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Cultural Heritage and Identities of Europe's Future

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

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PROJECT TITLE	**CULTURAL HERITAGE AND IDENTITIES OF EUROPE'S FUTURE**
ACRONYM	**CHIEF**
WEBSITE	**http://chiefprojecteu.com**
FUNDER	**EUROPEAN UNION**
PROGRAMME	**HORIZON 2020 RESEARCH AND INNOVATION PROGRAMME**
TOPIC	**CULT-COOP-03-2017 CULTURAL LITERACY OF YOUNG GENERATIONS IN EUROPE**
GRANT AGREEMENT	770464
COORDINATOR	**ASTON UNIVERSITY, UK**
START DATE	**1 MAY 2018**
DURATION	**3.5 YEARS**

PROJECT PARTNERS

INSTITUTION	COUNTRY	ABBREVIATION
ASTON UNIVERSITY	UK	ASTON U
CAUCASUS RESEARCH RESOURCE CENTERS	GEORGIA	CRRC
CULTURE COVENTRY	UK	CULTURE COV
DAUGAVPILS UNIVERSITATE	LATVIA	DU
HAMBURG UNIVERSITY OF APPLIED SCIENCES	GERMANY	HAW HAMBUR
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UNIVERSITY OF GLOUCESTERSHIRE	UK	UoGLOS
UNIVERZITA KOMENSKEHO V BRATISLAVE	SLOVAKIA	UKBA

DOCUMENT CONTROL SHEET			
TITLE OF DOCUMENT	CASE STUDY REPORTS: NON-FORMAL CULTURAL PARTICIPATION AND SOCIALISATION IN GERMANY		
AUTHOR(S)	CORNELIA SYLLA, MARIA FAHR, ANNA SIEGL, DR. ELINA MARMER, DR. LOUIS HENRI SEUKWA		
INSTITUTION	HAMBURG UNIVERSITY OF APPLIED SCIENCES		
WORK PACKAGE NAME	QUALITATIVE RESEARCH IN NON-FORMAL EDUCATION SETTINGS		
WORK PACKAGE NO.	WP4		
DELIVERABLE TITLE	CASE STUDY REPORTS: NON-FORMAL CULTURAL PARTICIPATION AND SOCIALISATION		
DELIVERABLE NO.	D4.1		
DISSEMINATION LEVEL	PUBLIC		
DATE	08 MARCH 2020		
VERSION	1.0		
DOCUMENT HISTORY			
VERSION	DATE	COMMENTS	MODIFIED BY

1. Executive summary

This report presents two case studies of non-formal educational settings that explore how young people's cultural participation and cultural education are influenced or affected by these settings, and what young people and practitioners in the field consider important regarding their cultural identities and practices.

Participant observations as well as semi-structured interviews were conducted and analysed for each site. Both case studies, however, were also contrasted to get an impression of the spectrum of diversity in conceptualisations and practices.

Two theoretical approaches – the theory of "resonance" by Hartmut Rosa (2019a) for a group of young people creating and performing music and dance together (site 1) and Bourdieu's theory of "distinction" for a pro-European political group (site 2) – were used to interpret data collected during observations and interviews.

While at site 1 participation and inclusion seemed to be dealt with in a specific "resonant" way, and "performance" seemed to be their main method of cultural education, at site 2, we found an educational approach much closer to that of formal educational settings. Specific historical knowledge and a distinguished "democratic culture of discussion" are the main criteria for cultural literacy as practised at site 2.

2. Introduction

In this report, we present two case studies of non-formal educational settings identified as instrumental in young people's cultural acquisition. We have explored how these settings influence and affect young people's cultural participation and cultural education, and how young people and practitioners in the field define and perform cultural identities and practices.

We have paid special attention to educational concepts as well as informal practises within the organisations to determine the role these play in young people's acquisition of cultural literacy and culture in more general terms. Another aim was to find out the specifics of non-formal education in contrast to formal educational settings. Through identifying examples of good practice as well as the needs expressed within the organisations this report aims at the development of effective strategies for raising cultural literacy and dialogue by facilitating knowledge exchange between policy makers and practitioners.

3. Methods

As can be expected from qualitative research projects, not every research activity could be planned in detail. All plans had to be adapted to the situations discovered during fieldwork. The following section will outline very briefly the development of the research process as it arose in practise.

3.1. Selection of non-formal educational settings

Through brainstorming and research on the internet, a list of sites that according to the CHIEF criteria (targeting age group 14-25, containing educational elements, prominent in their respective communities) were possible research sites was obtained. It included a wide range of traditional and progressive sites of youth education (youth fire brigade, youth centers, theater and dance groups, youth Red Cross, religious groups, etc.). The sites were contacted via e-mail, phone call or by personal visit. Some of the projects and institutions, especially those contacted only via e-mail, did not respond at all.

Among those who responded, some did not meet the criteria (e.g. age). Most sites that met all criteria rejected participation for a variety of reasons. These were e.g. lack of time, small size of groups, change in leadership, being busy with other projects or suspected interference in their pedagogical approach. Only one organisation with a conceptual focus on pro-EU politics was instantly willing to contribute to this research (site 2).

The next strategy was to contact organisations where researchers already held some kind of established connection. This proved successful in two more cases. One researcher had been in contact with an organisation that offers classes in music and performing arts, focusing partly on topics like racism and discrimination (site 1). Many young people who participate in these programmes have experienced discrimination themselves.

Another researcher had volunteered in an environmental organisation with a strong youth branch focusing on political education for young people (site 3). Since this organisation is also cooperating with the Fridays-for-future-movement[1], which had a strong impact on the most recent EU-election in Germany, it appeared important to include this aspect of cultural education in the research.

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[1] "Fridays for future" is a youth movement first initiated by Greta Thunberg in Sweden to raise awareness for climate change by skipping school on Fridays and demonstrate in public places instead. https://fridaysforfuture.de/

Overall, this selection covers many different aspects of culture: culture as aesthetic production and consumption and cultural education as historical-political education.

Due to pragmatic reasons – because it was not possible to get enough interviews conducted and transcribed at all three sites within the given timeframe – this report focuses on sites 1 and 2, while the material gathered at site three will be considered in further publications and further steps of research for CHIEF.

3.2. Data Collection

Participant observation was carried out at all three sites with the intention of covering the broadest spectrum of activities possible. Therefore, several different activities were observed before choosing two very different ones per site, which were thoroughly documented: Site 1: a weekly choir practice and performance project running intensively for 2-3 months; site 2: a weekend-seminar on relations between Europe and Africa and a monthly round table on varying topics (in this case the EU-elections).

Most observations were carried out by the same researcher. At site 2 a young student assistant carried out participatory research during the weekend seminar. A fruitful exchange between this young assistant and the main CHIEF researcher contributed to new perspectives on the group and new data. Observation protocols were prepared in the way indicated in the fieldwork manual.

At all sites, semi-structured interviews were conducted according to the interview schedule from the WP4 fieldwork manual. Apart from site 2, where all participants were keen on the CHIEF project – apparently because some of the topics (Europe and young people) overlapped with their own main interests –, it was very difficult to motivate young people to participate in the interviews. At first, lists were laid out during the observations and participants were asked to write down their contact information if they were interested in giving an interview. Though several young people signed up for interviews in these lists, when being contacted later on to make an appointment, more than half did not reply or refused to participate, mostly mentioning that they did not have time. After a long process of recruiting individually, we managed to conduct eight interviews at site 1, and seven interviews at site 2[2]. In some cases, especially at site 2, it was very difficult to clearly distinguish between young people and practitioners, because many non-formal educational sites in Germany are run by volunteers who usually grow into their role as practitioners by first participating in activities themselves. For example at site 1: Annika was only nineteen years old, but her role in the organisation was mostly a professional one while practitioner Jack Black, age 28, was also a participant in one of the

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[2] At site 3 six interviews were conducted but could not be transcribed in time for the report.

activities we observed. Site 2 is run by young people for young people. Only Tim and Marc could be identified as youths only (not practitioners as well). Another individual, however, was older than the CHIEF definition of "young people" (26), but did not really have a professional role (Benjamin Müller, m, YP).

We tried to achieve as much diversity in the overall sample of respondents as possible. We managed to interview one male and one female practitioner per site. Additionally, at site 1 the educational background, interview language and self-described ethnicity of the two practitioners also differed.

As for the young people, we only managed to find one interviewee younger than 18 willing to participate. Ethnical, educational and socio-economic self-descriptions varied immensely between sites. While site 1 respondents showed a wide range of diversity in all these respects, sites 2 and 3 according to information given by practitioners are attended mainly by white middle to upper class youth, which is also reflected in our sample of interviews. Only Marc at site 2 described himself as German of Persian and working-class origin. [3]

3.3. Data Analysis

Initially, one interview and one observation protocol per site were coded freely (inductively) by two researchers. One of the researchers had also conducted all observations and interviews at one of the sites and one observation and most interviews at the other, while the other researcher doing the initial coding was a new colleague who had only received an introduction on how to code these texts and a general introduction into the overall concept of CHIEF and WP4. After this initial coding, both researchers discussed their results and constructed a coding tree for each site that both could agree on. This process of discussion proved very productive, creating new insights for both researchers. It already provided some ideas on how to introduce theory into analysis and how the initial codes related to CHIEF's research questions. It also gave a glimpse at possible dimensions of comparison between the two cases.

The two resulting coding trees were then applied to all the data in the respective case studies, refining some of the codes in the process when necessary.

During the discussion, two theoretical approaches (in addition to the main theoretical perspectives all CHIEF participants have agreed on) were found to be appropriate for analysing or explaining the phenomena observed at the activities and found in interviews. Especially for the data of site 1, the theory of "resonance" by Hartmut Rosa (2019a) appeared suitable to describe the concept behind cultural practices at this site. For site 2, Bourdieu's theory of "distinction" proved to be suitable to explain what is happening there.

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[3] At site 3 there was even less variation; all participants described themselves as very privileged.

3.4 Ethical Issues

For purposes of anonymisation without categorising from the outside, all participants were asked to choose a pseudonym freely. This practice itself led to some interesting pointers for analysis, because some commented on their choice in interesting ways (e.g. Friedrich, m, YP, because it is close to the German word for peace (Frieden)), while others chose names associated with a certain concept without explicitly mentioning it but with gestures or laughs which made clear that this association was intentional (e.g. Jack Black, m, P). One young person who described struggles of belonging, and encounters with racism chose a pseudonym that could be seen as a "classical German" name (Hans-Heinrich, m, YP) without further explanation but with some fervour that allows the assumption he wanted to either provoke or simply manifest that he is German, whatever others might think. One young person did not choose a pseudonym. He was asked for one at the beginning of the interview session, said he needed to think about it and then both him and the researcher forgot about it at the end of the interview. We tried to contact him afterwards, but he did not reply to our messages. Therefore, in this case a list of six names was created searching the internet for "common male names"[4] (since he had identified as male) and one was randomly chosen by rolling a dice (Marc).

Participation in general must be seen as a difficult ethical issue, since it is always closely connected with power relations and social barriers that exclude certain people. Although we tried, we did not succeed in raising the interest of non-formal organisations that are frequented by young people who experience barriers to cultural participation on multiple levels. Some organisations did not want to be researched because they felt it would disturb their everyday work. So, obviously they could not see it as an opportunity for themselves to participate in the research. We only reached organisations with concepts that were already close to our goals, whose practitioners spoke a "similar language" as the researchers do.

4. Findings

In Germany, non-formal education has undergone some changes in the past 10 years. These changes are closely linked to changes in the school system. About ten years ago, the school system reacted to the growing need for afternoon child-care, so a majority of schools have converted from part-time-schools (finishing curricular activities around 1.p.m.) to full-time schools (finishing curricular activities at around 4 p.m.), also offering in-school child-care in the late afternoon. Therefore, organisations of non-formal education have had to change either their schedules or their locations or both. Many have started co-operating with schools, now

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[4] The search was done in German: „häufige Männernamen"

offering voluntary classes integrated into the schools' schedules. Some organisations have profited from this new cooperation with the formal educational system, but many also criticise this development because they feel that they have become assistants to the schools, losing some of the conceptual freedom they had before (Deinet/Ickling 2013, p. 399).

However, there are still many different voluntary activities offered by non-formal organisations outside schools. Sport clubs (especially football teams, but also gymnastics, dancing and other team sports) are very common among German youth. In rural areas, voluntary fire fighters and similar organisations are also quite popular. Also, music schools are frequented by a large number of young people. Most organisations are partly financed by state funding but also rely on membership fees. For young people from families with a very low income, the Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs implemented the so-called "Bildungs- und Teilhabepaket" in 2011. This programme is in part designed to allow young people to participate in activities, even if they cannot afford the fees, although an evaluation in the year 2012 concluded that it is more often used to finance school supplies, lunches and class trips (Apel/Engels 2012, p. 65). Additionally, many smaller programmes allow free or supported memberships to young people with little financial resources.

The two sites we selected for this research project are quite well known in the communities that form their clientele. Site 1 is a local organisation that has grown from a private initiative. It is currently connected quite well with the ministry, foundations, educational networks and artists in the region. Site 2, by contrast, is a local branch of an international organisation with separate branches for young people and adults, which has been funded by state initiatives and several foundations from the start due to its political initiative and close relationship to government organisations.

4.1. Music, Dance, and Literature Performance Group (Site 1)

This first case study was carried out in an organisation that offers music, dance, and performance projects for young people of all ages (starting at 2 years of age). Their music and dance styles are designed to be attractive to the youths, whatever interests them can be part of the activities. The programme consists of regular weekly activities like choir practice or dance groups for various age groups and annual compact projects leading towards a special performance in a well-known alternative theatre in the city.

4.1.1. "Transcultural" space of creativity (Site description)

The concept of site 1 has grown from a small "intercultural" initiative in 1999 to a "transcultural encouragement project" which currently reaches about 100 regular participants. The site is supported by several different foundations but most of those funds are connected to specific

projects, so they continually need to re-apply for funding, which is one of the greatest challenges. They ask participants for a small monthly fee but waive it if someone claims financial difficulties.

Their main aim according to their webpage, flyers and practitioners' interviews is to encourage young people to be creative in all the ways they want to be. They endeavour to give room to young people's interests, to create a space where they can feel safe to experiment and to express themselves. One of the key factors of site 1's concept is described by all practitioners alike, and also many young people confirm that this is what they like about site 1:

> *First and foremost, we find it important that everyone can be what they want to be.*
> *That's one of the main principles. (Farida, f, P).*

Since in this case study the focus is on young people aged 14-25, we observed two different activities which were mostly frequented by this age group: A choir that practises weekly and a "transcultural" performance project with intensive weekend workshops, from creation of the script to practising scenes and choreographies, sometimes in small groups, sometimes all together, sometimes also engaging an external dance coach or music professionals. We observed two choir practises during one month and three workshop days during another month. The workshops we observed took place on rehearsal stages of the large theatre that hosted the final performance. On some occasions, only a few young people came together with the practitioner to plan specific scenes or to intensively rehearse their parts, while on others all 18 were present. The project incorporated ideas and biographical contributions by all participants alike, creating a performance that aimed at re-defining the notion of "assimilation", criticising the current societal power relations.

Choir practice took place within the localities of the organisation. The leader of the choir as well as some of the participants also took part in the performance project mentioned above. At the time of the observations, the choir was frequented by 3-5 participants, only two of whom were present on all occasions. This could be explained by the fact that a big festival organised by members of the group was taking place at the same time. The choir leader assured us that while they are still open for new members and would like to increase their numbers, usually around ten young people participate.

4.1.2. Unique individuals, creative chaos and resonance (Results of analysis)
In the process of analysing observation protocols and interview transcripts gathered at site 1, the first impression of creative chaos and unique individuals coming together to create performances that express who they are and what they want the world to know led to the

introduction of Rosa's theory of "resonance" into the analysis. Rosa states that the current paradigm of sovereignty, which is at the base of economic growth and which structures all relations between humans and their environment in "modern" societies, necessarily leads to escalation and aggression. No structural reform can change that unless this underlying paradigm is transformed. In order to create new utopias, a general transformation of human relations (also with space, time, history and politics) towards what he calls "resonance" is necessary (Rosa, 2019b, p. 35-46). This metaphor means neither owning the environment nor being victimised by it, but instead sending out vibes that are being reflected, and at the same time "listening" to vibes being sent out by others, trying to get them to resonate in harmony. This theoretical perspective linked with the research goals stated above led to the following thematic results: First of all, at site 1, participation and inclusion seemed to be dealt with in a specific "resonant" way, giving young people room to express themselves, listening to their needs, sending out messages to one another. Secondly, to practitioners and young people alike, "performance" seemed to be not only the goal but the method of cultural education. This understanding is closely linked to their perception of culture as something that is created as we speak, that contains rebellion as well as individually shaped treasures of experiences, and identity as something absolutely unique. Both culture and identity do not seem to be understood as something static, which also means that cultural education cannot mean teaching certain facts and, thereby, reaching a pre-defined goal of cultural literacy. Culture and identity at this site appeared to be something that is continuously shaped by new experiences, something that is constantly growing into different directions.

Resonance – equal participation and inclusion

Participation is the most prominent factor in this organisation's concept. Practitioners want to give young people room to create their own content without too much guidance. They claim to provide guidance only in the form of expertise in order to help young people find their own way. In all activities at this site, young people contribute their own creations; their ideas, wishes and talents are recognised and promoted at the performances. Even the observer was soon invited to participate in finding ideas for the performance or to join the choir and sing along.

The way in which diversity is discussed and practised in this institution is also a good example of the innovative and sensitive atmosphere in the group. While every single person acknowledged the diversity of the group in the interviews, diversity is not officially promoted as a goal of cultural education as is done in so many other concepts. In some activities, this goal or societal concept is even openly criticised as also pressuring individuals to be diverse in specific ways but not in others. When asked about diversity in the group, most practitioners focused on different interests, talents or personalities rather than nationalities, ethnicities or

religion. In this organisation, being diverse is considered just a common fact that does not need promotion. What is promoted instead is freedom and individuality.

This can be observed in the way all participants contribute to the inclusive atmosphere. For example, when one participant was more comfortable with English than with German, nobody needed to be asked to switch languages. Every participant seemed to be voluntarily helping out in making sure that no one missed out on any important information, several different participants acted as translators, and everybody – when addressing the English speaker – tried their best to speak English themselves.

Their interaction could be described as "resonance" (Rosa 2019a) since they hear what their surrounding is sending out and react to it in ways that they feel are adequate and in harmony with that information. This resonance is especially apparent in statements by young people when asked if there are people in the group they do not like. All answers to this question as well as some general remarks about friendship could be read as "I don't like them if they don't like me", meaning people who are impolite or lacking respect. Although this does seem to happen at times, the general atmosphere within the group seems to be very accepting and positive.

As Jack Black puts it when asked about possible conflicts in the group:
> *You know, they find how they approach one another and stuff like that. So, I think*
> *it is all in good harmony. Yeah. Just like the music, good harmony.*

To him, also in the content of what he teaches the group, it seems slightly less important that they cognitively understand what they are doing, but that they resonate with it:

> *We have done like, an Afro beat song […] in Nigerian Yoruba language, [which]*
> *is completely different for them, probably new. They do not understand what it*
> *meant […] but they were vibing with it. (Jack Black, m, P).*

Cognitive knowledge however is also appreciated by Jack Black. He mentions that the more he himself has learnt about music in general, the more appreciative he has become of the local music he calls *"hereditary"*. So his musical cultural heritage became more valuable to him after learning more about music that was different from what he considers his own cultural heritage. To him the goal of cultural education is *"to let people know about, you know, these other parts of the world. The way they do stuff. Because there are people who have zero clue about how other places are."* However, he himself only speaks about "education" when asked

about it. His own perspective seems to be focused more on the very individual process of growing.

Growing

In connection with these findings on resonance, Jack Black at first does not speak about cultural education or cultural literacy but about *"cultural development"*. He sees this as the main concept of the organisation. This can be seen as an indicator that in this organisation cultural heritage is not so much seen as something from the past that needs to be preserved and taught but something that is developed in interaction with young people, where adults are mentors and role models but not leaders. They give guidance not instructions.

> *When young people want to get involved in these kinds of activities, this is the place where they can go to, because there are coaches, there are different kinds of people that can [...] assist them and guide them through the right processes. (Jack Black, m, P).*

He himself wants to set a good example but does not pressure anyone to follow him in his ways: "*So they have seen me in this kind of behaviour [...]. So I guess they could understand how it goes. And if they learn from it, then they do it. If they do not, then they do not!*"

In all the activities, several forms of growing could be experienced, not in the capitalistic sense of "more and bigger is better" but in a more resonant sense of "growing together", adjusting to the surroundings, other people, yourself and the world in general by sending out your own information and listening to what others send out, trying to resonate to create something more and more harmonious.

This principle was also quite evident in the process of the creation of the performance. The observer witnessed the growing of the performance from hundreds of singular ideas of very different young people and practitioners into one complex performance by the same young people that still showed each one's individuality as well as their integration into a group that has learned to work, dance, sing and play together. During this process, the young people were growing together as a group.

They are also growing individually by watching and working together with diverse practitioners who each have a lot of expertise in their respective fields of interest. In this process they are encouraged to create their individual, unique identities.

Creation of identity

When asked about cultural identity, most young people at first referred to a natio-ethnic concept of identity. Especially participants who spoke about individual experiences of racist discrimination also talked about their own cultural identity in a specific way. They all identified as German but also had doubts or showed hesitations. Some clearly differentiate between their parents' culture and their own, their parents' culture having influenced their identity significantly but not being the same. As Marius, for example, puts it:

> *I grew up here. That means in fact, I myself identify as German in a way, more than as someone from Ghana. But since both my parents are from Ghana I cannot really say it like that. Well, I can say it like that, because clearly I am German in a way, but for my parents I am not German, although, okay, partly German anyhow. (Marius, m, YP).*

Lisa (f, YP), too, considers herself Ghanaian AND German but even that, in her view, does not grasp the complexity that she would like to represent. *"It is really very, very complex."* While she claims not to know much about Europe, she still thinks it is probably just as heterogeneous as she sees Africa. In some of her statements, her fluid conceptualisation of belonging can be seen clearly. She describes culture in general as different values like respect and acceptance but also as practises such as writing and dancing. But when asked about European culture, she struggles. She explains that in her mind it does not exist; she is sceptical about being European herself because she thinks it would be like saying she was African, which is too unspecific in her opinion. Even though she claims to be German several times, she also speaks about *"the Germans"* as if that expression did not include her. She says *"their country"* and then, in the same sentence, *"we are one nation, so we should help those in need"*. When she notices that her statements are somewhat contradictory she reconfirms that Germany is her country because it is where she lives, she speaks German and holds German citizenship. Her need to reconfirm "being German" can be seen as a result of discriminatory experiences, as a reaction to exclusion. This becomes clearer in contrast to another young person whose "being German" is not constantly questioned.

Friedrich (m, YP), who is not subject to racist discrimination and declares to have grown up in a monolingual German family, also mentions that he does not have one culture, that he has a personality which is influenced by many different cultures, e.g. his *"maybe conservative"* family and, in contrast, his *"extremely individualistic and open"* friends. Since his natio-ethnic identity is not challenged by his surroundings, he has the freedom to focus on other aspects of culture.

This could be read as an indicator that cultural identity is always shaped by diverse factors, while natio-ethnic identification seems to be closely linked to experiences of racism. The latter are, at site 1, much more explicitly taken into consideration than nationalities or ethnicities in general. According to Annika (f, YP), participants share their different experiences and shape their identities through this exchange and their creative work.

The youngest participant's perspective is particularly interesting. Leo (m, YP) is 15 years old, but out of the whole sample, he is the one who is most aware and critical of his privileges connected with his German passport and of his own cultural heritage. In his view, different aspects contribute to his being European: his origins as well as the fact that he is living in Europe and holds a German passport. Being European to him is closely connected to being privileged, which is not necessarily a good thing. He communicates that his mother taught him a lot about Europe's colonial past (for example), while in school he feels *"only the positive aspects [of Europe] are taught"*. He thinks it is important to know both sides of colonial history, because otherwise, *"exploitation and corruption will be considered normality"*. He finds it *"dangerous"* that his classmates do not question the fact that natural resources in different parts of the world are used by European companies without paying a fair price. Additionally, he is the only participant who clearly states both aspects of cultural heritage: Firstly, being influenced by multiple diverse practices and structures from the past, and secondly, a new generation creating something new, that no one can define yet because it has so many diverse influences and newly developing possibilities (use of media etc.). Among all the participants we interviewed, he has the longest history of participation in site 1's activities, so maybe in addition to his familial education he has internalised the organisation's values the most.

Performance

Farida, a member of the management of site 1, defines cultural education as imparting knowledge about different channels of communicating and expressing oneself. She states that her organisation tries to create an alternative space to schools, where only certain cognitive aspects of identity are valued, while practitioners at site 1 try to convey a sense of the value of all individual aspects of young people's personalities. They are invited to be who they are and show who they are. Through performances, young people share their very individual perspectives, which creates a sense of self-efficacy. Music can serve here as the key to understanding oneself and others and to expressing identities.

Individual rebellious culture

Rebellion also is part of the identities that are being created at site 1. Young people in this organisation are encouraged to create their own content of activities and performances. They

are encouraged to be critical towards fashion trends, politics and media discourses. Rebellion in this sense can take many different shapes. One form can be described as *"turning around"* (Lisa, f, YP) experiences of racism. That was also the main topic of the show. Experiences of or insights into racism which young people brought along to the planning sessions were used to criticise racism and discrimination in society (Annika, f, YP), in some cases by turning situations around, by presenting practises and experiences of racialized youth and by provoking the power and discrimination exercised by the white German majority: "Assimilate yourself!"

Rebellious identities can also be seen on a more individual level regarding very specific practices. Hans-Heinrich (m, YP) for example describes how he tried to rebel against his mother by not attending church anymore, then finding out for himself that this was not doing him any good. So he decided to go to a different church alone, accepting his mother's influence now, but still wanting to pursue his very own way. This helped him deal with the issues he had with his family on the one hand and the experience of racist discrimination on the other. At the church he attends now, he meets other young people with the same sets of experiences, *"who just understand what it is like" (Hans-Heinrich, m, YP)*. While he seems to struggle with his relatively strict upbringing and feels that his parents do not understand his situation, he has still adopted the idea that going to church is something he needs to do. In the interview with this – to the researcher seemingly rather quiet, reserved and very polite – young man, one could see several aspects of his rebellious identity.

The creative chaos observed can be understood as intentionally leading away from a normative notion of "high culture" and giving room to rebellious, ironic, creative, and authentic ways of expressing criticism of governing regimes, racism, exoticisation and generally against being defined by others.

4.2. Pro-European political organisation (site 2)

The second case study was carried out at a local youth branch of a greater international pro-European political organisation, combining positions of different political parties and promoting the strengthening of the EU, with approximately 17,000 members (of all ages) nation-wide. Internationally, the youth organisation has about 30,000 members in more than 30 different countries within and outside of the EU. The local branch we observed is located in a major city in Northern Germany.

4.2.1. Privileged academic "politics-nerds" (site description)

Activities offered by site 2 also include both regular (monthly) activities and less frequent bigger events. As with site 1, we observed one of each at site 2. We participated in a round table which is organised monthly at a pub, covering a different topic each time. Since the local

ministry of social affairs funds site 2 quite solidly, they can offer a free non-alcoholic beverage to each participant. Sometimes experts are invited to talk about certain topics but usually members take turns presenting whichever European topic that interests them. One session, for example, consisted of the presentation of a game designed to teach European law; another was about the media representation of the EU. The session we observed focused on the EU election which was to take place only two weeks after the observation.

Additionally, one researcher participated in a weekend seminar which is organised annually at a facility that hosts conferences and seminars on a regular basis. This seminar also covers a different topic each year. This year it treated the relationship between the EU and Africa. The researcher observed official activities such as presentations and moderated discussions as well as many informal activities surrounding the programme. The latter were especially interesting with regards to participants' habitus and cultural practices.

Although we did not observe this, more active members of the group (Ginny f, P; Klaus, m, P/YP; Vincent, m, YP) mentioned that cooperation with schools is a major part of their activities.

It can be stated, that diversity among participants could only be found in limited aspects. The general impression was quite homogenous: white, German, upper class, mostly university students. In the interviews, some participants described the group as "academic politics-nerds" (Ginny and Klaus). In both activities, only one participant each would describe him- or herself as "with different origins", and only one of them volunteered for an interview (Marc, m, YP). Marc was also the only member of this group with a dual nationality, which is generally a rare case in Germany, as the law only allows dual citizenship in very rare exceptions.

When asked for diversity in the group, all participants stated that they were politically diverse, which is supported by the fact that many participants were also members of different political parties. One criticised that it was mostly neoliberal (Tim, m, YP). All agreed that they are generally open to members and positions of any political party except extreme right wing parties like the AfD.

4.2.2. Portfolio oriented distinctive culture (Results of analysis)

Considering both, observations and interview transcripts, in the process of analysis several references to practices and attitudes that could be explained by Bourdieu's theory of distinction (Bourdieu 2010 (1984)) were identified. In particular, the "denial of lower, coarse, vulgar, venal, servile – in a word, natural – enjoyment, which constitutes the sacred sphere of culture, [which] implies an affirmation of the superiority of those who can be satisfied with the

sublimated, refined, disinterested, gratuitous, distinguished pleasures forever closed to the profane" (Bourdieu, 2010, p.7) could be seen in the data. Most participants stated preferences for activities that can be linked to a certain "class taste" and showed a tendency to criticise cultural practises that were considered different from their own, not reflecting on the circumstances of their genesis.

In general, participants at site 2 seemed to be quite career oriented. Their stated motivation for participating in the activities of site 2 as well as their description of their cultural practices in general include some aspects of distinction. While they do state their privileged position in society these statements seem to be rather non-critical, not connecting their privileges to the disadvantages of other people. In accordance with the pro-European programme of site 2, being European appears as a normative aspect of being in the world.

Portfolio
One thing that led to the impression that members of site 2 were generally ambitious, career-oriented young people was their overall professional appearance. Their methods of presentation at seminars, their organisational structure and even their clothing and small talk topics led to the conclusion that individuals' portfolios seem to play an important role in this organisation. The student assistant who participated in the weekend seminar for observation purposes, noted in the protocol that her first impression of the organisation after researching them online made her iron some blouses, because she feared she might be "underdressed" since in the pictures of previous seminars, the participants were all wearing dress shirts or blouses (observation protocol 1_site 2_preparation). The location of the seminar in an old distinguished manor added to this impression. Although it seemed important to the practitioners to clarify that the organisation itself could never afford such a location (observation protocol 1_ site 2_dinner, first evening), they nevertheless found a way through cooperation with a high-profile foundation that lets them use it for free (Klaus, m, YP/P). This is a good example of the social capital these young people seem to possess.

In addition, the first conversations in the car on the way to the manor, where two participants introduced themselves to the researcher, centred on university and internships in very high profile organisations.

When Klaus, a member of the management board, describes his role in the organisation, one could easily forget that he is only 22 years old. He states that he has to do lots of paperwork but thinks that with his formal bureaucracy skills he can really contribute to the success of the organisation. He speaks very professionally about organising teams, fundraising, shifting funds and finding supportive partners. At one point in the interview, he is almost apologetic about

not having finished his bachelor's degree yet (for health reasons), which he is planning to do the following semester. All participants at site 2 answered questions carefully, showing their knowledge and academic experience; starting by giving an academic definition of culture (Lilly, f, YP). Regarding social capital, they seemed very supportive of each other and even of the researcher. They willingly offered to do whatever they could to support her in her career within CHIEF, one example being insisting on doing interviews with her (observation protocol 1_site 2_dinner first night).

Many participants view the activities mostly as an opportunity to broaden their knowledge and their networks, closely connected to opportunities to develop their portfolio. Marc states that the content of the seminar was interesting to him because in his career in international trade the relationships between African and European countries were an important factor. He was especially interested in contracts and connections concerning international trade. The information that colonialism still influences relations today surprised him genuinely: *"I would never have thought that it is still like that TODAY. I thought it was some time in the past, not nice, but over now" (Marc, m, YP).* Tim's description of his motivation is quite similar. He was especially interested in the topic of the seminar as it was closely connected to the subject of his university degree.

Lilly (f, YP) admits frankly that her motivation to participate in activities at site 2 is *"rather selfish. There are free opportunities of further education"*.

Even their interest in "different cultures" might be derived from this. The ways in which Lilly, Vincent, Klaus, Marc and Benjamin Müller talk about traveling can be read as additions to their portfolio, too. They all seem to see traveling as a self-evident part of education, but also seemed to know in advance what it was they wanted to learn. They mostly travelled in connection with their degree, gathering experience in their respective fields. In some cases, they were even more interested in teaching than in learning. Lilly, for example, went to a village in Israel to volunteer in a project promoting *"dialogue between Arabs and Jews"* that was run by professionals from Germany, Switzerland and the Netherlands. She also leads a project by a worldwide international NGO, bringing menstrual cups to Bangladesh and Ruanda, which, from the perspective of postcolonial theory, very much reproduces the global power imbalance. "Western" knowledge and practices are seen as universal cultural literacy in this understanding. Additionally, all these experiences are valued by the young people for the extent of profit they acquire from it.

This also leads to a perspective on diversity as something that is modern and interesting but can be problematic, not as something that constitutes society in general. They do not see the

"normality" of diversity and therefore how they are judging something as problematic or interesting from their specific perspective. Likewise connected to this perspective on the world is the idea that "social engagement" in the sense of "helping people in need" is uncritically considered a good thing without questioning who is defining which needs of which people for which reasons exactly. Another aspect of cultural literacy that is shared by the young people at site 2 also fits into the mainstream discourse on European culture as superior, democratic, liberal, etc. They practise a very professional style of discussion. In their interviews, several young people mention that this is "their culture"; it is also one aspect they especially like about site 2. While this could possibly also be read as a "resonant" style, respecting the others, listening as well as sending out, in this case it appears more as an acquired frame that is directed by an outer order of things. This will be discussed in a later section of this report.

Diversity from an ethnocentric perspective

Diversity is explained by group members in a very interesting way. When asked about the diversity of the group, most of them state that they are politically diverse, meaning that they include members from all political parties, excluding the extreme right (AfD). They obviously want to create an image for themselves as very open, very democratic. This spectrum of diversity is the one most mentioned in the interviews with this group. Some also mention a gender balance, stating that in their group of leaders they have achieved parity while in most other activities they have a slight majority of men participating. Other dimensions of diversity are seen as more or less problematic. They postulate the fact that they are all German nationals, all academics and mostly from families with a relatively high socioeconomic status as a challenge. But this challenge does not seem to be followed up by actions for achieving more diversity in these social dimensions.

Based on our findings from policy and curricula reviews we were surprised on one hand about how much knowledge young people participating in this organisation had about German and European history. On the other hand, we were not surprised at all about what kind of knowledge they had. Their knowledge about history was very Eurocentric, even specifically German, stating all the well-known discourses on how European History begins with the Roman Empire, how colonialism is mainly part of British, French and Hispanic but not so much of German culture, also how German remembrance culture is both necessary and already successfully implemented in schools. Some quotes dealing with historical issues illustrate how this ethnocentric view on global history is manifested in young people: *„World War I does not have any influence on today, but the NS-period indeed has a lot of influence on today",* says Vincent (m, YP), and Marc (m, YP) agrees with him on this issue.

I find everything that happened during World War II very interesting, especially the whole Europe discussion, how that came about, what moved people at that time and why and how it still exists. I think that is super-interesting. Everything before that is too abstract for my liking. I will never start talking about 1700 or 1600. It is good to know some cornerstones, but it does not affect me. (Marc, m, YP).

He further stresses that this specific historical knowledge is important for understanding older people who experienced that time, while colonial history, for example, is only interesting to him in the context of international trade.

Vincent, who told us that he went to a concentration camp commemoration site with his exchange student, makes similar connections of historical knowledge and cultural literacy, because he says it is important

as an exchange student to get a feeling of the cultural identity of a country, to understand people a little better. […] The NS time still has a lot of influence on the cultural memory of, erm, Germany. And I mean, that is what shaped us in the end. Not that we need to feel guilty, no, I don't, but it has an influence on many things. And to understand what is happening in Germany, you have to know this. (Vincent, m, YP).

At another point in the interview, he also tells the story of the first incident of European unification, which, according to him, happened when *"the Ottomans"* invaded Europe and got as far as Vienna. Therefore, European identity, in his mind, has always been associated with separating "us" from "them". This can be connected to Bach's (2019) analysis that the persistence of a national habitus is based on a long history of conflicts concerning nation-building. (Bach 2019, p. 425)

Privilege
Most young people at this site describe either themselves or the other members of the group as quite privileged, as could already be seen in the site description. This, however, does not necessarily lead to any reflection on how this privilege influences their perspective on the world and on culture.

From their descriptions of cultural practises, their high and distinguished cultural capital is made visible without them noticing it. This is Bourdieu's theory on habitus and distinction in practice, since the "schemes of the habitus, the primary form of classification, owe their

specific efficacy to the fact that they function below the level of consciousness and language, beyond the reach of introspective scrutiny or control by the will" (Bourdieu 2010, p. 469).

Tim (m, YP) was also a very interesting participant. He was by far the most critical of the organisation and the EU in general. When asked about activities he shares with friends, he also mentioned some cultural practices (sports, electronic music festivals, and YouTube) that were not as distinguished as those the others mentioned. But while Tim was a participant in one of the activities, he is not a member of the organisation yet and is not sure if he wants to be one due to his dislike of the strong neoliberal fraction in the organisation.

Spatial dimensions

During one interview in particular (Lilly, f, YP), several different spatial dimensions (family, region, nation, Europe, Earth and Outer Space) could be identified that can all be considered as spheres of cultural education and require different forms of cultural literacy. Most of these dimensions could also be found in other interviews. According to Castro Varela et al., spatial metaphors and concepts are key elements of postcolonial theory (Castro Varela et al. 2009, p.308). When analysing spatial dimensions, they consider it especially meaningful to determine the position from which a certain space is constructed (ibid, p.310). In the accounts of young people from site 2, all these spheres appear as concentric circles around the individual.

The innermost circle that surrounds the young person and provides cultural education is the family. The most relevant aspect of cultural literacy acquired in families seems to be a basic emotional connection with their tangible and intangible cultural heritage. This emotional aspect seems to be linked much closer to families than any cognitive knowledge.

> *That is where I got the emotional connection that it is important to know about it. […] Facts and dates I learnt at school. (Lilly, f, YP).*

> *With my parents I talk about attitudes more, not so much about details. Rather […] what do you like? What do you dislike? But we don't have real discussions. (Tim, m, YP).*

> *I would observe that, considering my personal emotions, I have always had positive associations with Europe, but that I did grow up that way. (Ginny, f, P).*

Surrounding the family are regional and then national societies. Several young people mentioned specific regions being more relevant to their identity than the nation but none of them really elaborated on this from the perspective of their personal identity.

The next wider circle, which all participants from site 2 deem very important with regards to their cultural identity and education, is Europe, which will be analysed further in the next section. But given that the European Union is the main focus of the organisation and these young people took part in our research simply because they perceived CHIEF's research interests as being very close to their own, this was not surprising.

In several interviews young people also talked about traveling beyond Europe, which they found especially educating.

A more surprising finding was the dimension of outer space, which was primarily mentioned by Lilly but in quite an extensive and interesting way. She states that she is very much interested in this topic *"and the activities happening there at the moment, especially judicial regulations" (Lilly, f, YP)*. Her interest in judicial regulations of space make it very clear that she thinks within national boundaries from a capitalist point of view. The following quote shows very clearly that she does not doubt "our" right and responsibility to decide about space law.

> *There is BARELY ANY history. It is all produced now, in a way. That is super exciting. In which direction it could develop. The fact that it can drift into very undesirable directions if we take the wrong decisions. That's why I think it is highly relevant to a learning effect. (Lilly, f, YP).*

Ginny (f, P), who is a bit older, also mentions the dimension of outer space but from a completely different perspective. To her, space is not so much "ours" to discover and to rule, but the ultimate "other".

> *I once hypothesised that we will probably only be able to come together as one whole world when there is a different species on a different planet. Because, we humans, I think, always need an outgroup, a different group that we can distinguish ourselves from. Maybe there are other possibilities, who knows. (Ginny, f, P).*

Europe – a geographical, a political, and/or an emotional entity?
As stated above, all participants at site 2 were very adamant in supporting the general idea of a European Union. Young people's descriptions of European culture and what Europe means to them, however, varied in each individual account, according to whether they see Europe as a geographical, a political, or an emotional concept. Sometimes they are conflating and sometimes they are clearly distinguishing between these aspects.

Vincent, for example, wanted to *"show that the EU is more than just free trade between partner countries"*. He does not specify what he means by that, but several times he states that he thinks *"Europe is cool."* Here both, political and emotional aspects are connected in one sentence, stating that the EU is in fact a political construct but also more than that. He states that one of the reasons for his engagement in political activities, as they are offered by site 2 are changes in the social climate, which also threaten European unity. The rise of nationalism as could be seen in the Brexit movement, in Trump becoming president of the USA and in the realistic chance of Le Pen winning the presidential elections in France encouraged him (as well as some other participants) to actively support the European idea.

In contrast to all other members of the group, Marc admits to not having a lot of knowledge about Europe. When asked about European culture he states that for him European culture and German culture are the same, though when later asked about his knowledge about different European countries he instantly mentions the differences in culture stating that a French person is different and will act differently from a German person, without saying in which ways they differ. However, from his experience as a trader he knows that working with people from France or Spain is not the same.

Vincent has similar difficulties explaining which differences and similarities are crucial to determining what is "European" and what is not.

> *Of course, one could say, well Poland and Russia, there is not really such a big difference, although politically there are immense controversies, because they don't get along at all. But well, one has to say there are many historical similarities, we have a common history. And many countries in Europe have the same experiences, especially in Western Europe, many countries have a colonial past, many have a history of Antisemitism, many have a history of oppressing certain countries, especially the dominance of, I don't know, Russia, Germany in Eastern Europe. And it gets difficult when you go to these bordering countries where it is not really clear, especially Russia and Turkey, where does the alleged… where does it stop? It is not very clear because one cannot define culture that clearly, because it is dynamic. Nevertheless, I think that a country can slide into it and out of it again. But at the moment I get the feeling that in Hungary something is going wrong, which is obviously the case, still nobody would get the idea to say Hungarians weren't European. While for Turkey […] it is not that distinct, also historically it is a bit unclear; one could see it either way. (Vincent, m, YP).*

In general, the interviewees' descriptions of Europe are complex and sometimes contradictory and raise questions about power, perceived image and belonging.

5. Resonance versus Distinction – Discussion

When contrasting the case studies, interesting similarities and differences can be identified. Both groups show some contradictions in their concepts of cultural diversity, belonging and national culture. Site 1 explicitly challenges the perceived image of national culture, promoting a culture of individualism, of creativity and acceptance, criticising racist societal structures, giving voice and space to marginalised/racialized youth. According to Magatti et al (2019) individualistic approaches risk being instruments to neoliberal *"consumeristic culture"* (ibid, p. 470). To avoid this, they distinguish between "individuation" and "individualization", the first being *"the long-term, relational, and endless process of personal development",* and the latter "*a social condition that seeks to maximize individual liberty and self-determination" (ibid.).* To them

> *the challenge is to optimistically look for a new type of prosperity, moving away*
> *from societal adolescence (based on quantitative growth and consumerism) toward*
> *a more mature social organisation based on a distinctive model of self-realization,*
> *where creativity and human flourishing may become the qualifying elements of a*
> *new development model. This is a task that the notion of social generativity may*
> *help accomplish (ibid., p. 471).*

This form of social generativity is something that can be seen in statements and activities at site 1.

At site 2, diversity is also stated as a goal, while the perceived natio-ethnic and socio-economic homogeneity of the group is criticised by its members. They would like to be more diverse but do not necessarily realise that their habitus is very distinctive and therefore, that their activities feel very distinguished and exclusive.

While at both sites some activities are held in the English language, its function seems to be quite different. At site 1, English is used as a means of including people who are not fluent in German. Young people usually switch between languages to make sure everyone is included in the conversation. They help each other by translating. At site 2, the seminar was also held in English because one of the experts did not speak English, but this was seen as a problem. It

was discussed that using English creates a barrier of participation to less privileged young people (Observation protocol 1_site 2, p. 17).

5.1. Treasure of experience in creative chaos vs. opportunism in high culture

In the two groups, cultural heritage seems to be seen somewhat differently. The differences are quite intangible, but when we look at the way "experts" are involved in the activities and which criteria lead to the classification as "expert" it becomes clearer. At site 1 practitioners state that everyone who wishes to offer any kind of activity can do so. Practitioners are not so much valued for their name or their certificates but for their ability to relate to young people and for their motivation to share their experience. Cultural heritage in this sense can be seen as any set of experiences that is valuable to someone. It does not need any official validation; neither does it serve any specific purpose. Any experience is considered a treasure that can be of value for many different reasons, just because it is experience. Jack Black himself is quite a good example for this principle. He has no diploma or certificate to be leading a choir, but he loves what he is doing, is a good, self-taught musician and his charisma is captivating to many young people. The general concept of culture expressed in some of the interviews matches CHIEF's concept of "heritage in the making". The activities are more about creativity and expressing oneself than they are about learning traditional content. While traditions and history are seen as important, it is even more important how they are integrated into new creations.

At site 2, expertise and competencies are much more structured in accordance with formal criteria. The experts that were invited to speak at the seminar are an official ambassador and a university professor. Cultural heritage is seen as a certain set of acquired knowledge through history and personal education or as *"a pair of glasses, through which we see the world, and these glasses are shaped by all our experiences" (Marc, m, YP)*. Although this quote could also be read differently, cultural literacy in this understanding is based primarily on specific, presumed universal knowledge and practices individuals need to know in order to get somewhere in life.

By contrasting the ways in which young people at the two sites conceptualise cultural heritage, another aspect of Rosa's theory becomes visible. Rosa (2019b) criticises that the modern way of being in the world is based on cutting the link between the genesis of values and norms and their validity (p. 48). Severing the link to the past in this way also means cutting the link to the future (p.49). At the two sites, the connection to history appeared very different. While most interview participants at site 1 did not claim to know much about the historical developments that led to their own or their parents' values, they claim that they would like to know more, because they do consider it important. Their lack of knowledge shows that most of them (except for Leo) do not actively try to link their future to their past, but when asked about it, they felt

that they should. In contrast, several young people at site 2 explicitly mentioned that today's way of living could no longer be associated with certain parts of German and European history. Their way of speaking about the past reiterates the behaviours that Rosa criticises. In their view, German participation in colonialism, for example, is something that they can neglect; although some of them actually do possess quite a lot of facts, they do not consider these very important. One exception seems to be, "what happened in World War II", but even here only specific aspects that help construct an identity of Germans as a freed and purged people (Czollek 2018, p.24) are considered while others that could challenge this image are left out.

5.2. Sharing individual perspectives vs. mission

While at both sites the atmosphere of respectful discussion was stressed, there were still some differences to be observed. At first glance, they do seem similarly participative and inclusive but when taking a closer look, at site 1, thematic discussions are about sharing one's individual perspective and growing while listening to others, while at site 2, discussions seem to contain missionary aspects. They start arguing, trying to convince one another. They seem more keen on teaching others than learning from others. While young people at site 1 created a performance to show case their individual perspectives, leaving it up to the audience to take from it whatever they want, young people at site 2 take a different approach. They try to impact international politics more directly. In some interviews, their opinions and missionary ambitions become quite clear. Even when Ginny mentions that *"we need to invite people from outside the EU, and listen to their perspective on our actions",* this does not step out of the binary logic of active vs. passive. The EU is still constructed as the active part in this interaction, the others from the outside just act as informers to make sure "the right actions" can be taken. She does not consider learning about and from "others' actions".

6. Conclusion

One of the most interesting questions arising from these findings concerns the link between natio-ethnic identities and racism (or maybe even the link between identity and discrimination in more general terms). These case studies suggest that national identity is more important to young people who are subject to othering and therefore struggle to belong. Young people whose national identity is unquestioned by others appeared to have little interest in this natio-ethnic aspect of their identity. They had the freedom to focus instead on other aspects like regional or political identities. It would be interesting to compare these findings with case studies from other national contexts, but also to explore further, how this relates to national educational policies and practices.

Another finding that should be elaborated regarding CHIEF's goal of a more inclusive notion of cultural heritage is the way certain activities are valued differently in the organisations. The question why something should be learnt, or why something is interesting seemed to mark the essential difference between the two cases. At site 1, it seems important to learn new things per se and to express one's individuality regardless of whether these things will serve some higher purpose or not. This leads to a resonant way of interacting with oneself, other people and more abstract concepts like music and history. At site 2, however, young people seem to be more focused on what they can get out of a certain activity or knowledge in a more strategic way.

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8. Appendix: Table Socio-Demographic Profile of Respondents

Site 1	Pseudonym	Gender	Age	Self-description	Educational status	Family	Relationship to organisation
	Lisa	f	24	Ghanaian AND German	University student	Living with parents	Occasional participant
	Annika	f	19	Curious, open, European	Abitur	Single, living alone	Volunteer and occasional participant
	Farida	f	42	German, open, educated, middle class	University degree	-	leader
	Jack Black	m	28	Ghanaian, North African-Arabic, US-cultures; 3 cultures	"high-school dropout", self-taught, self employed	-	Practitioner and occasional participant
	Friedrich	m	23	Asperger, honest, searching for freedom and truth, world citizen	University student	Living with both parents	Regular participant
	Leo	m	15	Afro-German, learning, reflecting youth	Grade 9 secondary school	Living with mother and step-father	Regular participant
	Hans-Heinrich	m	24	German and Ghanaian	Vocational education	Living with his brother	Fairly new participant
	Marius	m	24	Afro-German, Citizen of [city]	Vocational education	Living with his brother	Fairly new participant

Site 2	Pseudonym	Gender	Age	Self-description	Educational status	Family	Relationship to organisation
	Lilly	f	22	World citizen	University student	Living with two roommates	Frequent participant
	Ginny	f	28	European, citizen of two major German cities, German	University degree	-	Member of management board, also participating in activities
	Vincent	m	22	Left wing-liberal European, open, conscious of his origins	University student	Living with both parents and sister	Currently only participating, but has also organised groups himself before
	Klaus	m	22	Politics-nerd, wealthy, academic, German, Citizen of [city]	University student	-	Member of management board, also participating in activities
	Marc	m	22	German, Persian, working class child, European	University student	Living with both parents	Occasional participant
	Benjamin Müller	m	26	Individual, Social Democrat, European, Federalist, German (when traveling)	University degree	-	Occasional participant
	Tim	m	22	Open, honest, critical	University student	Single, living alone	Occasional participant