUSTIFICATION/RELEVANCE OF THE INTERVIEW (WITHIN A GROUP CASE AND THE CITY CASE)***	***PROBLEMS AND/OR OBSTACLES NOTICED DURING THE INTERVIEW***
Asma, Rennes	*17*	*F*	*Morocco*	*Rennes*	*Involved in the Services Organization during the summer 2016. She was the president of the SO. Since the SO she is involved in two local projects.*	*No*
Marjane, Rennes	*17*	*F*		*Rennes*	*Involved in the SO during the summer 2016. She was the secretary of the Service Orgnisation. After the summer, she decided to stop her participation due to a lack of*	*No*

					time and to prioritise school (year of the baccalaureat)	
Léna, Rennes		*F*		*Rennes*	*Involved in the Youth center. Main experience of participation and linked with her professional project.*	*No*
Thibault, Rennes	*26*	*H*	*Vannes*	*Vannes*	*Involved in the Youth Center Involved in many associations since a long time. Currently president of the YC*	*No*
Francis, Rennes		*H*	*Vannes*	*Vannes*	*Involved in the YC*	*No*
Malik, Rennes		*H*	*Iran*	*Rennes*	*Involved in DIDA (informal), a new association for asylum seekers. He lives in France since*	*No*
Marine, Rennes	*25*	*F*		*Rennes*	*Involved in DIDA (informal), a new association for asylum seekers. Mainly volunteer in the association.*	*No*
Paul, Rennes	*28*	*H*	*Rennes*	*Rennes*	*Involved in the Artistic Lab since it started. Currently employee of the association. Many and various experiences of participation (political party, association, international and cultural projects).*	*No*
Anatole, Rennes	*20*			*Rennes*	*Involved in the AL*	*No*
Lorie, Rennes	*25*	*F*		*Rennes*	*Involved in the AL since it started. She made a civic service in the association. Various experiences of participation in social sector (link with her professional project).*	*No*
Sophie, Rennes	*28*	*F*		*Rennes*	*Involved in NDE (Standing Up All Night movement) – political field (informal)*	*No*

Michel, Rennes		*H*		*Rennes*	*Involved in NDE ((Standing Up All Night movement) – political field (informal)*	*No*
Basile, Rennes	*22*	*H*		*Rennes*	*Involved in ENDLESS, a youth media on Internet (informal)*	*No*
Kilian, Rennes	*22*	*H*		*Rennes*	*Involved in ENDLESS, a youth media on Internet (informal)*	*No*

ZURICH

NAME OF THE INTERVIEWEE	AGE	GEN-DER	PLACE OF BIRTH	PLACE OF THE INTERVIEW	JUSTIFICATION/RELEVANCE OF THE INTERVIEW (WITHIN A GROUP CASE AND THE CITY CASE)	PROBLEMS AND/OR OBSTACLES NOTICED DURING THE INTERVIEW
Martin_Zurich (Student Committee)	18	M	Switzerland (Canton of Zurich)	School	**Within case**: Criteria for selection were long experience with participation setting, male, only sporadically showing high engagement, trusting relationship established. **Within city case**: participant in a formal context, education context, not yet fully professionally active, rather privileged socio-economic family background, trinational/second generation migrant background	None but interestingly, the participation setting was not mentioned during initial free account of life story.
Anna_Zurich (Student Committee)	18	F	UK	School	**Within case:** Criteria for selection were long experience with participation setting, female, constantly showing high engagement. **Within city case:** participant in a formal context, education context, not yet fully professionally active, rather privileged socio-economic family background, trinational/second generation migrant background	None but interestingly, the participation setting was not mentioned during initial free account of life story.
Hafsa_Zurich (Youth Job Office)	25	M	East African	Youth room of the branch office of the open youth work provider	**Within the case study**: Together with other youths, Hafsa helped to found the YJO 10 years ago. Thus, interviewing him allowed to learn more about the retrospective reflection and biographical outreach of taking part in the YJO and other open youth work projects. **Within the city case:** The interview allows to learn more about the relevance of participation experiences in the biography of a "disadvantaged" youth and the connection between participation experiences and societal (self-	During the interview, no major problems occurred. However, the interview came to end after 01:45h because of the interruption of the head of the branch office of the open youth work provider.

					)integration.	
Klara_Zurich (Youth Job Office)	14	F	Switzerland (Canton of Zurich)	Youth room of the branch office of the open youth work provider	**Within the case study:** The interview allowed – in contrast to the other biographical interview within the case study – to learn more about the motives for and the meaning of taking part in the YJO of a current (new as well as youngest) member of the job coordination team. **Within the city case:** The interview allows to learn more about the biographical relevance of participation activities of a young person from the lowest edge of the considered age range.	The stimulus did not really generated a narrative, rather a short report of biographical facts. Generating narratives was also difficult for the rest of the interview; answers were rather descriptive and short. The interviewer had to take a rather active role.
Nathanael_ Zurich (Scouts)	15	M	Switzerland (Canton of Zurich)	Premises of the scout-section	**Within the case study:** Nathanael is one of the youngest scout-leaders and has a brother who is also a scout.* **Within the city case:** The interview allows to learn more about how a young person can learn to position herself through membership in an organized group. (*Age, Sex, duration of scout-engagement and the question if he/she has a brother or sister who also participates in the scout-section can be regarded as main distinctive attributes among the scouts.)	The duration of the interview was limited in time. Nathanael had to go to a meeting of the scout-leaders directly after the interview. However, this limitation did not interfere with the interview as no more time was needed.
Andrea_ Zurich (Scouts)	19	F	Switzerland (Canton of Zurich)	Premises of the scout-section	**Within the case study** Andrea is one of the oldest scout-leaders and has no brother or sister who is active as scout.* **Within the city case:** The interview allows to learn more about how the desire of long-term social relationships can evolve and how that desire can be satisfied.	Many questions were needed to generate a narrative flow. During the interview, Andrea pointed out more than once, that she finds it difficult to tell her life story.
Pablo_Zurich (Street Sports Club)	23	M	Switzerland (Canton of Bern)	rented room of a youth culture house	**Within the case study:** Pablo is the trainer of the training group. He has been training for about 10 years and was originally one of the first students of the private limited company. This means that the trainer has a good insight into the structures and the changes in the company within the last years. **Within the city case:** The interview gives an idea about what it means to be a leader of a sports group (for peers).	During the interview, no major problems occurred.
Eliane_Zurich (Street Sports Club)	25	F	Switzerland (Canton of Solothurn)	rented room of a youth culture house	**Within the case study**: Eliane has been part of the training group for a year, so she is one of the newest members. Considering her age, she is one of the older members of the training group. Apart from that, she is one of few women in the training group. **Within the city case:** The	The stimulus did not really generated a narrative, rather a short report of biographical facts. Due to her full timetable, Eliane seemed very stressed

					interview shows what it means for a young woman to try out different activities and participation settings.	during the interview.
Betty_Zurich (Open Education Collective)	27	F	UK	Working place	**Within the case study:** Betty attracted our attention at the plenary assembly of the OEC. She played a mediating role between the different positions among the members of the plenary assembly. **Within the city case:** The interview shows what the city of Zurich (and its inherent opportunities) means to a young woman living in the suburb.	During the interview, no major problems occurred.
Jakob_Zurich (Open Education Collective)	33	M	Switzerland (Canton of Zurich)	private room in the city centre of Zurich	**Within the case study:** Jakob was chosen because of his very decided opinions as well as his contacts to the right of residence movement and the squatter scene. **Within the city case:** Jakob comes from an academic milieu. He grew up in a well-situated part of Zurich.	During the interview, no major problems occurred.
Sara_Zurich (Sustainable Food Youth Network)	30	F	Switzerland (Canton of Bern)	Working space of a university	**Within the case study:** Sara is a new participant in the activities of the group. Professionally she has nothing to do with the thematic of the group. It was expected that the interview would allow learning more about the motivations to join the group as well as the openness of the group. **Within the city case:** The interview allows to learn more about the biographical relevance of rather low-threshold, non-compulsory participation activities of a young person from the upper end of the considered age range.	During the interview, no major problems occurred. However, Sara asked to limit the interview to a maximum of 1,5 hours. The stimulus did not generate a narrative, thus the interview was rather guided by the interviewer's questions.
Hanna_Zurich (Sustainable Food Youth Network)	32	F	Germany	Hanna's home	**Within the case study:** Hanna is a long-term participant in the activities of the group, core team member and currently very active in organising projects. Professionally she has a lot to do with the thematic of the group and privately she has a lot to do with members of the group, thus the activities seemed to be closely linked to other spheres of her life. **Within the city case:** The interview allows to learn more about the biographical relevance of rather low-threshold, non-compulsory participation activities of a person over the upper age range but looking back on her youth.	Hanna cancelled the interview date agreed on two times on short notice. However, once it took place, she took herself a lot of time for the interview. During the interview, no major problems occurred.

APPENDIX C – TABLE BIO CLUSTERS CITIES

Name	Age	Gender	City	Case	Cluster
Christina	27	F	Bologna	High School- Anti Mafia Group	2
Giovanna	29	F	Bologna	High School- Anti Mafia Group	2
Mario	31	M	Bologna	ESC (Extreme Sport Centre)	2
Antonella	29	F	Bologna	ESC (Extreme Sport Centre)	2
Cristian	26	M	Bologna	Social Centre – informal/non-formal	3
Martina	29	F	Bologna	Social Centre – informal/non-formal	3
Clelia	24	F	Bologna	University Student network	3
Sandro	25	M	Bologna	University Student network	3
Stefano	22	M	Bologna	Ultras – formal/non-formal	5
Lisa	26	F	Bologna	Ultras – formal/non-formal	5
Abdul	22	M	Bologna	Islamic Youth Association – formal	4
Vanessa/Nassine	24	F	Bologna	Islamic Youth Association – formal	4
Mert	25	M	Eskişehir	Youth organization of the local branch of a national, humanitarian NGO	1
Salih	26	M	Eskişehir	Youth centre/ local authority municipality 1	1
Selim	34	M	Eskişehir	Local football club fans	3
Yunus	27	M	Eskişehir	Local football club fans	3
Ali Müfit	22	M	Eskişehir	Student initiative (leftist)	3
Zühre	22	F	Eskişehir	Student initiative (leftist)	3
Mithat	33	M	Eskişehir	Street Musicians	4
Azad	26	M	Eskişehir	Street Musicians	4
Hakan	28	M	Eskişehir	Youth center/ ministry 2	1
Gamze	30	F	Eskişehir	Youth centre/ local authority municipality 1	5
Selin	19	F	Eskişehir	Youth center/ ministry 2	5
Narin	23	F	Eskişehir	Youth organization of the local branch of a national, humanitarian NGO	5

Maximilian	23	M	Frankfurt	Graffiti Crew Hoodboys	2
Pauline	16	F	Frankfurt	Informal Group	2
Giorgio	20	M	Frankfurt	YSR (Youth and Students Representation)	3
Dennis	20	M	Frankfurt	Graffiti Crew Hoodboys	5
Erika	18	F	Frankfurt	PCC (Political Cultural Centre)	2
Lucas	26	M	Frankfurt	PCC	4
Paula	16	F	Frankfurt	YSR	4
David	18	M	Frankfurt	Residental Care	5
Magdalena	17	F	Frankfurt	Ex Member of Informal Group	5
Marcus	20	M	Frankfurt	Visitor of Youth Centre	5
Khaled	21	M	Frankfurt	Youth Centre	4
Simon	15	M	Frankfurt	Residental Care	5
Johanna	20	F	Gothenburg	Theatre Group	2
Linda	19	F	Gothenburg	Dance Group	2
Peter	15	M	Gothenburg	Formal Youth Organization	3
Markus	20	M	Gothenburg	The Youth Centre	3
Anna	20	F	Gothenburg	Theatre Group	4
Jessy	27	F	Gothenburg	The Youth Centre	4
Josefine	18	F	Gothenburg	Dance Group	4
Abbas	25	M	Gothenburg	Free Sport Association (FSA)	4
Amanda	17	F	Gothenburg	Formal Youth Organization	4
Sarah	20	F(xe)	Gothenburg	The Youth Group	4
Amos	16	M	Manchester	Youth council Manchester (YCG) – formal	1
Abraham	16	M	Manchester	Youth council Manchester (YCG) – formal	1
David	26	M	Manchester	North Manchester Youth Club and The Agency (Contact Theatre)	1
Owen	24	M	Manchester	Music Performance Collective – formal/informal	2
Michel	23	M	Manchester	Socialist party (SP) – formal	3
Zara	26	F	Manchester	Young feminist movement – formal/non-formal and informal	4

Tracey	26	F	Manchester	North Manchester Youth Club and The Agency (Contact Theatre)	4
Mercy	16	F	Manchester	North Manchester Youth Club and The Agency (Contact Theatre)	4
Rita	25	F	Manchester	Young feminist movement – formal/non-formal and informal	4
Megan	21	F	Manchester	Young feminist movement – formal/non-formal and informal	4
Rick	24	M	Manchester	Music Performance Collective – formal/informal	5
Emil	31	M	Plovdiv	Student Council at a university	1
Alexander	33	M	Plovdiv	Youth entrepreneurship foundation	1
Silvia	31	F	Plovdiv	Youth entrepreneurship foundation	1
Rada	27	F	Plovdiv	Student Council at a university	2
Anita	23	F	Plovdiv	Youth section of a charity organization	3
Sergei	25	M	Plovdiv	Youth section of a charity organization	3
Mario	24	M	Plovdiv	Informal Network for Art and Debate	3
Philip	26	M	Plovdiv	Informal Network for Art and Debate	3
Mihail	26	M	Plovdiv	Youth section of a political party (socialists)	3
Amelia	27	F	Plovdiv	Ecological organization	3
Milena	34	F	Plovdiv	Ecological organization	3
Andrey	29	M	Plovdiv	Ecological organization	3
Antonia	25	F	Plovdiv	Youth section of a political party (socialists)	5
Thibault	26	M	Rennes	Youth Centre	1
Francis	30	M	Rennes	Youth Centre	1
Basile	22	M	Rennes	Endless	1
Asma	17	F	Rennes	Service Organisation	1
Marjane	17	F	Rennes	Service Organisation	2
Kilian	22	M	Rennes	Endless	3
Malik	32	M	Rennes	DIDA	4
Paul	28	M	Rennes	ALAB	5
Lena	23	F	Rennes	Youth Centre	5
Marine	25	F	Rennes	DIDA	5

Anatole	20	M	Rennes	ALAB	5
Lorie	25	F	Rennes	ALAB	5
Hanna	32	F	Zurich	Sustainable Food Youth Network	2
Klara	14	F	Zurich	Youth Job Office	1
Nathanael	15	M	Zurich	Scouts	1
Eliane	26	F	Zurich	Street Sports Club	2
Betty	28	F	Zurich	Open Education Collective	2
Jakob	34	M	Zurich	Open Education Collective	2
Sara	30	F	Zurich	Sustainable Food Youth Network	2
Pablo	24	M	Zurich	Street Sports Club	3
Martin	19	M	Zurich	Student Committee	4
Anna	29	F	Zurich	Student Committee	4
Hafsa	36	M	Zurich	Youth Job Office	4
Andrea	19	F	Zurich	Scouts	4

APPENDIX D – TABLE BIO CLUSTERS AGE

Name	Age	Gender	City	Case	Cluster
Klara	14	F	Zurich	Youth Job Office	1
Simon	15	M	Frankfurt	Residential Care	5
Peter	15	M	Gothenburg	Formal Youth Organization	3
Nathanael	15	M	Zurich	Scouts	1
Pauline	16	F	Frankfurt	Informal Group	2
Paula	16	F	Frankfurt	YSR	4
Amos	16	M	Manchester	Youth council Manchester (YCG) – formal	1
Abraham	16	M	Manchester	Youth council Manchester (YCG) – formal	1
Mercy	16	F	Manchester	North Manchester Youth Club and The Agency (Contact Theatre)	4
Magdalena	17	F	Frankfurt	Ex Member of Informal Group	5
Amanda	17	F	Gothenburg	Formal Youth Organization	4
Asma	17	F	Rennes	Service Organisation	1
Marjane	17	F	Rennes	Service Organisation	2
Erika	18	F	Frankfurt	PCC (Political Cultural Centre)	2
David	18	M	Frankfurt	Residential Care	5
Josefine	18	F	Gothenburg	Dance Group	4
Selin	19	F	Eskişehir	Youth centre/ ministry 2	5
Linda	19	F	Gothenburg	Dance Group	2
Martin	19	M	Zurich	Student Committee	4
Andrea	19	F	Zurich	Scouts	4
Giorgio	20	M	Frankfurt	YSR (Youth and Students Representation)	3
Dennis	20	M	Frankfurt	Graffiti Crew Hoodboys	5
Marcus	20	M	Frankfurt	Visitor of Youth Centre	5
Johanna	20	F	Gothenburg	Theatre Group	2

Markus	20	M	Gothenburg	The Youth Centre	3
Anna	20	F	Gothenburg	Theatre Group	4
Sarah	20	F(xe)	Gothenburg	The Youth Group	4
Anatole	20	M	Rennes	ALAB	5
Khaled	21	M	Frankfurt	Youth Centre	4
Megan	21	F	Manchester	Young feminist movement – formal/non-formal and informal	4
Stefano	22	M	Bologna	Ultras – formal/non-formal	5
Abdul	22	M	Bologna	Islamic Youth Association – formal	4
Ali Müfit	22	M	Eskişehir	Student initiative (leftist)	3
Zühre	22	F	Eskişehir	Student initiative (leftist)	3
Basile	22	M	Rennes	Endless	1
Kilian	22	M	Rennes	Endless	3
Narin	23	F	Eskişehir	Youth organization of the local branch of a national, humanitarian NGO	5
Maximilian	23	M	Frankfurt	Graffiti Crew Hoodboys	2
Michel	23	M	Manchester	Socialist party (SP) – formal	3
Anita	23	F	Plovdiv	Youth section of a charity organization	3
Lena	23	F	Rennes	Youth Centre	5
Clelia	24	F	Bologna	University Student network	3
Vanessa/Nassine	24	F	Bologna	Islamic Youth Association – formal	4
Owen	24	M	Manchester	Music Performance Collective – formal/informal	2
Rick	24	M	Manchester	Music Performance Collective – formal/informal	5
Mario	24	M	Plovdiv	Informal Network for Art and Debate	3
Pablo	24	M	Zurich	Street Sports Club	3
Sandro	25	M	Bologna	University Student network	3
Mert	25	M	Eskişehir	Youth organization of the local branch of a national, humanitarian NGO	1
Abbas	25	M	Gothenburg	Free Sport Association (FSA)	4

Rita	25	F	Manchester	Young feminist movement – formal/non-formal and informal	4
Sergei	25	M	Plovdiv	Youth section of a charity organization	3
Antonia	25	F	Plovdiv	Youth section of a political party (socialists)	5
Marine	25	F	Rennes	DIDA	5
Lorie	25	F	Rennes	ALAB	5
Cristian	26	M	Bologna	Social Centre – informal/non-formal	3
Lisa	26	F	Bologna	Ultras – formal/non-formal	5
Salih	26	M	Eskişehir	Youth centre/ local authority municipality 1	1
Azad	26	M	Eskişehir	Street Musicians	4
Lucas	26	M	Frankfurt	PCC	4
David	26	M	Manchester	North Manchester Youth Club and The Agency (Contact Theatre)	1
Zara	26	F	Manchester	Young feminist movement – formal/non-formal and informal	4
Tracey	26	F	Manchester	North Manchester Youth Club and The Agency (Contact Theatre)	4
Philip	26	M	Plovdiv	Informal Network for Art and Debate	3
Mihail	26	M	Plovdiv	Youth section of a political party (socialists)	3
Thibault	26	M	Rennes	Youth Centre	1
Eliane	26	F	Zurich	Street Sports Club	2
Christina	27	F	Bologna	High School- Anti Mafia Group	2
Yunus	27	M	Eskişehir	Local football club fans	3
Jessy	27	F	Gothenburg	The Youth Centre	4
Rada	27	F	Plovdiv	Student Council at a university	2
Amelia	27	F	Plovdiv	Ecological organization	3
Hakan	28	M	Eskişehir	Youth center/ ministry 2	1
Paul	28	M	Rennes	ALAB	5
Betty	28	F	Zurich	Open Education Collective	2
Giovanna	29	F	Bologna	High School- Anti Mafia Group	2
Antonella	29	F	Bologna	ESC (Extreme Sport Centre)	2
Martina	29	F	Bologna	Social Centre – informal/non-formal	3

Andrey	29	M	Plovdiv	Ecological organization	3
Anna	29	F	Zurich	Student Committee	4
Gamze	30	F	Eskişehir	Youth centre/ local authority municipality 1	5
Francis	30	M	Rennes	Youth Centre	1
Mario	31	M	Bologna	ESC (Extreme Sport Centre)	2
Emil	31	M	Plovdiv	Student Council at a university	1
Silvia	31	F	Plovdiv	Youth entrepreneurship foundation	1
Sara	30	F	Zurich	Sustainable Food Youth Network	2
Malik	32	M	Rennes	DIDA	4
Mithat	33	M	Eskişehir	Street Musicians	4
Alexander	33	M	Plovdiv	Youth entrepreneurship foundation	1
Hanna	33	F	Zurich	Sustainable Food Youth Network	2
Selim	34	M	Eskişehir	Local football club fans	3
Milena	34	F	Plovdiv	Ecological organization	3
Jakob	34	M	Zurich	Open Education Collective	2
Hafsa	36	M	Zurich	Youth Job Office	4

APPENDIX E – TABLE BIO CLUSTER GENDER

Name	Age	Gender	City	Case	Cluster
Klara	14	F	Zurich	Youth Job Office	1
Pauline	16	F	Frankfurt	Informal Group	2
Paula	16	F	Frankfurt	YSR	4
Mercy	16	F	Manchester	North Manchester Youth Club and The Agency (Contact Theatre)	4
Magdalena	17	F	Frankfurt	Ex Member of Informal Group	5
Amanda	17	F	Gothenburg	Formal Youth Organization	4
Asma	17	F	Rennes	Service Organisation	1
Marjane	17	F	Rennes	Service Organisation	2
Erika	18	F	Frankfurt	PCC (Political Cultural Centre)	2
Josefine	18	F	Gothenburg	Dance Group	4
Selin	19	F	Eskişehir	Youth center/ ministry 2	5
Linda	19	F	Gothenburg	Dance Group	2
Andrea	19	F	Zurich	Scouts	4
Johanna	20	F	Gothenburg	Theatre Group	2
Anna	20	F	Gothenburg	Theatre Group	4
Megan	21	F	Manchester	Young feminist movement – formal/non-formal and informal	4
Zühre	22	F	Eskişehir	Student initiative (leftist)	3
Narin	23	F	Eskişehir	Youth organization of the local branch of a national, humanitarian NGO	5
Anita	23	F	Plovdiv	Youth section of a charity organization	3
Lena	23	F	Rennes	Youth Centre	5
Clelia	24	F	Bologna	University Student network	3
Vanessa/Nassine	24	F	Bologna	Islamic Youth Association – formal	4
Rita	25	F	Manchester	Young feminist movement – formal/non-formal and informal	4

Antonia	25	F	Plovdiv	Youth section of a political party (socialists)	5
Marine	25	F	Rennes	DIDA	5
Lorie	25	F	Rennes	ALAB	5
Lisa	26	F	Bologna	Ultras – formal/non-formal	5
Zara	26	F	Manchester	Young feminist movement – formal/non-formal and informal	4
Tracey	26	F	Manchester	North Manchester Youth Club and The Agency (Contact Theatre)	4
Eliane	26	F	Zurich	Street Sports club	2
Christina	27	F	Bologna	High School- Anti Mafia Group	2
Jessy	27	F	Gothenburg	The Youth Centre	4
Rada	27	F	Plovdiv	Student Council at a university	2
Betty	28	F	Zurich	Open Education Collective	2
Giovanna	29	F	Bologna	High School- Anti Mafia Group	2
Antonella	29	F	Bologna	ESC (Extreme Sport Centre)	2
Martina	29	F	Bologna	Social Centre – informal/non-formal	3
Anna	29	F	Zurich	Student Committee	4
Gamze	30	F	Eskişehir	Youth centre/ local authority municipality 1	5
Silvia	31	F	Plovdiv	Youth entrepreneurship foundation	1
Sara	30	F	Zurich	Sustainable Food Youth Network	2
Hanna	32	F	Zurich	Sustainable Food Youth Network	2
Milena	34	F	Plovdiv	Ecological organization	3
Amelia	27	F	Plovdiv	Ecological organization	3
Sarah	20	F(xe)	Gothenburg	The Youth Group	4
Simon	15	M	Frankfurt	Residental Care	5
Peter	15	M	Gothenburg	Formal Youth Organization	3
Nathanael	15	M	Zurich	Scouts	1
Amos	16	M	Manchester	Youth council Manchester (YCG) – formal	1
Abraham	16	M	Manchester	Youth council Manchester (YCG) – formal	1
David	18	M	Frankfurt	Residential Care	5

Martin	19	M	Zurich	Student Committee	4
Giorgio	20	M	Frankfurt	YSR (Youth and Students Representation)	3
Dennis	20	M	Frankfurt	Graffiti Crew Hoodboys	5
Marcus	20	M	Frankfurt	Visitor of Youth Centre	5
Markus	20	M	Gothenburg	The Youth Centre	3
Anatole	20	M	Rennes	ALAB	5
Khaled	21	M	Frankfurt	Youth Centre	4
Stefano	22	M	Bologna	Ultras – formal/non-formal	5
Abdul	22	M	Bologna	Islamic Youth Association – formal	4
Ali Müfit	22	M	Eskişehir	Student initiative (leftist)	3
Basile	22	M	Rennes	Endless	1
Kilian	22	M	Rennes	Endless	3
Maximilian	23	M	Frankfurt	Graffiti Crew Hoodboys	2
Michel	23	M	Manchester	Socialist party (SP) – formal	3
Owen	24	M	Manchester	Music Performance Collective – formal/informal	2
Rick	24	M	Manchester	Music Performance Collective – formal/informal	5
Mario	24	M	Plovdiv	Informal Network for Art and Debate	3
Pablo	24	M	Zurich	Street Sports Club	3
Sandro	25	M	Bologna	University Student network	3
Mert	25	M	Eskişehir	Youth organization of the local branch of a national, humanitarian NGO	1
Abbas	25	M	Gothenburg	Free Sport Association (FSA)	4
Sergei	25	M	Plovdiv	Youth section of a charity organization	3
Cristian	26	M	Bologna	Social Centre – informal/non-formal	3
Salih	26	M	Eskişehir	Youth centre/ local authority municipality 1	1
Azad	26	M	Eskişehir	Street Musicians	4
Lucas	26	M	Frankfurt	PCC	4
David	26	M	Manchester	North Manchester Youth Club and The Agency (Contact Theatre)	1

Philip	26	M	Plovdiv	Informal Network for Art and Debate	3
Mihail	26	M	Plovdiv	Youth section of a political party (socialists)	3
Thibault	26	M	Rennes	Youth Centre	1
Yunus	27	M	Eskişehir	Local football club fans	3
Hakan	28	M	Eskişehir	Youth center/ ministry 2	1
Paul	28	M	Rennes	ALAB	5
Andrey	29	M	Plovdiv	Ecological organization	3
Francis	30	M	Rennes	Youth Centre	1
Mario	31	M	Bologna	ESC (Extreme Sport Centre)	2
Emil	31	M	Plovdiv	Student Council at a university	1
Malik	32	M	Rennes	DIDA	4
Mithat	33	M	Eskişehir	Street Musicians	4
Alexander	33	M	Plovdiv	Youth entrepreneurship foundation	1
Selim	34	M	Eskişehir	Local football club fans	3
Jakob	34	M	Zurich	Open Education Collective	2
Hafsa	36	M	Zurich	Youth Job Office	4

APPENDIX F: BIOGRAPHIES ACCORDING TO CLUSTERS

Name	Age	Gender	City	Case	Cluster
Klara	14	F	Zurich	Youth Job Office	1
Asma	17	F	Rennes	Service Organisation	1
Silvia	31	F	Plovdiv	Youth entrepreneurship foundation	1
Nathanael	15	M	Zurich	Scouts	1
Amos	16	M	Manchester	Youth council Manchester (YCG) – formal	1
Abraham	16	M	Manchester	Youth council Manchester (YCG) – formal	1
Basile	22	M	Rennes	Endless	1
Mert	25	M	Eskişehir	Youth organization of the local branch of a national, humanitarian NGO	1
Salih	26	M	Eskişehir	Youth centre/ local authority municipality 1	1
David	26	M	Manchester	North Manchester Youth Club and The Agency (Contact Theatre)	1
Thibault	26	M	Rennes	Youth Centre	1
Francis	30	M	Rennes	Youth Centre	1
Emil	31	M	Plovdiv	Student Council at a university	1
Alexander	33	M	Plovdiv	Youth entrepreneurship foundation	1
Hakan	28	M	Eskişehir	Youth center/ ministry 2	1
Pauline	16	F	Frankfurt	Informal Group	2
Marjane	17	F	Rennes	Service Organisation	2
Erika	18	F	Frankfurt	PCC (Political Cultural Centre)	2
Linda	19	F	Gothenburg	Dance Group	2
Johanna	20	F	Gothenburg	Theatre Group	2
Eliane	26	F	Zurich	Street Sports Club	2
Christina	27	F	Bologna	High School- Anti Mafia Group	2
Rada	27	F	Plovdiv	Student Council at a university	2
Betty	28	F	Zurich	Open Education Collective	2
Giovanna	29	F	Bologna	High School- Anti Mafia Group	2

Antonella	29	F	Bologna	ESC (Extreme Sport Centre)	2
Sara	30	F	Zurich	Sustainable Food Youth Network	2
Hanna	32	F	Zurich	Sustainable Food Youth Network	2
Maximilian	23	M	Frankfurt	Graffiti Crew Hoodboys	2
Owen	24	M	Manchester	Music Performance Collective – formal/informal	2
Mario	31	M	Bologna	ESC (Extreme Sport Centre)	2
Jakob	34	M	Zurich	Open Education Collective	2
Zühre	22	F	Eskişehir	Student initiative (leftist)	3
Anita	23	F	Plovdiv	Youth section of a charity organization	3
Clelia	24	F	Bologna	University Student network	3
Martina	29	F	Bologna	Social Centre – informal/non-formal	3
Milena	34	F	Plovdiv	Ecological organization	3
Amelia	27	F	Plovdiv	Ecological organization	3
Peter	15	M	Gothenburg	Formal Youth Organization	3
Giorgio	20	M	Frankfurt	YSR (Youth and Students Representation)	3
Markus	20	M	Gothenburg	The Youth Centre	3
Ali Müfit	22	M	Eskişehir	Student initiative (leftist)	3
Kilian	22	M	Rennes	Endless	3
Michel	23	M	Manchester	Socialist party (SP) – formal	3
Mario	24	M	Plovdiv	Informal Network for Art and Debate	3
Pablo	24	M	Zurich	Street Sports Club	3
Sandro	25	M	Bologna	University Student network	3
Sergei	25	M	Plovdiv	Youth section of a charity organization	3
Cristian	26	M	Bologna	Social Centre – informal/non-formal	3
Philip	26	M	Plovdiv	Informal Network for Art and Debate	3
Mihail	26	M	Plovdiv	Youth section of a political party (socialists)	3
Yunus	27	M	Eskişehir	Local football club fans	3
Andrey	29	M	Plovdiv	Ecological organization	3

Selim	34	M	Eskişehir	Local football club fans	3
Paula	16	F	Frankfurt	YSR	4
Mercy	16	F	Manchester	North Manchester Youth Club and The Agency (Contact Theatre)	4
Amanda	17	F	Gothenburg	Formal Youth Organization	4
Josefine	18	F	Gothenburg	Dance Group	4
Andrea	19	F	Zurich	Scouts	4
Anna	20	F	Gothenburg	Theatre Group	4
Megan	21	F	Manchester	Young feminist movement – formal/non-formal and informal	4
Vanessa/Nassine	24	F	Bologna	Islamic Youth Association – formal	4
Rita	25	F	Manchester	Young feminist movement – formal/non-formal and informal	4
Zara	26	F	Manchester	Young feminist movement – formal/non-formal and informal	4
Tracey	26	F	Manchester	North Manchester Youth Club and The Agency (Contact Theatre)	4
Jessy	27	F	Gothenburg	The Youth Centre	4
Anna	29	F	Zurich	Student Committee	4
Sarah	20	F(xe)	Gothenburg	The Youth group	4
Martin	19	M	Zurich	Student Committee	4
Khaled	21	M	Frankfurt	Youth Centre	4
Abdul	22	M	Bologna	Islamic Youth Association – formal	4
Abbas	25	M	Gothenburg	Free Sport Association (FSA)	4
Azad	26	M	Eskişehir	Street Musicians	4
Lucas	26	M	Frankfurt	PCC	4
Malik	32	M	Rennes	DIDA	4
Mithat	33	M	Eskişehir	Street Musicians	4
Hafsa	36	M	Zurich	Youth Job Office	4
Magdalena	17	F	Frankfurt	Ex Member of Informal Group	5
Selin	19	F	Eskişehir	Youth center/ ministry 2	5
Narin	23	F	Eskişehir	Youth organization of the local branch of a national, humanitarian NGO	5

Lena	23	F	Rennes	Youth Centre	5
Antonia	25	F	Plovdiv	Youth section of a political party (socialists)	5
Marine	25	F	Rennes	DIDA	5
Lorie	25	F	Rennes	ALAB	5
Lisa	26	F	Bologna	Ultras – formal/non-formal	5
Gamze	30	F	Eskişehir	Youth centre/ local authority municipality 1	5
Simon	15	M	Frankfurt	Residental Care	5
David	18	M	Frankfurt	Residental Care	5
Dennis	20	M	Frankfurt	Graffiti Crew Hoodboys	5
Marcus	20	M	Frankfurt	Visitor of Youth Centre	5
Anatole	20	M	Rennes	ALAB	5
Stefano	22	M	Bologna	Ultras – formal/non-formal	5
Rick	24	M	Manchester	Music Performance Collective – formal/informal	5
Paul	28	M	Rennes	ALAB	5