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Cultural Heritage and Identities of Europe's Future

Case Study Reports: Non-formal Cultural Participation and Socialisation in Croatia

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1. Executive summary

Ethnographic research on the Centre for Peace Studies and Futsal Dinamo portrays two cases of the social activation of youth in Croatia in the context of two different organisations, both of which are defined by various aspects of non-formal education. Within both researched phenomena, the focus is on youth involved in particular social issues characterised by various circuits of motivations behind their actions; through development, the organisations themselves have reached the level of polyvalent forms of action. Built on different foundations, each organisation has used its work to highlight the existence of a "critical mass" among youth in Croatia, thus also offering a framework within which to manifest the various opinions and social demands of youth. Our selection of sites for ethnographic research was directed by a few criteria. The first, basic criterion in decision-making was the cooperation of youth and a degree of recognition of the site in the urban or national context. We endeavoured to choose sites that are as divergent as possible to establish a broad interpretative framework within the analysis, as informal education and its implications can reach into various spheres of society.

2. Introduction

The Centre for Peace Studies (CMS) and Futsal Dinamo futsal club, seemingly heterogeneous phenomena at first glance, fall under the broader corpus of examples of youth activation. Within both researched phenomena, the focus is placed on youth involved in particular social issues characterised by various circuits of motivations behind their actions; through development, the organisations themselves have reached the level of polyvalent forms of action. Built on different foundations, each organisation has used its work to highlight the existence of a "critical mass" among youth in Croatia, thus also offering a framework within which to manifest the various opinions and social demands of youth. Through their actions, which imply including youth and inspiring them to act towards social change, both the Centre for Peace Studies and Futsal Dinamo contribute to the development of non-formal education in Croatia, which has played and still plays a very important role in the creation and development of various aspects of civil society.

3. Methods

3.1. Selection of non-formal education settings

Our selection of sites for ethnographic research was directed by a few criteria. The first, basic criterion in decision-making was the cooperation of youth and a degree of recognition of the site in the urban or national context. We endeavoured to choose sites that are as divergent as possible so as to establish a broad interpretative framework within the analysis, as informal education and its implications can reach into various spheres of society. Also, led by the number of young people involved in each individual site, we focused equally on the existence of various forms of informally organised education (the Peace Academy, youth futsal school, work with the youngest Futsal Dinamo supporters, etc.). Furthermore, in addition to the aforementioned similarities, our choice was also partly conditioned by differences between them; the Centre for Peace Studies draws youth interested in action on including particular marginalised social groups (migrants), while Futsal Dinamo bases its action on the establishment of a democratic decision-making model within a sports club (one member = one vote). It is important to emphasise that the desire to democratise decision-making processes in sport and make sports more transparent in general in Croatia arises from the fact that professional sports clubs are still logistically and financially strongly influenced and controlled by national and/or local political figures. Numerous clubs frequently register as citizen's associations, which results in tax benefits; however, on the other hand, they do not respect the laws regulating the work of associations, which require public access to transparent financial information and the holding of yearly assemblies. This contrast between sport and sporting audiences (as well as supporter subculture) as compared to – conditionally speaking – liberal and inclusive youth opens a broad spectrum of research possibilities, not only into informal education but into various perceptions of culture, identity, and relationships towards *others* by the actors in our ethnography.

3.2. Data Collection

Research carried out at the Centre for Peace Studies was performed using the participatory observation method, including detailed field notes and semi-structured interviews during the final period of field research. Initial contact with the organisation took place during February, when a researcher and the project leader went to a meeting at CMS, where they spoke with the volunteer programme manager. At this point, a follow-up meeting was arranged, which was held on 4 March 2019 at CMS during a monthly volunteer meeting. Between then and 15 June 2019, the researcher attended six volunteer meetings. Of a total of fifteen field diary entries, six are related to the volunteer meetings; the remainder relate to time spent with a group of young volunteers at volunteer activities, as well as in informal social encounters. Fieldwork lasted from 4 March to 1 July 2019, with roughly 100 hours of participatory observation. Nine

interviews were recorded and transcribed – seven with young volunteers and two with experts. The shortest interview lasted 17 minutes, while the longest lasted 1 hour and 6 minutes. Three interviews were carried out at CMS offices, three in a park, and one in a café.

Ethnographic research on Futsal Dinamo futsal club was carried out during the 2018/2019 season. Research began 6 October 2018 and concluded 10 May 2019, when Futsal Dinamo played its last match in the season. The participatory observation method included thirteen Futsal Dinamo home matches, as well as three other events not directly tied to matches – these were a music event, an art exhibition, and the club's yearly assembly. Observation was carried out at home matches, as the Bad Blue Boys[1] group had decided not to organise trips to away matches. There are several potential reasons for this decision, some of which are related to increased police repression of Bad Blue Boys when Futsal Dinamo was founded. The group was also of the opinion that, in an already difficult situation, it would be best to avoid additional "bans"; the futsal league itself is free of the "concept" of away match supporters, as the clubs are frequently from small towns and have no organised ultras groups. A total of 25 field diary entries were recorded, as the researcher frequently spent time with Futsal Dinamo supporters in informal situations outside of the context of field research. The researcher has also been a member of Futsal Dinamo since it was founded, however he had no contact with the club management until the outset of research. From the very beginning of the research, researcher position was specific since he was a regular visitor to Futsal Dinamo matches until the beginning of the research and now found himself researching a well-known environment. In some other circumstances during the research of fan subculture, such a position could be an obstacle for gaining trust from the group, but in this case it was an advantage since the members of the fan subculture also form the club's administration. Using the *snowball* method, based on the researcher's acquaintance with people close to the club and in the Bad Blue Boys supporter group, the researcher intensified contacts with volunteers and the club's management. At the end of field research, a total of twelve interviews were carried out; two were with the club's secretary and former president, three were with club volunteers, while the remainder were with supporters – something that did not appear within the context of CMS. It is important to note that we "expanded" the breadth of respondents beyond the category of volunteers and experts due to the specificities of the site. Conversations with volunteers and experts greatly contributed to the understanding of organisational aspects of the club. However, interviews with supporters and club members are what made it possible to draw conclusions on the entire spectrum of specific aspects of this type of organisation. The shortest interview lasted 22 minutes, while the longest lasted 1 hour and 10 minutes. The interviews were carried out in food and beverage outlets in various locations in Zagreb, Croatia.

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[1] Ultras group that follows Dinamo Zagreb, estblished in 1986. Group, it's history and history of their confrontation with Dinamos' management will be discussed in more detail later in the text.

3.3. Data Analysis

The audio material analysis began with detecting the broadest possible thematic blocks in interviews tied to the Centre for Peace Studies and Futsal Dinamo. As these are different types of organisation, it was necessary to recognise important places, which researchers defined through their interviews. The pre-established interview protocol greatly eased the initial selection of thematic blocks used in further analysis. Analysing each individual interview, researchers individually constructed a code tree for each case. Working in NVIVO, we constructed two code trees that share three large thematic units (motivation, culture, and history). The different nodes related to identity and Futsal Dinamo. Work on each project in NVIVO resulted in separate sub-nodes, which researchers used to analyse discourse characteristics for their cases. In the case of CMS, the culture node contained ten different sub-nodes (European culture; European identity; sources of cultural knowledge; culture of friends; culture of parents; cultural events and activities; the concept of one's own culture; the concept of culture; topics of conversation with family and friends), the motivation node contained the following seven sub-nodes (goals and learning through activities; initial contact with the organisation; personal interests; reflections on the work of the institution; specific motivation for action at CMS; learning through activities; volunteer work in other organisations), while the history node contains three sub-nodes (historical figures; historical events; history in school). An analysis of interviews with actors from Futsal Dinamo resulted in a total of five large nodes with corresponding sub-nodes. The initial nodes that differ from the CMS analysis, identity and Futsal Dinamo, contain eight (Bad Blue Boys; Dinamo; Europe; Croatia; national identity; the identity of other supporters outside BBB; Šalata; Zagreb) and two sub-nodes, respectively (futsal as a sport; the game). Motivation contains nine sub-nodes (the future of futsal; futsal and BBB; the media; relationship with GNK Dinamo[2]; initial motivations and the beginnings of Futsal Dinamo; audience, atmosphere, socialisation, and a feeling of belonging; developmental stages of the club; the federation, police, surroundings; management model), culture contains one sub-node (migrants), while history contains two sub-nodes (primary and secondary socialisation; history in the service of heritage).

3.4 Ethical Issues

The researchers did not find themselves in any ethnically questionable positions during the research. All participants in research were guaranteed their anonymity, and each respondent has been provided with a pseudonym. Also, all respondents consented to participate in the research (they signed a consent form), and in accordance with the law, they were informed of all the conditions under which their data collected during research would be used.

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[2] Civic Football Club (GNK) Dinamo. The prefix "civic" was added to the club's name in 2011 by management related to Zdravko Mamic, so GNK has not yet come to life among Dinamo fans.

Conversations were recorded using a Dictaphone, and the recordings were stored in the researchers' private databases.

Another important thing to note about anonymity is the display of the names of the sites being researched without anonymisation. We decided to take this approach because by not mentioning the real names, of both CMS and Futsal Dinamo, we think that an important part of the research would be lost, and on the other hand, both cases are extremely easy to identify by readers, since these are well known organisations in the context of Croatian society.

4. Findings

Non-formal education in Croatia is regulated by a few laws – the Adult Education Act (Croatian official gazette, Narodne Novine, NN 17/07) and the Professional Education Act (NN 30/08). This legal framework relates to the ability to attain publicly recognised qualifications on the basis of the verification and evaluation of non-formally and informally learned knowledge, skills, and competencies (Petričević 2012:103). Non-formal education in Croatia has not yet been the subject of scientific research, and so the fund of academic texts on this topic is exceptionally small. Pastuović (2008) and Simel (2011) connect non-formal education with the concept of life-long learning, the users of which are often middle-aged. The lack of research on non-formal education makes it difficult to draw conclusions on its breadth and characteristics in Croatia.

4.1. Case 1
4.1.1. Site description
The Centre for Peace Studies (CMS) developed out of various forms of direct construction of peace in western Slavonia (Pakrac Volunteer Project, 1993-1997); the founding of an organisation was first discussed in 1996. It was formally founded a year later with the intent of promoting the values of non-violence, social justice, respect for human rights, tolerance, and accepting differences through participative methods of peace education, research, and public advocacy. The highest managing body of CMS is the Assembly, which consists of all members. The Assembly adopted the Centre for Peace Studies Statute, which is the organisation's founding document. In addition to the Assembly, CMS also has an Executive Committee and a Council. The Centre for Peace Studies finances itself through public tenders published by governmental institutions, independent domestic and foreign funds, and other institutions. Part of the funds are taken from membership fees or through the consulting and service programme.

Since it was founded, CMS has had various programmes. There are currently four: Fighting Inequality; Peace Education and the Affirmation of Non-Violence; Asylum, Integration and Human Safety; Peace Studies education programme. The "Fighting Inequality" programme emphasises monitoring and public advocacy in the area of citizens' economic and social rights with the goal of creating policy that enables a fair distribution of social goods; affirmative action for economically vulnerable groups; protecting workers' rights; protecting public goods and transforming the current global economic system into a more just system centred around the well-being of mankind and the planet instead of profit as the exclusive goal of economic activity. The "Peace Education and Affirmation of Non-Violence" programme aims to strengthen individuals and groups to build peace in the community through the promotion of the values of non-violence and inspiring dialogue; the basic principle of work is change through education. The "Asylum, Integration, and Human Safety" programme, which also includes work with volunteers, is directed at the problems of migration and works to advocate migrant policy through the perspective of peace and security. Various projects within this programme are aimed at easing the process of integrating into society for asylum-seekers and asylum-holders in Croatia. The "Peace Studies" education programme is an interdisciplinary educational area that relies on a great number of fields in the humanities and social sciences, as well as on the experience of lecturers and participants, to understand the causes of conflicts, develop approaches to prevent and stop violence, war, and severe breaches of human rights, and to build a lasting peace – just systems and societies that have the strength to resist violence, inequality, and injustice. These programmes are a place in which past, current, and potential conflicts in society are mapped, analysed, examined, and discussed.

Demographic profile of respondents

At the end of field research, nine semi-structured interviews were held. Seven interviews were conducted with young volunteers in the "Asylum, Integration, and Human Safety" programme, while the remaining two were experts/organisation employees. Of the seven volunteers, six were female and one was male. Both employees interviewed were female. The age of the volunteers interviewed ranged from 21 to 25. The majority of volunteers – five of the seven – are university students, one is employed, and one is working and studying simultaneously. Of the seven volunteers, six are intensively involved in the organisation's work, while one is occasionally involved.

4.1.2. Emerging Themes/Results of Analysis
Motivation

The majority of volunteers interviewed had volunteered before their time at CMS; this makes it clear that they are a group of young people with a sense of social responsibility and the need to be useful, to contribute and help in attempts at solving or alleviating certain social problems.

Their general motivations for volunteering also include the need to share knowledge, as well as an awareness of the fact that this kind of experience can play an important role in the development of their personalities through encounters with other people, learning, and exposure to experiences outside of their usual life routine. When they speak about their motivations for joining CMS in particular and the need to volunteer on projects that help asylum-seekers and refugees, the majority of respondents spoke about their own process of becoming aware and sensitised to the problems of people who found themselves in Croatian refugee camps at the peak of the migrant crisis in 2015. Thinking about the suffering of these people and the problems they face integrating into a completely new cultural context, sometimes motivated by their own experiences in the position of the "other", are the main motivations for choosing this specific volunteer context.

> *I saw the CMS advert saying that they work with asylum-seekers and refugees, and I decided to do it essentially because I have the feeling that, except for the Roma community, those groups that no one except volunteers will help on their own initiative are currently the most marginalised, and you can't really do it on your own – at least not me as a citizen of Zagreb who doesn't have any connection to what's happening on the border – I can't do it alone, but I can through an organisation.* (Edina)

Volunteers are of the opinion that the Croatian state is not efficient enough as regards providing adequate care for refugees and asylum-seekers, and that there is no political will to motivate migrants to stay in Croatia – quite the opposite, in fact. As a result of the lack of public sensitivity to the problems of asylum-seekers, as well as because of public policy that does not deal with problems in a constructive way, some volunteers believe that Croatian society is becoming more and more radical in its exclusivity; it is thus the goal of organisations like CMS and volunteers who work on projects to connect migrants with the society and culture in which they find themselves.

> *I think the nature of Croatian policy towards migrants and people who migrated here in any way – somehow there is physical segregation through refugee centres, detention centres, to social segregation which I see more and more – I think the opinions of Croatians have somehow got worse in the past few years, so I see CMS volunteers as a kind of link trying to connect the local community with new members of society, that's how I see it.* (Mirta)

All respondents emphasised the importance of learning through the experience of volunteering. They speak about different aspects of learning, including acquiring new knowledge about the

society in which they live, personal emotional development, acquiring skills through working with people, insight into the experiences, cultures, and lives of "others", which, as a result of dialogue and the questioning of personal values, their own worlds also open up.

> *Definitely work with very different people, these are people who come from totally different backgrounds; sometimes you recognise a pattern, sometimes you don't, what I like about this experience is that these people, however different we all are, we're all passionate about this.* (Edina)

Culture

Conversations relating to the block of questions tied to culture show that respondents think about the concept of culture in somewhat different ways, although they nearly all tend to conceive culture as a broad concept that contains various dimensions of the concept, from cultural heritage and art to extremely individual life habits. Some of them recognise culture as a series of characteristics that connect a particular group of people, whether a nation or a smaller social group, while some respondents question the conception of culture as heritage or a group of norms that equally define all members of a broader community, warning of the dynamic nature of culture and the plasticity that arises from various interpretations of cultural patterns.

> *I think the simplest way is to view the cultural heritage of each nation as something unique to this nation, while this isn't necessarily a common denominator for all the individuals within that society* (Karla).

> *Yes, I think that what is important to me is not defining culture at all, but what I find important to say is: I think it's not said often enough that culture isn't something static and something that exists outside of us, and we are then passive recipients of some kind of culture. I think culture is something we all build ourselves... And then in that context of intercultural dialogue, of interculturalism, I think there is some kind of idea that we should try to gain insight into what those components of our cultures and other cultures are through conversation, to find what's interesting in others, even if it's just someone's language which I find very interesting or which I think would be great to learn.* (Mirta)

Speaking about their own culture, it is interesting to note that almost none of the respondents did not attempt to answer the question through the lens of national culture, instead perceiving their own culture as something exceptionally personal, as a way they spend their time, think, and within the context of their own values, which they actualise together with the close circle

of people around them – from where they go out, how often they go to the library, what they eat, which languages they speak, whether or not they are religious, and how they find information, to the ways they behave in particular situations. Some respondents emphasise that their culture is the result of various cultural influences that arise from "mixed" marriages between parents or various places of residence.

> *My culture... I think it most accurately comes down to not everyone paying for their own coffee. That's the only thing that was very important to me when I went to study abroad.* (Edina)

> *Yes, I think I've been marked as a person by a few cultures when I think about my family history; my father's side of the family were Muslim, so there are some religious practices that differ from the other side of my family, who are partly Catholic, partly agnostic, so I don't know, I consider myself a mix of everything in that I take some parts from my father's side in the religious sense – for example, that I fast – but again I can't say I'm religious, that I believe in God, so these are all interesting things to me.* (Mirta)

All young volunteers at CMS show an interest in various kinds of cultural events. Some are more interested in music, some in film or theatre, but nearly all state that they occasionally go to the cinema, theatre, concerts, and art exhibitions. One respondent (Lucija) mentions going to a cultural event related to presentations of foreign cultures through music, food, etc. Although the answers make it apparent that culture in this context is an important part of their lives, none of the respondents consider their affinities towards specific cultural content an exceptionally important part of their identity. Some consider it only entertainment, some consider it a matter of general education, while some consider it a bond with friends. For example, Lucija emphasises that concerts or cultural gatherings are only a medium for experiences that she considers to truly influence the formation of her identity, those being meeting and making contact with people.

All respondents answered affirmatively to the question of whether or not they consider themselves European, although there are some differences in reasoning and the degree of identification, which arise from various perceptions of Europe and conceptions of European culture. Some of the respondents tie their European identity with a particular body of collective values arising from European cultural heritage, especially in contrast with American culture or Middle Eastern culture, as mentioned by Taha, who came to Croatia from Lebanon seven years ago. The respondents who speak of these contrasts perceive European values as hierarchically defined.

Some kind of deeply rooted culture, maybe a bit refined, which came about across many years and has been quite refined, I don't know, in comparison to... I think it could be compared to America. The way we take better care of our people through social care and medical care and so on, it's somehow humane, I don't know. I mean, I can't say because I've never been outside of Europe, so I can't really make any specific comparison. (Vanda)

On the other hand, in addition to an awareness of the collective cultural heritage of European territory and the connections that form something that can be called the "European" identity in a particular context, some respondents also emphasise significant differences in way of life, values, and norms that define a particular cultural area. In this regard, they question the idea of a shared, homogeneous identity, including the need for this kind of identity construct. For example, Lucija considers being a European nothing more than the fact that she was born in a country that is geographically a part of the European continent.

I think people in Europe have very different perceptions of what European culture means to them, but there's this idea that we all perceive it the same way. But when you think about it, just in Europe, there is currently heated debate about some topics, norms, values it was assumed we had all agreed upon, I don't know: women's rights and that kind of thing. For example, the debate on abortion comes to mind as something that's very interesting, because when we talk about European culture, I don't know what kind of values we all share if we debate, argue, disagree within Europe on certain values, for example, so I don't think European culture exists as such, just like I don't think Croatian culture exists. (Mirta)

I have a big problem with European culture, because I immediately imagine borders, something limited, something – when I hear the phrase 'European culture', I don't imagine multiculturalism first, which I should, but rather I think of some kind of prison in which we're all equal in our diversity, but the diversity has to be equal. That's how I see it. (Sara)

History

As regards historical figures, many respondents did not want to name a single historical figure that would have had special meaning to them or their family, especially not in an affective, emotional sense. Of the three respondents who did name a figure, Barbara was the only one to show a higher degree of emotional response in conversation. Speaking of Muhammad Ali, the

respondent spoke directly about values that play an important role in the process of creating her identity.

> *I don't have a specific person that's really... No, actually, Muhammad Ali inspires me somehow, the boxer. He's somehow... I studied him a bit because I saw a documentary about him, so he's, despite being successful, he was unfortunately discriminated against because he was black, and I just watched an interview where he was a guest on some show where he said that he would fight with all his strength to show that he was capable and educated and intelligent and he wouldn't allow people to judge him on the basis of his race; what I like about him is that, despite all those difficulties, he was so persistent. And sometimes when I'm feeling unmotivated, I watch some of his videos...* (Barbara).

The other two respondents who named a specific individual named politicians, i.e. statesmen who defined a particular historical period in their countries. Taha, a CMS volunteer who came to Croatia from Lebanon seven years ago, mentions Bachir Gemayel, the former president of Lebanon, who was killed 14 days after he began his term, and whom the respondent mentions in a positive context; Lucija mentions Tito (prime minister of socialist Yugoslavia from 1945-1953, president from 1953-1980), who, in her words, holds an important place in her family collective memory and who is discussed most in her family.

Like historical figures, historical events do not represent a particularly important identity criterion for the majority of respondents. A few interviewed volunteers directly or indirectly mentioned the Croatian War of Independence, but with distance and without being overly emotional, although some answers may indirectly indicate their opinions and value perspectives on this period of recent Croatian history.

> *I think that young people, at least those that I associate with, don't feel intolerance towards our neighbours simply because we didn't experience it, our generation didn't take part in it, but some people, parents of friends for example... I sense some kind of intolerance, specifically towards Serbs.* (Vanda)

> *I can't say at all. Sometimes I encounter people whose family mark some moment in history for them – whether it was the war or something like that – and it manifests at the level of the whole family, but I can't say that we as a family have something like that, I think... No, I can't really point to something like that at all.* (Mirta)

One respondent notes the Croatian War of Independence as a historical even that greatly defined the life of her family and the creation of some of her own values, which, according to

her, she built under circumstances created by the war. Speaking of the War of Independence, the respondent was highly critical of policy that created public opinion tied to the circumstances of the war and the atmosphere in society, which was partly strongly marked by intolerance towards Serbs.

> *Yes. The fucking war. I don't even want to call it the 'Homeland War'...*
> *Why?*
> *Because the 'Homeland War' bears some kind of weight, some kind of secession and tyranny and I don't even know what else; I think our own propaganda together with Vukovar and what HDZ [3]has made of it, but fine, we could have fixed up the place and made something of it and helped those people instead of using them all as propaganda against Serbia, but OK. The reason I think this is important is because, during the war, my mother's family were refugees because they are from Lika; my mom actually has Serbian nationality according to her father's side of the family, even though she's never lived in Serbia, nor has that family for generations, and her mother is from Bosnia, so they escaped to Bosnia, and then later to Serbia, they've been in Vojvodina as long as I can remember, but my grandmother and – I think in her younger days – my mother's younger sister, mother and father lived in Belgrade, and I wasn't allowed – I mean, my mother didn't really tell me where they were while I was young, and when I found out she said it would maybe be smart not to talk about it at kindergarten, in school, that my grandparents were in Belgrade.* (Edina)

The relationship towards the Croatian War of Independence and the critical questioning of the dominant political and media discourse on this topic is apparent through conversation about historical topics in the educational system. A few respondents clearly express dissatisfaction with the reduced, one-sided view of circumstances related to the war, noting nationalist-geared propaganda in education that excludes other perspectives that might endanger various national myths, especially those related to the war. Considering the left-wing, liberal tendencies of the respondents, it is logical that none of them emphasise being Croatian as a value, nor is this aspect of collective identity important or close to them personally.

> *Croatian history has always been problematic for us. It's something that was really lacking, and what there was always depended on the teacher you had. I think that two of my teachers had been in the war, and that means the classes were always 'nationally oriented', so that's something that's lacking...*

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[3] HDZ (Croatian Democratic Union) is the most influential political party in Croatia. Winners of the first multi-party elections in 1990. The party belongs to the "right center" of the political spectrum.

Did that bother you?

Yes. Because, OK, people also wrote the book and tried to come up with some facts, but again, it's just one side of the story, no one tells the other side of the story. OK, that's their view of things, but that can't be a book you'll suggest as a textbook or something like that because you're not objective. There's generally some kind of nationalist tone in education, it's... Because there were kids in my class who weren't Croatian nationals, but I think it's stupid to teach those kids some of those truths, I mean, we don't know what's true, it's stupid to talk about... It's stupid to agitate kids against someone because of something their ancestors did. (Sara)

4.2. Case 2

4.2.1. Site description

Futsal Dinamo was founded in 2012 by a group of enthusiasts, supporters of GNK Dinamo Zagreb, who wanted to take their passion for futsal to a higher level and to express their identity as supporters by naming the newly-founded club after the football club they support – Dinamo. The club was founded in Zagreb and did not attain any significant success until 2014; the best indicator of how hard it was for the club to operate, especially financially, is that there was no senior team in 2013, only teams in a few younger age categories. Parallel to the development of the story about Futsal Dinamo, a fierce, often unequal fight was unfolding at GNK Dinamo Zagreb between Dinamo supporters (primarily referring to Bad Blue Boys, "BBB", an ultras group that supports Dinamo) and club management, Zdravko Mamić in particular. One of our respondents briefly summarised the initial idea of creating Futsal Dinamo.

> *Futsal was founded as a club that would be the complete opposite of Dinamo, or rather to what GNK Dinamo is, in the sense that it was founded by supporters, its purpose was to function according to the principle of one member one vote, and supporters play the role in the movement, not supporters as a subculture but supporters as the total mass of supporters who follow the club. (Hobit)*

At the beginning, it is important to describe more closely some aspects of the Bad Blue Boys and their history that led to the aforementioned struggle. Bad Blue Boys are an *ultras* group of Dinamo Zagreb. They were established in 1986 and since then they have been following Dinamo at home and away games. In addition to Torcida from Split, they represent one of the two biggest groups in Croatia. They occupy the North stand of Maksimir stadium, and how Spaaji and Vinas (2007:80) defined it, ultras perceive themselves as deeply tied to the colours of the team, rejecting the passive style of support that characterised ordinary spectators. Throughout the last thirty four years, the group has gone through various stages, one of the most striking being the one in which fans struggled to regain the name of the club, which was

changed by the Croatian president (1993-2000). The new name was *Croatia* because, according to the ruling structures in Croatia after the collapse of Yugoslavia, the name Dinamo represented a link to the old system and needed to be changed. The fans then made it clear that the name change was unacceptable and the authorities at the time labelled them as "enemies of the new system, covert communists, etc. The paradox in all of this was the fact that the Bad Blue Boys, as a fan group, from the outset expressed a strong national sentiment and identity. After only a few years of "peace" after return of the name Dinamo the group met with a new conflict that had different roots this time. For nearly a decade, Zdravko Mamic was the undisputed ruler of not only Dinamo but all of Croatian football. In addition to his position at GNK Dinamo, he ran his own management agency representing particular Dinamo Players (eg Luka Modric, Dejan Lovren, Eduardo da Silva, etc.). In time, Mamic gained a formal position in the Croatian Football Federation, and in 2016, he was sentenced to a six and a half year prison term for embezzling from GNK Dinamo. He is currently a fugitive in Bosnia and Herzegovina. At the point when Futsal Dinamo was created, the dissatisfaction of Dinamo supporters had reached its peak. For years, supporters have pointed out potential criminal acts in and around the club, called for investigations against Zdravko Mamic, boycotted matches, and created various petitions and protests to influence the state of the club. Bad Blue Boys led a campaign against Dinamo Management in various ways, by chanting against the management headed by Zdravko Mamić, writing various slogans on walls throughout Zagreb, boycotting, even when the club played in the Champions League (Vukušić, Miošić, 2017). The club management's response to Bad Blue Boys went in a few different directions. What group members referred to as "black lists" were created – lists of supporters who were not allowed to attend GNK Dinamo matches, even though this was based only on decisions taken by the club management, not by a court. Also, Zdravko Mamić's management, mainly through financial influence, resulted in a break within the group itself, during which a minority of supporters continued attending matches on the north bleachers and supporting the club in its current state. Later in his interview, Hobit mentions these things, expanding on his initial reasons for founding a fan-based club.

> ...*People who are on some kind of club management list can get together at these matches, have a beer with their friends, but they can also get their family involved and bring their younger relatives who are kids to games, it's a family atmosphere, but the core of the supporter group and other supporters will still come. (Hobit)*

Futsal Dinamo went through a few developmental phases, during which the existence of a relationship with GNK Dinamo was present the entire time, as noted by Član.

Just recently, we were talking about some new club paradigm we have to make, there were three phases, this is the third, that's how I see it. There was the first in which people found Dinamo disgusting, something you didn't want to see, and you started an anti-movement, and where you couldn't even go, and you had futsal, and that was the time when the Dvojka[4] was sold out and Cibona[5] was packed, it was an atmosphere that would be hard to repeat, but not impossible.[67] Then there was the second phase where you went back to Dinamo and everything and where Dinamo had those successes, then Dinamo didn't have any real successes, and where it did have successes, the Champions League, but you didn't go, there was a boycott, and you had Futsal Dinamo. However, now you have a paradigm where you have to direct the club to live in parallel with Dinamo, for whom most people approve of that success, they don't approve of the people, but they approve the success, they approve the efforts of the players on the field, the synergy that exists between players and coach. (Član)

It is important to clarify how the Bad Blue Boys decided to run their fight by setting up a futsal club rather than a football club for a number of reasons. One of them was of an "infrastructural" nature because Futsal Dinamo already existed and groups could join it as their own project. On the other hand, the establishment of a football club would offer uncertainty regarding financing, lack of necessary infrastructure (stadium, etc.), and the most important reason lies in the fact that football during those years was entirely in the hands of Zdravko Mamic and people close to him.

Demographic profile of respondents

At the end of field research, nine semi-structured interviews were held. Due to the specificities of the researched phenomenon, the selection of respondents went in three directions. As it was not enough simply to talk with volunteers and employees/club experts, interviews were also conducted with supporters, members of the club. It is important to emphasise that we decided to expand the scope of the interviewed actors in order to portray one of the main "guiding principles" within the club itself, related to the "one member, one vote" management model. All respondents were male, ranging in age from 20-25.

4.2.2. Emerging Themes/Results of Analysis

The results of analysis is divided into several blocks that follow the initial semi-structured interview protocol; it is important to note that the implementation of field research and

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[4] A sports arena in Zagreb
[5] A basketball arena where KK Cibona plays (Dražen Petrović Basketball Centre)

interviews saw the appearance of particular thematic blocks, which differ from the structure of the analysis seen earlier in this research through the example of the Centre for Peace Studies.

Motivation

The motivation of our respondents to get involved in Futsal Dinamo came from various sources. All respondents began their answers to the question of why they initially got involved with a reference to the state of GNK Dinamo and by expressing a desire for something different.

> *Then I helped as much as I could, but I only got actively, completely involved in operations at some point in 2016, 2017. That's where I got involved in club operations, and at first I was mostly helping with media appearances as I work with the media, then I started working on organisational things, and the motivation in everything was 'lets help', let's run with the idea of making the club live, making it into something stronger, better articulated, for the whole story to succeed, to give something of yourself into that story and to show that we're not destroyers, but builders. The whole story of Futsal was that we didn't want to be "anti" for a reason, but we want an alternative to something we didn't want to see at Maksimir stadium.* (Član)

Consequently, with the long conflict between supporters and management, the symbolic cohesive component that existed between the club and its supporters was disrupted. Ket points out that the "*most important cohesion is between the club's players and its fans, I think there isn't any kind of cohesion whatsoever in 'big' football*".

Turning to Futsal Dinamo meant implementing everything that did not exist at GNK Dinamo. The following quote shows the view of this implementation by the actors themselves, thus also showing some other aspects of motivations to get involved in Futsal Dinamo.

> *...I think it's going along, not everything we wanted to do has been done, but it's going in the right direction, from humanitarian drives to drives for the general populace, public communication to engage youth, I think this is the only club that has a kids' corner where everyone can play on the court before matches or during half-time, and that offers some kind of 'upbringing', that it can be with you from a young age and you feel like you're a part of the club, and membership and everything through public figures who help us, members week, tournaments, cultural things, and everything else. But on the other hand, when you say 'group', I think it's the other way around, that Futsal Dinamo saved the group considering that the times were what they were... What Futsal Dinamo has had from day one,*

socialising with players, membership, greetings after matches, climbing up into the stands and all that, and what's important now is to find a paradigm for the future. The number of spectators isn't falling, you have growth, season tickets are on sale now, you can already see that you'll break the yearly record, that's how you teach people that season tickets are a kind of synergy between the club and supporters. (Član)

"One member, one vote"

In reviewing and analysing interviews, special attention has been paid to the subject of Futsal Dinamo's management model, which we also believe can be categorised as a motivation to join the club; it also shows the aspirations of youth towards the democratisation of decision-making processes and growth in the degree of youth participation. However, some respondents noted that the model has not yet come into its own completely in the practical sense, although they do point out its symbolic value in the hope that it will take time for it to become implemented absolutely in club members' awareness.

On paper, the model looks very good, but as far as implementation is concerned, it's lacking mass, maybe even in the sense of memberships, but especially in the sense of the decisions taken by members and elections and everything in which the team is simply too indifferent or disinterested; 50-odd people show up to assemblies, where they unanimously take decisions that make sense, but it doesn't give the impression of real democracy... (Rade)

I think some kind of self-sustaining model guarantees general viability, and it has to be sustainable in the sense of growth, I think it's alright for me to hope for something like that, and I hope it will develop in a sustainable way, without relying on city government or state recession or something like that. When the government changes in Germany, Bayern or clubs like that don't know it's even happened. (Šf)

At the last elections, even that concept of democracy receded, it was apparent in the supervisory board, there were more candidates than positions, and we felt that sense of competition and that the guys who didn't get elected to the board remained with the club. (Član)

I think the theory of 'one member, one vote' is great! The problem is with Croatia as a society, because no one believes in democracy, it's a big problem, the problem is that the media get involved, the problem is with the name Dinamo because no one believes that it's democracy, that's a serious problem. Secondly, I see a hole

in Futsal Dinamo's 'one member, one vote' model, our failure to reward those who are, let's say, more faithful, those who have been here for a while, now there are people who have been members for five years, at first you couldn't do it, in the start you couldn't include that, but I believe that our statute is the same now, that we as people are more prepared, that as supporters and as members and as a club that we're ready, that it might not be bad for that statute to be expanded a bit, detailed, and to reward people who have been constant members, and so on. The theory of 'one member, one vote' is great because no one can manage the club better than those who love that club without having an interest in it. (Soć)

Culture and identity

Although the initial research plan defined culture as a separate thematic block in the interviews, our respondents frequently tied their responses to questions about culture to determinants of identity. The analysis showed a few levels on which our respondents build their identity; often these are built around various symbolic structures. Particular respondents feel that they belong to the Bad Blue Boys group, which they differentiate from other Dinamo supporters.

...well, I've been a Dinamo supporter, but part of BBB, since 2004. (Ket)

...when GNK Dinamo plays, I see it more as belonging to the supporters on the bleachers than belonging to Dinamo itself (Šf)

...We're not some kind of family, but we're a subculture group that believes in what it does and that's connected, and we will always help each other in other parts of life. (Član)

It's important to note regional/urban and national determinants of identity. The majority of respondents note that Futsal Dinamo represents a return to Dinamo Zagreb and things that tied Dinamo to Zagreb, the city it hails from. Some respondents also noted the current narrative of Dinamo as a "provincial" club, while they want to build an "urban story". The majority of respondents also noted the fact that Dinamo is also a Croatian club, and mentioned Croatian values in addition to those typical of Zagreb.

...The music they play is totally different than what they play at Dinamo stadium, which is let's say some kind of pop music. When I started going to matches some 20 years ago, they played New Wave bands from Zagreb, Ivo Robić, I won't list them all now but everything from Prljavo Kazalište onward that marked the period from the late 70s and songs that evoke feelings of Zagreb, and so on and so forth.

Now that's gone, now it's a whole other story, it doesn't work for the supporters, they come by bus from Bosnia and Herzegovina[8] and I have nothing against those people of course, but they're not familiar with the whole situation, and conflicts can arise within audiences at the stadium... Then these people aren't so different in their ideals and thoughts from people from Zagreb, I'd say... It's very difficult to compare them on some kind of regional basis, because I don't want to offend anyone, but the fact is that when Dinamo played against Real, Arsenal, and so on, there weren't any Bad Blue Boys there and you knew their opinion about it, and people were brought to those matches on paid buses from Bosnia and Herzegovina or Slavonia who were somehow faking how it was supposed to look, and people came to see Dinamo because tickets cost one kuna. (Hobit)

"The story was that it was a real Zagreb club, for gentlemen, and we also taught kids in school like this and tried to communicate this so it would be the same in the stands, positive, the good spirit of Zagreb, Croatia, Dinamo, we really invested a lot in the identity of the club to connect it to Zagreb, with Dinamo fans as a kind of population, and with Croatia with true Croatian values that weren't political at all. We always wanted to be totally apolitical and outside of it all, and I think we did a great job in that, and no one has ever managed to use Futsal Dinamo to promote themselves, I think it's a great apolitical story, but still strongly tied to Zagreb, Dinamo, and Croatia through its identity. (Soć)

As they noted various identity determinants, the respondents were asked questions related to Europe, the European Union, and recent events based on the so-called "migrant crisis" in the context of a social climate that is either pro- or anti-immigrant. Often, the European identity is understood as a cultural identity distanced from the institutional sphere of European integration. Some respondents perceive belonging to Europe as a default state due to their location on the European continent, while one respondent concluded that the "European identity is actually a political identity".

Of course there's a European identity, we're in Europe for fuck's sake, the Serbs are also in Europe, why should they feel less European than those who are a part of the European Union? Besides that, the approach that you have to approve me to belong in the European Union, but before that UNPROFOR allowed civilians to be massacred, blah blah blah, it's also a very questionable schema. It's

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[8] When mentioning Bosnia and Herzegovina our participant refered to Dinamos' fans from Bosnia, who are being stereotyped as people coming from rural area so they don't share the same level of urbanity as fans from Zagreb.

questionable to what extent a German or anyone else can preach to me in the
political sense. In Croatia, especially in political spheres, the dominant opinion is
that foreigners are always right. (Hobit)

History
In the case of research of youth involved in Futsal Dinamo, history as a topic was viewed from several perspectives. Respondents often referred to the history of GNK Dinamo, the history of the club and supporter group, evoking memories of "better times", while in some cases they also noted the tradition of the club as both a foundation for the future and the integrity of their struggle. On the other hand, national history is perceived as an exceptionally powerful element in constructing identity, especially through terms such as the Homeland War (Croatian War of Independence) and Vukovar. One respondent also mentioned the importance of family history, which he saw as an exceptionally definitive factor for youth in Croatia today.

5. Discussion

The Centre for Peace Studies and Futsal Dinamo represent two examples of the social activation of youth in Croatia, but they also both contain a component of non-formal education. While the groups share particular similarities on the general level, they differ greatly. The difference in the phenomena researched presents the greatest challenge in joint analysis, as findings from apparently incompatible cases must be synthesised, which do however share particular concepts in youth, participation, volunteering, and non-formal education. The reason for choosing these two ethnographies relates to the fact that these groups of youth, regarding their social engagement, behave quite differently from the rest of their peers, who are mostly uninterested in social and political issues. These ethnographies show young people volunteering in two different social organisations that came about under significantly different circumstances, with different values, different goals, and different organisational logic. However, regardless of the numerous differences in motivation, values, way of life, etc. among them, some similarities have been identified.

The Centre for Peace Studies is a non-governmental organisation that grew out of an anti-war campaign and volunteer projects with the intent of promoting the values of non-violence, social justice, respect for human rights, tolerance, and accepting differences through the participative methods of peace education, research, and public advocacy. Although the organisation is not exclusively directed at work with youth, the volunteer club within CMS currently tied to the Asylum, Integration, and Human Safety programme has drawn roughly twenty young people; youth are also the most frequent students in the Peace Studies programme, which focuses on

non-formal education directed at mapping, analysing, examining, and discussing past, current, and potential future conflicts in society. On the other hand, Futsal Dinamo came about as Dinamo supporters' "answer" to events in their football club, or more precisely, not only within the club itself but in all aspects surrounding modern football. This "answer" went in a few different directions. The initial idea of organising a club was inspired by the desire to show how a club can be organised around the "one member, one vote" participatory model; a sustainable system was then established within the club, that eventually began to include greater numbers of young people through its youth Futsal school, as well as through various other aspects of non-formal education of the youngest supporters. In Merton's words, it can be said that Futsal Dinamo is an example of a shift from confrontation towards innovation (Merton, 1938).

5.1. Activism and youth

Various international and local research has shown an exceptionally low level of youth participation in social processes (Ilišin 2003). Recent research (Franc & Međugorac 2015) emphasise not only the lack of youth participation in social processes, but also an exceptionally low level of trust of youth towards political parties and politicians. In accordance with this, it is unsurprising that Ilišin's research concludes that youth in Europe and Croatia show significantly more pronounced social activism (sports, interests, ecological associations) than political activism (political parties, labour unions) (Ilišin 2003:44). Our research cases also deal with social activism, but the difference between them is that people involved in the idea of Futsal Dinamo are potentiating a discussion about the democratisation of decision-making processes, while activism in the case of CMS attempts to make up for (according to the actors) inefficient state care for marginalised groups, in this case migrants.

Research shows that youth are aware of their political marginalisation; they ascribe the blame for this position in society to Croatian politics and living conditions, as well as to the passivity of young people. Politics is perceived as dishonest, which reduces motivation; a similar effect is produced by the perception that political actors do not deal in problems important to youth, and that most people focus on existential issues that reduce space for motivated political involvement. Ilišin (2003) believes it is obvious that, although there is an awareness of generational responsibility, young people mostly blame this exceptional passivity on society, which does not show enough trust in youth.

Due to the diversity of our cases, it is important to mention another theoretical prism through which it is possible to observe the emergence of phenomena such as Futsal Dinamo. It is the *Against Modern Football* movement, a fight fought by the fans for the return of football *as it once was* (Numerato, 2014). Opposing the name change of their club, another fan group in Croatia has established its own club, so it is possible to speak about an event that goes beyond

this specific case and manifests itself in other places, both in Croatia and in Europe (Perasović, Mustapić, 2017). Against the backdrop of discontent among fans across Europe, there is often dissatisfaction with the various positions of power manifested in modern football. Referring to Bourdie (1997), we can say that the relationship between the Bad Blue Boys and Zdravko Mamic is an example of conflict within one field, a field in which the actors do not have the same level of economic and social capital. In this way, adapting Bourdie's theory, we approach the social capital as one of the most important things in our case. The biggest dissatisfaction among the fans was the manifestation of Zdravko Mamic's power through the implementation of repressive measures against the fans (black lists etc.) by, in their opinion, possession of links in politics and the police. Fanuko (2008: 17), interpreting Borudieu, says that social capital can, under certain conditions converge into economic capital. Our research phenomenon confirms this assumption, because most of our respondents believe that by acquiring social capital within certain structures, Zdravko Mamić has become able to transform social into economic capital.

5.2. The relationship towards *others*

It is important to note the relationship of the actors towards *others*, i.e. to define the position of the other within their micro-activist context. Staszak (2008:2) notes that *otherness* is the result of processes implemented by the group in a position of power, with the goal of distancing itself from "others", deviant groups not in accordance with the propagated system of values or which do not fall within culturally designed goals that they are expected to actualise. As is often the case in the social sciences, the theoretical position must be viewed dually. Sometimes it is impossible to define who initially defined the *other*, as groups that are not in positions of power sometimes view the more powerful actor as the *other* through the process of identity construction. We believe that the *others* are different in our research cases, but it is more important to note how our actors position themselves with regard to the *other*. We shall leave discussion of motivations for volunteering for later; it shall be interpreted more generally below. Now, we will portray the relationship towards *others* as a starting point for the action of youth. An important difference appears in the very selection of the *other*: in the case of CMS, these are marginalised groups (migrants), which means the reasons for involvement are altruistic in nature; in the case of Futsal Dinamo, the *others* are perceived as an "enemy", those being the Croatian Football Federation, sports establishment, and police force. In the context of the work of CMS, the *other* is perceived as someone who needs help to enable basic survival conditions and eventually integrate into society. Actors involved in the idea of Futsal Dinamo see the *other* as someone acting directly against them, their rights, and in radical cases, their freedom. It can be said that activism in CMS is directed at the *other*, while activism in Futsal Dinamo is directed against the *other* the members defined themselves.

5.3. Volunteering and motivation for participation

Individuals decide to volunteer for different reasons. Smith, Bruner and White (1956) conclude that volunteering serves different functions in each individual's conception of themselves and the reality in which they live (Kiviniemi et al. 2002:733). Katz (1960) offers a potential socio-psychological explanation for initial motivations to volunteer, relying on a functionalist approach to human behaviour. This analysis suggests the existence of various mechanisms that motivate and limit one's motivation to volunteer, e.g. the manifestation of one's own value framework: understanding and learning about the world around oneself, work on oneself (perceived dually as work on one's career and professional development, or on intrinsic aspects of personality), connecting with other people, and reducing potential conflict within oneself and with the environment (Clary et al. 1992; Clary & Snyder 1999). Hustinx and Lammertyn (2003) mention another aspect of motivation for volunteering related to rootedness in the local community – the individual's feeling of responsibility to take action regarding problems important on the micro- and local level.

There are various interconnected motivations for youth volunteer work at CMS, however, research has shown that the basic motivation is a feeling of injustice and sympathy with the "other", in this case refugees and asylum-seekers. These individuals are revolted by the way the government acts towards migrants, including the denial of adequate care while waiting for asylum, poor integration policies, and illegal police actions that often include physical and mental abuse. Some of them have a personal family history tied to refugeeism; during 2015 and the beginnings of the humanitarian crisis, some volunteers felt the need to contribute to ameliorating human suffering in some way, while others are interested in a broader spectrum of human rights and generally tend towards activism. What they all share are values based on tolerance, empathy, and acceptance, as well as a relationship towards the "other" that implies solidarity and inclusion; they also have the need to contribute to building a society founded on differences, which is clear from the context of volunteer work they do.

While altruism and inclusion are basic motivations for youth volunteering at CMS, volunteering at Futsal Dinamo is based on a different set of motivations. Before examining volunteer motivations, it is important to emphasise that the case of Futsal Dinamo includes another group of actors in the analysis – supporters. Supporters perhaps represent the central point within this model of club management, as their membership automatically puts them in the position of decision-makers through voting and allows them to run for positions in the club. For the sake of brevity, the report and discussion will unify the motivations of both volunteers and supporters (club members). As shown in the case description, Futsal Dinamo was founded as a consequence of events in GNK Dinamo, whose management's behaviour led to a conflict between the management and a large number of supporters. In accordance with this, it can be

concluded that one set of motivations for involvement in Futsal Dinamo relates to an "answer" to Dinamo's management and the creation of a club that serves as an example of how supporters believe things should function. Also, some respondents note the prevailing atmosphere at Futsal Dinamo as an alternative to everything they experienced at Dinamo stadium[9]. Respondents often mention individual identity aspects of Futsal Dinamo as a motivation for involvement, emphasising "giving Dinamo back to supporters and the city", the rootedness of *their* club in the local community, and a desire to revolt against everything they believe Dinamo has "become".

5.4. Non-formal education

Although they are entirely different contexts, different processes of non-formal education are found in both organisations. Non-formal education in both cases is multi-dimensional, as it manifests on various organisational levels and is carried out informally in more-or-less structured contexts. The Centre for Peace Studies, as its name suggests, organises a study programme that has always focused on promoting and building peace, which is attended mostly by young people looking to increase their capacities, not only in the context of building peace but in deepening and developing their skills and knowledge in various areas, from ecology, migration, and non-violent communication to human rights and minority rights in society. Aside from Peace Studies, in the context of non-formal education, CMS organises seminars for civic education teachers, intercultural mediation workshops, and training sessions to develop competencies for any kind of participatory work with people. Within the volunteer programme for youth working with refugees and asylum-seekers, workshops are held that provide knowledge about working with vulnerable groups and learning knowledge transfer skills, as volunteer activities involve teaching language and other knowledge necessary to ease societal integration. Aside from structured non-formal education, knowledge and skills are also acquired through the very process of volunteer work, through interaction with the "other" in the context of intercultural dialogue, which respondents say allows them to learn a great deal about themselves, the world, different cultures, countries, and ways of life.

Non-formal education is also present within Futsal Dinamo in many ways. It is based around a few main activities, although it can be said that the framework of non-formal education breaches the boundaries of the club itself through the presence of particular activities in the local community. From its very beginnings, Futsal Dinamo has directed a great deal of attention at its youth futsal school, which draws more and more children every year. The idea behind the youth school is not exclusively to train children to play futsal, but also to create a socialisation framework within which children and youth will absorb everything positive that sporting activity with peers provides, in addition to sports and fun. It must be noted that these values

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[9] The stadium at which GNK Dinamo plays its home games

include developing an awareness of a healthy lifestyle, "healthy" competitiveness, socialising, and sportsmanship. At matches, special attention is paid to children through a "kids' corner" in the hall, where young supporters can watch matches together. This is how the club attempts to instil the idea of fair, sportsmanlike supporting; the youngest children are invited to take the court to play futsal before the match, at half-time, and after the match. Furthermore, exhibitions in galleries dedicated to GNK Dinamo's past, organising concerts for supporters, and discounts on theatre tickets for club members also help raise awareness of the holistic approach to socialising and "raising" supporters.

5.5. Culture and identity

As opposed to volunteers and members of Futsal Dinamo, CMS volunteers were generally happy to talk about various aspects of culture. As all these respondents are either college students or graduates in the social sciences, and regarding the topics and social problems that interest them, it is no surprise that the majority of them think about culture in the broader sense, as a multi-dimensional concept that manifests in different ways and on different levels. Considering the values that comprise an important part of the CMS volunteers' identities, it is also unsurprising that, when asked about their own culture, respondents do not express feelings of belonging to a collective national culture they perceive as homogeneous, based on some kind of general, universally applicable norms and values. Community is described exclusively in the context of including "others" whose way of life and culture differ in some way from the dominant culture in which they live.

Members of Futsal Dinamo frequently tied issues of culture to issues of identity. This is an important place, as culture and identity are often overlapping concepts, but by no means synonymous. The analysis of interviews and journals related to Futsal Dinamo allows us to conclude that identity is a central place in the overall social atmosphere in and around the club. As opposed to people tied to CMS, research on the group involved in Futsal Dinamo experience identity and belonging as essential to what they do and the issues they deal in, which also greatly define their lifestyle (subcultural style in particular cases as well). Identity determinants manifest on a few levels, among which it is difficult to identify a hierarchy as some identity determinants overlap, but are not synonymous. There is a perceived differentiation between the concepts of urban-rural, national-European, supporter group-normal audience, and the idea of the existence of a "we" identity in opinions of those who support the GNK Dinamo club management and other actors indicated earlier as *others*.

6. Conclusion

Ethnographic research on the Centre for Peace Studies and Futsal Dinamo portrays two cases of the social activation of youth in Croatia in the context of two different organisations, which are both defined by various aspects of non-formal education. As these organisations are focused on different goals and have significantly different organisational structures, non-formal education manifests through various programmes with various potential learning outcomes. In the case of the Centre for Peace Studies, non-formal education is intended mainly for youth and is directed at developing capacities and skills in the context of peace-building and human rights, with a focus on intercultural dialogue and the inclusion of minority groups into society in general. On the other hand, Futsal Dinamo, which was create as an organisation to propagate a participative decision-making model in sport, bases its non-formal education programme on the inclusion of youth in sporting activities, but also offers young people the opportunity to participate in the decision-making process within the organisation. Bearing in mind that these are two different contexts, it is no surprise that the results of data analysis show that CMS and Futsal Dinamo attract young people led by different sets of motivations and with different views on culture and identity issues. While youth involved in Futsal Dinamo frequently find the reasons for their initial involvement in disagreement with the management of GNK Dinamo, police repression of the Bad Blue Boys, and a general desire to change one's own position within the aforementioned context, young volunteers at CMS are led by a sense of altruism, focused on helping others (in this case, refugees and asylum-seekers mostly from the Middle East) in a situation in which they believe the institutional framework has failed. An analysis of data related to experience and opinions tied to culture reveals the existence of different conceptions of culture as a social phenomenon, in which perceptions of one's own identity within these two groups are tied to the concept of culture in different ways. What proved to be a fundamental difference in conceptions of identity in these two groups of respondents is that those involved in Futsal Dinamo focus on identity based on collective practice, while young people involved in CMS do not consider collective identity a referent framework for action. Without the desire for superficial labelling and the use of traditional political concepts where there is no need for them or where there is no scientific focus on their content, the fact is that the actors in these two cases approach the concept of culture differently; those involved in Futsal Dinamo are more often associated with the concept of identity and anthropological determinations of culture as a way of life, while those involved in CMS tend to experience it as a concept related to spiritual production or "culture and art". In conclusion, these two organisations and the groups of youth involved in them represent interesting examples of activism within a context that is frequently demotivating for young people, as research to date has shown.

Although these cases are different, each reveals basic guidelines used by young people in their engagement towards social change, which are related to a higher degree of democratisation, the desire for participation, and altruistically-led motivations to create more inclusive social surroundings.

7. References

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