

chief

Cultural Heritage and Identities of Europe's Future



Overview of Case Study Reports: Non-formal Cultural Participation and Socialisation



Inta Mierina and Cornelia Sylla
Daugavpils Universitate and Hamburg University
of Applied Sciences

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
INSTITUT DRUSTVENIH ZNANOSTI IVO PILAR	CROATIA	PILAR
MIMAR SINAN FINE ARTS UNIVERSITY	TURKEY	MSGSU
THE SAVITRIBAI PHULE PUNE UNIVERSITY	INDIA	SPPU
UNIVERSIDAD POMPEU FABRA	SPAIN	UPF
UNIVERSITY OF GLOUCESTERSHIRE	UK	UoGLOS
UNIVERZITA KOMENSKOHO V BRATISLAVE	SLOVAKIA	UKBA

DOCUMENT CONTROL SHEET			
TITLE OF DOCUMENT	OVERVIEW OF CASE STUDY REPORTS: NON-FORMAL CULTURAL PARTICIPATION AND SOCIALISATION		
AUTHOR(S)	INTA MIERINA, CORNELIA SYLLA		
INSTITUTIONS	DAUGAVPILS UNIVERSITATE, 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

This project has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 Research and Innovation Programme under Grant Agreement 770464.

Disclaimer: This report reflects the Author's view. The European Commission Research Executive Agency is not responsible for any use that may be made of the information it contains.

1. About CHIEF

CHIEF (The Cultural Heritage and Identities of Europe's Future) aims to build an effective dialogue between different stakeholders in order to facilitate a future of Europe based on inclusive notions of cultural heritage and identity. The project focuses on the production and transition of cultural knowledge in both formal educational settings initiated from above, and a variety of informal human interactions. CHIEF will contribute to understanding and enhancing cultural literacy for young people, and the project will lead to a more effective use of European cultural heritage as a site of production, translation and exchange of heterogeneous cultural knowledge. It will also help to recognise existing innovative practices and develop a new organisational model to enhance the cultural and inter-cultural competence of young Europeans.

CHIEF is funded by the European Commission's Horizon 2020 Programme. It brings together eleven partner institutions:

- Aston University, United Kingdom,
- Caucasus Research Resource Centers, Georgia
- Culture Coventry, United Kingdom
- Daugavpils Universitate, Latvia
- Hamburg University of Applied Sciences, Germany
- Institut Drustvenih Znanosti Ivo Pilar, Croatia
- Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University, Turkey
- The Savitribai Phule Pune University, India
- Universidad Pompeu Fabra, Spain
- University of Gloucestershire, United Kingdom
- Univerzita Komenskeho V Bratislave, Slovakia



2. Introduction

Inta Mierina, Cornelia Sylla

This report contains two qualitative case studies of non-formal educational settings per partner country. Each case study analyses the bottom-up (re-)production of various forms of cultural knowledge and practices. Research in non-formal educational settings is challenging in itself, because they exist in many different organisational forms and tend to change a lot more quickly than schools. According to the UNESCO definition, non-formal education is:

Education that is institutionalized, intentional and planned by an education provider. The defining characteristic of non-formal education is that it is an addition, alternative and/or a complement to formal education within the process of the lifelong learning of individuals. It is often provided to guarantee the right of access to education for all. It caters for people of all ages, but does not necessarily apply a continuous pathway-structure; it may be short in duration and/or low intensity, and it is typically provided in the form of short courses, workshops or seminars. Non-formal education mostly leads to qualifications that are not recognized as formal qualifications by the relevant national educational authorities or to no qualifications at all. Non-formal education can cover programmes contributing to adult and youth literacy and education for out-of-school children, as well as programmes on life skills, work skills, and social or cultural development. (UNESCO, 2017)

The three characteristics mentioned in this definition that NFE is an addition, and alternative and/or a complement to formal education can all be found in the case studies in very different combinations of these three characteristics. Each specific national context provides a different framework for NFE, therefore it is not surprising that the organisations as well as the goals and practices of each organisation are very different from one another.

In addition, each national report aims to identify needs for enhancing cultural literacy in local communities within this sector and examines expressions of (dis)respect for diversity and explicit references to Europe and European culture within interactions. The results will be shortly summarised in this introduction.



The central questions, addressed in these reports:

- Which bottom-up cultural practices are relevant to local communities and young people?
- How are diversity and pluralism negotiated in different contexts of intercultural communication in non-formal educational settings?
- Which different views on “European culture” do members of civil society institutions have? What are the origin and conditions for the emergence of these differences?
- How do non-formal education settings affect young people's cultural participation and their acquisition of cultural literacy?
- What are the needs for enhancing cultural literacy in local communities?

We aim at exploring how non-formal education settings affect young people's cultural participation and their acquisition of cultural literacy. By performing a cross-regional comparative analysis, we also want to find out how cultural literacy is acquired and enacted within non-formal education settings, and to explore how these processes differ from formal settings in terms of their goals, perspectives, strategies and methodologies. Additionally, we want to focus on different forms of learning in these settings and the role they play in young people's acquisition of culture.

3. Methods

3.1. Case selection

In the context of cultural identity, diversity etc., we touch upon sensitive issues. Researchers were therefore reminded to reflect on their own positioning in this context, the power relations between them and the participants in research, the language used to describe groups, the use of “us” and “them”, “our culture” and “other cultures” etc.

They were instructed to select sites, which

- Differ in their understanding of “cultural heritage” and “cultural identity” (as identified from their websites in terms of their mission statement, educational content, target groups etc.);
- Are prominent among local communities and young people;
- Have a strong educational element in their activities;
- Are frequented by local youth ages 14-25.

At all sites, participant observations were conducted to enable “researchers to learn about the activities of the people under study in the natural setting through observing and participating in those activities” (Kawulich, 2005). The most challenging aspect of participant observation



This project has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 Research and Innovation programme under Grant Agreement No 770464.

proved to be keeping the balance between observation (which needs a certain professional distance) and participation (which means diving right into the activity with as little distance as possible). This balance allows new insights one would not get from just observing without participating, nor from just participating. The possibility of self-observation in the process of becoming a real participant of the group we are examining, adds to the depth and complexity of the data.

Each case study is different in this respect, because each one was conducted by a different researcher and in a different setting. The level of participation varied due to these circumstances. In some cases, e.g. the Latvian kokle group, or the British farmers, participation seemed to be more of a means to be able to observe young people. While even in these two the relationships between researcher and group are very different from one another, in each of these cases, the researcher did not really become part of the group but participated in activities. In the German music and dance organisation, the researcher also struggled with participation, due to a big age gap and the common goal of the group to prepare a performance at which the researcher only participated as audience. Other groups however were approached differently, due to having a previous relationship with the researcher, so it was a little easier to be seen as a member of the group. This however presents the researcher with different challenges. In a few cases the researcher was similar in age to the participants of the observed groups (e.g. German political group) and was able to participate fully, which made it in turn more difficult to take notes of all interesting occasions.

3.2. Fieldwork

Participant observations were documented separating descriptions of actual observations from the researchers own assumptions, feelings or evaluations. These notes were analysed together with interview transcripts and all other textual data (i.e. organisations websites, flyers, concepts etc.).

Semi-structured in depth interviews focusing on the topic of “European cultural heritage and identity” were performed with 1-3 practitioners per site (5-7 together) and about 5-10 young people aged 14-25 per site.

Access to interview partners was achieved during the participant observation sessions. Practitioners were quite easy to access, since they were already included in the process of allowing participant observation. At each site at least one person, who is involved in administrative activities of the organisation, and at least one who is in close contact with the young people was interviewed.



In some cases when it was more difficult to access young people, practitioners were asked for help and advice. But even this way it was not always possible to interview 10 young people in each organisation (e.g. both German cases, Slovakian cases).

All the material mentioned above was coded based on the paradigm established in grounded theory (open, axial and selective coding) adapted to two different coding levels (as also suggested by Charmaz 1996) which should be performed interchangeably.

1. Open coding: Each phrase or sequence of each interview should be attributed a code freely. The first 3-5 documents were usually coded by two (or more) people in this fashion and the individual results were discussed to then continue with the second step:
2. Focused coding: Organise the codes from the first step into categories and sub-categories and identify the most interesting ones, those which make the most sense with regard to the research questions.

The emerging coding trees were then applied to larger amounts of data (e.g. paragraphs or whole discussions about one topic), first using the same original documents/transcripts as in step 1 then proceeding like this with all other documents/transcripts.

This generally inductive approach led to a great variety in theoretical literature being used for analysis, too. While some country reports are basing their methodology on Geertz (1973), trying to achieve a “thick description” of their ethnographic data (e.g. Georgia, Slovakia), others take different exploratory approaches. Some reports used theories that were helpful in explaining what the researchers found in the material. Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital (Bourdieu 1986) for example explained differences found in comparing both Indian case studies, as well as the Latvian cases, while his theory of distinction (Bourdieu 2010) enabled German researchers to explain the practices and also the challenges one of the groups of young people were talking about in the interviews.

3.3. Ethical issues

From the very beginning, it was important to researchers to convey the “voluntary nature of participation in research studies” (Family Health International, n.d.). In order to voluntarily participate in research, practitioners and young people have to know what they agree to. Informed consent therefore means giving participants some information about the goals of our research project but foremost about what is going to happen to/with the information they give.

We decided to use pseudonyms assigned to each person we talked to. Name giving, however, is a powerful and cultural act, which can be a sensitive issue especially in our context. Names



This project has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 Research and Innovation programme under Grant Agreement No 770464.

bear and produce cultural meanings that can influence the whole process – from the course of the interview over the analysis to the reader's perception. After careful consideration, two optional methods have been decided for pseudonymisation.

1. The researcher lets the participants choose their own names. Advantages of this approach see e.g. Allen and Wiles (2016). In cases, where participants choose names that make them identifiable, the researcher shall change it, because the protection of participants' anonymity should be our first priority.

2. The researcher assigns names at random from a list of predefined names, before meeting the participants. However, please bear in mind, that a name is never "neutral", especially not in our context.

Organisations were also anonymised as far as possible. The consent sheet, which contains personal information and the agreement to participate in further studies, should be always kept separately from the interviews and the participant notes.

4. Relationship between formal and non-formal education

While in Latvia most non-formal organisations are targeting young people of school age, which led to a sample of young people all younger than 18, in Turkey non-formal educational activities are mostly targeting audience older than 18 due to official regulations. In some cases such as the Slovakian Civil Liberties Organisation there is a close and established cooperation with formal education institutions, while in others such as the Croatian Futsal Club the activities are explicitly "outside the system". Mainstream non-formal education in Turkey, which was not analysed here, seems to be mostly supplementing the formal system by providing "catch up classes" for young people failing classes in school. In India NFE supplements the formal system in a different way; by offering more specific skills to young people which they need to pursue their desired careers. Before the age of 17 young people in India seem to focus more on their formal education while from age 18 onwards non-formal settings are frequented more. In Latvia and Georgia, the organisations that were researched provide different insights into traditional cultural practices. In Latvia, the content of non-formal organisations is quite formalised. The Croatian and German cases however appeared more as leisure activities. The educational approach being less obvious, the relationship to the formal system less structured.

5. Summary of case studies

The most obvious results of this research in nine different countries, observing and analysing two different organisations each, is that there is a great variety of different approaches to



This project has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 Research and Innovation programme under Grant Agreement No 770464.

cultural education in non-formal educational settings. Direct comparison between countries is impossible. It is however possible to illustrate the range of diversity in educational and cultural concepts.

Some of the organisations provide cultural education in the sense of aesthetic production. i.e. music, drama, film or creative arts. But even those organisations that focused on music were very different in their understanding of culture and cultural heritage. One Latvian group for example is teaching young people how to play a traditional Latvian instrument and also mostly traditional folk songs, while the second Latvian group also focuses on traditional song and dance, but mainly from the perspective of the Polish minority. One of the Georgian groups is a famous dance group, which tries to present Georgian culture and considers themselves experts on the culture. One German case in contrast to this is also performing music and dance, but the aim of this organisation is to give room to young people to create their own content and challenges mainstream traditions and the notion of “national culture”.

Also the other groups that are focused more on other art can be very different in their outlook on tradition or also concerning the groups the target. Both Indian cases show this contrast quite well. While the first case is a film group mainly working with underprivileged young people who have migrated from a rural area to the city, the other group is an elitist fine-arts group.

Another notion of cultural education can be found in groups that have more of a political understanding of “culture”. In these cases, culture is seen more as a set of certain values. One example is the second German group that holds seminars and workshops to educate young people about European politics. Also one of the Slovakian groups has a more political view on culture, but a slightly different focus. They focus more generally on Human Rights and cultural diversity.

Also focused on values, but again following very different approaches, are the groups in different religious contexts. While religion might also play a role in music groups such as the Polish dance group in Latvia for example, some organisations either use religious frameworks to convey certain more political values, like one of the British cases for example. This Christian charity wants to create a space of interreligious dialogue, inviting young people of different faiths to come together and discuss during various activities. The second Slovakian case in contrast is a new religious movement based on spirituality of old Slavs. They see culture as an extension of nature that is moderated by spirituality.



6. Discussion

6.1. Bottom up practices

The case studies shed light on the question - why do young people get involved in non-formal activities. The case of Latvia and Georgia where more traditional folk-groups were selected is a good illustration that youth activism is often first directed at oneself – willingness to learn a certain skill, to learn about the world around oneself, work on oneself, connect with other people, etc. Usually there are first priority needs or the “anchor activity” (see the Turkish case study) that attracts young people, yet non-formal education also imparts non-cognitive learning and training in various life-skills for an overall holistic development of young people often filling the gaps in the formal education (see the Indian case studies). The fact that NGO activities often address the needs of the participants is excellently illustrated by the Turkish cases. Peer to Peer promotes activities that will support language-speaking practice, addressing some of the inadequacies commonly faced in foreign language education. Moreover, several reports highlighted that compared to a formal education setting, participation in non-governmental associations does not feel compulsory, and, importantly, participants have greater freedom to decide what they need for themselves. The bottom-up character of activities ensures that they are more interactive and entertaining. For example, Elephant Memory in Turkey implements an interactive and mysterious cultural literacy method by fulfilling an alternative historical narration through “neighbourhood memory walks.” In Slovak SN strengthening Slovak/Slavic identity begins with youth’s discovering of hidden and spiritual meanings of traditional folk culture, and after meeting the spiritual leader, the boring folk culture, massively propagated in the state’s cultural and educational institutions, suddenly gets deep spiritual meanings. Practitioners interviewed during the project envisage their non-formal group as such that provides more opportunities for the young people to express themselves than a formal education setting can.

The German case studies reveal that sometimes engagement in non-formal activities can be very strategic, i.e., young people being focused on what they can get out of a certain activity or knowledge. For others it is important to learn new things per se, to experiment and express one’s individuality regardless of whether these things will serve some higher purpose or not. Interestingly, needs-oriented participation is a valid motivation not just for volunteers/participants, but also for trainers/practitioners who get an opportunity to work in their area of interest or with issues they are passionate about, that would often not be possible elsewhere (e.g., the Latvian and Turkish case).

Activism can also be directed *at* others. The Slovak, Croatian, Spanish, Turkish, and Indian cases demonstrate that the reasons for involvement can be altruistic in nature, aimed at marginalised groups due to feeling of injustice and sympathy with the “other”, in this case



This project has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 Research and Innovation programme under Grant Agreement No 770464.

refugees and asylum-seekers who need help to enable basic survival conditions and eventually integrate into society. Overall, the groups aimed at others all share values based on tolerance, empathy, and acceptance, as well as a relationship towards the “other” that implies solidarity and inclusion; they also propagate the need to contribute to building a society founded on differences, which is clear from the context of the volunteer work that they do. Among others, Elephant Memory in Turkey aims to reveal and transmit the voice, culture, and cultural heritage of different social groups, especially minorities, as they are not sufficiently heard due to the dominant mainstream discourse in the city. For CLO in Slovakia topics as education to human rights and democracy, social inclusion, discrimination, cultural diversity or memory are the fundamental parts of their activities. In Spain, both organisations are often places for cohabitation and learning about diversity. Similarly, the UK Case 1 focused on countering the kind of ethno-nationalist tendencies that they felt were expressed through Brexit. In Croatia, in the Centre for Peace Studies non-formal education 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.

Activism can also be mobilised *against* others. In contrast, in the case of a Futsal club in Croatia, the others are perceived as an “enemy”, someone acting directly against them, their rights, and in radical cases, their freedom, those being the Croatian Football Federation, sports establishment, and police force, which mobilises them for action. The group aimed against others is motivated mainly by empowerment, reclaiming control, and getting things to work the way young people think that they should work. Also important is the common “we” identity based on collective practice that greatly defines their lifestyle (subcultural style in particular cases as well).

One of the Spanish cases illustrates that motivation for volunteering can be linked to rootedness in the local community – the individual's feeling of responsibility to take action regarding problems important on the micro- and local level (Hustinx and Lammertyn 2003).

In many cases (e.g., Latvia, Georgia, Slovakia), non-formal education was focused on preservation of culture and traditions, understood here in the traditional ethno-national way. This is not surprising, as culture of shared history and traditions is important for people's identity and a feeling that they can have a place in a society's history and that they can identify with the way it remembers its past (Kramsh, 1998). The group represents itself through, for example, its monuments, works of art, or popular culture – that are at the core of its historical identity. Not surprisingly, part of the motivation for young people to get involved in non-formal education and to practice the traditional culture of their ethnic group stem from their respect



towards their family, their ancestors and their heritage. This is particularly noticeable in the case of the Polish cultural association in Latvia.

The analysis also highlights that the approaches are very different in whether culture is seen as “invented tradition” (Hobsbawm 1993) or as something that is given for granted - inherited from the ancestors and existing independently from the individualistic influence or, in other words, “embedded and embodied in collective memories and internalized by members of a collective” (Batiashvili 2012). In the latter case, young people's major contribution to it should be a respectful preservation and advancing of it. In the Latvian cases, the traditional approach is followed with emphasis on respecting and preserving culture intact rather than innovating or re-inventing it. In the Slovakian SN group members not only interpret material and immaterial artefacts in the sense of “natural spirituality”, but also construct new practices, words or rituals that are, according to their leader, spiritually inspired from the original and “pure source”, and that are in accordance with the “original culture of ancestors”, in line with the theory of invented tradition. Similarly, In Germany, 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. In the Georgian cases that are both focused on traditions (dance and martial arts), a bricolage approach is used in adapting, mixing, and engaging with the global trends while not losing the link with its original, ancient traditions and values, thus, remaining in the universally recognised and sanctioned framework of “unique Georgian culture”.

An interesting case worth elaborating is the Slovakian SN group where preservation of culture is achieved not just by practising traditional arts, but through myth and ritual, providing an interpretation of the world and affecting the participants way of life well beyond the group. Essentially religious rituals of SN supply participants with symbolical sources, which help them to organise their interpretation (or re-interpretation) of the surrounding non-symbolical world (e.g. cosmology or principles of nature). The SN ritual provides the theory of the world and a symbolical manual for further acting in the world – guidance young people sometimes seek. The effect of non-formal education through ritual is strengthened due to the intensive spiritual and collective emotions experienced by participants. Our informants understood their participation on rituals as their contribution to the continuation of old and almost erased Slavic spirituality. Interpretations of the past brings the practical consequences for the lifestyle of SN members. They often wear Slavic-like clothes from natural materials; perform personal and collective rituals and exercises recommended by their leader; play traditional musical instruments and learn traditional crafts; they do bio gardening; preferring natural medicine instead of allopathic; leaving the cities and buying land for farming or joining existing farm



communities. They are trying to live with accordance to nature and with original culture and, in a way, feel that they *are* cultural heritage. Civically, they are active predominantly in ecological issues and participate in campaigns against deforestation in Slovakia or against hunting, as well as an initiative focusing on propagation and teaching about traditional crafts, agriculture or breeding farm animals.

Yet, there are also very different, contrasting cases where, driven by a globalist perspective, non-formal educators actively reject the importance of learning about national traditions or ethnic culture. For example, according to lecturers of CLO - the other Slovakian group - the only moments of the past worthy for actualization are related to development of civil liberties, human rights, democracy and intercultural tolerance. Their actualizations of the past focus mainly on commemorating historical events or eras, which are in organisation interpreted as useful messages from the past.

Motivation for engagement in non-formal education can also be explained at two-levels. On the micro-level, it is the family and circle of a close friend and on the macro-level societal norms and values. Cultural practices are social not only in their content but also in their form (Daugavietis and Leiškalne 2017). In fact, culture has a socialising function, and no less than the activity itself are the opportunities non-formal education provides in terms of socialising with peers. In several case studies, for example, in Latvia, Georgia, Spain, and Turkey, young people emphasise that they are motivated by being together with friends, and that the group even feels like a family. Young people want to participate in a group where they feel emotionally comfortable. In Spain, an important part of their cultural practices is carried out collectively, and this implies socialisation with friends: going to parties, concerts or festivals, going for a walk together, or visiting a friend's house. The activities offered in a non-formal education setting allow young people to develop a sense of belonging in a group with common objectives and/or with like-minded others. This has particular merit for young people with a minority background, from unstructured families (for instance, single parenthood with scarce economic resources) or with vulnerable life conditions. This aspiration may be emotional, but sometimes also rights-based and with the aim of defending their rights. As for the macro level, societal legitimization of cultural activities practised by this non-formal education provide a platform for practising culture in a different way.

Very different management structures were observed in the studied non-formal education settings, from very democratic and egalitarian (such as the Futsal club in Croatia or the case in Turkey) to hierarchical (Georgia) or authoritarian centred around one or a couple of founders of the site (The Indian Site 1 or Slovakian site). Research in Spain shows that when young people engage in artistic learning with a collective, emotional, and empowering work



This project has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 Research and Innovation programme under Grant Agreement No 770464.

perspective, young people are happy to get actively involved and play a leading role. In some cases, a career growth was possible within the organisation. For example, in the Turkish case, an ordinary participant of a memory walk activity could, in time become a leading guide, or a participant of a speech club could become a coordinator. Similarly, in Georgia, members of the dance collective could improve their skills and become professional dancers. Not only does mobility in a non-formal education setting strengthen the members' sense of belonging, these activities can also help provide the human resource needs for such organisations and help to reduce operating costs.

Some of the organisations, particularly those involved in creative or artistic activities, folk culture, or being linked to a network of NGOs abroad (e.g., cases in Latvia, Georgia, Turkey) provide an opportunity for young people to travel abroad to attend training, seminars, performances, or festivals. Especially when the participants are financially disadvantaged, the possibility of taking part in an event abroad to meet young people from other countries can be an important motivation for them to participate.

6.2. Negotiating diversity and pluralism

The CHIEF project reveals various ways how, in young people's own words, practising culture is linked to identity. Some of the groups (e.g., in Slovakia, Latvia, Georgia) are focusing on practising traditional folk culture and, inevitably, linked to strengthening national or ethnic identity. In the literature, national identity is sometimes problematized as being achieved at the expense of the sense of superiority of one's own culture and rejection of diversity, yet CHIEF provides a more nuanced view on these issues.

First, diversity itself is multifaceted. While the current discourse places a lot of emphasis on ethnic diversity, our societies are heterogenous also in terms of income, gender, urban/rural divide, interests and values. The groups mentioned earlier take pride in striving to be more inclusive and supportive of every young person, even though it was clear to observers that in many ways they are internally homogenous. For example, in Georgia, while reporting diversity in terms of ideological spectrum, values, interests or tastes, in reality, the majority of young people still share the same characteristics – moderately conservative values in terms of cultural preservation and the importance of a unique Georgian identity. The Indian example shows that cultural diversity can sometimes be understood as “difference” within the tradition. Overall, the way diversity is characterised differs from group to group and from an individual to an individual. Young people talk about their friends as being homogenous in some ways, yet very different in others. Which characteristics and why become central to structuring of the social fabric, an important topic for further research. In the case of the UK, the interviews showed that in a multi-ethnic environment this often is the ethnic divide.



This project has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 Research and Innovation programme under Grant Agreement No 770464.

Second, while it is true that young people, for example, in Latvia, tend to contrast “our culture” with others, in this way distinguishing insiders from outsiders (Kramsh 1998), practising culture in non-formal education settings tends to make them more open and interested in other cultures, partially, because they get to see them during concerts abroad, and empathise and understand them better. Even in the Slovak SN group where connection of religion or spirituality with strong ethnic identity results in specific nationalist discourse “hyperbolized to cosmic proportions” (Bakić-Hayden 2004), that refuse multiculturalism and is deeply Euro-sceptic, young people express their respect towards cultures from various parts of the world. This respect, however, does not necessarily mean being open to immigration and it does not extend to all cultures, just those who are similar to “their culture” and share their understanding of the world. Amongst SN members, the spiritual bond to nature was the referential point for cultural comparison and evaluation of other cultures.

At the same time, groups presumably aimed at promoting diversity and helping minorities, migrants, or other disadvantaged groups do not necessarily have much understanding and respect for all the subjects of their activism. In India, the two groups are aimed *at* others as the audience of their art, as they realise that their art should reach the masses to try to transform their “stereotypical understanding of art”. At the same time, these organisations seem to show little respect for the popular culture, and do little to learn about common peoples’ understandings about art, and processes of formation of these ideas. In Slovakia, these are exclusively educated youths from privileged backgrounds involved in the pro-diversity civil rights group CLO. Despite cultural relativism and respect to cultural differences (along with their relativisation), despite advocating for diversity, civil rights and respect towards diversity, they admit that they do not, in fact, see all cultures as equal, and consider those that do not respect human rights and other cultures as underdeveloped. Apparently, the cultural relativist position is not as rigid as proclaimed and as it initially seemed to be. The respect towards other cultures is limited by other cultures’ ascribed ability to respect different cultures. The conviction about equality of all cultures is implicitly limited with conviction about superiority of western cultural product conceptualised as human rights.

Little diversity within many of the pro-diversity groups (Germany, India, Slovakia, Croatia) is an interesting finding, and it is sometimes recognised as a problem by the members themselves. Interestingly, it was observed in both Germany and Slovakia, that young people in such groups 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. In India Site 2, male participants emphasised openness in the organisational culture, yet mainly due to prejudice, very few women were involved in the group. Moreover, most people interviewed in India came



from a relatively privileged family. Thus, even though they claim to be inclusive, in practice they may be less so due to their own structural position of being materially and culturally advantageous. In general, while it could happen, that young people in better socio-economic positions use their economic, social, cultural and political capital to represent groups who do not have (or are not given) enough voice themselves, representation is always more efficient with the members of the target group directly involved in the activities. The groups in Spain and Germany differ in that here diversity is a key element of the group itself, meaning that the group is working with very diverse young people, and these diverse people get to have a say in how to improve the conditions of people like themselves. Cultural diversity must include openness to critique from outside and within. Moreover, diversity must include every day, non-standardised versions of cultural articulations instead of relying only on textual and standardised versions of culture. As a positive example, it is worth elaborating the Spanish cases. Without a doubt, the two non-formal education contexts have an educational approach of respect towards diversity (whether it is understood in terms of ethnic group, country of origin, social class, LGBT, etc.), and it is likely that this microcosm influences the way young people think. The ACC is a space full of wall paintings that reflect the diversity of worlds, ideas and people. One of its projects works directly with diverse (in terms of country of birth and first language) young people in a situation of vulnerability. The space there transmits a strong feeling of freedom and diversity. Moreover, the territorial identity of the young people is not only diverse, but also hybrid. To use a concept coined by Feixa and Nilan (2006), there is a “global youth” characterised by a hybrid identity in a plural world. This profile of youth fits in with many of the young people we interviewed. They prefer to be citizens of the world, part of a global world, rather than be connected with local or national identities. The case of CMPA illustrates that arts (music, theatre, painting, dance, singing) can help in the fight against social exclusion, and be tools to achieve educational experiences. Young people of different backgrounds and social classes interact together, which indicates that inclusivity processes can be used when working with heterogeneous young people.

The analysis shows that for the most part, diversity is understood by young people as a good thing; they are open to learning about and from different cultures, even though it is not unusual to prefer to socialise with people who share their views, and who are “like them”. However, the case of India shows that emphasis on diversity as an important component of culture in some cases turns into stereotyping minorities, for example, in identifying religious minorities essentially as followers of their religious festivals and rituals. Second, at least one young person has labelled linguistic diversity in his surroundings as being ‘confusion’. This stereotyping and confusion arise mainly because the Indian state and society have attached only symbolic significance to celebrating diversity while doing very little institutional work to ensure that this diversity turns into meaningful dialogue between and within different cultures.



This project has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 Research and Innovation programme under Grant Agreement No 770464.

However, not all young people share enthusiasm about diversity. In the UK, anti-immigration sentiment was mentioned as central to the leave vote, and that this reflected a move towards exclusionary nationalism, and a rise in racism and intolerance towards minorities. For young people in Case 1, countering the kind of ethno-nationalist tendencies that they felt were expressed through Brexit was considered an important function of inter-cultural encounter and dialogue.

The UK case also shows that even when living in a multi-cultural environment, young people felt they had limited opportunities to engage in meaningful interactions with those of different faiths and ethnicities. In everyday life, they interacted predominantly with others from similar ethnic and religious backgrounds to themselves. This tendency was reflected in the narrative of the university students interviewed in Case 1, whose expectations of university as a space in which inter-cultural encounter would occur, had not been met in practice. Thus, the assumption that young people growing up and living in diverse or superdiverse urban areas have more ready opportunities to encounter ethnic and religious difference, in a meaningful way that enables dialogue and respect, is challenged by the findings of this research. In Case 1, young people perceived that that setting offered them a unique opportunity to interact with young people of different faiths and ethnicities to themselves, given that their friendship networks outside of the setting did not fulfil this function.

The CHIEF project shows that most of the pro-diversity groups actively refuse nationalism, criticise the division by ethnic lines and try to deconstruct them (e.g., Slovakia, Croatia, Germany). In the Croatian case (CMS) 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, and young people involved in CMS do not consider collective identity a referent framework for action. A similar worldview was observed in Germany, where 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. The German cases also reveal that national identity may be more important to young people who are subject to othering and therefore struggle to belong. In CLO in Slovakia, culture is seen as the result of various interactions, which are not limited to boundaries of any collective category. Moreover, they emphasise the role of individual actors who can absorb various cultural influences. According to CLO lecturers, cultures are mutually pervading and affecting each other, and collective categories – socially constructed. This is the reason why the non-formal educational programme of CLO lead to deconstruction or at least problematisation of collective categories and identities and encourage youths to “norm critical approach” which leads to questioning and reconsidering the norms and



“truths” of their own culture. The approach they call “transcultural approach” crosses ethnically or religiously marked cultural boundaries, and argues that one can search the possible sources of his/her identity and worldview - so to say- out of the ethnically or religiously defined “box” e.g. in one’s not necessarily mono-ethnic family and its history. According to CLO lecturers, such teaching, otherwise common in Slovak formal and as well non-formal education, reinforces the reduced understanding of cultures as the product of particular ethnic groups and reinforces existing stereotypes about given groups. CLO discourse encourages keeping a safe distance from one’s ‘own’ history, essentially demonising the past, which cannot offer positive collective category worthy to identify with. Researchers point to a clear distinction between two dominant approaches to culture and cultural diversity. The first one, represented by Erich Mistrík, works with the conception of culture as a somehow stable and monolithic category. Shortly, in order to bring intercultural tolerance, the educational system should provide students with the knowledge and experience related to other cultures. (Mistrík 2009: 92). People “within” those cultures are in fact, perceived as passively captured in a given culture. CLO lecturers are, along with the representatives of the second approach, critical to the aforementioned understanding of culture and diversity. Younger generations of academics argue that the discourse that defines any culture as a stable and discrete entity with clearly marked borders brings more risks than benefits, because it rather marks boundaries between groups than creates the space for mutual interaction and coexistence (Gálová-Kríglerová 2009).

Our research also makes us question how diverse the perceived diversity actually is. Interviews in the UK find that while the socially and demographically different young people in each case framed their values in different terms, these values were, essentially, similar. This provides support to scholarship on “essential British values”, which critiques the positioning of these values in policy discourse as needing to be ‘taught’ or ‘transmitted’ in schools and other educational settings, and which commonly places them in opposition to the supposedly differing values of an ‘other’ in terms of a focus of adoption of British values as a precursor to the integration of minorities.

Relevant to the accommodation of diversity, language use gained attention and was problematized in some of the reports. In the case of the Polish group in Latvia, one of the reasons young people joined was the opportunity to speak Polish, considering that they speak mainly Russian or Latvian with friends and at home. In Germany, Site 1, English is used, or young people switch between languages to make sure that even people who are not fluent in German are included in the conversation. On the other hand, in Site 2 it was discussed that using English at the seminar creates a barrier of participation to less privileged young people who do not speak English. One can conclude that is a difficult challenge to make everyone feel



included in an environment without a shared language. In India, one of the practitioners was translating their programmes that mainly happen in English into the Marathi language, but she also mentioned limitations in conducting those activities due to budget constraints.

Still, for many young people practising their traditional ethno-national culture is extremely important. We specifically observe this in East-Central European countries (in our case, Latvia, Georgia, Slovakia) where traditional culture is central for their identity and national pride of citizens in the context of their history. In Latvia, for example, the non-violent movement for the restoration of independence was called 'The singing revolution' and is described in several books and movies, because of the role singing played in the protests of the mid-1980s. Traditional ethnic culture, particularly singing and dancing, had always been a major unifying force for people of the Baltic countries while they endured fifty years of Soviet rule. Similarly, in Georgia, ethnic identity is one of the most important aspects of the construction of Georgian culture. The ethnic "Georgianness" of the Georgian culture is manifested not only in the cultural context but also on the linguistic dimension. Virtually every aspect of the Georgian culture described by young people is connected implicitly to the ethnic "Georgianness". In Slovakia, SN provokes appreciation of one's own folk culture's richness, increases the youth's pride of the Slovak tradition and strengthens the feeling of belonging to the collective category of Slovaks and Slavs. In Kramsh's (1998) words, culture is a product of historically and socially situated discourse communities, that are to a large extent imagined communities (Anderson 1983), created and shaped by language. Partially due to the natural need of an individual to feel connected with their ancestors and their "imagined community", and partially – due to the way culture is taught in formal education settings, it might not be easy for young people to embrace the globalist or "trans-cultural" approach. As the example of CLO in Slovakia shows, despite the group's teachings, young people still considered learning about their own culture and preserving it as important. Still, as noted in the Indian report, we should not understand tradition as a homogeneous and anti-diversity space. The participants stressed on plurality within tradition and significance of drawing upon the pro-diversity voices from within the tradition. This perspective lends a strong possibility for the advocates of diversity to place themselves inside and not outside of the tradition. This might make the struggle for diversity socially and politically more viable.

6.3. Views on Europe and European culture

To understand young people's views on European culture, it is first important to gain a better insight into how they see culture in general. The Croatian case in particular demonstrates that these ideas are linked with the kind of activities young people themselves are involved in. For example, those involved in Futsal Dinamo more often associated culture with the concept of identity and anthropological determinations of culture as a way of life (also characteristic to



This project has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 Research and Innovation programme under Grant Agreement No 770464.

sub-cultures), while those involved in CMS tend to experience it as a concept related to spiritual production or “culture and art”.

The Slovakian cases problematize (not only the structuralist) viewpoint regarding the nature-culture relation as the central anthropological dichotomy. The first group of Slavic neo-pagans shares the very essentialist perspective towards culture. Members of SN believe that culture was born and should be developed from the spiritual understanding and spiritual connection to nature. The charismatic leader of the group extended the meaning of culture to “everything what we inherited” including phenomena usually classified to the nature world (e.g. DNA, stomach enzymes, blood group). In this understanding, culture and ethnicity seem to be “coded” or latently present even in one's blood cells. One is born as a member of a certain ethnic group and in fact bears the particular culture on his/her shoulders (or better said- in his/her blood) since his/her biological conception. The most authentic form of human virtues is in direct touch with the natural order and valuable cultures know and follow this order. The superiority of one's own culture is thus not defined according to civilisational distance from nature, but on the contrary, according to the close contact with nature and deep anchoring in its principles. In contrast to the SN philosophy of biologically defined cultural and ethnical essentialism, CLO declaratively occupies the opposite cultural relativist position. The CLO lecturers refuse approaching to cultures as to “closed entities” inseparably connected to ethnic or any other collective category. If SN members emphasise the role of folk culture and folklore as a constitutive part of cultural heritage, the CLO lecturer, considers the developing of folklore as meaningless. She claims that glorification of folklore does not bring any fruit in sense of its actualization and application for current times and needs, and emphasises that nowadays nobody performs any folk tradition in its authentic form.

The definitions of culture differ in terms of how inclusive they are, as illustrated also by cases in Turkey. While providing their definition of “culture,” young people taking part in activities in Elephant Memory in Turkey incorporate minorities and different ethnic groups in their definition. The young people in Peer to Peer displayed an interest in learning more about different cultures and societies on an international scale, while still comparing foreign, and especially European, culture with their own local culture.

In Georgia, the idea of culture for young people involved in the traditional dance and martial arts collectives is fixed in terms of the framework of universally accepted values, ethical rules, and understanding of history. It can be modified but never re-thought or altered in a drastic way. Cultural participation is identified predominantly with established, classical or high culture activities, like going to museums, theatres or art exhibitions. In Latvia and Slovakia, too, it is very common to understand culture, cultural practices, and cultural heritage in narrow ethno-national terms, mainly, in relation to folklore, particularly the traditional song and dance



or, sometimes, historical architectural sights. In addition, in Latvia festivities such as Summer solstice celebrations or Christmas are frequently mentioned when thinking about culture. For young people in both cases in the UK, too, tradition is central to the meaning of culture as it is understood by young people in the UK, with emphasis on the family as a site of inter-generational transmission and the continuation of a way of life passed down through generations. Culture was also closely tied not only to the tangible aspects of cultural practices, but to the intangible, in the form of values.

Finally, when hearing the word “culture” young people in Latvia (as well as Georgia) sometimes tend to think about a behaviour within the limits of the accepted norms such as taking off shoes when entering a house, not chewing food with an open mouth, etc. This stems from the term “cultural behaviour” of a “cultural person” in Latvian describing the kind of person that adheres to these generally accepted norms, and is in line with the aforementioned broad understanding of culture, cultural capital, and cultural literacy. Thus, we find support for the post-modernist thesis that language conditions our thoughts and interpretations (Kramsh 1998), in this case, what we understand with culture. Overall, young people in Latvia had difficulty answering questions that defined culture as a general phenomenon. Part of the reason could be that young people have not thought about what ‘culture’ is. It is a word often used in various contexts that encompasses a variety of things, yet the core meaning of “culture” seems to be difficult for young people to pin down.

As “culture” is still often understood in a traditional, ethno-national way, young people had even more difficulty talking about European culture. In most of the cases, a few can distinguish between different cultures and traditions of Europe. In Latvia some young people mentioned “being cultural” as central to being European. Talking about European culture, young people also mentioned that it has ancient culture, and that it is the most “cultural” continent in the world. Some young people, for example, in Germany and the UK, mentioned ancient Greek or Roman art, French food and Italian art, or some other forms of European heritage, yet this was not common. Importantly, though, despite this ambivalence, there was not a strong sense that young people felt excluded or “othered” from European identity or culture on the basis of their identities. Rather, the status of “Europeanness” as a somewhat empty category which existed only as a geographic territory and legal category of citizenship, rather than evoking deeper imaginings of culture and identity, seemed to allow space for plurality of identities.

In Latvia, young people see themselves as Europeans, yet it is mainly due to them being born within the geographical boundaries of Europe, and not for any other reasons. Similarly, in both cases in the UK, Europe appeared to mean little to the cultural identities of young people. In some cases (Turkey, UK, India) European culture was, in fact, contrasted with “our culture”.



In the UK case 2, Europe tended to be cast as 'other', rather than as a part of young people's own cultural heritage. For young people in Case 1, the idea of a European identity evoked a similarly ambivalent response, with most agreeing that they were European, and that Europe was part of their culture, but that this was by default of birth rather than through deeper sentiments or attachment.

Both in Latvia and in Georgia, European culture is linked with universally shared values and beliefs. Being European is typically associated with a particular set of values such as being liberal, open and tolerant towards diversity, supportive of democracy etc. It remains unclear why these values do not play a more prominent role in young people's identification with Europe.

In Spain, in the middle of all this pluralism, European identity appears to be dividing the young people we interviewed. A significant number of the young people interviewed (at least two thirds) share a critical vision of Europe and of what is understood by being European. Instead, other young people see Europe as a huge opportunity for creativity and a mixture of economic opportunities, cultures, and traditions. It is unclear whether the critical view comes about as a response to the EU policies and institutions, for which there is evidence of increasing disaffection among the young (Huyst 2018), as it happens with other political institutions (García-Albacete and Lorente 2019).

In the UK cases, particular attention was paid to young people's attitudes towards Brexit. The rural young people in Case 2 tended to favour leaving the EU, pointing, among other things, to "big government", a lot of bureaucracy, a lot of paperwork, a lot of wasting money. Despite forecasts of the potentially "devastating" impacts on the UK's agricultural sector of a "no deal" Brexit (National Famer's Union 2017), a number of the young people expressed a preference for this option, stating their confidence that Britain would "be alright" and could successfully "go it alone". Young people in Case 1 were uniformly opposed to Brexit, which they believed to be a mistake in terms of the original referendum result, but also the political uncertainty and paralysis that had resulted. Their opposition to Brexit did not relate to a particular attachment to the European project or any personal sense of a broader European identity, but rather to concerns about how leaving the EU would impact the UK's economy, and subsequently their own economic prospects.

The Indian cases demonstrate that perceptions of Europe outside of Europe are multi-faceted and substantially based on young people's own or acquaintances' travels to that continent. Importantly, their understanding about Europe seems to be in its relation to their own country. There is a lot of appreciation for Europe being a place of great artists, architecture, modernity,



and a strong sense about India 'lacking' in comparison with Europe. At the same time, there is anxiety about falling prey to westernisation and possible losses due to the cultural influence of Europe.

6.4. Cultural Participation and Cultural Literacy

Non-formal education contributes to broad cultural education, increasing young people's cultural capital by also teaching them relevant life skills, values, and norms of behaviour. Acquisition of cultural literacy happens in the non-formal education setting in a multitude of ways, and is carried out informally in more-or-less structured contexts. There is currently consensus that cultural learning through non-formal education is relevant and may be complementary to those educational processes applied in traditional formal education (Carbó 2015). More relaxed and experiential, non-formal education spaces can provide rich learning processes for the young (Trilla 1993). The evidence we have gathered from the case studies is that this is the case. All the young people interviewed, and the practitioners themselves, have highlighted the great number of lessons they have learned thanks to their involvement in these projects, in terms of cultural practices, values and skills. It is also important to note that in non-formal education settings the process of learning is often richer and more interdisciplinary than memorising or routinized learning. Cultural learning, in the contexts we observed, is experiential. Young people learn by doing and by feeling emotionally touched. These are very particular experiences that do not always take place in formal education (Bisquerra Alzina 2010). Both the practitioners and young people interviewed highlighted these more emotional and active educational processes as something that attracted young people to engage in non-formal education. Non-profit and voluntary associations working in non-formal education have considerable potential to create, improve, and reproduce alternative training methods and content for cultural literacy. Since young people often decide what their needs are and which associations fit better with their styles, tastes, and political perspectives, there is a constant effort for mutual recognition between young people and the associations. Therefore, in contrast to the schools in the formal education setting, the participants feel less involuntary compulsion to participate in the activities of such associations, even though these groups sometimes require more overall commitment from their participants and sometimes ask them to take on higher levels of responsibility for the organisation of their activities. An important feature of non-formal education settings is that participants can find the opportunity to learn cultural literacy at the same time that they are actively producing this cultural content themselves, thus acquiring not only cultural literacy but 'cultural mastery' (Savolainen 1995). Here we will provide just some highlights of the role non-formal education has played in young people's acquisition of cultural literacy in our selected sites.



CMS in Croatia develops young people's 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. Among the activities they organise, are study programmes focused on promoting and building peace, including deepening and developing skills and knowledge in various areas, from ecology, migration, and non-violent communication to human rights and minority rights in society, seminars for civic education teachers, intercultural mediation workshops, training sessions to develop competencies for any kind of participatory work with people, workshops 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, for example, 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.

Futsal Dinamo (Croatia) youth futsal school and "kids' corner" in the hall 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 include developing an awareness of a healthy lifestyle, "healthy" competitiveness, socialising, and sportsmanship. This is how the club attempts to instil the idea of fair, sportsmanlike supporting. 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. Moreover, its emphasis on democratic decision-making processes teaches young people political skills.

The Georgian cases illustrate that some non-formal education groups have a very narrow focus while others provide broader cultural literacy. Compared to the martial arts group, the dance company has a more focused approach regarding cultural practices and the acquisition of cultural literacy. They are mostly oriented on dance and related subjects, while the martial arts group members have more diverse interests and experience regarding cultural practices. Besides practicing martial arts, they also engage in the fields of history, ethnography, and visual arts. Eventually, this manifested in the different levels of cultural literacy and interests.

The non-formal educational practices studied in India can also be illuminated by viewing them as part of "authentic learning". Authentic learning, Anderson and Anderson (2005) have argued, is a process whereby learners' experiences, and their perspectives are taken to be genuine ingredients of the learning process instead of viewing the same as imparting some abstract knowledge to the pupils. The hands-on training imparted in site 2 and insistence on



taking one's own, local surrounding as significant parts of the creative process in site 1 point towards imparting 'authentic learning'.

In Slovakia, SN members search for spiritual meanings in tangible and as well intangible artefacts of Slovak and Slavic folk culture that are not transmitted via generations or through schools. They not only interpret material and immaterial artefacts in the sense of "natural spirituality", but also construct new practices, carefully selected and spiritually inspired from the original and "pure source". SN members construct their vision of cultural heritage and reconstruct their practice mainly from scientific (ethnographic, historic, archeologic, linguistic) sources. Therefore, the "heritage in the making" in sense of SN begins during the spiritual contemplation about scientific books.

In Spain, in the case of the CMPA, learning music, singing and engaging in the performing arts, as we have seen, not only has an artistic component, but is also a mechanism through which young people acquire important values, skills and attitudes for their future life (e.g, developing empathy, a critical perspective of their environment; creativity; committing oneself, and self-awareness). The ACC's projects are more diverse from each other and are not so long-term; but even so, we can find in them different values and learnings. To mention a few: working together and creating a common project; becoming empowered; learning to perform a critical analysis of the environment, neighbourhood or public space; being active and conscious of their own situation; being recognised as young artists. Thus, artistic learning through different practices is not only an end in itself, but also a mechanism to gain knowledge of other values and skills. Among the educational goals of both organisations in Spain, one of them is that the young person becomes aware of the context he or she inhabits and develops an ability for critical thinking and social awareness.

The Spanish cases also point to the fact that depending on the organisation and the projects, learning can be an experience that is long-term or shorter in time, with long-term involvement clearly having a different impact than experiencing activities over a shorter time-period, as is the case with many of the activities in the ACC. The projects we observed in the ACC were also useful as examples of the process of learning cultural practices and literacy.

The Turkish case illustrates that the approach to learning, in particular, mixing of the "anchor activities" with additional activities may both prevent participants from performing the same activities too routinely, and they also allow young people to recognise and take part in activities that they would not normally be involved in, at first. In this respect, while speaking clubs organised for foreign language learning form attractive-primary activities of Peer to Peer, other events such as Culture nights and East-West Camp can be considered as additional activities.



This project has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 Research and Innovation programme under Grant Agreement No 770464.

By providing multiple activities, the association then allows more ways to explore new experiences of cultural participation and cultural literacy. Elephant Memory contributes to cultural reproduction through activities focusing on urban history. Preparation of venue cards and memory walks *per se* help reinterpretation of the culture. Young people make their own decisions about whether to illustrate their narratives with a historical building as a concrete cultural heritage, or with a food name that belongs to minorities, as a more abstract heritage. This process of research and decision, itself, promotes critical thinking and questioning about culture.

The Latvian case studies illustrate that non-formal education settings as a place for practising and preserving non-material culture (Kramsh 1998) is not detached from everyday life. Young people engaged in non-formal education generally acquire (or strengthen) their appreciation for culture and practise it in other settings as well. Among them, traditional festivities and celebrations with family and friends play a major role, as well as – in the case of Daugavpils Polish youth – religious practises. Thus, practising culture in non-formal education needs to be viewed in the context of a person's general values system, cultural capital and cultural literacy that covers all areas of life. Young people and practitioners in Latvia see the studied non-formal education settings provide them with this kind of broad cultural education. In this context, non-formal education plays an important role in acquiring cultural capital, and cultural literacy is influenced directly by the amount of cultural capital. In this sense, non-formal education contributes to the formation of a 'cultural person' or 'cultural behaviour' as explained earlier.

Similarly, in Germany, 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). 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 and in this context non-formal education can play an important role.

Cultural participation is being enabled by the possibilities offered by the Internet. As mentioned in the academic literature (Bernete 2007), the media and the new technologies are forcing us to adopt a new way of understanding education and cultural participation. As shown in the Spanish cases, some young people follow YouTubers who are experts in different arts and disciplines (dance, theatre, cinema). They understand the Internet as a place where they can broaden their knowledge and expand their interests. Many of them share long music lists in Spotify, and they watch movies and series via Netflix or other platforms. Some of them are very active in social media like Instagram and, to a lesser extent, Twitter.



7. Conclusions

The case studies conducted as part of WP4 of the CHIEF project show that there exists a variety of interpretations of the term “culture”. It is a word often used in various contexts that encompasses a variety of things, yet the core meaning of “culture” seems to be difficult for young people to pin down. Language philosophers argue that the meaning of a word is not static, but is constantly re-invented and re-imagined in contrast to other words. It also depends on context, in our case, on the non-formal activities the young person is involved in. Since there is no clear definition of “culture”, there can be no single concept of education towards “cultural literacy”.

Still, many of the activities of the non-formal education organisations/projects were related to an increase in cultural literacy and practices among the young. The young people interviewed mentioned several times that the experiences in these spaces made them more culturally interested and motivated to live cultural activities. The case studies revealed a multitude of ways how non-formal education contributes to young people acquiring crucial skills and values. One of such areas of impact is in the area of diversity. The UK case illustrates that in diverse or superdiverse settings, “fleeting” encounters across difference may naturally take place (through for example, moving through the streets and using public transport), yet this does not necessarily lead to deeper and more meaningful encounters, meaning that spaces may still need to be created to allow this to occur in a more ‘self-conscious’ and deliberate fashion. Establishing and protecting space for young people is crucially important, and particularly spaces where “banal transgression” may occur given the greater opportunities this seems to offer for effective and naturalistic interaction and dialogue.

It is clear that non-formal education is relevant as a cultural learning space, and that, in some cases, it compensates and enriches young people in ways that are very different from formal education. Non-formal education cannot replace formal education. Its merits are its ability to create niches within the mainstream domain of culture in a society. However, they also have some capacity to inspire schools in formal education settings to use new teaching methods, alternative content for cultural literacy, and new organisation strategies. Strengthened collaboration between these two settings will be an asset increasingly for both of them.

Despite their successes, some of these associations constantly struggle to pursue their activities. Any political implementation that reduces the costs of these institutions and supports the provision of venue and materials can contribute a profound enhancement to the survival of non-formal education settings working to increase cultural literacy. On the other hand, it is also



necessary to expand the diversity of NGOs so that more areas of cultural participation that appeal to young people with different needs and interests can flourish.

Young people are very different with regards to their interests and practices. Some are attracted to non-formal education settings by an opportunity to practice the culture and traditions of their ancestors; others want to make society more just and open-minded, while still others strive to make their communities better. In this report, we have tried to outline the main motivations and their meaning for the provision of non-formal education in these settings. Some of the main differences in understanding and practicing culture centre mainly around the question of whether cultural heritage is something that cannot and should not be changed, and should be preserved in a clearly defined fashion, or if cultural heritage is something personal that leads to a certain perspective on the past and the future but does not determine certain practices which can be negotiated in everyday life. The analysis shows that even when teaching traditional arts and crafts, young people need room to explore, re-invent, or develop their own individual culture, to provide links from the past to the future, allow for experiments, new creations and participation.

One important finding is that cultural education plays a crucial role in individual's identity formation and, in some cases, sense of belonging to their family, their ancestors and their heritage (Kramsh 1998). Importantly, our research finds that support for practising ethnic-national culture and preserving traditions does not undermine inter-ethnic solidarity but rather makes young people more aware and appreciative of other cultures. Nevertheless, the case studies support the need for a broad anthropological interpretation of culture than spans the narrow borders of ethnic folk culture. The broader concept of culture is important to facilitate as it has the potential to contribute to the formation of a European identity. As this identity cannot – according to young people – be based on traditional culture (each country has their own “culture”), it can be based on shared values and norms.

Research conducted in Latvia shows that most young people involved in non-formal education settings came from families rich in cultural capital, that they practised the culture together with and were set to reproduce it further. Considering Bourdieu's (1984) arguments about possession of cultural capital being related to other forms of capital (e.g., the economic capital), it is important to preserve easy access to various forms of culture in order to limit the risks of class-related cultural polarisation.



8. References

Allen, R.E.S., Wiles, J.L., (2016) .A rose by any other name: participants choosing research pseudonyms. *Qual. Res. Psychol.* 13, 149–165.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/14780887.2015.1133746>

Anderson, B. (1983). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso.

Andersson, S. and Andersson, I. (2005) Authentic Learning in a Sociocultural Framework: A case study on non formal learning . *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research*, 49 (4), pp. 419-436.

Batiashvili, N., (2012). The 'Myth' of the Self: The Georgian National Narrative and Quest for 'Georgianness'. In *Memory and political change*. Palgrave Macmillan, London, pp. 186-200.

Bakić- Hayden, M. (2004). National memory as narrative memory, The case of Kosovo. In *Balkan Identities: Nation and Memory*. London: Hurst.

Bernete, F. (ed.) (2007). *Comunicación y lenguajes juveniles a través de las TIC*. Madrid, Instituto de la Juventud.

Bisquerra Alzina, R. (coord.) (2010). *La educación emocional en la práctica*. Barcelona, ICE-Horsori.

Bourdieu, P. (1984). A social critique of the judgement of taste. *Traducido del francés por R. Nice. Londres, Routledge*.

Bourdieu, P. (1986). 'The forms of Capital'. In J. Richardon (ed.), *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, Westport, CT: Greenwood, pp. 241-58

Bourdieu, P. (2010 [1984]). *Distinction. A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, Routledge, London.

Carbó, G. (2015). *Pensar l'educació des de la cultura*. PhD dissertation. Universitat de Girona.



Charmaz, K. (1996). Grounded Theory. In: Smith, J.A., Harre', R., Langenhove, L. van (eds), *Rethinking Methods in Psychology*. Rethink. METHODS Psychol, 23, pp. 27-49.

Daugavietis, J., Leiškalne, A. (2017). Kultūrpratības pašnovērtējums un sabiedrības nevienlīdzība. Kultūrpratības jēdziens. In B.Holma (ed.), *Latvia. Human Development Report 2015/2016. Mastery of Life and Information Literacy*. Riga: University of Latvia, pp. 64-78.

Family Health International, n.d. qualmethods.pdf [WWW Document]. Qual. Res. Methods Data Collect. Field Guide. URL <https://course.ccs.neu.edu/is4800sp12/resources/qualmethods.pdf> (accessed 1.11.19).

Feixa, C. & Nilan, P. (2006). Una joventut global? Identitats híbrides, mons plurals. *Educació social*. 43, pp. 73-87.

Gáľlová-Kriglerová, E. (2009). Kultúrna rozmanitosť. In. *Kultúrna rozmanitosť a jej vnímanie žiakmi základných škôl na Slovensku* (eds. Gáľlová-Kriglerová, E. and Kadlečíková, J.). Bratislava: Centrum pre výskum etnicity a kultúry.

García-Albacete, G. & J. Lorente (2019). 'The post-austerity youth. political attitudes and behavior', *Revista Internacional de Sociología*, 77(4):e141. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.3989/ris.2019.77.4.19.004> [accessed 4th February 2020]

Geertz, C., (1973). Thick description: Toward an interpretive theory of culture." *Culture: critical concepts in sociology*. New York: Holt. Rinehart & Winston.

Hobsbawm, E. (1983). Introduction: Inventing traditions. In E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (eds) *The Invention of Traditions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hustinx, L. and Lammertyn, F. (2003). Collective and Reflexive Styles of Volunteering. *Voluntas: A Sociological Modernization Perspective*, 14(2), pp. 167-187.

Huyst, P. (2008). 'We have made Europe, now we have to make Europeans: Researching European identity among Flemish youths'. *Journal of Contemporary European Research*. 4(4), pp. 286-302.

Kramsch, C. (1998). *Language and culture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.



Mistrík, E. (2009). Odporúčania pre prípravu učiteľov. In E. Gáľlová-Kriglerová and J. Kadlečíková (eds), *Kultúrna rozmanitosť a jej vnímanie žiakmi základných škôl na Slovensku*. Bratislava: Centrum pre výskum etnicity a kultúry.

National Farmers' Union (2017). 'New report models possible impact of Brexit on UK farming's bottom line', *NFU: The Voice of British Farming*.

<https://www.nfuonline.com/news/latest-news/new-report-models-possible-impact-of-brexit-on-uk-farmings-bottom-line/> (22/11/2019)

Savolainen, R. (1995). Everyday life information seeking: Approaching information seeking in the context of "way of life". *Library & information science research*, 17(3), pp. 259-294.

Trilla, J. (1992) 'La educación no formal. Definición, conceptos básicos y ámbitos de aplicación'. In J. Sarramona (ed.), *La educación no formal*. Barcelona, CEAC, pp. 9-50.

UNESCO, 2017. Non-formal education [WWW Document]. Non-Form. Educ. URL <http://uis.unesco.org/node/334726> (accessed 1.11.19)

