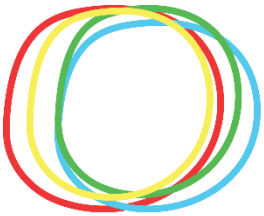

PARTISPACE

SPACES AND STYLES OF PARTICIPATION
Non formal and informal possibilities of young people's participation in European cities

PARTISPACE working paper
D 6.2: Thematic Report
Spaces of Participation

A Place in Public
Spatial Dynamics of Youth Participation in Eight European Cities

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1. Introduction

PARTISPACE – spaces and styles of participation – "conceptualises participation as configurations of styles and spaces in which individual and collective relevancies are translated into practice in and thereby (re-)structuring of concrete social spaces" (PARTISPACE proposal, p. 55). Consequently, PARTISPACE explores "HOW and WHERE young people participate differently across social milieus and youth cultural scenes and across eight European cities (framed by different national welfare, education and youth policies)" (PARTISPACE proposal 2014, p. 5). While a comparative report encompassing eight local case studies and 48 ethnographic case studies (Batsleer et al., 2017) and an in-depth thematic report (Rowley et al. 2018) have focused predominantly on STYLES of participation, this report aims to explore and discuss local urban SPACES and spatialities linked to youth participation. Thereby, it is not only the where (location) of PARTISPACE' main research question that refers to the spatiality of participation but - following a relational understanding of space - also how young people create spaces of participation and how the corresponding practices link to broader urban contexts.

The research conducted so far within PARTISPACE has pointed both to the importance of specific spaces for many participation settings by young people and to the importance of youth's participation for the dynamic constitution of numerous spaces in the eight PARTISPACE cities: Bologna (Italy), Eskisehir (Turkey), Frankfurt (Germany), Gothenburg (Sweden), Manchester (UK), Rennes (France), Plovdiv (Bulgaria) and Zurich (Switzerland). During the research process, this has become specifically apparent with the mapping of urban youth participation landscapes (Batsleer et al.2017). One task of the mapping was the pinning down of young people's places in the cities – places that seemed to be of importance for young people in the respective cities and where the presence of young people is noticed. In all the PARTISPACE cities there were public spaces like public inner-city squares and boulevards, parks, forests or shopping centres where young people gather to meet or spend time together (while in other sites of the cities young people seemed to be absent). Other youth spaces that came into sight, and that could be categorised as semi-private, were mainly adult-initiated and institutionalised places for young people such as schools, youth centres or youth councils or self-organised places such as alternative cooperatives, clubhouses or chill spots. Thus, PARTISPACE embraces spaces produced by adults for young people and spaces produced by young people themselves. While some of the mapped youth spaces were disputed places, most were not.

So far various relationships between participation and the creation of spaces have started to emerge: for instance the self-initiated building of places such as clubhouses or counter-cultural centres by specific groups that eventually allowed members to have access to various social goods and co-decide on and co-create the social spaces they engaged in. In some cases, the establishment of a participatory home base even gave rise to political engagement that addressed broader communities, the city or society in general. In other cases young people made use of the public space for various purposes linked to often recognised forms of participation such as the organisation of demonstrations but also of less considered forms of participation such as the search for public visibility and thus the quest for recognition of one's person and right to use public space. Previous results have pointed out important boundary making process for instance in the creation of institutionalised spaces dedicated to youth participation (youth

work settings and youth or student councils). There the spatial constitutions of these youth spaces – especially the drawing of boundary lines – can increase, limit or redirect the participation of young people. While this latter aspect has already been discussed (Batsleer et al. 2017) and will appear only occasionally here, this report focusses on spaces of participation that were initiated by young people themselves and thus intends to add on and deepen the exploration of the relationship between young people's spatial practices and participation.

This report aims to analyse young people's participation in connection to local urban spaces of the eight PARTISPACE cities. Analysing spatial aspects of youth participation according to a relational understanding of space first of all shifts the focus to the (co-)production of spaces of youth participation. It thus investigates both how young people influence urban spaces and how their participation in the city is influenced by urban spaces. While youth participation spaces in some instances of the PARTISPACE research process have been conceived predominantly as discursive or social (c.f. Batsleer et al. 2017, section 3.4.), this report focuses on physical (material and touchable) spaces. However, this includes the discursive production of spaces and reflections on why some material spaces are thought of as youth (participation) spaces while others are not. This invites the question of how youth participation becomes visible, audible or is experienced with other senses in specific sites or places of the urban space. A spatial analysis of youth participation can thus extend the understanding of youth participation not only by showing the interrelation and relational configuration of various aspects of participation practices (discourses, materialities, doings) on different scales but also by pointing out the importance of spatial orderings that orient practices and relevancies, especially through boundary work that includes and excludes people, topics and forms of participation.

The first part of this report provides a short overview on the field of research on spatialities of young people, particularly focussing on everyday-life participation and politics. The next section introduces the theoretical background of this report. It presents our understanding of central notions such as space, place and territory, appropriation, boundary making, urbanity, public space and public sphere. Then a short methodological section follows, presenting how the cases that constitute the empirical basis for this report were investigated and the proceedings of the present analysis of spatial aspects of youth participation. The subsequent section discusses spatial appropriation by young people. It asks the question *"How do young people produce their participatory settings transforming urban spaces into meaningful places and* at the *same time (re)producing their subjectivities?* Thus, in this section, we explore how young people make the city their own, how they become part of this city and how the city gains relevancy in their life through their activities. This is discussed especially in the case of two aspects of appropriation that were visible in the empirical material: home-making and challenging of taken-for-granted meanings of urban places.

While boundary work is relevant for place making, too, the next chapter discusses boundary work in relation to practices of territoriality where it showed to be especially pronounced. Here we ask *"How do young people create, open and change boundaries through their territorial appropriation practices and how does this boundary work relate to processes of exclusion and inclusion?"* Here we seek to understand how young people control spaces and create territories, how the boundary between the "inside" and "outside" is established, how on the ground of territorial strategies behaviours and social norms are negotiated and controlled. The following chapter discusses the relationship between young people's participation and public space. It

reflects on accessibility and the public, semi-public as well as semi-private; and it relates voice, sociability and activity in order to develop an understanding of the role of public space for young people's participation. The guiding question here is: "*To what extent and for what purposes do young people use public space and how is this connected to participatory practice?"* Finally, the report ends with a summary of the most important insights, answers the "where" (or rather what spaces) and the "how" of the initial research question from a spatial point of view and concludes with (tentative) policy recommendations.

2. Literature Overview: Spatial Aspects of Youth (Political) Participation in Everyday-Life

This section provides a short introduction to the body of research that targets young people's social relations from a spatial perspective. It focuses thereby on studies that relate children's and youth's (both adolescents and young adults) actions and perceptions to geographical or physical space, especially public and semi-public space, as does the present report. Furthermore, – as also in this report – it concentrates on studies on participation in everyday-life and thus leaves spaces of formal participation largely aside. Within PARTISPACE, the formal participation spaces have already been discussed elsewhere (c.f. Batsleer et al., 2017).

Studies of social and cultural geographies for young people can be traced back in the Anglophone academia to the late 1960ies/1970/80ies and to scholars such as Bill Bunge, Roger Hart, Cindi Katz and Denis Wood (Aitken, 2005, p. 12; James, 1990, p. 278). However, it is since the 1990ies that social geographies of young people have become a central theme in social and spatial research (c.f. Rogers, 2006, p. 106). Thereby youth's lifeworlds, perceptions and spatialities of everyday-experiences have been analysed from various angles starting from Aitken and his associates who investigated children's perceptions of places (Aitken & Ginsberg, 1988; Aitken & Wingate, 1993); James' (1990) discussion on the place of children in geography as well as Sibley's writing on social and spatial exclusion of children (Sibley, 1995). Since then "the spatially oriented youth research has gained a firm foothold in both human geography and youth studies" (Kallio & Häkli, 2011, p. 64). Especially children's geography studies were instrumental in contributing to a growing understanding of young people's use of local spaces (Percy-Smith, 2015, p. 412).

Some of the key texts that became important references in the field include Katz' "Growing girls/closing circles" (Katz, 1993) on spatial forms of control and social power and their influence on the transition from childhood to youth to womanhood in Howa (Sudan) and New York and "Living on the Street: Social Organisation and Gender Relations of Australian Street Kids" by Winchester and Costello's (1995) on the lives of street kids in the city of Newcastle, Australia, their use of urban space and social and territorial organisation. In the area of (formal) participation especially Matthews and his associates' (Matthews, 2001; Matthews & Limb, 2003; Matthews, Limb, & Taylor, 1999) writings on young people's participation and representation in the UK and Europe have become widely influential. A cornerstone for the development of studies on children and youth's spatialities is Skelton and Valentine's (1998) "Cool Places", that brought together various perspectives on the spatialities of young people, an endeavour continued for instance by Holloway and Valentine's (2000) theoretical grounding of new socio-spatial studies of childhood and youth, particularly on ways in which children's identities are constituted in and through particular spaces and the ways in which the scholarly understandings of childhood can shape the meaning of spaces and places (c.f. Holloway, 2014 for a more recent continuation of this transdisciplinary project).

Many other important contributions could be listed. In sum, "a significant proportion of research on children's emotional geographies has been deployed to reinforce the importance of children's 'voices', their (independent) 'agency', and the various ways in which voice/agency maybe deemed 'political'" (Kraftl, 2013). Furthermore, the field had a strong focus on the micro-scale

and "a very parochial locus of interest — the neighbourhood, playground, shopping mall or journey to school" (Ansell, 2009, p. 190).

More recently, the field has seen considerable interest in the politics of young people including participation (e.g. Aitken, 2016; Kallio, 2016; Kallio & Häkli, 2011, 2013; Skelton, 2013). In what follows, the focus is on more recent writings and on the political and participatory in youths everyday-life. Departing from Skelton's (2010) deconstruction of the binary of capital P Politics and lower case p politics in the case of young people's liminal place in political geography, Kallio and Häkli (2011) identified two major strands in studies concerning young people's agency: the first one concentrates on youth participation and involvement in official politics, policy-making, and recognized political movements. These studies concern "the 'Politics' writ large". The second, strand focuses on political aspects of young people's everyday-life practices. This concerns "the 'politics' writ small" (Kallio & Häkli, 2011, p. 64). As Skelton has shown and Kallio and Häkli reiterate, these strands are intertwined as also capital P Politics of policymaking as well as lower case p politics of everyday life do not exist apart. Percy-Smith and Clark (2006; Percy-Smith, 2010, 2015) have similarly pointed out two related strands, one understanding participation in formal and institutionalised contexts and the other understanding participation as embedded within everyday-life contexts where in a 'participatory sphere' (Cornwall & Coelho, 2007) the social can become political and new forms of active citizenship at the interface between state and society can rise. There young people de facto already participate to varying degrees through their everyday political actions. Correspondingly, young people are not merely 'adults in waiting' or 'human becomings' (Skelton & Valentine, 2003, p. 125) " but competent social actors who may have political influence through their everyday practices. The forms the young people engage in thereby do not necessarily need to correspond to established forms of political agency, indeed, they even may be only embodied, uttered by the presence of their bodies but voiceless (Kallio & Häkli, 2011).

Yet, youth policy strategies are mostly directed towards at youth participation within formal settings (corresponding to or mimicking the capital P Politics), which can be far from real life contexts and relevancies of young people. If at all, formal settings are mostly on the benefits of the resourceful young people "who understand the rules and possess the necessary skills to contribute to formally structured processes (Matthews, 2001), and those who often can behave as mini-adults (Cairns, 2006; Matthews and Limb, 2003; Tisdall et al., 2008; Turkie, 2010)"(Tsekoura, 2016, p. 329). The cleavage between young people's relevancies and the heavily institutionalised agendas in formal settings as well as the tendency to be accessible mainly for resourceful youths were documented also in PARTISPACE comparative report on the ethnographic case study research (Batsleer et al., 2017). Furthermore, it was pointed out that some young people hardly can appropriate heavily institutionalised settings.

> *Foundation narratives and practices of institutionalisation in settings devised for formal or non-formal participation have an important influence on the positions, roles and identities available to young people in that they are already predefined to varying extent, sometimes leaving little space for their appropriation by the young people. The set of available positions, however, reflects adult views on young people and specific social care discourses, not the young people's life worlds. Narratives and institutionalisation can equally reflect organisational norms such as for instance the need to efficiently and reliably*

> *organise a setting. A well-defined set of positions and clear expectations towards the young people may grant a stable and supposedly well-functioning whole. It can orient and bring the young people forward but a too stable set of positions may not provide enough flexibility for some young people to carve out the boundaries of their own roles and engagement. If the set of positions including expectations towards characteristics and behaviour of the position holders is too narrow, as it imposes institutional logics over their life worlds, the participation setting risks to become irrelevant and not foster any engagement that could have arisen from positive identification– at least for the young people who do not fit. In other words, narrowly defined sets of positions also preclude whose voices count. (Batsleer et al., 2017, p. 155-156)*

Correspondingly, for young people to participate as active citizens, the emphasis of policies and programmes as well as research "needs to be directed toward social participation and the multifaceted ways in which young people participate more fully in everyday community spaces through their actions, choices, relationships, and contributions" (Percy-Smith, 2015, p. 404). Hence, Percy-Smith advocates "shifts in modes of citizen participation from voting and civil duties within institutions of the state to more direct forms of involvement in the form of expression of identity and difference in the spaces of everyday life in what Cornwall and Coelho refer to as 'new democratic arenas'"(Percy-Smith, 2015, p. 405). The aforementioned PARTISPACE comparative report documented and analysed numerous cases of "informal participation", thus participation that was not driven by an institutionalised agenda or youth-worker, that was implicit and mostly rather seemed to be a by-product of another activity than relating individuals to society.

> *The youth-led cases discussed in this section provide alternative spaces in the sense that they build up their own rules, forms of conviviality, decision taking and conflict resolution. These participation settings can provide empowering experiences through the possibility of experiencing agency, developing competences and new roles in the community. Non-conformity can be actively sought or a by-product. When young people actively seek a non-conformist stance, this is often done in opposition to materialist values and traditional forms of politics. The practices can counter hegemonic assumptions of the good life among the places of wealth and privilege. Although qualities of safe spaces can become important to varying degrees among these alternative spaces, it is clear these spaces are not exempt from tensions, conflicts and sometimes violence. ((Batsleer et al., 2017, p. 149)*

This does not mean that informal spaces were necessarily superior in terms of youth participation, more inclusive or more just than formal or non-formal ones – this seems rather to be question of where and how discursive and social boundaries are drawn - however, the hope connected to t "new democratic arenas" is that (young) citizens can engage in democratic processes in more meaningful and empowering ways where identities and agency can be articulated and dialogue and deliberation can happen (Percy-Smith, 2015, p. 406). In this respect, both public sphere and public space obtain a crucial role -"that is to say a public space, not dominated by the state and separate from the arena of market relations, in which people can come together to reflect as equals on matters of mutual importance" (Fielding, 2009, p. 499). This sphere has been named as 'participatory sphere' (Cornwall & Coelho, 2007) or 'agora' (Bauman, 1999). Considering the spaces young people, especially under the voting age have

access to,[1] children and youth's 'participatory sphere' commonly take place in private spaces of homes, the public space or possibly semi-public spaces such as youth centres or schools. Thereby, the dichotomy between the public and the private does not necessarily correspond to the logics of children and youth's everyday-life. Thus it could be argued, that everyday-life participation and politics rather happen in the in-between of public and private spaces and/or with changing and repeatedly contested boundaries between the public and the private.

> *If children's [and also youths] citizenship is to become meaningful it must firstly be located in a radically pluralistic public arena. At the same time it must continually re-appraise the boundaries of the public and private spheres in operation as drawn by politicians, policy makers, commentators and academics (Cockburn, 2005, p. 27)*

The space where young people experience less constraints and are allowed to forge collectively their own life-worlds also in connection with other age groups, is often public space (in the sense of easily accessible space with rather limited social control). In public space, young people are present and play active roles and can be involved in struggles on the use of the space. The latter makes the potential political content of everyday practices noticeable and can trigger media or *P*olitical responses. It becomes clear that youth's "everyday spatiality are interwoven by what is recognized as political discourses and behaviors" (Cele & Burgt, 2016). Other more institutionalised spaces such as for instance youth centres or shopping malls may offer considerable freedom and agency for young people as well, but also in these semi-private spaces young people's behaviour has the potential to make visible the intermingling with other more institutionalised spaces , especially in the case of conflicts (Batsleer et al., 2017).

From a spatial perspective it thus becomes important to reconstruct how young people create or take their own spaces but also how they fit into already preconceived spaces, whether these spaces allow the young people to shape their and other lifeworlds, i.e. all the spaces they live in. In the spatial analysis of this report on young people's participatory practices, this is done first through the concept of appropriation that permits theorisation of how groups of young people relate themselves to the urban spaces of the eight PARTISPACE cities. Appropriation turns the space into meaningful places, sometimes even creates homes in public- or semi-public spaces. It can also become territorial and establish exclusionary boundaries. Finally, this report also reconstructs the practices of the dynamic relationships to public or semi-public spaces and thus to the city. The next section presents the theoretical framework before entering into the methodology and the presentation of results.

[1] This sphere could also be understood as a 'Third Space' in the meaning given to it by Soja as it is radically open to additional otherness, which sets up new structures of authority, new political initiatives, new areas of negotiation of meaning and representation (c.f. Soja, 1996).

3. Theoretical Framework

This section presents the key theoretical concepts on the ground of which the analysis of selected empirical material from ethnographic case studies regarding the spatialities of participation will be conducted. The section will first present our use of the concept of participation followed by our understanding of space, including the concepts of place and territories that we consider specific spatial concepts and thus different perspectives to understand social spatialities[2]. In these perspectives, space, place and territories are understood as structural properties that are products of social practices and structure social practices; they work as reifications in daily life (and are thus considered and perceived as if it were a thing in everyday-life). At the same time, these concepts correspond to specific spatial practices such as the construction of spaces, place making and territoriality. Then the section presents our understanding of appropriation as a concept that establish specific spatial relationships between humans and objects, thereby create specific spatialities and eventually relate spatial practices to participation.

Participation

PARTISPACE understands participation far beyond a narrow notion of participation in terms of involvement of young people by authorities in change processes and decision-making (see above). Instead, PARTISPACE understanding of participation starts from the perspective of the individual actor and connecting it with the public (which is conceived as both public space and public sphere, see below). This could be termed social or civic participation. This implies that participation refers to potentially all (and therefore different styles of) actions of individuals carried out in and/or addressing the public– unless dialogue has revealed that the individual actor does not consciously refer to a wider community or society (cf. Walther 2012a, p. 240). Thus at first, we have to focus on the actions and only then analyse whether the related practice constitutes a connection to a pubic. This means we search for an intended or unintended function and do not predefine the form or content of participation, which would limit participation to certain domains and just reproduce our views on participation. In order to provide a very broad working definition to investigate and identify participation, potentially participatory practices are first understood in a wide sense as taking part (=doing something with others) and being there (= being with others and being visible). Only then these practices are scrutinized for potential connections to wider publics or society.

Thus, participation is not necessarily anything that is defined by and granted by (local) institutions to young people (a concession), rather, participation can be embedded within the activities that young people enact every day, with or without institutional permission or recognition. Participation in this sense refers to "individuals and groups taking part in the social and political contexts in which their lives are situated and by which they are structured" (Percy-Smith et al., 2015, p. 28). The focus on the connection to society incudes the narrower notion of everyday-life political participation that was presented in the previous chapter, that of participation as co-determination, co-creation, and negotiation of power as well as more

[2] We understand spatiality as combining the basic condition of life that people and objects have relative positions in regard to one another and related practices such as space making. (c.f. Pumain, n.d.)

institutionalised forms of participation such as the involvement of young people in change processes and decision making. When participation is understood in such a way as a conscious connection of individuals to the or a certain public, a spatial analysis of participation calls for a focus on young people's using, making and negotiating of space(s) in the city.

In the function of heuristic categories, PARTISPACE departed from a differentiation of formal, non-formal and informal categories of participation, whereby formal participation was typically attributed to youth or student councils with the explicit goal of involving young people into institutionalised democratic processes; non-formal was typically related to youth-work where participation was rather part of everyday activities and a working principle; and informal participation that were not explicitly based on a notion of participation. While the comparative analysis succeeded in pointing out tendencies for these different forms of participation, it also showed that "the differentiation of formal, non-formal and informal is often blurred and seems to be rather of first broadly orientating use for sampling than of deep analytical value" (Batsleer et al. 2017, p. 181). Due to the blurring of different forms that rather seem to be attributable to specific practices than entire cases or spaces, the formal/non-formal/informal categorisation is not used to categorise spaces of participation. It seems rather that in a specific space such as a youth parliament non-formal practices such as pedagogised youth work activation practices intermingle with formalised practices of voting and deliberation typical to the arenas of representative democracy such as councils and parliaments. Eventually, as the whole PARTISPACE project, this report relies on the notion of 'participation setting'. In PARTISPACE, a participation setting refers to a group, an institution or a place where young people (potentially) participate, thus through their activity can establish a specific relationship between them and society. The next section presents our understanding of space and related concepts.

Conceptualizing spatiality: space, place and territories

The following section presents different concepts that allow thinking, perceiving and theorising spatiality. In our understanding space, place and territories and neither different things nor different types of spatial entities – thus the earth's surface cannot be portioned and categorized into spaces, places or territories – instead, these are different concepts and thus perspectives on human spatiality. Each of them foregrounds specific aspects of spatiality that the researcher finds relevant to understand a given participation setting. Whether we write about space, place or territory is thus dependent on both the phenomenon under inquiry as well as the researcher's gaze, a combination which invites reification of a certain setting as a space, place or territory. Thus they are never objects, although they may be treated as such by the young people themselves – although the do not necessarily use the same terms but rather speak about e.g. homes or chill-spots. In our use of the terms space, place and territory the three perspectives have different levels of specificity from space encompassing both the concept of place and territory and place encompassing the concept of territory, but not vice-versa.

Space

To begin with, physical or geographical space, or rather spatiality, can be conceived in relation to the experience of the three dimensional world and the fact that two bodies (themselves having three dimensions and a certain volume) cannot take the same position at the same time. This implicates a certain relative *location* of the people or objects, relative because location in this case is not thought in relation to an absolute positioning system (e.g. the geographical

coordinate system that expresses a location in degrees of longitude and latitude) but relative to other people and objects. Thus bodies stand in specific relations to each other (objects might be attached to each other, sustain each other, people may act on objects, people interact with each other etc.). This relational configuration is what we understand as space, consequently space is neither thing, nor can it be reduced to a volume or a location. Space is a configuration or compound of relations between the constituting people and objects. It is "an ensemble of relations that makes them appear as juxtaposed, set off against one another, implicated by each other — that makes them appear, in short, as a sort of configuration" (Foucault 1991). In other words, the words of Martina Löw who refers to Foucault, a " space is a relational arrangement of social goods and people (living beings) in place" (Löw, 2016, p. 188).[3] In the case of physical or geographical space this arrangement includes the earth's surface.

In order for this configuration to become relevant for people, the relational presence or placement of people or objects is not enough. There need to be people who conceive the space as such. Consequently, how specific spaces are constituted, depends on the perception of these spaces by active human beings – a process Löw refers to as the synthesis of spaces (Löw, 2016).[4]. Both placement of people and objects and perception of spaces do not occur in isolation but in interaction with others embedded within a complex mesh of social lifeworlds[5], thus spaces and their meanings are produced through social practices, which is underpinned by the frequent use of the term 'social space'. It is not only the social nature of space we want to underline by linking it to social practices, but our understanding of space inherently linked to action. Spaces do not exist independently from space constituting actions or behaviour. Instead, spaces continuously (re)created, they need to be produced through engaging with its constituting people and objects and they must be perceived in order to appear as a space (c.f. Löw, 2001, 2016, p. 2; Werlen, 1997, 2005).

In turn, social spaces orient actions and in this sense, they could be designated as a structuring property of social life (c.f. Giddens & Pierson, 1998) or integral parts of social practices (Goonewardena, Kipfer, Milgrom, & Schmid, 2008, p. 28; c.f. Lefebvre, 1991). The fact that the existence of spaces depends on placement and perception, thus on action and experience, which can be shared or divergent, means that in the same location various spaces with different meanings can coexist – depending on what people or objects are acted upon, which are perceived as belonging together and what meanings they are endowed with. Hence, space always allows for a multiplicity of meanings and is constantly under construction (Massey 2005).

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[3] As a relational ordering, the humans, things and actions stand in specific relations or localisable positions to each other but also to the absolute geographic space of the earth's surface. Humans, things and actions are thus localisable relatively and absolutely.

[44] Löw for analytical purposes conceives the constitution of spaces dependent on two processes: spacing (that is the placement of certain objects into specific sites) and synthesis (that is the perception or (mental) ordering of specific geospatial arrangement as a space (Löw, 2016).

[5] Lifeworld can be understood in a phenomenological sense as "[t]he individual and collective horizon of daily existence in which perceiving subjects move through a word of objects and processes that comprise their space of thought and action" (Gregory, Johnston, Pratt, Watts, & Whatmore, 2011, p. 287; lifeworld). Lifeworld has structural properties (c.f. Giddens, 1984, 1990; Giddens & Pierson, 1998)(c.f. Giddens, 1984, 1990; Giddens & Pierson, 1998) in the sense that our socially constructed understanding of the world structures life to a certain extent . Moreover, it allows for reflexivity but happens not independent from the socio-material world around us.

Conceiving social space as relational and processual, as an ever evolving construction or a social product that at the same time is a precondition of the production of society (Lefebvre, 1991) leads to notions of temporality. Space is "a relational arrangement of bodies that are incessantly in motion so that the arrangement itself is constantly changing. That means that space is constituted *in time*" (Löw, 2016, p. 106 emphasis added). Spaces are not fixed once for all but must be produced and reproduced through practice involving others. The reproduction of spaces, respectively space-constituting practices can be temporarily stabilised for instance through the use of objects (c.f. Löw 2016, p. 167) such as e.g. the concrete building of places or territorial markers of ganglands or its reification. Reification in this case means the conception of a space as a thing or thing-like that goes together with the attribution of symbolic qualities such as specific names, meanings, identities etc. How stable such an arrangement is, eventually depends on the presence of alternative representations of spaces and eventually, on the power to enforce them. Space is also produced *through time* and has different temporalities, meaning that on the one hand space bears 'markers' of historical, materialistic, political processes; on the other hand, it also bears on itself the 'possibilities of…'; it is shaped by aspiration, expectation, vision about the future. The ways in which we imagine spaces to be in the future influence the ways in which space is produced (and perceived) *right now* in the present (c.f. Lefebvre, 1991).

Place

In our understanding, Place stands for a specific kind of space[6]. As with space, the concept of place has been conceptualised in different ways. Place can be used along a scale, both representing spaces on a global level and in a very small setting (Jesop, Benner, & Jones, 2008). In this framework, place comprises a particular location of varying scale and material objects (including the land) that are placed on a specific site or have already been there. Place also includes a set of meanings and attachments attributed to it. Place features three aspects that interrelate and supplement each other. Following Tim Cresswell, place can be understood as a meaningful site that combines 1) location, 2) locale, and 3) sense of place (Cresswell, 2009, p. 1). '*Location'* (see above) here refers to a fixed point in the absolute geographical space. It can be expressed with a specific set of coordinates and measurable distances from other locations, often places have specific names. "Location refers to the 'where' of place" (Cresswell, 2009, p. 1). '*Locale'* refers to the physical (or material) settings of social activity as situated geographically (Giddens, 1990, p. 18)."Locale includes the buildings, streets, parks, and other visible and tangible aspects of a place" (Cresswell, 2009, p. 1).[7]. These physical settings are not

[6] Although Martina Löw conceptualises the difference between space and place somewhat differently, it could be argued in line with her and our notions of space and place that the production of the two concepts depend on each other: "Place is thus the goal and result of placement and not - like people and social goods - itself an element placed in spacing. Places emerge through placements, but are not identical with the placement since places remain through a certain period of time even without the placed element or simply through the symbolic effect of placement. The constitution of space thus systematically generates places, just as places make the emergence of space possible. Placement can be a one-time action, but can also generate fixed structures such as buildings or town signs. These exercise a symbolic effect" (Löw, 2016, p. 167)

[7] These streets, parks, houses etc. feed into the visual cityscape. We use the concept cityscape for the urban landscape, or the landscape of a city. Landscape and thus cityscape can have different meanings. Visual cityscape can stand for the visual appearance of a city or urban area; a city landscape. In visual arts, cityscape stands for

unrelated to social processes, which is underlined by the concept of *place making* (e.g. Belina 2013). *'Sense of place'* refers to the feelings, emotions, and meanings a place evokes. "These meanings can be individual and based on personal biography or they can be shared. Shared senses of place are based on mediation and representation" (Cresswell, 2009, p. 1)[8].

The concepts of place and place making refer to the processes or practices related to the makings of locales as well as of meaning tied to a specific geographical location. "In any given place we encounter a combination of materiality, meaning, and practice […] Location became place when it became meaningful" (Cresswell, 2009, p. 1). Places and their meanings can be defined in collective terms, referring to a general understanding of a place, or something strictly individual, connected to personal memories and experiences. Meanings may be shared to different extents, and they have to be practiced as they are not fixed and are open to counter meanings produced through other practices of representation. However, meanings can be temporarily stabilised by using objects and attaching symbols to places, such as names. "Naming enhances the symbolic effect of places" (Löw, 2016, p. 167), it fosters the development of an identity attributed to the place and the potential for identification with a place. Coming from a certain place, like a community or a residential area, often means being connected to a general idea about what characterizes people from this location and performing a place-based identity can serve people to show who they are.

Meaning making including identity making is connected to doings and sayings as well as experience. What people do in or in relation to specific places is responsible for the meanings that the place acquires. "Places are continuously enacted as people go about their everyday lives – going to work, doing the shopping, spending leisure time, and hanging out on street corners. The sense we get of a place is heavily dependent on practice and, particularly, the reiteration of practice on a regular basis. Space becomes a place when it is used and lived. Experience is at the heart of what place means" (Cresswell, 2009, p. 2). Experience on the one hand is individual, on the other socially constructed, which foregrounds the importance of communities of practice (see above).

Places can be understood in respect to social practices of meaning making. This is a twofold relationship of place making and emplacement. On the one hand meaning making refers to the attribution or development of meaning during place making while engaging with the locale in a specific locality. On the other hand, considering the emplacement of social practices allows analysing meaning making within the configurations of the locale[9]. For instance, which

artistic representation of the physical aspects of a city or section of one. This picture of the city is not necessarily a straight copy of the city's built environment. Moreover, it usually takes a certain distance to its object, sometimes it only shows silhouetted buildings against the horizon and it often relies on elements such as streets or buildings that seem typical for the respective city. In geography, landscape usually stands for the (wo)man-made or influenced culturally shaped material environment. Thus the /physical) cityscape can stand for the historically contingent socio-material structure of the city, the physical setting of practices within the city.

[8] The notion sense of place stands in a close relationship to the concept of atmosphere. As sense of place they are dependent on the specific configuration of a place, however, while atmosphere is attributed to a specific space or place, the concept sense of place underlines the human experience of place. "The statement that space is a relational arrangement of social goods at places also implicates that these arrangements develop atmospheres that then again influence synthesis in the course of action. Atmospheres are based on localizations of goods and people, but are not themselves localized" (Löw 2016, p. 193).

[9] Places can consequently serve as an epistemic node in a web of knowledge to be developed.

behaviour that is appropriate is often place specific; and what practices are possible often depends on the affordances a locale offers. However, "any consideration of the unique collection of parts that makes up a place has to take into account the relations between that place and what lies beyond it." (Cresswell, 2014, p. 53). This means that an analysis of place is not complete when it focuses only on the locality of the place itself without looking beyond at its embedment within spaces or socio-material relations that cross the place in question.

Territory

Like place, place making and emplacement, territory, respectively, territoriality, is one distinct way to conceptualise spatiality. It refers to specific practices in relation to physical space.

> *The dominant usage of the term "territory" has always been either political, in the sense of necessarily involving the power to limit access to certain places or regions, or ethological, in the sense of the dominance exercised over a space by a given species or an individual organism. Increasingly, territory is coupled with the concept of NETWORK to help understand the complex processes through which space is managed and controlled by powerful organizations. In this light, territory is only one type of SPATIALITY, or way in which space is used. (Gregory, Johnston, Pratt, Watts, & Whatmore, 2011)*

This definition contains various elements that also appear in many "classical" social scientific definitions of territory, notably the notion of power as well as access limitation. Revising various definitions of territories, claims on possession and the exercise of power and control can be considered defining elements (c.f. Adekunle, 2013; Brighenti, 2010; Chiesi, 2015; Delaney, 2008; Kärrholm, 2007, 2016; Larsen, 2017; Raffestin, 2012; Usher & Gómez, 2016).

Inspired by juridical and ethological notions of territory, also in social sciences territory has been related to acts of claiming a certain portion of physical space as one's own an to defend it against others. This implies that territory is more than just a portion of physical space, as a territory relies on social interaction[10]. It is about actively claiming a monopoly. According to Edward Hall, "the act of laying claim and defending territory is called territoriality" (Hall, 1959, p. 186). In this sense, territorial claims are a forms of spatial production that is close to notions of possession and as Raffestin argues, related to the Western concept of ownership (Raffestin, 2012, p. 125). Consequently, territoriality is related to in- and exclusion and to the power to control of access to a territory and its resources (c.f. Batsleer et al., 2017).

Foucault defines territory as "the area controlled by a certain power" (Foucault, 1980, p. 68). Power is also a defining moment of territory for Robert Sack: "[T]erritoriality will be defined as the attempt by an individual or group to affect, influence, or control people, phenomena, and relationships, by delimiting and asserting control over a geographic area. This area will be called territory" (Sack, 1986, p. 19). Sack's definition provides an important clarification: territoriality is not so much about the control over the area itself (as a material stretch of land) but about the control of resources and people, including controlling behaviour and

[10] As such it can be imagined as a multi-layered concept, whereby physical space is only one layer (c.f. Brighenti, 2010). As such it can be imagined as a multi-layered concept, whereby physical space is only one layer (c.f. Brighenti, 2010).

representations. Thus, apart from controlling physical spaces, territory is about spaces of allowed and prohibited behaviour:

> *In all territoriality there functions a dialectic of prohibition and transgression, interdiction and violation, norms and the failure to respect them. This problem of transgression leads us to the notion of the 'limit', not only in a concrete sense, in space, but also in the abstract space of rules and symbols. (Raffestin, 2012, p. 128)*

Based on territorial control the actors in power can control (to a certain extent, control is usually not total) who has access to a territory and the affordances it offers, what kind of behaviour is tolerated, what worldviews are supposed to be valid (including views of the definition of the territory itself). Eventually, the exercise of power must be seen in light of the needs and aims that are satisfied, respectively, achieved, through territorial strategies.

Furthermore, territories and territoriality share many commonalities with the concepts of place and place-making. Territoriality foregrounds agency and relationality as it leads to the (inter)active production of claimed spaces. It is noteworthy that territoriality is not a "pregiven structural relation but as one that is mediated, negotiated, and practiced through diverse forms of agency" (Larsen, 2017). Territories are therefore not only relational but processual constructs with distinct temporalities that are stabilised and destabilised. Territories are also connected to meaning making and (shared) identities. A territory inscribes a certain sort of meaning onto defined segments of the material world.

> *Territory is not simply about sorting things in space for its own sake but is always a means to some other end – and these ends are by no means restricted to universal needs. Territory may be a solution to a problem. It may be a kind of strategy. Because territory always involves the communication of some sort of meaning and is essentially classificatory, it may have the function (or at least the effect) of reifying forms of identity and difference (Delaney, 2008, p. 29).*

An institution that can be read as a form of territoriality and which establishes a rather clear-cut line between inside and outside is private property. Private property not only vests a certain area with the meaning of exclusivity conveying the (symbolic) power to keep outsiders out (turning it into a territory), territoriality through private property also allows defining the meaning of the territory itself (e.g. its purpose, name etc.) This is an example for that territoriality links certain areas, meanings and forms of sociality, whereby the establishment of the territory allows to control meanings and sociality to a certain extent. In this sense, territories are a prolongation of the material into the immaterial (Brighenti, 2010, p. 52), or in other words, a spatialisation (or territorialisation) of social relations. As such, territoriality can become a "regulatory strategy for sociality" (Chiesi, 2015, pp. 90–91) and it is related to the monopolisation of meaning making or the "homogenisation of heterogeneity" (Brighenti, 2010, p. 52).

Boundaries are significant to the understanding of territories. Territories are bounded space, and in turn, territoriality, is "a strategy which uses bounded space in the exercise of power and influence" Johnson, 1996; 871 in Adekunle, 2013, p. 42). Territoriality can be understood as a social construction of manifold boundaries implying specific boundary making practices. This involves boundaries of the area itself, but also boundaries regarding social practices that are

related to a specific territory (e.g. what is allowed or not, who may belong to a territory and who not). These boundaries do not always necessarily need to be clear-cut11. Furthermore, territorial boundaries may be only symbolic (do not imply material boundaries as barbed fences) but they anyways mark statements about possession and exclusion. Symbolic boundaries – at least if accepted by all the involved – "can be used to displace attention from the relationship between controllers and controlled to the territory" (Abidunkle,2013, p. 44). Consequently, also symbolic or discursive boundaries have to be related to practices of boundary making.

> *The focus of enquiry is consequently shifted to the actors who, by building and shaping their social relationships, draw different types of boundaries, on the technologies they apply, and the aims they attempt to achieve through boundary-drawing ((Brighenti 2006, p. 65 cited in Raffestin, 2012, p. 127)*

The establishment of controlled and monopolised spaces often implies the production of artefacts such as walls, fences, shields as well as immaterial artefacts such as codifications of house rules. These artefacts itself bear meaning and may in other ways through their socio-material properties influence the production of territories. Artefacts and properties of physical space can be expected to have a stabilising function for territories and they can become familiar and thus trigger specific emotions. Making territories one's own space can be expected to involve different practices of appropriation that in turn involve emotions and feelings of familiarity. Moreover, we can expect personal meaningfulness of places, or territories, and feelings of belonging to increase when feelings of ownership and control become more intense and thus rendering them a source for collective or individual identity and engagement "and perhaps convey to the individual a sense of the continuity of the present with the past (Rappaport, 1968, Lynch 1972 and Nayak 2003 cited in Adekunle, 2013, p. 47).

For the purpose of the investigation of processes of (re)appropriation of the city, it is necessary to comprehend territory and territoriality not as once given for all, but to understand these terms in relation to conflicting practices about access to territories and thus as dynamic and processual. This includes the investigation of practices that lie at the heart of the forms of territoriality we find in the cases of young people. We can expect that this will be related to modern forms of territoriality, such as the differentiation between private and public properties[12]. Territoriality also invites to deconstruct power (as a thing) into territorial practices that stabilise or destabilise / change power relations. These practices are embodied and emplaced. Yet, territoriality can work on various scales. In PARTISPACE, territorial practices in the cases analysed are often specific to certain locales of the city on the one hand and on the other hand they are "small" daily practices, so to say micro-territorial practices which can be understood as everyday-life practices.

[11] Possibly in these cases it makes more sense to conceptualise boundaries as diffuse border zones.

[12] Applying a practice lens should deconstruct dichotomies between public and private as well as exclusion and inclusion by providing a more nuanced understanding of these terms.

Summary: Space, place or territory?

The concepts space, place and territory serve to understand different aspects of spatiality; this is the property of life to be related to or occupying sites of physical or geographical space meaning that human behaviour and social practices take always place somewhere and cannot be detached from the physical space – at least not entirely. Space, place and territory stand for three different perspectives to understand spatiality.

Space refers to a spatial arrangement, an ensemble of relations or configuration related to specific localities. Space is as a relational ordering of living beings and social goods. Thus, space refers to a relation among objects and people. As such, it is a property of social life that is produced through spatial practices ordering objects, people and actions. Space is not a tangible object, however reified and often objectified.

Place is a more specific spatial concept. Place are relational orderings in specific sites that are related to a specific location, a particular locale (the material configuration in that specific location), and a sense of place. Sense of place refers to practices of meaning making and embodied experience. Places are experienced and attributed with specific meanings, sensations, emotions etc. that in turn can influence the meanings of activities that take place there as parts of emplaced practices.

Territory is an even more specific concept. Territory refers to usually rather clearly bounded spaces over and through which some actors can exercise control and influence. This involves a certain power to limit access to certain places or regions as well as the power to influence or govern the behaviour of people in and possibly outside their territory. Eventually, this is connected to meaning making through simplification and homogeneity. On the small scale of micro-territories of young people this power can also be framed as the right to dispose over one's living conditions.

Depending on the viewpoint we adopt, a certain space in question can be at the same time a place and a territory (territoriality as a specific form of place making), other spaces may only be regarded as places as we cannot link them to any practices of exclusionary power to influence and control. However, essentially, whether we call a space a place or a territory depends on our focus as researchers, which in turn should be connected to the spatial practices young people engage in.

Public Space

The distinction between *'public'* and '*privat*e' is essential in relation to social life and spatial organisation in cities. Public has to do with spaces that are open and accessible, typically streets and squares in central parts of cities, while private stands for a space that is intimate and close, for example represented by people's homes (Weintraub, 1997, Lieberg 1992). In reality, many spaces don't apply to either of the categories public or private, but rather represents a combination of these. For example, restaurants and cafés with outdoor seating are often located in public spaces, but are not fully accessible since payment is required for use of the facilities. To mark this limitation in publicness, the prefix 'semi' is often used (cf. Jones et al 2015). So spaces can be semi-public or semi-private in character. Also, often a local or parochial public realm is identified (Lofland 1998:10). This is about public spaces in neighbourhoods or

communities where social encounters are not between strangers, but rather amongst people who share some commonalities.

Public space represents a specific and important quality in urban life. Lofland (1998:9) extols public space to "the city's quintessential social territory" where strangers can meet and where the diversification of urban social life becomes visible. Public space is very much connected to a normative idea of inclusiveness. Everyone should be entitled to participate in the public on equal basis. It is the meeting-place between strangers and this makes society visible. No discrimination should be made due to political, cultural, ethnic or other belongings. Tolerance is a keyword when meeting in public. The public sphere has through this the capacity of bridging gaps between different groups and layers of society. Participating in public life is therefore in part a learning process that teaches citizenship, democracy and cosmopolitanism (Jacobs 1961, Lofland 1998).

Aside from sociability, public space has for long been the setting for political gatherings and demonstrations. Demonstrations, mass meetings and other kinds of collective expressions of political commitments and conflicts belong to squares and streets. In many cities certain public places are historically strongly connected to political arrangements and incidents. Likewise, traditions of celebration, festivals and cultural events are carried out in urban public space.

The normative order of respect and inclusiveness in public space is often sanctioned in the regulations of cities, but nonetheless it is under pressure to adapt to the interests of influential groups. In many cities commercialization, privatization, gated zones and exclusion by design is practiced in order to prevent unwanted groups from using certain spaces and from sending messages concerning who belongs where (Madanipour, 2010). Not seldom the goal is to restrict young people's access to certain spaces (Rogers, 2006, Kallio & Häkli, 2011). This shows how public space is not just a neutral arena; it is also a site for interest based claims and power relations. For a number of years 'the Right to the city' (Lefebvre, 1968) is the catch-word under which a variety of resistance attempts to this development have been gathered and many of these efforts have targeted access to public space (Mitchell, 2003).

Public space plays a fundamental role in the social life of young people (Andersson, 2002). Young people gather in the neighbourhood, as well as in the city centre. This must be understood in the context of socialisation and central importance is given to finding spaces characterized by a high degree of autonomy. The subordinated position of youth (Jones, 2009) means having a minimum of resources and often having to settle for the spaces left over. This has to do with processes of appropriation and, after dealing with these in general, we will further in the text come back to the question of young people's appropriation of public space.

Gendered space

As Weintraub (1997, p. 27) has pointed at, the division between public and private has important gender implications. The private is understood as connected to the home and the family, and this domestic sphere is in turn coded as female. In contrast, the public is in many ways a male dominated arena; both when it comes to numbers and in the sense that men tend to employ active roles, while women often are restricted by more passive scripts for action.

One consequence of this is that the experience of fear and unsafety in public space is much more common among women (Rosewarne, 2005 and Tandogan & Ilhan, 2016). According to

Rosewarne (2005, p. 71) one important factor behind this is the sexualisation of women in public space. In outdoor advertisements women are portrayed and exposed using aesthetics that are intended to be attractive for the male gaze. This underlines and strengthens the female position in public space of being passive and looked at.

At the same time the risk of victimisation in public space is higher among men, which Rosewarne refers to as a 'paradox of fear' (2005, p. 73). This is also the case for young people and the use of 'cautionary tales', that is stories about incidents told to help others avoid certain spaces, people and situations, is one way of trying to stay out of trouble for both young women and men (Anderson et.al., 1994).

McDowell acknowledges the fear and anxiety many women feel in public space, but points at another paradox: "[…] the public spaces of the city have been significant locations in women's escape from male dominance and from the bourgeois norms of modern society" (1999, p.149). In the semi-public spaces of the large department stores, built in the nineteenth century city, women could find moments of escape from home and male control. McDowell sees the possibility of a female 'flâneuse' as a counterpart to the male 'flâneur' (op.cit., p. 155).

The general gendering of public space is valid for young people as well. However, there are in literature a number of ethnographic studies of young women very active gatherings and actions in public settings (see e.g. Wulff, 1988 and Skelton, 2000).

Public sphere – virtual space

Together with public space the idea of a 'public sphere' is often outlined. This has to do with social communication, reasoning and the formation of general views and opinions, both in face-to-face encounters and through different media. The concept of public sphere owes very much to the work of Jürgen Habermas (1984/1992). In his investigation of the emerging 'bourgeois public sphere', urbanity and communication are crucial. This public sphere arose in urban meeting places, like the theatre or the coffeehouses, where the bourgeois, assembled as private persons, could debate issues and experiences from life in the private sphere. Also the mediated communication through newspapers was important. Central was the collectivization of experiences from the private area, which raised a certain collective awareness and formed a public opinion. This served as a basis for the formation of a 'civil society', which could direct power claims to the state.

Alongside the bourgeois variant a number of alternative public spheres have always existed. Some of these have been formed by subordinated groups. Fraser labels these 'subaltern counterpublics' and provides "women, workers, peoples of color, and gays and lesbians" as examples (1992, p. 123).

The development and changes of the conditions for public communication have been dramatic since the time of the bourgeois public sphere. With the development of new media and computer technology the possibilities to exchange information have multiplied. Social media like Facebook, Twitter and Instagram have created a digital public sphere where the old division between public and private is challenged and perhaps made obsolete.

For youth the public sphere is of huge importance. Smart phones and computers are natural components of everyday life forming new patterns of communication. These assets ease the

local interaction with peers, as well as open up to global connections and networks. With Valentine, Holloway and Bingham we can talk of a 'new public sphere', which, however, also arouses new adult anxieties about being beyond parental control (2000, pp. 156-157). To counteract these moral panics it is crucial to investigate what young people actually are doing in digital space and which purposes this serves. For example, in virtual space a new kind of intimacy can be created. This allows for the expression of experiences and an exchange of ideas that would not be possible in a space where bodily presence is required (Daneback & Löfberg, 2011, p. 193). Sometimes the Internet is used to facilitate and enhance networks and group identities; through this creating new forms of subaltern counterpublics. [13]

Appropriation

Appropriation as a mutual mediation process

In a general sense, appropriation refers to the relationship between subjects and material or symbolic objects, this is to say, how a subject opens up the world for him/herself, how the world becomes part of her/his life and s/he becomes part of this world. In the case of this chapter, this is the city, respectively the objects that are constitutive of the innumerable spaces of a city The concept of appropriation is frequently traced back to the development of activity theory in the Soviet cultural-historical psychology, foremost to Lev Vygotskii and Alexei Leontjew. With activity theory, human development is understood as an active engagement with the environment consisting in "objective" (primarily in the meaning of consisting of objects) respectively material and symbolic culture. When appropriating the objective culture, children and adolescents actively try to grasp, use and understand an object and to embrace the abilities and skills embodied by it (Hüllemann, Reutlinger, & Deinet, 2017, p. 2). "Grasping" and "embracing" brings the etymologically related notion of "property" into play, which is central to the definition given by Carl Friedrich Graumann (1976). He defines appropriation as "the act or process of taking something as one's own or making something one's own " (1976, p. 113). Although this definition stresses a new aspect of appropriation, that of establishing a to certain extent exclusive relationship between the object and a person, this definition focuses on active engagement with objects, too.

What happens with a subject and the object during appropriation and what involves the process of taking or making? As Hüllemann, Reutlinger and Deinet (2017) have illustrated, descriptions and definitions of appropriation conceive the concept either as "unidirectional inscription" or "mutual mediation process". The former conception of a unidirectional inscription relates to processes where either the subject inscribes itself into the world or the world is inscribed into a subject. Subjects inscribe themselves into the world by changing objects or settings, for instance, when young people claim abandoned territories, engage in construction work and accommodate them to their needs – as exemplified in the next section with the cases of the Open Education Collective in Zurich and the Social Centre in Bologna or when young people

[13] One example of this is the elaboration of websites by members of the goth style, which strengthen style identity and links online and offline positions (Hodkinson, 2003).

use the urban infrastructure as a canvass made of concrete as shown in the case of a group of sprayers in Frankfurt[14]. Furthermore, they inscribe themselves into the world by manipulating objects "in ways that create or change their meaning and humans ' relationships with them (Rioux, Scrima, & Werner, 2017, p. 61). In the case of the graffiti crew, old factory walls may get new meanings, become representational signs and source of fame for the sprayers. They may become *their* walls, attractive products of vivid emotional histories that create a specific sense of place for them.[15] Vice versa, with the other conception of appropriation as a unidirectional inscription process, the world is inscribed into a subject. Here appropriation comes close to learning new skills to engage in and with the world as well as other knowledge of the world one lives in. Also Vygotskii and Leontjew stress that active engagement of a person with tangible objects creates mental representations of the objects including specific meanings and relationships to other objects and to oneself. This is the case when for instance children or youths start engaging in and with public space and learn how to use it for their own needs thereby extend their range for activities as well as get to know the world outside their private homes better.

Beyond an understanding of appropriation as a unidirectional inscription process, it can also be understood as mutual mediation process. This latter conception understands appropriation as a relational process during which both the subject and the object, respectively its meaning, material makeup and function, can change.[16]. While humans engage with the world, they actively constitute a mutual relationship between them and the world. Thereby "the social relationships, meanings, competences etc. are not automatically internalized and absorbed, but are processed and processed individually" (Bader 2002, pp. 16-17)[17]. Thus, appropriation "is

[14] In these cases, appropriation goes along with reification. Reification refers the process of giving form to experience "by producing objects that congeal this experience into 'thingness'" (Wenger, 1998, p. 58). The resulting things can also be understood as marks or vestiges of human activity that can perdure in the physical world – or in consciousness as they do not necessarily be material. They can also be stories, abstract principles, codified procedures, concepts or names. In this line, also specific fixations of spaces (e.g. on maps or in shared descriptions of spaces) can be considered reifications. "Reification can refer both to a process [e.g. making, designing, representing] and its product […] Reification is not just objectification; it does not end in an object. It does not simply translate meaning into an object. On the contrary, my use of the concept is meant to suggest that such translation is never possible, and that the process and the product always imply each other. [...] reification must be re-appropriated into a local process in order to become meaningful." (Wenger, 1998, p. 7) Thus reifications can be reintegrated into new moments of negotiation of meaning. Wenger refers to an ongoing process between reification and reappropriation including both practicing and material and non-material objects.

[15] Certainly, appropriation by someone can also change the meaning of objects for someone else, and not always in the same way. While for the sprayers the change is positive, for others they may be traces of acts of vandalism, reifying the presence of others and their estrangement from their own surroundings.

[16] An illustrative example of this understanding is provided by Winkler (2004).He describes appropriation as communication and mutual change of two organisms: "This shows what appropriation actually means: It takes place as a living practice (or as the practice of life) in that a changing organism communicates with the changing 'organism' of culture in such a way that new structures are formed here and there" (Winkler, 2004). An illustrative example of this understanding is provided by Winkler (2004).He describes appropriation as communication and mutual change of two organisms: "This shows what appropriation actually means: It takes place as a living practice (or as the practice of life) in that a changing organism communicates with the changing 'organism' of culture in such a way that new structures are formed here and there" (Winkler, 2004).

[17] Original Quote: "Dieser Aneignungsprozess ist ein aktiver Prozess. Das bedeutet, dass die gesellschaftlichen Verhältnisse, Bedeutungen, Kompetenzen etc. nicht automatisch verinnerlicht und aufgesogen, sondern individuell bearbeitet und verarbeitet werden“ (Bader 2002, S. 16-17).

essentially about the standing in-the-world or the coming into the world as an 'active person.' (Hüllemann et al., 2017, p. 4) [18] This world is not empty; neither does appropriation completely reinvent the world. Appropriation is guided by "certain structures, patterns and rules that are inscribed in objects of appropriation or mediated through interaction with other people" (Hüllemann et al., 2017, p. 6). In this way, appropriation as a mutual mediation process between a subject and an object thus accounts for both agency as well as for structure.[19]

Spatial appropriation

Now that appropriation has been defined as a mutual mediation process, it is time to relate appropriation and space making. It has become clear that both appropriation and space imply action, relation and structure, the attention is turned to spatial appropriation understood as the appropriation of spaces that are (re)created during the same process of appropriation.

> *Appropriation of space refers to an activity emanating from the subject, which may well be in conflict with social changes in the environment. Spatial appropriation refers to the spatial experience of individuals, to changes in their living environment, and to the qualities of spaces that individuals find in their immediate environment (Deinet, 2010, p. 37)*[20]

In line with the general definition of appropriation developed above, spatial appropriation can be understood as spatial action that transforms the relationship between a subject and its material and symbolic environment through engagement with the constituting objects, thus rendering spaces of the city meaningful places.

> *Appropriation of space is a term that has been used in environment and behavior research to describe individuals' and groups' creation, choice, possession, modification, enhancement of, care for, and/or simply intentional use of a space to make it one's own [...] Appropriation is conceptualized as an interactive process through which individuals purposefully transform the physical environment into a meaningful place while in turn transforming themselves. (Feldman & Stall, 1994, p. 172).*

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[18] Original Quote: "Es geht im Kern um das In-der-Welt-Stehen oder das In-die-Welt-Kommen des Menschen als einem 'tätigen Mensch'".

[19] Due to its focus on materiality, process and relation, the concept can thus bridge the gap between action and structure. More precisely, it bridges the gap between agency and structural properties of the socio-material world. During appropriation, parts of objective structures or culture – understood both as regularities connected to rather stable objects as well as intersubjectively shared knowledge and forms of behaviour – are apprehended. The objects are taken into possession and/or their (or a) potentially socially shared meaning is embraced. This eventually allows to socially acting in relation to these objects. At the same time, by acting on the objective culture, people shape the world together with other actors, thus parts of their social interactions become reified and part of the social structure or of the world they life in. This conception of appropriation as a relational process involving both human agency and structural phenomena connects to various theories of practice that eventually surpass dualisms between actors and structure or subjects and objects.

[20] Original Quote: " Der Begriff Raumaneignung bezeichnet eine vom Subjekt ausgehende Tätigkeit, die durchaus auch im Konflikt mit gesellschaftlichen Veränderungen der Umwelt stehen kann. Raumaneignung bezieht sich auf das räumliche Erleben von Individuen, auf Veränderungen in ihrer Lebensumwelt und auf Qualitäten der Räume, die Individuen in ihrer unmittelbaren Umgebung finden" (Deinet, 2010, p. 37)(Deinet, 2010, p. 37)

Also, Rioux and associates discuss spatial appropriation in the context of meaning making:

> *Appropriation is a complex concept that has been used to explain the processes by which people claim ownership of, actively use, and ultimately create meaning in and become attached to the physical environment. Appropriation is explicitly proposed to be one of the mechanisms by which people change space to place, whether space refers to natural areas, city neighbourhoods, a dwelling, or a myriad of other settings. […] The general theme is that actions are used to appropriate settings, thereby creating meaningful spaces to which people become attached. (Rioux et al., 2017, p. 61).*

It is through appropriation that a specific locale in a specific location is vested with meaning and a sense of place can be sensed – be it that young people appropriate already pre-existing shared meanings or that they develop new ones, thereby possibly challenging already existing ones[21]. This means that the appropriation of space does not have to be conflictive or does mean that the young people try to claim a space only for themselves. Appropriation can mean that young people start using a space along with others, according to the uses that were foreseen by others, e.g. in a youth centre where the users behave more or less how the youth workers intended them to do. However, in this broad conception of appropriation, this means that in order to be able to use the youth centre, the young people first have to be acquainted with it and build up a relationship with it, make the youth centre a bit their own.

In the three definitions of appropriation given above space is treated as a pre-existing object, pre-existing to appropriating practices. In the above given example where young people just use the youth centre according to the meanings that were given by the people who constructed this physical and social space at first, this seems pertinent. However, it neglects that social spaces are created through social action and do not exist without people actively producing and steadily reproducing them by placing objects and oneself in relation to each other and by actively perceiving the space as such.[22] Referring to the constitutive relationality aims at elucidating that spaces are no fixed, absolute entities that are prior to social process but are themselves results of social processes thus "constantly (re)producing fabrics of social practices" (Kessl & Reutlinger, 2010b, p. 21). Vice-versa, when spaces are treated as pre-existing objects, the constitution of the spaces and thereby the implicated power relations are obscured. Consequently, possible conflicts that would arise from diverging spatial constructions, thus

[21] This latter aspect is not made explicit in the two definitions of spatial appropriation given above. They highlight tangible aspects of spaces, respectively places, and connected meaning making but neglect that social spaces are created through social practices and do not exist without people actively producing and steadily reproducing them. In order to understand spatial appropriation as a relational process, also the constitution of the space must be taken into account. This urges to focus on the space constituting practices as well as on the power relations and interactions that enable or hinder these practices that come into play during appropriation processes (Hüllemann et al., 2017; Löw, 2016; Werlen, 1997). "Such a relational perspective on spatial appropriation processes must therefore include both the moment of dealing with already existing (such as spatial structures and institutionalizations) and the moment of the production of space in the context of an appropriation process." (Hüllemann et al., 2017, p. 11)

[2222] This analytical distinction refers to Martina Löw (2001) who names these two aspects of space constituting action "placement" and "synthesis" [22] This analytical distinction refers to Martina Löw (2001) who names these two aspects of space constituting action "placement" and "synthesis"

different uses and meanings attributed to a place like a youth centre, would hardly become visible if space making was ignored.

Accordingly, also the constitution of the space must be taken into account. Only like this can spatial appropriation be understood as a thoroughly relational construct, This urges a focus on the space constituting practices as well as on the power relations and interactions that enable or hinder these practices that come into play during appropriation processes (Hüllemann et al., 2017; Löw, 2016; Werlen, 1997). Even though in daily life spaces often appear as given, as things, before, during and after appropriation, we ought to step back and understand them as objectifications of spatial practices. During appropriation, young people relate to objectifications, respectively, the constituting spatial practices, by themselves or other actors. Thus, the spaces are changed or reproduced, or in other words, produce new objectifications or maintain them[23]. Also, they might become meaningful to the young people and young people's perception of the world (-> place). "Such a relational perspective on spatial appropriation processes must therefore include both the moment of dealing with what already exists and the moment of the production of space in the context of an appropriation process"[24] (Hüllemann et al., 2017, p. 11).

Appropriation as practice

A practice can be understood as an ensemble of different typified, routinized and socially intelligible bound up activities, which comprises acts of perception as a necessary bundle of activities. (Reckwitz, 2003, 2016). In practice theoretical approaches, not discrete and punctual single actions per se are in the focus of interest, but the fact that actions or activities are embedded in a more comprehensive, socially shared practice, held together by an implicit, methodical and interpretive knowledge. Practices constitute an emergent level of the social (Reckwitz, 2003, p. 289), which becomes visible in the "real-time doing and saying something in a specific place and time. […] Focusing on practices is thus taking the social and material doing (of something: doing is never objectless) as the main focus of the inquiry" (Nicolini, 2012, p. 221). Practice theories leave "space for initiative, creativity, and individual performance. These are in fact necessary, as performing a practice always requires adapting to new circumstances so that practising [or doing] is neither mindless repetition nor complete invention. Yet individual performances take place and are intelligible only as part of an ongoing practice" (Nicolini, 2012, p. 4).

> *When individuals 'take over' such existing practices, they are enrolled in the specific horizon of intelligibility associated with it, and which implies a certain way of understanding oneself, others, and the events that occur as part of the practice. However, this is not all. Absorbing, or being absorbed in, a practice also implies accepting certain*

[23] In line with Giddens (1984), this invites to ask whether and how appropriation becomes a mediating moment between change and reproduction of structural properties.

[24] Original quote: "Eine solche relationale Perspektive auf räumliche Aneignungsprozesse muss deshalb sowohl das Moment der Auseinandersetzung mit bereits Bestehendem (wie räumlichen Strukturen und Institutionalisierungen) als auch das Moment der Produktion von Raum im Rahmen eines Aneignungsprozesses beinhalten."

> *norms of correctness (what is right and wrong) as well as certain ways of wanting and feeling (Nicolini, 2012, p. 5)*

Practices always refer to other practices that might maintain, stabilise, contradict, change, alter, replace them or stand in any other relation. Moreover, the performances of practices "are only intelligible, against the more or less stable background of other performances" (Rouse, 2007, p. 505).

> *The concept of practice connotes doing, but not just doing in and of itself. It is doing in a historical and social context that gives structure and meaning to what we do. In this sense, practice is always social practice. Such a concept of practice includes both the explicit and the tacit. It includes what is said and what is left unsaid; what is represented and what is assumed. It includes the language, tools, documents, images symbols well-defined roles, specified criteria, codified procedures, regulations, and contracts that various practices make explicit for a variety of purposes. But it also includes all the implicit relations, tacit conventions, subtle cues, untold rules of thumb, recognizable intuitions, specific perceptions, well-tuned sensitivities, embodied understandings, underlying assumptions, and shared world views. (Wenger, 1998, p. 47)*

A practice ontology is relational, meaning that a single action or a practice can only be understood in relation to other practices. Social structures (or rather structural properties of practices - to stay with a practice ontology) and institutions can be understood in relation to practices. Giddens, for whom social structures manifest themselves as rules and resources that are created by and orient regularized activities, states: "The most deeply embedded structural properties, implicated in the reproduction of social totalities, I call structural principles. The practices which have the greatest timespace extension within such totalities can be referred to as institutions' (Giddens, 1984, p. 17). Thus, the "difference between the structural property of practices, social structures, and institutions becomes thus one of degree, not of type […]: The distinction is analytical, not of substance: for Giddens there is no real ontological discontinuity between social practices and social structures". (Nicolini, 2012, p. 46).

When investigating practices of spatial appropriation by young people, it is necessary to take into consideration not only the practices that are implicated in the appropriation process directly, but also the practices that stand in some specific relationship to them. Thus, the given must be deconstructed into practices that have produced it. As outlined above, this means for instance not taking spaces as pre-existing objects but inquiring the practices that in the first place have led to the construction of the spaces and that still maintain or change spatialities during appropriation. These bundled routinized spatial activities (e.g of spacing and synthesis; Löw 2001) might include certain views of the city and one's place in the city and conventions on the perception and use of urban space. Consequently, these images of the city and conventions equally have to be scrutinized for the practices that underlie them. Likewise, when analysing ideas of participation or one's place in society, we are to deconstruct these ideas into practices that lead to the manifestation of these ideas. This implies asking for power relations and for the distribution of resources.

One way of starting this continuous deconstruction or unbundling of phenomena is to start with asking: "What are people doing and saying. What are they trying to do when they speak? What is said and done? How do the patterns of doing and saying flow in time? What temporal

sequences do they conjure? With what effect? Through which moves, strategies, methods, and discursive practical devices do practitioners accomplish their work?" (Nicolini, 2012, p. 221). From these starting questions, the network of other (regularized) doings and sayings can be unfolded and practices unbundled.

In the case of the ethnographic case studies in PARTISPACE on which this report heavily draws, participation is analysed embedded within groups of young people. These groups are involved in one specific or more common activities and pursue specific enterprises. Thereby they learn and create shared knowledge and understanding. In this context, participation can be related to the concept of communities of practice (Wenger, 1998), which highlights the importance of community, meaning making and identity in social learning. Communities of practice are also "the prime context in which we can work out common sense through mutual engagement. Therefore, the concept of practice highlights the social and negotiated character of both the explicit and the tacit in our lives" (Wenger, 1998, p. 47). Being part of a community of practice successfully requires being able to practice which in turn requires knowledge, for instance in the form of being able to deal with (tacit), adopt specific worldviews or perform specific perceptions. The intelligibility of practices is produced at least partly in communities of practice. "Practice-based approaches consider cognition and sense-making as emerging from the practices carried out in an organization" (Nicolini, 2012, p. 7). Acquisition of these abilities derives from participation or learning to participate in the groups.

Thereby, the practitioners potentially develop the meaning of their involvement in their communities of practice: "Practice is, first and foremost, a process by which we can experience the world and our engagement with it as meaningful" (Wenger, 1998, p. 51). For Wenger, meaning making is a process of negotiation that involves two constituent processes: participation and reification. "[…] participation and reification form a duality that is fundamental to the human experience of meaning and thus to the nature of practice" (Wenger, 1998, p. 52). Participation in Wenger's framework refers to a process of taking part in a community of practice and to the relations with others that reflect this process. "It suggests both action and connection." (Wenger, 1998, p. 55). Reification refers the process of giving form to experience "by producing objects that congeal this experience into 'thingness'" (Wenger, 1998, p. 58). The resulting things can also be understood as marks or vestiges of human activity that can endure in the physical world – or in consciousness as they do not necessarily be material. They can also be stories, abstract principles, codified procedures, concepts or names. In this line, also specific fixations of spaces (e.g. on maps or in shared descriptions of spaces) can be considered reifications.

> *Any community of practice produces abstractions, tools, symbols, stories, terms, and concepts that reify something of that practice in a congealed form. [...] Reification can refer both to a process [e.g. making, designing, representing] and its product […] Reification is not just objectification; it does not end in an object. It does not simply translate meaning into an object. On the contrary, my use of the concept is meant to suggest that such translation is never possible, and that the process and the product always imply each other. [...] reification must be re-appropriated into a local process in order to become meaningful. (Wenger, 1998, p. 7)*

Therefore, reification for Wenger not only refers to the production of "things" but also includes processes of using, perceiving and interpreting. Thus, he refers to a relationship between

practicing (or doing or saying) and material and non-material objects and an ongoing process or reification and re-appropriation. "Whether intentionally produced or not, they can then be reintegrated as reification into new moments of negotiation of meaning" (Wenger, 1998, p. 7). The reifications (the objects and the processes) stand in a larger context of significance. To elaborate this significance, it is necessary to study the practices of which the reified objects are reflections. Consequently, if our object is to study the appropriation of city spaces by young people, we have to consider that meaning making(s) that go(es) along with these practices are both connected to participating (in the sense of Wenger) as well as to processes or practices or reification. In sum, the meaning of "objects" such as reified spaces is not once for all given, but is appropriated and re-appropriated continuously when dealing with objects. Thereby, new reifications come into play. Reification can refer to symbolic or material objects. The next section focuses on the latter.

The integration of the body, or embodiment, is an integral part of any practice ontology, where practices are conceived of as "embodied, materially mediated arrays of human activity centrally organized around shared practical understanding. The point of the qualifier 'embodied' is that [..] the forms of human activity are entwined with the character of the human body" (Schatzki, 2005, p. 11). Human experience is necessarily embodied experience thus mediated by the senses. (Pink, 2009; Shilling, 2012 [1993]; Sunderland, Bristed, Gudes, Boddy, & Da Silva, 2012). Embodiment focuses on the interrelationship between humans, respectively human bodies, and their (social) environment and demands to "recognise that the body is the human organism, and that the process of embodiment is one and the same as the development of that organism in its environment."(Ingold, 1998, p. 26). Ingold uses the term embodiment to "stress that throughout life, the body undergoes processes of growth and decay, and that as it does so, particular skills, habits, capacities and strengths, as well as debilities and weaknesses, are enfolded into its very constitution - in its neurology, musculature, even its anatomy" (Ingold, 1998, p. 26). The embodiment concept opposes ontologies of the social that solely focus on the intellect. Moreover, it lends itself to understand how "the body come[s] to 'know', and what kind of biological changes might occur when learning a skill'" (Downey 2007, p. 223, cited in Pink, 2009, p. 25).

One such an example of the embodiment of socially produced knowledge that again through corporal interaction (re)produces social interaction provides Warde (2005) showing how social change, specifically changing of gender relations, can be mediated through the body in the case of Lindy-Hop dancers recalibrating gender-relations through the progressive learning of this swing dance. When researching sensory and sensual aspects of participation sensory and sensual experience of such bodily learning, respectively embodiment processes of participation comes to the forefront. In other words; how does participation feel when a participation setting is incorporating itself into the bodies of the involved young people? In order to systematically apprehend the spatial dimension of this process of embodiment, which is already implicit to the concept due to its constitutional relationship with the environment of the bodies but rather focuses on the integration of the mind and the body, the concept of embodiment can be extended to emplacement which "suggests the sensuous interrelationship of body–mind–environment" (Howes, 2005, p. 7)

As practices are inscribed in habituated bodies, appropriation of practices in the sense of learning new practices implies the forming of bodily know-how. This focus on the body shall

by no means exclude discursive action; however, it points at the limitations of approaches that are limited to the mind and suggests that also speaking involves the body. Consequently, bundled actions or activities that compose a practice are routinized bodily doings and sayings.

Doing (something) is never objectless[25]. Taking into account the materiality of human and nonhuman bodies means that "understanding specific practices always involves apprehending material configurations" (Schatzki, 2005, p. 12) of both human and nonhuman bodies (material artifacts or objects). In this vein, social orders "are arrangements of people and of the artifacts, organisms, and things through which they coexist, in which these entities relate and possess identity and meaning" (Schatzki, 2005, p. 61). Possession in this case has to be read together with relation, as it is the relational configuration that determines their identities and meanings. In other words, this means that practices are always emplaced. "Though this principle applies more generally to all forms of action, it is obvious in the constitution of space because of the presence of place and places. These material conditions of an action situation have been largely ignored in much of social theory (Löw, 2016, p. 162)[26]. Objects thereby have a special role, in fact, they "make practices durable and connect practices with each other across space and time" (Nicolini, 2012, p. 4).

The social in a practice ontology is a field of embodied, materially interwoven and thus emplaced practices. (Saying this however does not exclude the symbolic dimension of the social.) In order to take into account the full story of practices of participation, - contrary to voluntarist, cognitive or structuralist ontological views - it is important to extend research on human experience and social practices to different materialities including the human body and its senses and not to adapt any mentalist conception of a divide between the body and the mind.[27] The extension of the research focus to all the senses (not just vision and hearing) would have called for a multisensory awareness during the whole research process and multisensorial methodology (Howes, 2005; Pink, 2011).[28] As the focus on senses was determined only after

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[25] Neither is a practice intentionless. Every practice implies a mode of intentionality made routine; i.e. wanting certain things and avoiding others. […] and] contains certain practice-specific emotionality (Reckwitz 254 in Nicolini 2012, p. 5).

[26] The use of "place" by Löw differs in some aspects with the use presented below. Löw (2001, 2016) sometimes refers to place as a synonym for locale. The use of "place" by Löw differs in some aspects with the use presented below. Löw (2001, 2016) sometimes refers to place as a synonym for locale.

[27] This implies that mental states, imaginaries and other mental concepts cannot be causal objects. Consequently, the body is not an "instrument which the agent must use in order to act" (Reckwitz, 2002, p. 251). On the contrary, rather discourse and tools (objects) are the instruments that an acting body use to act. This implies that mental states, imaginaries and other mental concepts cannot be causal objects. Consequently, the body is not an "instrument which the agent must use in order to act" (Reckwitz, 2002, p. 251). On the contrary, rather discourse and tools (objects) are the instruments that an acting body use to act.

[28] One such an attempt to move beyond vision and speech, respectively hearing, that also accounts for the emplacement of the body, constitutes (multi)sensory ethnography (Pink, 2009). Sensory ethnography can be seen "as an expansive methodology that illuminates not only individual's lived experiences of place […], but also broader shared patterns of experience in place (cultures of place). Sensory ethnographers seek to identify what it 'feels' like – including sensory, emotional, and intellectual experiences – to inhabit certain spaces, places and events from the insider's perspective" (Sunderland, Bristed, Gudes, Boddy, & Da Silva, 2012, p. 1057). Taking the senses (and thus feelings, the sensual, emotions and affects) into account does however not mean to privilege sensory aspects of social practices over cognitive or and cultural aspects. "While an individual subjectively and automatically experiences embodied and emplaced physical phenomena, the shared social and cultural meaning

the observations and interviews of the ethnographic study were conducted, the information on senses and bodily constellations will only be fragmentary. However, this does not necessarily mean that we have to neglect sensory phenomena, as bodily, emotional or sensory turning points (events where the body and its senses had a great impact) might appear in the material, as they have the potential to leave a mighty impression also in the researcher's eye. One way to approach narratives on senses constitutes the framework of four epistemes for the analysis of sensory narratives presented by Lisa Hunter and Ramona Emerald (2016). They differentiate between "senses" (sights, sounds, tastes etc.), "sensusal" (pleasure, pain, nostalgia etc. close to the concept of emotion), "sensory geographies of emplacement" (entanglements of sensory narratives with narratives of places, space, time etc.) and "sensational" (learning points and turning points , sense experiences that change us or turn us) (Hunter & Emerald, 2016, p. 39).

This differentiation as well as more generally the inclusion of embodiment and emplacement of practices and the social in the present theoretical framework should function as a heuristic category or a reminder, like a knot in a handkerchief, to not neglect the senses and materialities, watch out for turning points and to avoid the pitfalls of reproducing the Cartesian mind-body dualism.[29]. However, a focus on the body does not mean that practices are only investigated on a micro level and that would neglect place transcending and space and place producing social processes. Neither the experience of place nor the appropriation processes including the constitution of spaces, meaning making and place-specific emotionality[30] cannot be fully studied without relating it to translocal practices. Embodiment and emplacement should therefore not be seen as unidirectional but as relational interplay that is related to and has to be understood on the background of practices.

In sum, if we want to analyse spatial appropriation practices of the groups of the ethnographic case studies from a relational and processual point of view, we have to see appropriation as a process, by which young people in communities of practice create, change and reproduce spaces. To do so, they explore and use material objects[31]. Thereby specific mutually influencing

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and significance of that experience is socially and symbolically produced and reproduced over time" (Sunderland et al., 2012, p. 1057). One such an attempt to move beyond vision and speech, respectively hearing, that also accounts for the emplacement of the body, constitutes (multi)sensory ethnography (Pink, 2009). Sensory ethnography can be seen "as an expansive methodology that illuminates not only individual's lived experiences of place […], but also broader shared patterns of experience in place (cultures of place). Sensory ethnographers seek to identify what it 'feels' like – including sensory, emotional, and intellectual experiences – to inhabit certain spaces, places and events from the insider's perspective" (Sunderland, Bristed, Gudes, Boddy, & Da Silva, 2012, p. 1057). Taking the senses (and thus feelings, the sensual, emotions and affects) into account does however not mean to privilege sensory aspects of social practices over cognitive or and cultural aspects. "While an individual subjectively and automatically experiences embodied and emplaced physical phenomena, the shared social and cultural meaning and significance of that experience is socially and symbolically produced and reproduced over time" (Sunderland et al., 2012, p. 1057).

[29] It could be argued that a truly relational sociology that deconstructs boundaries, thus also the boundaries between mind, body and place cannot hold up with a fixed division of realms and tasks of minds, bodies and places. This invites to continuously deconstruct these phenomena into practices and to continuously ask for relationships and connections between them as well as the production of these relationships and connections.

[30] This invites to reconstruct practices that constitute bodily perception and the experience of physical phenomena such as a specific site and emplaced objects.

[31] Already Graumann and Kruse (1976) pointed at the importance of the body when they identified several categories of behaviour linked to appropriation. According to them appropriation refers to "1. " Motion and

relationships between themselves (as bodily beings) and material objects are created, potentially resulting in shared reifications such as histories, mental images of certain locales or photographs of the visual cityscape. Such an analysis includes inquiring what and how (through what practices) objects and people constitute spatial arrangements (or configuration or relationships) in specific sites or places that become meaningful through direct engagement and thus experience. Vice versa, these spatial material configurations, allow contextualising appropriation practices.[32] This includes to inquire for properties of objects, meanings attached and processes of reification related to them as well as to turn our attention as researchers to practices of experiencing specific places whereby emplaced senses, human bodies and nonhuman bodies or artefacts are involved.

Place making and appropriation

When studying the emplacement of practices and we aim not to fall into the pitfall of restraining our analysis to the confinement of a certain place as was argued in the last section, a possible strategy is analysing the constitution of the corresponding place, or in other words, place making. Appropriation and place making go hand in hand. When young people explore and experience sites through using, occupying, travelling around, building etc., in short doing something on a site and engaging with its objects, they attach meaning to them, turning them into places.

> *The process of appropriation turns something inert and neutral into 'place'. The appropriation is both material and immaterial, where society invests space with meaning but also physically shapes it into specific form to suit a wide diversity of needs. (Chiesi, 2015, p. 74)*

During its appropriation space is vested with a bounded and significant identity (c.f. Gieryn, 2000) and simultaneously people create personal significance and conceivably develop feelings of belonging to and a collective identity tied to a specific place. The place becomes familiar, it may become an important part of their individual or group life, it may become "their" place (although not necessarily exclusively -> territory). During appropriation, they learn how to make use of the locale and possibly shape it to their own needs. This can involve practices of home making or domestication. This familiarization with places involves the attribution of an intimate and deep meaning, through everyday practices, performed individually or collectively and involves senses, emotions and bodily routines.

Above, appropriation was defined as a two-directional mediation process. Hence, appropriating a place does not only mean to change the place and one's relationship to the place, it also means changing oneself due to the appropriation of the place. Appropriation might lead to

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locomotion," such as using objects for physical support or transport; 2. "Sensory exploration," meaning exploring settings visually or auditorily, or using touch, taste and olfactory cues to come to know the environment; 3. "Manipulating or making" is the transforming or creating of things and spaces so that they serve human purposes; 4. "Cognitive-linguistic mastery" is naming things and settings, thereby assigning meanings and possibly effecting a sense of control; 5. "Communicating through the use of space and objects," refers to marking ownership by individuals or groups; 6. "Taking possession," so that individuals or groups have exclusive or temporary control over objects or settings; and 7. "Personalization of space," which describes people shaping and changing environments, thereby symbolically claiming ownership.

[32] In other words, this refers to the emplacement and place making associated with appropriation practices.

empowerment, competence or the ability to connected. How the boundaries of the place as well as its identity are constituted, what belongs to it and what not are like the qualities and meanings attributed to a space not predefined but constituted during the appropriation process.

Appropriation of places eventually can also mean (re)interpretation and possibly the negotiation of public space and the city as well as the negotiation of what is private and public. Appropriation of places seem to enter a tight connection with the development of collective identities. They seem to stabilise each other, especially when processes of reification are in play, for instance, construction work (Batsleer et al., 2017, pp. 136–158). Consequently, the analysis of participatory appropriation of space through place making by young people means investigating the meanings individuals and groups attach to different sites and these processes of attachment or rather constitution of place and how these practices are in turn related to other practices. Moreover, it means to analyse place making as emplaced practices. A specific feature of place making (as of space making and territoriality) is boundary work which will be discussed in the next section.

Boundary work

One approach to examine spatial constitution practices is examining the various forms of boundary work (Gieryn, 1983). This seems particularly promising as it is at the boundaries and in the border zones of changing and sometimes contested entities that the negotiation of social difference becomes more apparent than elsewhere. Following Pierre Bourdieu's extensive work on social distinction (1979), Gieryn (1983) was the first to develop the concept of boundary work in relation to demarcation strategies of scientists between the realms of science and non-science[33]. Since then the concept has been applied to various other areas of research such as strategies to define professional autonomy or ethnic categories (Pachucki, Pendergrass, & Lamont, 2007). In the case of the latter, boundary work deals with the dynamic reconfigurations of social groups through for instance the production of "us" versus "them". As such, boundary work is an "intrinsic part of the process of constituting the self" (Lamont & Molnár, 2002, p. 11) as "we define who we are by drawing inferences concerning our similarity to, and differences from, others" (Lan, 2003, p. 526).

In general, (symbolic) boundary work as developed within the discipline of Cultural sociology refers to processes of demarcation based on categorical markers of various kinds. It can be understood as the "strategies, principles, and practices we use to create, maintain, and modify cultural categories" (Nippert-Eng, 2008, p. 7). These categories serve to establish "conceptual distinctions made by social actors to categorise objects, people and practices" (Lamont & Molnár, 2002, p. 168). They can also be comprehended as ideological or rhetorical strategy to maintain or increase one's own autonomy (Gieryn, 1983). Boundary work is a dynamic, situational and relational work. Boundaries can be made, blurred, crossed, defended, contested etc. Boundaries can be understood as having both social and symbolic dimensions (Kerstin, Moret, & Dahinden, 2010; Lamont & Molnár, 2002). The symbolic dimension refers to the categorisation of objects, people and practices whereas social boundaries are "objectified forms of social differences manifested in unequal access to and unequal distribution of resources and

[33] Although the two visions seem to be highly compatible, Gieryin does not make any explicit reference to Bourdieu.

social opportunities" (Lamont & Molnár, 2002, p. 168). When symbolic boundaries are widely agreed upon, they can constrain actors and become social boundaries. (ibid: 168). In the case of the appropriation of socio-material spaces (and correspondingly places and territories), boundary work will most likely also include material objects that become markers of specific spaces. This is relevant for the experience of places and plays a constitutive role for the establishment of territories., which will be discussed in the next section.

Territorial appropriation

Territorial appropriation, territoriality and, territorialisation and are closely interwoven terms and are often used as interchangeably in the consulted literature. They all can be framed as territorial practices that spatialize social relationships. In this framework, territoriality can be understood as practices of claiming, defending, maintaining and producing territories in order to shape (control or influence) social relationships through physical space. Territorialisation (Kessl & Reutlinger, 2010a) can be conceived as practices of apprehending of social relationships through their representation as fixed to certain territories. It involves the discursive spatialisation and objectification of the social thereby creating the image of absolute spaces that serve as containers of the social[34]. Territoriality involves territorialisation.

The concepts of appropriation and territoriality show various similarities. Both deal with complex levels of social relationships including interactive, material and symbolic dimensions of the social. Both relate oneself (an individual or a group) and/or others to socio-material objects (including the physical cityscape) through active use of or engagement with objects. Both are instrumental in the sense that they potentially increase one's agency or autonomy. Eventually both are linked to specific spatialities: the appropriation of surroundings through the appropriation of the properties of physical objects involves the creation of spaces (c.f. Deinet, 2010, p. 38), some of them can have the qualities of territories.

In line what has been said above, the term territorial appropriation can be used to designate the ongoing (re)construction or taking into possession of bounded and to various degrees exclusive spaces to shape social relationships and gain access to resources through physical space, a process, which at the same time shapes the group or individual and their identities. Speaking about territorial appropriation shall stress this mutual mediation process between the self and the creation or taking over of territories. Territorial appropriation of the city involves creating or taking into possession of bounded parts of the cityscape through active engagement with space constituting objects and people through physical and/or discursive action. During the appropriation of territories not only a relationship to the physical space is built but to the social relationships for which territories are a means for influence and organisation. Thereby social are spatialized (territorialised). Through the active engagement with the social spaces of the city, the individuals or groups appropriate properties of the city (as a form of social

[34] For Kessl und Reutlinger territorialisation refers to the fixation of social relationships through the use of spatial concepts in social work: "Social problems are spatially fixed and thus seemingly comprehensible and workable [...] Socio-spatial relations thus serve to anchor the professional actions and are at the same time objectified as a an areal extension (2010a, p. 64)" (Original quote: "Soziale Probleme werden räumlich fixiert und damit scheinbar fass-und bearbeitbar […] Sozialräumliche Zusammenhänge dienen somit der Verankerung der fachlichen Handlungsvollzüge und werden zugleich aber als Raumgröße verdinglicht (2010a, p. 64)(2010a, p. 64))

organisation), thus shape social relationships but are shaped in the interplay with these structures themselves.

A possible outcome can be the increase of agency and autonomy to influence one's own living conditions. When appropriation is framed as taking something into one's possession (e.g. part of the physical environment) , "appropriation also connotes mastery or efficacy, such as when people exercise territorial control, and regulate use by others or gain efficacy through having and using possessions ” (Werner, Altman, & Oxley, 1985, p. 5). The gain of efficacy and mastery is through the ability to regulate use of the territory and practices on the territory, however, not only. As appropriation as mutual mediation also affects the appropriating subject(s), it increases his/her/their agency potentially beyond the very situation of territorial production.[35]

From what has been written on territories above, various properties of territorial appropriation can be deduced. Territorial appropriation is an emplaced process, it is embodied and thus includes senses and emotions. It can happen on various scales. Territorial appropriation includes meaning making and the constitution of spaces through the placement of objects and synthesis of objects to spaces. It requires resources (or affordances (Chiesi, 2015) or mediators (Raffestin, 2012)). Appropriation necessarily involves objects that can be appropriated through active engagement with and use of these objects; in the case of territories to some degree exclusively (c.f. Chiesi, 2015; Deinet, 2010; Held, 2010; Raffestin, 2012). Furthermore, territorial appropriation happens within already pre-existing territories. It is thus reappropriation, which involves dealing with complex social relationships. Therefore, it requires structures that allow reappropriation as well as necessary resources. Reappropriation can reproduce and change the social. Eventually, territorial appropriation includes the making of territorial boundaries, respectively, the negotiation of already existing territorial boundaries. This includes the marking of boundaries which can happen through e.g. the placement of symbolic and/or material objects through physical engagement and in speech, especially with the pronouns "ours" and "theirs" often applied to specific spatial concepts such as in our neighbourhood, their youth centre etc. (Held, 2010)[36]. As outlined above, appropriation can be understood as a process of mutual mediation. Using the term *appropriation* shall stress the mutual influence of both the subject and the territories during the construction/production or taking into possession of territories.

Youth, territorial appropriation and public spaces

Territorial appropriation can also be conceived as the achievement of the "right to dispose of one's own living conditions" (Held, 2010, p. 233). Held points out that this is particulary

[35] The acquisition of resources including knowledge through territorial engagement seems key. Thereby analytically various relationships of territorial appropriation and the construction of knowledge are conceivable: on the one hand, the very practices of appropriation can allow engagement with objects and thus learning (e.g. the occupation of a sports ground), on the other hand, certain territories allow exercising other practices that allow learning by doing (e.g. playing football). In practice, these aspects are probably not that clear-cut. Also playing football constitutes forms of territoriality.

[36] Held discusses the German term "Revier" which does not have a full equivalent in English. Revier does refer to the concept of territory but is used in the sense of local territories as American beat standing for police districts or neighbourhood areas. Revier can also designate (youth) ganglands or hunting grounds.

important to consider in the case of young people who are in risk of isolation and exclusion. Here territorial appropriation seems to yield a promise to counterbalance structural exclusion to a certain extent and provide for agency.

> *Appropriation possibilities are positively evaluated in social work. Their blocking is viewed critically (Böhnisch / Münchmeier 1987; Reutlinger /Mack / Wächter / Lang 2007). Appropriation processes are important because they enable self-esteem, identity and also responsibility. Wherever there is a danger of abandonment and exclusion, the classical argument for property rights and demarcations has its justification ("A room for me alone") The right of people to dispose of their living conditions is an achievement that does not weaken social cohesion but strengthens and sustains it through self-reliance and human dignity (North 1988). (Held, 2010, p. 233)*

In the case of young people, territorial appropriation is usually not mediated by money and property rights but by territorial markings in discursive and physical placement practices, as Herb Childress argues.

> *Through their legal status as 'minors', American teenagers are legally prohibited from property ownership. In order to claim places, therefore, young people must appropriate and occupy the places of others. This makes territorial markers and behavior the primary mode of spatial claiming among teens, but adults tend not to recognize the legitimacy of territory in a tenured or ownership-based spatial system (Childress, 2004, p. 195)*

This means that youth territories are often established within a framework of already existing territorialities granted by a system of property rights on land. This does not necessarily have to be a legal prohibition from property ownership that impedes access to the property system for young people in the first place; rather it seems to be a question of missing financial resources. Thus, youths frequently need to occupy territories that by law belong to others and legally, others have the power to regulate it. From this follows that boundary work including the marking of boundaries becomes particularly important. As such, territorial appropriation can be conceived as an inscription of oneself into space whereby one establishes a territory and becomes visible. Boundary making practices and territoriality in general can be of different coercive extent, from showing presence until the physical exercise of coercion to keep someone off or make her or him comply.

Furthermore, territorial appropriation by young people is often not total, in the sense that it would be fully exclusive for other people. This is especially the case for appropriation of public spaces that can be considered a form of creating an own sphere of influence between the private space of a home and fully public space accessible to everyone (c.f. Held, 2010). Appropriation of public spaces by young people might be only temporary, e.g. during a certain time of the day a group of young people manages to occupy the territory rather exclusively, or they selective raise claims of their territories vis-à-vis certain actors (e.g. other young people but for instance not adults). Moreover, without territorial stabilisation through property rights, appropriation of territories may be often ongoing and including continuous negotiation of boundaries and experimenting what and when boundaries are effective. Thus, also meaning making can be supposed to be continuously evolving.

Appropriation of public spaces in an already existing urban environment is an ongoing reappropriation of what has already been appropriated by other people. Considering that

territorial appropriation includes the placement of people and social goods, previous appropriations do not only have to be limiting. The cityscape (understood as socio-material composite of objects including the land the city is built on) provides various affordances (resources) but also "atmospheres, inspiration, restriction and challenges" (Held, 2010, p. 235). Here the question is, what use can the young people make of the affordances of the city, what fosters or impedes them?

Youth centres can be seen as special kind of territory that has been specifically carved out of public space for young people to appropriate. First they are youth worker territories but might become co-constructed territories for some young people once appropriated successfully. (They also just might become a place young people can identify with without necessarily becoming a territory they to a certain extent control, respectively on behalf of which they can control behaviour within the centre. The youth centre can also stay just an abstract space they barely relate to for some young people.) The territorialisation against which youth centres appear as distinct spaces for the young people can lead to ghettoization and the exclusion from appropriation of public space when at the same time the production of own places or territories in public spaces is hindered. Then agency for young people is limited to youth centres (Deinet, 2010, pp. 36; 38), where due to their institutionalisation possibilities of appropriation are restricted again (c.f. Batsleer et al., 2017). Consequently, increasing possibilities of territorial appropriation of public space of young people might be a better strategy to counter exclusion and increase their agency. However, the exclusionary effects of territoriality can present youth work with a dilemma: youth territoriality which might appear as a resource in social work is exclusionary and thus contradicts the idea of public space.

> *Public space for all is therefore not an absolute standard. Above all, appropriation processes are important not only for the rich and powerful, but also for people in difficult situations and disadvantaged starting conditions (Soto 1992). It is no coincidence that territoriality is often found among adolescents in precarious circumstances. For this, cuts in the ideal of public space must be accepted. Basically, it is a dilemma between two good, but often contradictory normative claims: self-will and social equity. (Held, 2010, pp. 233–234)*

However, eventually, also the strategy to fight social exclusion by spatial appropriation is questionable as spatializes structural social problems.

Interim conclusion

As outlined above appropriation can be understood as spatial action that transforms the relationship between a subject and space through engagement with the constituting objects and the very constitution and possibilities of transformation of a space. Through appropriation meaningful spaces (in short: places) are created and the subjects who appropriate might change as well or their perception of the world. Engaging with the spaces can imply boundary work defining who, what kind of activities, behaviour or objects belong to a specific space, thus determining what practices may be visible while others are deemed to stay largely invisible or are confined to certain more restrained, smaller or peripheral spaces. Taking into consideration that the city is used by a multiplicity of people with distinct spatialities (re)producing their spaces, it becomes clear that this is not a conflict free process. However, bearing in mind that power to define or shape spaces is unevenly distributed, we can still expect that some practices

are stable enough as to function as hegemonic interpretative patterns, such as i.e. the dominant spatial patterns as well as the historically specific social conditions (c.f. Lefebvre, 1991). These patterns influence the possibilities of appropriation of spaces. Eventually, the inclusion and exclusion from possibilities to appropriate spaces can be connected to questions of visibility and invisibility (c.f. Reutlinger, 2013). Consequently, inquiring the constitutive practices of both conflictive and conflict-free appropriation involves not only determining whose practices are encouraged, tolerated or put to an edge, whose appropriation practices are recognized or repressed but also whose practice are visible and who stays in the dark.

4. Methodology

As this report featuring a secondary analysis of spatial aspects and dynamics of youth participation is part of the wider research project PARTISPACE and relies on empirical data that were collected initially with other research questions in sight, this section not only explains the proceedings of the present spatial analysis but gives a short overview of the entire project methodology. It particularly focusses on the ethnographic approach used to analyse the case studies among some of which constitute the basis for this report. The proceeding of the thematic analysis on space, the secondary analysis, will be described with more details in the second part of this chapter.

PARTISPACE Mixed-Method Design

PARTISPACE uses a multi-stranded methodological approach in order to investigate youth participation in a broad perspective and overcome frequent conceptual limitations that rather reproduce institutional logics than the lifeworlds and experiences of today's youth[37]. First of all, this meant that PARTISPACE investigated both young people's view points and practices as well as youth workers', youth policy makers' and similar youth professionals' perspectives and strategies. And it related them with each other and their broader societal contexts. A broad perspective on youth participation also meant that the researchers had to continuously reflect on the implicit boundaries of their own views on participation and youth. In order to look beyond established forms of participation, a broad working definition was applied that could encompass diverse groups and practices of young people and would not prematurely separate participatory from non-participatory practices. Correspondingly, a potential for participation was seen in any action young people do with or aimed at others or aimed at a certain public[38]. Only then, participation was little by little given clearer contours by pointing out specific relational aspects during the research process.

Eventually, a broad perspective also meant that a mix of various methods was applied at different scales (c.f. Anderson et a. 2016; Batsleer et al. 2017; Patrick? et al. 2018). The empirical research design consisted of four different but interconnected methodological approaches to youth participation.

1) **Description and analysis of the local, national and European youth institutions and policies**: after establishing the state of the art of current theories on youth participation including the elaboration of glossary with key terms, the local institutional and socio-economic context was described. Moreover national and local youth policies as well the integration of European

[37] This is connected to PARTISPACE starting hypothesis that all young people do participate while not all participation is recognised as such(see Summary, Proposal 2014, p. 3). The fieldwork was thus characterised by an openness that allowed finding "unknown" forms of participation including forms that were not recognised as legitimate forms of participation.

[38] Neither participation within the family was the main focus of this study neither were private homes the locale of participation settings. Although some biographical interviews were conducted in private spaces, the study concentrates on semi-public/semi-private and public spaces. This was partially due to methodological concerns (i.e. the access to the field for an 'external' researcher was easier in public and semi-public/private spaces, as well as in online forums, compared to private spaces). Nevertheless, this choice was also partially influenced by a bias, i.e. a common sense understanding of participation as something that take place mainly in the public, and not in the "backstage" of private houses.

youth policies into these policies were analysed applying discourse analyses of key documents, programmes and legal frameworks on youth participation. Apart from revealing the construction of European and national youth policies, these descriptions and discourse analyses served to contextualise other qualitative and quantitative data and prepared the ground for the further exploration of "blind spots" in both the statistical and policy apprehension of youth participation.

2) **Quantitative analysis of youth participation in the eight involved countries:** concurrently, youth participation was measured by providing a quantitative analysis of the European Social Survey conducted in 2012 in order to enhance the contextualisation and generalization of subsequent qualitative findings.

3) **Local case studies on the cities and participation settings with groups of young people:** in a subsequent step, local case studies on the city level were conducted. In a first phase, the case studies on the city level consisted in a social mapping of actors, infrastructures and issues of youth participation in each city through expert interviews with key persons (mainly professionals related to youth participation) as well as group discussions and city walks with a diverse range of young people. The second phase of local case studies consisted in in-depth ethnographic case studies of participation settings with young people. They were aimed at the reconstruction and typification of styles of participatory practice. Part of these case studies was also the reconstruction of participation biographies through biographical interviews with young people from the various participation settings.

4) **Participatory action research with young people:** the last methodological approach used for the empirical work in PARTISPACE was the action research, conducted by and with young people, i.e. a actively involving young people as co-researchers. This was carried out either during or after the ethnographic case studies, with the same or with different groups[39].

Local Case Studies including Ethnographies on Youth Participation Settings

The present report is based on empirical data from selected ethnographic case studies that formed the core of PARTISPACE (see point 3, above). This section briefly describes the ethnographic case study methodology applied (c.f. Batsleer et al. 2017 for a more detailed description).

Before starting the ethnographic case studies, a social mapping of youth participation was conducted for each city on the ground of expert interviews with key persons from institutionalised settings of youth participation[40] as well as group discussion and city walks with

[39] Being a research project on youth participation, PARTISPACE aimed to let young people participate in research process and integrate their perspectives. Apart from the use of action research with and by young people as a specific tool to involve young people as co-researchers, the local case studies – the core of the project – started with group discussions with young people on their experiences and wishes regarding their lives, and the activities that bring them together in specific participation settings. Furthermore, young people formed part of the local advisory boards and both draft and conclusive results were discussed with young people in various instances of the project.

[40] Youth experts included members of the municipal council, representatives of local authorities, youth workers, principals of secondary schools and representatives of youth organisations, but also persons with key roles in a

young people [41]. Thereby, mapping was not primarily understood as the establishment of cartographic representations in the form of city maps – although some team also experimented with cartographic maps – but as the establishment of inventories comparable to mind or concept maps of important actors, institutions, places and issues of youth participation. This served to reconstruct discourses on youth participation for each city as well as to construct condensed and abstracted views on the city from the perspective of experts and young people. The social mapping also informed the selection of groups for ethnographic case studies.

Ethnographic case studies aimed at reconstructing the evolution, the meaning and structuring effect of participatory practice in situated contexts. Focussing on practice and hence on interaction, ethnography not only involves interviews or group discussions but also participant observation, documentary analysis and analysis of material culture. The case studies intended to dig deeper into the set of meanings attribute by adolescents and young adults to their everyday practices. To this purpose, each of the eight PARTISPACE city teams selected six participation settings for in-depth ethnographic investigation. These were mainly pre-established groups composed mostly of people between 15 and 30 years of age. Some groups included also younger and older people often in marginal positions within the settings. Various of the youth groups interviewed in the social mapping phase also became the protagonists of ethnographic case studies. Other groups in the ethnographies had not been interviewed during the mapping phase, but emerged as relevant on the bases of young people's and experts' accounts; ; moreover, other groups were included in order to cover "blind spots" in the sample according to theoretically-driven sampling criteria . Each country team aimed to establish a wide diversity among the six groups in the city and maximum contrast was sought among all the 48 case studies in the whole international sample as well. Criteria that guided the selection of groups were categories of formality (formal, non-formal and informal), topics addressed (sports, ecology, arts etc.), accessibility in terms of skills/commitment necessary to do group activities (from low to high); the outreach/orientation of the group (from group-oriented to society-oriented activities); the social relevance given to the activities of the group by mainstream society (seen as valuable contribution or not); the conforming or non-conforming nature of those activities regarding societal norms; the domain of the activity (explicitly addressed to a public or rather seen a private claim/expression/contestation); and the temporality (whether the activities happened regularly, occasionally or episodically).

more informal way, such as youth activists or leading figures of informal social movements in each city. The sample of young people in the mapping phase included a diverse range of young people in different life conditions in schools, universities, vocational training, second chance schemes and youth centres. Apart from theoretical sampling and the researcher's assumptions on present groups and issues, all the city teams followed a snowball approach to sampling, where a small pool of initial informants was invited to nominate, through their social networks, other participants who meet the eligibility criteria and could potentially contribute to the study. Moreover, the selection of youth groups and experts was oriented along the intent to ensure maximal contrast between experts, respectively groups of young people in the sample (c.f. Batsleer et al. 2017).

[41] City walks enable young people to relate individual and collective experiences to concrete spaces (cf. Kessl & Reutlinger, 2010). Moreover, they serve as a stimulus to describe spatial practices, potentially also practices that are hardly ever verbalised in a group discussion in a single enclosed place such as a meeting room and would therefore probably not become (be detected otherwise).. During the walks young people were asked to lead the researchers, to show and explain them their relevant physical sites. By following young people on their paths, the researchers retrace their modes of use of urban space and reconstruct the different meanings, relevancies and functions city spaces have for young people.

In each city, researchers spent variable amounts of time with the selected groups, engaging actively with participant observations, documented through the production of field-notes, or through the use of a research journals . Moreover, the realisation of biographic interviews (at least two per case), allowed to collected several young people's life stories that added relevant insights to the ethnographic picture. As the participation settings did not only have specific spatialities but also temporalities, the ethnographic work was done according to the rhythms of the groups and in different times; during the week, in the evening, in the week-end, during holiday times, final exam periods, etc. While in some cases participant observations took place in a single site, in some other cases the participation settings were more fluid and the city team had to follow the young people, including into cyberspace, if relevant for the analysis. Also the involvement of the researchers in the cases varied. In some cases, the researchers played the roles of exterior observers, whilst in others researchers were directly involved in the activity taking place and step-by-step became full-fledged members of the groups.

A focus on spaces and spatiality was not given the same prominent role in all the ethnographic case studies. The focus in the ethnographies was mainly on social interactions and aimed at apprehending regularities in the field and other structural properties. This report relies on cases and particularly the documents where spatial issues are abundant. The next section gives a more detailed account on the elaboration of the secondary analysis of cases and in-depth analysis of selected documents for spatial aspects of participation.

Spatial analysis as a secondary and in-depth analysis

The research questions that guide this report are answered on the ground of a secondary analysis of the case studies and a thematic in-depth analysis on selected data (e.g specific interviews and field notes). At the beginning of the present analysis stood the definition of an initial research question in order to sharpen the interest stated in the PARTISPACE proposal on spaces of youth participation (see above in the introduction). The development of the research question concerning space was influenced by insights from the field (especially the advent of topics that seemed promising) as well as by the theoretical backgrounds of the researchers involved in this thematic analysis on space[42]. While for the ethnographic case studies work was carried out mainly in national city teams, the thematic analysis on space was carried out by an international group of researchers with interest and knowledge in spatial topics (called the "space team" in this report section).

Starting in spring 2017, a first set of general research questions was developed by this team:

– How can young people's relation to urban space be mapped and understood when it comes to processes of appropriation, symbolization and conflicts, and also feelings of belonging, identification and trust?

[42] Throughout the research process, the thematic discussions were based on a relational and processual understanding of space.

– How can young people's participation be described and analysed in a socio-spatial dimension, where the production, dependence, emotionality and influence of spaces and places on participatory practices are taken into account?

On the ground of these questions as well as on a "data wishlist" specifying cases or specific documents that the space team thought promising, the national teams who knew their material best chose documents.[43] The data ought to show how young people themselves, experts or researchers describe the ways in which young people make use of given spaces, create new ones, define or identify their or others' spaces, how they identify themselves with certain spaces, enter in conflict with spatial regulations, defend, renovate, commercialise spaces, etc. Most importantly, it was expected that in the material spatial practices became visible. Moreover, the teams were invited to indicate contrasting data in regard to young people's relationship to space (e.g. material which make visible harmonious use vs. conflicting use of space or material that shows how young people's practices are principally shaped by the spatial context vs. data exemplifying cases of the young people having much influence on their context) and to suggest data that covered novel spatial practices.

Once an agreement was reached, the empirical documents (such as interview and group discussion transcripts and field notes) were fully anonymised and translated from the respective national languages to English. Once the corpus of documents was established, they were carefully read; after joint discussion, the research interest was redefined. Many of the documents showed how young people used or changed places in the city and at the same time built new relationships to these places, which in turn seemed to enable them to carry out their participatory practices: the concept of appropriation was thus put in the focus. The corresponding texts documented practices on a small scales and micro- and meso-levels of interaction and community building. However, in order to connect to a wider level and thus to reach to an understanding of participation able to link individuals with society, the second focus was given on the relationship between the participation settings and the whole city. Thus the corresponding newly framed research questions were 1) "How do young people appropriate the city?" and 2) "How do these resulting spatialities relate young people to the city?". Eventually through further discussions in the space team, the continuous elaboration of a theoretical framework for the analysis and continuous examination of the empirical material, the three research axes on appropriation, boundary making and territoriality as well as public space were developed and guided the secondary and in-depth analysis of this report (see introduction)[44].

In sum, the research questions and the material were developed in a cyclical process, where knowledge from the case analyses and the progressive reading of documents, the elaboration of research questions and the clarification of a theoretical frame inspired each other and eventually prepared the ground for the in-depth analysis of empirical data in the form of mostly translated field notes and transcripts of group discussions and interviews. These documents stem from

[43] As the spatial analysis is only on of multiple thematic analyses and as the resources for translation of the documents were restrained (10 documents could be translated from each city), the choice of documents had to be balanced with the needs from other thematic groups.

[44] Thereby the research questions on appropriation and territoriality can be seen as a further development of the question on how young people appropriate the city while the concept of public space (and public sphere) serve as a concept to link the scale of the individual participation sites with the scale of the whole city.

different social contexts, were produced by researchers with different research backgrounds and experience and represent only a part of all the documents available, i.e. those where space becomes more easily and more frequently visible. This of course, raises various issues of comparability. However, the goal of this report is not to establish an overall comparison, or a general categorization or typology, but to explore spatial dynamics related to participation focusing mainly on micro, every day, young people experiences in the city. Alongside with the ethnographic tradition, our aim is not to generalize or claim representativity, but to provide situated and thick accounts, emphasizing spatial aspects of youth participation, showing the importance spatial orderings can have for the understanding of participation, and thus sensitizing further studies concerning the spatialities of participation and its complexities. Finally, it should be added that all the names and other information that could lead to the identification of the cases that will be disused in the next three chapters have been anonymized.

5. Appropriation as place-making

The attempt of this section is to provide an answer to the overarching question: "How do young people appropriate the city?", through a deep insight into the empirical material collected in the eight PARTISPACE cities. Above in this report, we described appropriation as a *mutual mediation process*, i.e. a relational process whereby both the subject and the object, respectively its meaning and function, can change during the process: "This means that the social relationships, meanings, competences etc. are not automatically internalized and absorbed, but are processed and processed individually" (Bader 2002, pp. 16-17). Thereby spatial appropriation is regarded as an active process, implying the production of subjectivities while producing spaces.

Instead of focusing on the whole cityscape (as we will partially do in the empirical section on "public space"), here the focus is on the very participatory settings, on how they are (re)appropriated by young people and how they become symbolically and emotionally relevant for them. This can help us to better specify our initial research question, that can thus become: "How do young people produce their participatory setting, transforming them into meaningful places and at the same time (re)producing their subjectivities?". The notion of place-making, discussed above, comes thus to the fore, since we'll actually describe appropriation as an act of place-making (i.e. turning space into a meaningful place).

The examples in the following section describe place-making in terms of a mutual mediation processes hinging on the case of the Social Centre in Bologna; obviously, the dynamics of place-making here illustrated are visible almost in all the case studies and the considerations proposed could be easily referred also to other contexts of youth participation, even though the Social Centre's experience makes them better observable. The next subparagraph, then, is going to frame place-making as a process of domestication of spaces (home-making), introducing examples from different countries. Finally, the last subparagraph is going to deal mainly with the conflictual aspects of place-making, taking as examples the case of a group of parkour practitioners in Gothenburg in Sweden and the case of an environmentalist protest in Plovdiv in Bulgaria.

Place-making, meaning-making, self-making

As underlined also by Belina (2013), the processes of place-making encompasses the dimension of *making the locale* as well as that of *attaching meanings* to a specific space. The practice of working to modify and transform the physical locale (i.e. the premises of an association, an abandoned building to be refurbished, a wall to be painted, etc.) represents the most "visible" facet of place-making, that obviously implies a process of meaning-making, as well as a process through which young people transform themselves while transforming the surrounding space. In the empirical material, we can find several examples referring to place-making in terms of "visible" changings that young people operate into "their" locales. Putting effort in building a locale becomes clearly evident when young people are directly engaged in "opening up a new place"[45]; among these cases, those concerned with the re-use and re-make of abandoned

[45] Cf. Batsleer *et al.* 2017

buildings appear particularly interesting from this perspective. For this purpose, we can consider the case of the Social Centre in Bologna. The Social Centre (SC) was a place that, in November 2012, was "opened" by a group of activists, mainly university students aged between 20 and 28, who occupied an abandoned barrack located in a central and rich district of Bologna, transforming it into a community centre open to the public. After the squat, the activists and their supporters renewed a large part of the barrack: while the greatest share of the building was devoted to different types of leisure, cultural, social and political activities, certain room was also earmarked for living purpose. Several projects were carried on in the SC. Among them: a social dormitory, hosting homeless and migrants not included in the institutional reception system; a self-organized kindergarten; a micro-brewery and an organic pizzeria; an urban garden. During its almost five years of activity[46], the SC turned into a popular and lively space, attended by numerous people, engaged in "doing politics", or simply attracted by its wide courtyard to drink a beer and enjoy some music. This was possible thanks to the great effort that the activists, engaged in the political activities, and the volunteers, running the projects, put into transforming an abandoned barrack into an accessible place with different "private" and "public" uses (it represented an home for activists and homeless people, as well as a place to spend some times chatting with friends for the people leaving in the district). As illustrated by the field-notes, the practice of re-making the locale, adapting it for the purpose of the political and social activities, was attractive in itself for many young people. Tonino, a young volunteer participating in the dormitory project inside the SC, describes in this way his initial engagement with the space:

> *After Mirella, Tonino speaks [23 years old, volunteer, student], also giving his personal experience [of engaging with the project]. He says, "I answered the call for volunteers because one of my university mates told me about it. If she hadn't told me I would probably never have come. I didn't have any other political experience except in student movements. I arrived with the idea that here they [the activists] waste a lot of time (how do we imagine the project… how it will be) and I had the idea of wanting to do just manual work. The first thing I do is work this space". He doesn't talk about working in the space, but about working the space.*
>
> *[Field notes, Social Centre, Bologna]*

After this first approach, Tonino started to engage more and more actively with the project and with the group, attributing increasingly relevance in his life to the SC and progressively embracing its political view.

> *Tonino says: "The word 'volunteering' is a trap for us, and we are all aware of the fact that our work goes far beyond volunteering, in the sense that ours is a criticism of the system, we want to bring out the contradictions (…). For this reason, the protests on the street go hand in hand with the daily life of the dormitory. We came here with a standard idea, that is: I have time, which I can give to people who need it. [I also came with] the idea to do manual work and then I realized I wanted to go beyond it, I realized that being*

[46] The Social Centre was evicted by police on the 8th of August 2017.

a volunteer here is a lot more. That it's immediately political: it's criticism of the reception system, to the welfare system, to the system – in general".

[Field notes, Social Centre, Bologna]

Tonino personal experience of growth of political awareness well exemplifies that appropriation of a place, and thus place-making, is a process of mutual transformation.

Similarly, the field-note text reports also the story of Antonio, a 31yo years old young worker, that reflects on his personal trajectory as an activists in the SC, and highlights how engaging with the place enriches his life and enhances his social skills, providing competences useful also when looking for a job.

Antonio says: "I learned this phrase from a comrade - maybe it's banal - that in activism you give more than you receive and here it happened!" He then explains what he means: in addition to talking with the dormitory guests, which on its own is rewarding, he says that many of the volunteers have acquired work skills that have been useful to find a job in the field of immigrants reception. He gives many examples. He says: "When I went to the job interview at [name of a reception centre] I had it in my head the ideas and thoughts I had prepared to speak to the new volunteers [in the SC], and it was certainly useful."

[Field notes, Social Centre, Bologna]

As these two examples above illustrate, appropriation and place-making are thus highly connected with self-making: while the very space of engagement are not predefined and constantly under construction, young people's skills and identities are also shaped hand in hand with the place "production".

Next paragraph is discussing appropriation as more specific form of place-making, i.e. as a "domestication" of space, namely the process of turning spaces into meaningful places in such a way that they become "familiar" and "domestic".

Place-making as home-making

An interesting aspect emerging form the empirical material is that when young people talk about "their" places, i.e. the participatory setting they commonly attend, they often refer to these places as "home". As well as place-making, the process of home-making encompasses a twofold dimension: on the one hand, it implies the re-shaping of the locale in order to make it domestic, warm and familiar through a manipulation of its objects (place-making in Belina's understanding cited above); on the other hand, it implies the creation of deep relationships with people sharing the same (localized) experience and practice, people who generally feel to belong to the same group, attaching a shared set of meanings to a given place, that are often referred to as "family"(development of a sense of place, in Cresswell's terms)[47]. In the young

[47] Home-making processes have, among the others, a specific gender connotation (cf. Mallet 2004). In fact, 'home' could be conceived, experienced and so produced and reproduced in very differentiated ways according to the 'gender line'. As the feminist literature has pointed out, the idea of 'home' as a safe, cosy and intimate space can be questioned from the women's perspective who have often experienced home as a realm of sexual, economic

people's narrations both the material and emotional aspects of home are intertwined, and "being at home" is the epitome of feeling a strong tie towards the locale – transformed through every day practises – and towards other people performing the same activity, with deep implications for the creation of a group and individual identity.

An example can be found among the PARTISPACE ethnographic case studies in the experience of a group of young people committed with drawing graffiti in the city of Frankfurt[48]. To spray on the city walls, for them, is a way to "make their home" somewhere. As they explain, they don't spray on a random spot in the city; they spray just where they "know more about the place", where they can "chill" and "feel comfortable". On the other way around, once that someone belonging to the crew has left his/her maker somewhere, through that graffiti the spot assumes a specific (identitarian) meaning, evoking 'home' also for the other group members. For many young people, actually, the sense of place goes hand in hand with this sense of group.

> *I: Why do you paint in certain places in Frankfurt?*
>
> *Paul: So, in the first place, and it is the same for the guys, I have to paint or tag something where I feel at home, where I pass by often, where I know more about the place, where you feel more at home. Because when I am sitting on the train and I see pictures that one of the guys or I've painted, then I think: 'Yeah, ok, here is my home.' It is exactly the same, take the train to *** [city next to Frankfurt]and go to a field and sit somewhere on a random fucking bench and see something on this park bench that my guys have painted, I think, 'yeah, ok, I'm home. I have never been here but my guys were here, so I feel like I am at home'. That's my incentive. I'm not the one who says things, like 'ok, I want to be famous in the sense of graffiti fame, but I just want to have pictures there where I chill, where I feel comfortable, just to see things that tell me that I was here, here I am home'. […]*
>
> *Richard: I like to chill where graffiti is painted, but you can't always chill where you've painted graffiti. So if I am moving around the city like now, I will see graffiti but I am not necessarily chilling. Then there are also sort of ghetto spots throughout the city, places where you could chill so to speak and no one cares, no one bothers you when you are painting. Like, for example, under a bridge or on the noise barriers on the highway, or where there's an old factory, a huge factory, you can just chill there hardcore, on the roof or whatnot. I find it awesome. […] Some people sit in a cafe and chill or go play pool, but all those things cost money, and I chill wherever, chill in a ghetto spot and paint graffiti, and experience something else. The others might experience something else but I have to dodge the fare and the conductors always fuck with me. The ghetto is not exactly just on*

and moral oppression or as a private space of relegation, due to the 'interdiction' of finding a room into the public space (and sphere). Unfortunately, throughout this report, it will be not possible to deepen this reasoning, showing how girls and boys engage in different home-making experiences, and showing how their gendered identities are produced throughout these processes. This remains undoubtedly an eminently interesting analytical stimuli to be followed in further research.

[48] The boys of the Sprayer group create their own world by making themselves part of the city through their graffiti in legal and illegal ways. Doing graffiti also means to them a political activity in the sense of shaping the city in their own way. The young men regularly meet in their spare time to change the image of the city. Most sprayers already have criminal records for this activity. In addition to the active sprayers, there are some who have nothing to do with spraying "who are down with us on a personal level". Loyalty is an important element of the group, too. During informal gatherings, alcohol and drugs are consumed together, music is made and music is listened.

the corner where I live, so I have to go a bit farther into Frankfurt. You can take the whole city with you, you know. You can also find places, any places where you would like to paint.

[City Walk, Sprayers, Frankfurt]

This excerpt provides numerous insights on how young people live their spaces in the city as meaningful places. What is interesting in Richard's words, for instance, is that in his account the comfortable place "where you could chill so to speak and no one cares, no one bothers you when you are painting" is represented by the "ghetto". It is meaningful that he employs the word "ghetto" – generally meant to be a dangerous and marginal area – with a highly positive connotation. Moreover, his account suggests also that an element characterizing a place "where you could chill" is often the lack of control exerted over it by other groups of people, often adults. Specifically, since to paint on the walls is considered an illegal activity, police and other State authorities excrete a direct control over certain practices to contain and sanction certain behaviours considered as acts of vandalism. The Sprayers express, thus, a preference for the "ghettos", where they can paint and feel at home in public spots, even performing an highly criminalized activity, remaining mainly invisible to the State authorities.

This idea of feeling at ease in places free from adult and institutional control emerges also in the conversation with another group in Frankfurt, an group of girls that we called in the PARTISPACE research project the Informal Girls Group. The girls are a group of six close friends, aged between 14 and 15 years old who regularly meet in public as well as private places and have developed a kind of family-like affinity with each other. Being together in the form of hanging out, cooking, eating, smoking weed and listening to music is an important sphere of experience for coping with the various difficulties of their everyday family and school life. The girls have 'occupied' the open space of a youth centre where they have achieved a certain dominance. In their 'own' space, they determine the rules and thus lift themselves above other often institutionalised spaces. When describing the youth centre, the girls speak, once again, about their "home". They describe it as a comfortable place where they can perform certain type of activities usually connected with private life. Moreover, one of the positive elements that they individuate about the youth centre is that there "professionals do not control". The fact that the girls use the centre as a backstage in which preparing what they need for their social life or practicing activities generally limited to private sphere offers a picture of this place as homely, as clearly emerges in the excerpt from the group discussion provided below:

Anna: yo, we do what we want here and we're our own supervisors.

Vanessa: here, we totally do everything we want, but the thing is also.. [Anna: we'd go behind the bar uh and toast bread we'd just go there from behind we're not allowed to do any of that]

Vanessa: it's like a home what you have here, you are actually at home, you behave like you're at home…

Barbara: she's walking around with no shoes on!

Ramona: yeah, I was recently without shoes!

Anna: I do my hair here.. You would do that at home [laughing]!

Gina: I'd put on make-up.

Sabrina: I have pink make up stuff here..

Gina: yeah, I've already done my make up here plenty of times.

Anna: I've passed out in the Juz [slang word for youth centre] before, plenty of times.

Vanessa: here it's already like it's like a second home

[Group discussion, Informal Girls Group, Frankfurt]

When describe 'their' places, young people often convey feelings of domesticity, as it is evident in the quotation above. In this specific case, moreover, the quotation illustrates also a gendered production of an homely space. The young girls, in fact, feel at home in the youth centre also because there they can construct collectively their gendered identities through a simple every day activity, the making-up, that represents a relevant moment of the production of the self as a gendered self (and of the body of a sexed body).

In certain occasion, the feeling of domesticity could also be perceived by a stranger entering for the first time into a locale arranged to be 'domestic'. To provide an example, we could refer to a field-note taken after an observation inside the locale of the Open Education Collective (OEC) in Zurich. The OEC is a provider of open and free-of-charge courses. The project have started initially with the occupation of a church in claim of migrants' rights in Zurich. An important aspect of OEC's history is the struggle to find a location where people could meet and education could take place for free. OEC has relocated numerous times, either because it was only granted short-term usage rights or because the city ordered the initiative's occupation of unused public structures be put to an end. OEC has currently, for the first time, a rental agreement with the municipality. At present, approximately 500 people regularly attend classes or meet when the centre is open and approximately 100 people work in various projects on a voluntary basis. In order to guarantee a higher level of accessibility to the place, the OEC members devote a lot of attention in keeping the place open and homely. One of the PARTISPACE researcher, for instance, describes comprehensively the comfort experienced in the Café of the OEC, where you can feel like in a "big kitchen", behaving «natural» also if entering the place for the first time, as a "stranger":

The walls of the Café are painted in a friendly light yellow, the windows in a light grey-blue and white and the ceiling is kept white as well. Tables, chairs and sofas are a compilation of different second-hand furniture of most different styles, from an unstable imitation leather chair, on which one can hardly sit, up to a perfectly crafted wooden chair with carved, straight backrest and a braided seating. At the walls, diverse notes, posters, and information sheets in different sizes, colors and languages hang. Some give the impression of hanging there for quite a while; some seem to be newer. Four big windows on the right, black pendants above the bar counter as well as fashionably appearing white wall lamps illuminate the room. I experience the room as rather dusky, a fact that may contribute to the living atmosphere. Somehow it feels like sitting in a big kitchen, in which people go in and go out, sit down, retrieve information, work with the computer, talk with each other, eat, look after children etc. – a multifunctional room so to say.

> *Even though the room is called Café, it is rather a common room than a café because one does not have to consume here, one is not waited and there are no menu cards on the tables. The contrary: many who sit at the tables bring their own drinks or food. However, it has something natural to be there as a stranger as well.*
>
> *[Field notes, OEC, Zurich]*

In this last example, the sense of domesticity conveyed by the space actually mirrors people`'s attitudes in taking care about it. At the same time, however, it could also entail an instrumental dimension: the feeling of domesticity characterizing certain environments, in fact, could also be pursued with the strategic purpose of attracting people, making newcomers feeling immediately at ease. The researcher's concern (i.e. how much of a 'kitchen' and how much of a 'café' inside the OEC common room?) shows how the boundary between what is private (the kitchen) and what is not (the café) are quite often unclear in young people places.

By using the examples above, we started to frame processes of appropriation and place-making carried on by young people as acts of care and creativity, as processes of self-making and eventually home making. In the next subparagraph, before concluding this section on appropriation as place making, we will focus on the emergence of conflicts between different city users and different patterns of appropriation.

Place-making as challenging taken-for-granted meanings

By occupying and refurbishing abandoned building, as the Social Centre in Italy; by spraying on walls, as the graffiti crew in Frankfurt; by choosing accurately second hand furniture to decorate a common room, as in the Open Education Collective in Zurich; by hanging up on the walls banners with the symbols of the group, etc., young people are producing and appropriating their participatory settings, turning spaces into meaningful places and at the same time changing themselves and shaping their individual and group identities. Taking into consideration that the city is used by a multiplicity of people acting out distinct spatial practices and (re)producing *their* spaces, it becomes clear that this is not a smooth and conflict free process. However, bearing in mind that power to define or shape spaces is unevenly distributed, we can still expect that some practices are stable enough as to function as hegemonic interpretative patterns, such as the dominant spatial patterns as well as the historically specific social conditions (c.f. Lefebvre, 1991). These patterns influence the possibilities of definition of a space and of its appropriation. Frequently, through their participative acts, young people engage in a challenge toward these dominant spatial patterns and towards the pre-given set of meanings attributed to a certain space that is naturalized and taken-for-granted by other groups.

To exemplify this conflictual dimension of place-making, in this paragraph we mainly rely on examples taken from field-notes collected about a groups of "traceurs" and "traceuses" (practitioners of the training discipline "parkour") in Sweden, and a group of environmentalists in Bulgaria[49].

[49] Nevertheless, the other case studies analysed so far could also provide examples concerning this conflictual dimension of place-making. The Bologna's Social Centre strategy to occupy and changing the use value of an

Parkour is a training discipline using movement that originally developed from military obstacle course training. Practitioners aim to get from one point to another in the fastest and most efficient way possible. Their training, according to them, facilitates personal change and working on one's own limits. In Gothenburg, the group of traceurs and traceuses that we observed use to train inside a sport centre, that was founded by autonomous youth movements and dedicated adults. It is a place for spontaneous, adventurous sports where parkour co-habits with associations for gymnastics, wrestling, skateboarding, cross fit, BMX-riding and kick boarding. Differently from practicing inside the sport centre, when training outdoor, the parkour practitioners are using objects and surfaces of the city in such a way that tend to subvert taken-for-granted meanings of the urban space. Through their practice, traceurs and traceuses challenge common sense understanding of the urban environment: a bench that is generally used to rest could be employed as a support for a "King-Kong jump"; a bin used to throw the rubbish could be transformed into a training tool, and so on, showing that attribution of meanings to space and objects is not an univocal neither static process.

> *A discussion started from the presence of a cultural artefact and how to interpret it. I was proposing "some will understand it as a cultural piece from our history, and other…" But I was interrupted with "Parkour is everything". It is about training your mind to think like a child and find out how to make use of things in another way than what is suggested. What would it be like if you try to connect from one place to another, while just using a big jump? Or restrict yourself to jump holding both feet together?*
>
> *[Field notes, non-profit parkour organization, Gothenburg]*

As the researcher who wrote the text above noted, parkour is not just about training your body, but it is also about "training your mind", to learn to be creative in transforming any objects into "play objects". The same researcher actively tried this practice, being then able to provide insights on parkour that rely heavily on his bodily and sensorial experience.

> *Like an old-fashioned ethnographer I go native – I try out, take part in the activity, climb walls, jump and become sweaty. This is great fun, reminds me of the spontaneous, organized, everyday game that I as a child spent with my friends. With the help of creativity and fantasy any object (a wall, hill, slide, a stick, pavement) can become a play-object – one thing to unite around and do something around). So I try what the others are doing, I climb up walls, jump. Some of the young people teach me how to land so as to not hurt: forward, on the front side of the feet, with bent knees. I think it is great fun, demanding and fruitful, it awakens the spontaneous, free child in me and I can relate to what Ida [the "trainer"] said, "I tried once and then I was stuck". Parkour is a great way to, in a free and creative and physical way, use the urban room.*
>
> *[Field notes, non-profit parkour organization, Gothenburg]*

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abandoned building is a clear example of this conflictual form of place-making. Similarly, the experience of the Sprayer in Frankfurt could be framed as a form of "rebellion" towards the city: *"The group uses graffiti to express a certain kind of rebellion against the city, the society and the norms they live in, but they do not want to call themselves political in a traditional war or social critical"* [Field notes, Sprayers, Frankfurt]. Last but not least, the experience of the Informal Girl Group of conflicting with the professional social workers in order to use the space in their way goes also in this direction.

Parkour exemplifies that appropriation of the urban space is embodied ("physical") appropriation. That means, also, to learn *through* and *on* your own body how a certain surface reacts to your action, acquiring a sort of embodied spatial knowledge. Also for the case of parkour, we can state that to appropriate a place means to improve oneself while appropriating, thus acquiring new skills and competences. In the case of parkour, this means to learn to be creative and able to think about other possible uses of the surrounding objects; to be ready to improvise, combining freely well-known techniques; to be self-disciplined and committed to practice, till becoming resistant to whatever weather conditions; to be self-confident in the possibility to overcome your own limits; to get rid of the sense of danger while practicing risky exercises, etc.

> *It's also a sport that isn't colonized from the discourse of competition – you challenge your own limitations more than compete with fellows. There is also something about the improvisation that calls for their creativity. Apart from their learning and bodily control, there is an important ingredient of 'do-it-yourself' culture, and the mind working to find new ways of taking control of the environment. A way of transcending thought if limitations, both in the mind of bodily capacity and by socialisation learned common sense of the order and use of things. In this way the sport is also a protest against acceptance of the common taken for granted, telling that the world could be in another way, if you dare to make use of your fantasy and creativity and of course your feedback your body gives you about what is possible and where greater limitations are to be found.*
>
> *[Field notes, non-profit parkour organization, Gothenburg]*

These expressions of possibly often unintended "protest against acceptance of the common taken for granted, telling that the world could be in another way" do not always encounter people's appreciation. Even though the majority of the 'spectators' watching parkour looks curious, amazed and amused, from time to time people criticize and get mad with those defined as "hooligans in sweatpants" [Field notes, non-profit parkour organization, Gothenburg]. An episode reported in the field-notes collected in Gothenburg could exemplify these type of conflicts:

> *Shortly thereafter another daily drama plays out, when a very angry lady comes out the gate.*
>
> *- What are you doing? You can't be up there!*
>
> *- We are playing, answers one of the younger guys.*
>
> *- Look, this is no playground, answers the lady with the angry voice, you are on our fucking roof! Jump down!*
>
> *The guy closest to the gate tries to get down. He sets his foot on what seems to be the door closer. The lady says:*
>
> *- You can't step there!*
>
> *- But I'm supposed to go down, says the guy.*
>
> *- What? Are you stupid or what? How the hell did you get up?*

Yan [Swedish researcher], who is also on the roof, tells the lady:

- But calm down! He can get hurt.

- I certainly hope he does, answers the lady.

Some of the guys make a stuttering sound, and the lady says:

- What the hell is wrong with you, are you hung up or something?

One of the younger guys says:

- Have you never been a child?

The lady, who now seems extremely angry, replies:

- Yes, I have, and I have children and grandchildren. But they are normal, unlike you.

[Field notes, non-profit parkour organization, Gothenburg]

The field-note excerpt above exemplifies an ongoing conflict on the attribution of meanings to given objects and spaces: the angry woman, actually, conceives as not "normal" to "use the city as a playground". Moreover, by accusing the traceurs of playing on a "playground" she is also trying to delegitimize them, implicitly framing their practice as childish.

Attributing new meanings to the city (its surfaces, its buildings, its objects, etc.) is what parkour practitioners do while appropriating a certain location that can change from time to time, sometimes rising conflicts with other users of the same area. Many political expressions of participation share with these sportive practices the idea of challenging taken-for-granted spatial meanings, when the common sense meanings are deemed to be unfair. In many cities, for instance, young people have undertaken political struggles aimed at tackling the effects of gentrification and at subverting the (almost taken-for-granted) processes oriented towards a commodification of the public spaces. An interesting example could be identified in the city of Plovdiv, where a network of environmentalists[50] organized a protest with the purpose of preventing the risk of 'commercialization' of an historical building, accusing the Major and the Municipality to act in defence of private companies' interests.

The tobacco stores in Plovdiv, which are a cultural value because of their unique architecture from the early 20th century, were burned on August 20, 2016. They had been included into the Programme The Tobacco city" in order to be restored and transformed into a place for culture. The citizens reacted to the burning with laying flowers close to the stores as a symbol of burying a cultural landmark. Through their Facebook pages, Political party "The Greens", the "Grupa Grad" Foundation and the "Civic initiative for the Tobacco city" organized a protest. People are convinced that the stores had been

[50] This is an informal network of people some of whom are members of ecological organizations, others belong to green political parties, while others are simply supporters of the cause of nature preservation. They organize themselves on Facebook or by the phone for protests and actions, and they are usually self-financed for these activities. They function more like a movement (with no leader), a network dealing with urban ecology. They distinguish themselves from the ecologists formally employed on full-time contracts by the Plovdiv Municipality, suspected of lobbying for business or political interests.

intentionally burned because the place is attractive and the owners would build there edifices for profit purposes. […] One of the groups had a poster with unclear content related to the buried culture: "The past is culture. We burned the culture". They wanted to have the Stores' owner forced to restore at least their gate. Another group was discussing the actions of the local government – Mayor and Municipal Council – which were considered by them to be responsible. They still did not have a clear addressee of their anger, were the local authorities or the owners to be blamed for this mismanagement, but their wish was to see somebody responsible for what happened. […] The young people believed something had been taken away from them by the "bandits". The Stores were perceived as the next place in the city captured by the business in order to be reinstated "in concrete". The young people's motivation was "saving the city". In local authorities they saw a threat for the city's cultural environment. Their negative attitudes towards the Municipality had been gradually developed in the course of the years and they had no illusions in the "benevolence" of the power holders.

[Field notes, Ecological organization, Plovdiv]

Similarly to traceurs in parkour, the young environmentalists in Plovdiv are engaged in a conflict for the attribution of meanings to a certain space. In this case their attempt is to resist against the changes in the symbolic meaning of a building, trying to preserve the Stores as a cultural and historical landmark.

Concluding remarks

This section has tried to understand how young people engage with what at first were urban spaces with which young people had no significant relation and turn them into personally meaningful places. Through various empirical examples, we showed how young people appropriate their places: this process implies, first and foremost, *transforming the material environment* (the locale) in a way that better suits their purpose; moreover, it implies *attributing a shared set of meaning* to a given place, and, by being involved into these processes, re-shaping and *"building" one's own identity*, and acquiring new skills and competences at the same time.

In particular, the analysis of the empirical material has shown that place-making often implies processes of *domestication* of spaces. Several examples, indeed, suggest that, when young people describe what for us was a potentially participatory settings, they refer to these places as *home*. The empirical material show that "being at home" means for young people feeling a strong connection with the locale and the people. Domestication of participatory settings, i.e. making places "looking as" domestic, could also have a *strategic purpose* of attracting new young people, reducing symbolic barriers to the access. In certain circumstances (as the cases of Sprayers and Informal Girls Group demonstrated) being at ease in a place also coincides with the possibility of *being outside the institutional sphere of control*. In situations in which young people carry on socially non-legitimated behaviours, such as smoking weed or painting walls, "ghettos" and marginal areas in the city are (re)appropriated by them, producing places where these behaviours are legitimated by the group of peers.

Finally, turning spaces into meaningful places also means to experience conflicts with other social groups who live and go through the same urban spaces with different purposes and understandings. According to Cresswell (2014, p. 27), "place does not have meanings that are natural or obvious but ones that are created by some people with more power than others to

define what is and is not appropriate". Young people often use places and their conventional meanings in a transgressive way, challenging taken-for-granted meanings. We illustrate these conflicts relying on two different examples, i.e. the practice of parkour and an environmentalist protest. In both cases, the conflict concerns the *power to define* the use of the urban space, and it involves social groups endowed with different degrees of power and different possibilities to determine the use value of the city. At least at times, young people seem to be openly aware about these power imbalances and try to address these inequalities through their participation, engaging in conflicts with the municipal authorities in charge of 'designing' the city in order to foster their alternative view on the use of the urban spaces (this is the case of the ecological network in Plovdiv, of the Social Centre in Bologna, and various other group we investigated).

In this section concerning appropriation as place-making we tried to show how some common everyday practices through which young people appropriate the city , transforming urban spaces – more in general – and their places – in particular – could be also framed as forms of youth participation often misrecognised as such. In the next section the focus moves to boundary work and territoriality: even if we distinguished analytically between these two processes, we are aware that, in young people everyday life, these type of spatial practices are actually highly intertwined and not easily differentiable among each other.

6. Boundary work and territoriality

The aim of this paragraph is to explore spatial practices enacted by young people as a form of boundary work (Gieryn, 1983; Pachucki, Pendergrass, & Lamont, 2007). As we stated above in the description of the theoretical framework, boundary work deals with the dynamic reconfigurations of social groups through for instance the production of "us" versus "them". As such, boundary work is an "intrinsic part of the process of constituting the self" (Lamont & Molnár, 2002, p. 11) as "we define who we are by drawing inferences concerning our similarity to, and differences from, others" (Lan, 2003, p. 526). Boundary work is a dynamic, situational and relational work. Boundaries can be made, blurred, crossed, defended, contested, etc. Boundaries can be visible (recognized) or invisible; moreover, they can be understood as having both a material and tangible dimension as well as a social and symbolic dimension (Kerstin et al., 2010; Lamont & Molnár, 2002). Bounded space maybe also be defined as territory, i.e. a portion of space over which it is possible to exercise an almost exclusive control, being able to control also resources and people, namely their conduct and their behaviour.

The aim of the section is to scrutinize young people's boundary work and territoriality. To this purpose, we address the following question: *How do young people create and dissolve, open and close, negotiate and change boundaries through their territorial appropriation practices and how does this boundary work relate to processes of exclusion and inclusion?* The second part of this question refers to questions of territoriality, accordingly, to questions such as young people control access to their places; how they define the boundary between the 'inside' and the 'outside'; how they negotiate and control behaviours and social norms in their territories; and how they define which practices are encouraged, tolerated or put to an edge?

In the next section, we use some examples from our case studies in Bologna, Plovdiv and Frankfurt to discuss the existence of visible and invisible types of boundaries; then, we discuss the physical, symbolic and social boundary between the "inside" and the "outside" (of the group and the place), using the example of the OEC in Zurich; finally, we deal with bounded spaces (territories), providing an example of how rules are set and behaviours are controlled inside a Open cultural Centre in Gothenburg.

Visible and invisible boundaries

When discussing boundaries in participatory settings, a preliminary distinction can be made between visible and invisible boundaries. While the invisible boundaries imply only a relational and social nature (i.e. the feeling of "being a group of friend" clearly separated from the outside), the visible boundaries are objectified through tangible artefacts (gates, fences, etc.) or by tangible objects that assume a highly symbolic and social value (i.e. clothing, tattoos, colours of a football team, etc.). Visible boundaries imply nevertheless the presence of invisible social and symbolic boundaries, i.e. a set of rules generally leading us to conceive a boundary as such.

If we think about the places that young people appropriate and consider as "theirs", we notice that many of them are somehow separated "physically", distinguishing (and relating) an inside and an outside. Let's think about buildings, premises, "ghetto" spots. Furthermore, an example can be provided by the Social Centre in Bologna : being a former barrack, the building is "structurally" constructed to be bounded and defended. Moreover, the access is regulated by a

big grey gate can be definitely considered as an objectification (reification in the sense of Wenger) of a border[51]. When the gate is open, usually at Wednesday nights, the whole city is invited to take part in the activities of the Centre; during the rest of the week, when the gate is closed, access is controlled and regulated.

Since the beginning of the occupation, the activists and the volunteers managing the Centre have been engaged in an endless discussion in order to try to establish rules on the availability of keys to access the Centre at every time of the day. The boundary of the Social Centre, thus, is twofold: on the one hand, it is eminently *material* and tangible (the gate) and it creates a distinction between the random users and the "managers" of the place; on the other hand, it is *socially-defined*, since, within the group, the possibility to access the place are highly differentiated according to the *different roles and degrees of power* (political leadership and managing roles) young people are endowed with. In this sense, the social boundaries of the Centre seemed to be always under construction, negotiated collectively inside the assemblies. This negotiated nature of the Social Centre's boundaries affects its membership, leading to the production of differentiated members' identities, according to the different degrees of power to access the building.

The Social Centre's gate represents a material artefact constituting a visible border. In other cases, boundaries marking belongings are less self-evident than a gate, but are similarly tangible; even if they have a more symbolic and social nature, they have also a similar function, i.e. to make visible a distinction between the insiders and the outsiders. To provide a second example of visible boundaries, less self-evident than a barrack gate, we can refer to the case of the "Buttons" square in Plovdiv seen through the gaze of the researchers[52]. Observing the square, the researcher identified different groups of young people hanging out at different times of the day, that s/he attempted to label them as "the rebels", "the officially dressed", etc. These distinctions are clearly made possible due to a certain evident marker, i.e. clothing. Clothing in this case works as a sort of visible boundary, by marking differences between groups and by making visible their position inside the square.

> *The weather was very sunny and despite being a workday the square was full of young people. They were scattered around the cafes, part of them visiting the nearby bookstores while others were just standing in the sun. No "button" was free. The young people were sitting at groups. Unlike the February 15 observation, now they were much more diverse. The age group could be identified as 16-25. Their look itself was diverse, from ones that are more officially dressed to the usual non-conformists with coloured hair and earrings.*

[51] Throughout the text, we mainly use the word "boundary" which refersmostly to a symbolic, relational and discursive "barrier", that often objectifies in a tangible "thing", such as a gate, a fence, etc. When we opt for the word "border", as in this case, we are mainly referring and we would like to stress the material and tangible aspect of the boundary, thus giving it also a certain extension as is the case for instance in a 'border zone'. For the sake of the analysis, however, boundary work (not the construction of borders) remains our main focus.

[52] The observation of the "Buttons" square in Plovdiv was conducted by the research team as part of the observation of the urban spaces used by a network of young people, known as the *Informal Network for Arts and Debate.* The network is anchored in the music scene and specifically linked to a music band that uses their songs and their political manifestos in order to express their discontent with the establishment and their search for alternatives. This network is an artistic form of confronting current political issues as well as the opening of own spaces, in which young people can realize their own life projects. It is also about providing a place in which independent art can evolve. Since these spaces are not offered by the city, one has to take matters into one's own hands.

Overall we could say that the main street was a meeting point for the Plovdiv youth who often made appointments exactly on it. They belonged to different groups with different interests but it seems that those who stood longer at the "Buttons" were representatives of a more specific sub-culture of "rebels".

[Field-notes, Network for Arts, Plovdiv]

In the examples taken from the observation in Plovdiv, clothes are used as an identity marker by young people themselves to embrace a peculiar identity; at the same time, they are used by the researchers to distinguish between different groups of young people with different positions inside the square.

Nevertheless, boundaries are not always so visible and recognizable, and sometimes they are difficult to be conceived and detected, also by the young people enacting them. This is the case of invisible, i.e. mainly relational and socially defined, boundaries. The excerpt below taken from a group discussion with the Informal Girls Group provides an example of an invisible boundary: when the researcher asks them "*how can a stranger be part of your group?*", the girls cannot easily provide an answer, due to the fact that their definition as a group has an eminent relational nature; thus, is not immediately obvious for them to discuss and define explicitly which are their boundaries.

I: Yes, let's say I would like to participate with you, what would I have to do?

Barbara: Nothing.

Sabrina: No, being honest [Vanessa: Just like, be] [Gina: what do you mean participate, participate in what?] just simply be part of us. [Vanessa: You just have to be yourself] [Sabrina: You have to be, how are you are] and either we like it or… or for example L. came new to our school and there are some like …

Vanessa: There are people, that, no idea, don't connect... like that or… they are just so shy and L., straight away we spoke with her, L. talked to us, that was just like a connection. L. hung out with us straight away.

[Group discussion, Informal Girls Group, Frankfurt]

Boundaries between "inside" and "outside"

As we stated above, boundary work is fundamental to create a clear distinction between "the inside" and the "outside", between "us" engaged in a certain specific activity together (i.e. doing politics, practicing a sport, attending a specific high school, etc.) and "them", "the others". In order to reply how young people boundary work, it is interesting to look at how the groups define and discuss this boundary between inside and outside, negotiating also the amount of labour and resources that they intend to invest towards "the inside" (toward the construction of the group itself) or that they intend to devoted towards "the outside' (to be accessible, to reach new people, to extend a certain political view, etc.). In a previous PARTISPACE report (Batsleer et al., 2017), the ethnographic case studies were clustered among other criteria distinguishing between those creating their own alternative world – thus highly concentrated towards "the inside" – and those challenging the system– thus mainly addressing "the outside".

This distinction is obviously ideal-typical, and is clearly difficult to identify groups that do not try to orient their efforts in both directions. To provide some example, activists of the Social Centre in Bologna compare their experience to a "laboratory": *inside* the occupied barrack, they say, it is already possible to experiment an alternative lifestyle; at the same time, they identify their mission as oriented *toward the city*, to "bring out (and reproduce) social conflict". Similarly, the OEC members speak about their School as a "construction site", i.e. something always in the making, that need a certain amount of labour to be carried on and properly 'constructed' at the same time, their aim is to "become visible to the outside", so that "political acting becomes possible". In the summary of the group discussion with the OEC members, the researchers summarize this discussion about the ongoing political work that the group devotes towards the inside and/or the outside, and describe how OEC is perceive by 'outsiders' according to the 'insiders'.

> *[During the Group Discussion, OEC members maintain that] it is important to become visible to the inside as well as to the outside and to create a space in the OEC in which political acting becomes possible. [Someone states:] "There is so much becoming possible if we become more visible to the outside". However, then they have too little time for the inside. There are very different opinions in the OEC if it needs a political stance or not. They represent their interests and they ask themselves how they can transfer it outside. […] For the OEC as a "construction site" it is already difficult enough to represent politics against the inside and there are big differences, if it is about a claim for emancipatory education or if it is about offering as many as possible German courses. […]. "From the outside, OEC is perceived as very political, brave and without any fear. Against the inside, we do not consider ourselves as that much political even though there is a political demand". Some of the course participants understand the OEC as a free of charge school. Few consider it as a political project but rather as a clerical or public project that tries to help. Donors consider the OEC from the outside as political – as a political involvement – and not only as a charity project. OEC rarely gets funding because of its strong political stance. Thus, OEC somehow lies in between things.*
>
> *[Group Discussion, OEC, Zurich]*

The unsettled discussion in the OEC is the example of an ongoing boundary work within the group aimed at defining boundaries between inside and outside, that implies to take decisions concerning the aim and the content of participation ('are we a political group or a charity group?') and the target of the participation itself (i.e. only the volunteers and the 'students' part of the project, or the citizenship as a whole in term of new people to be addressed by the political issues raised by the collective?).

Territoriality and control over territories

So far we have provided some examples on how young people manage boundary work within their participatory settings. Moreover, we have distinguished between visible and invisible boundaries, considering their material, symbolic and relational dimensions. We will now shift our attention on how young people exert control and power over a bounded space, also thanks to boundary work, thus we focus on territories of youth participation.

To understand territory and territoriality as a peculiar process of appropriation of space, we need to come back to the definition provided in the theoretical framework above. Quoting Sack

(1986, p. 19), territoriality has been defined as: "The attempt by an individual or group to affect, influence, or control people, phenomena, and relationships, by delimiting and asserting control over a geographic area. This area will be called territory". The examples provided about bounded space (such as the Bologna's Social Centre or the OEC in Zurich) lead to conceive these spaces as territories. Following the definition provided by Sack, in this section we will mainly focus on control, exerted – as Sack explains – not only on the geographical area itself (as a material stretch of land) but mainly on resources and people, by controlling behaviours and representations. Controlling behaviours and representations means to define which practices are encouraged, tolerated or put to an edge, which worldviews are deemed as legitimate or illegitimate, with conducts are sanctioned and how.

To provide an empirical example, we can use the case of the Open Cultural Centre located in the city centre of Gothenburg. The centre is sustained by the Municipality, and offers activities that, to a large extent, are organized by young people themselves focussing on different themes: movie and media, literature and poetry, theatre and play, dance and movement, images and arts, music, debates and society, design and handicraft and others. The mission of the Centre is to offer a place where young people's ideas and engagement can grow and be realized. The content and ideological underpinnings for the specific way in which the place is built up draws from a youth work tradition of which the promotion of youth participation is a main consideration. The house, thus, is designed to be inclusive and highly accessible to prospective visitors and event organizers. As it is reported in the field-notes collected by the Gothenburg team, the staff is very keen on keeping the place as much open as possible: they put no pressure in consuming in the café, invite young people (i.e. migrant unaccompanied minors) to join freely all the activities carried on inside the centre, take care about rooms to make them comfortable to welcome disable people, and so on. But also in an inclusive place, as the Gothenburg Open Cultural Centre seems to be, accessibility is always a matter of debate. Being accessible to whom? Who is included and excluded? According to which rules? Who set the common rules? Which behaviours are considered legitimate and which are not? How to control and eventually limit the access? How to control and sanction illegitimate behaviours? A discussion taking place between the staff members, reported in the field notes, reflects these concerns. The debated topic, here, is the presence of beggars inside the Open Cultural Centre during the opening hours; staff members express different positions on this problem, as it is highlighted in the field-notes excerpt reported below:

> *The problem [of the presence of beggars] has escalated over time. Every day [the staff members] get complaints from customers at the café. Visitors leave the place or don't come because of this situation. It thus follows a discussion on this topics:*
>
> - *This is a very difficult problem to handle, especially because the Youth Centre has an inclusive policy, and is supposed to be an open place for all the groups. […]*
> - *We have to establish a dialogue [with the beggars], we have to talk to them.*
> - *We don't want to install prohibitions, but we see no possibilities.*
> - *It would be better to have clear rules regarding this aspect. […]*

S: We must have a meeting [with the beggars] in any case, to say to them: "You are welcome to stay here, but not to beg". What about if someone else wants to sell things, like May flowers [a tradition in Sweden to sell pins with a paper flower in the favour of a charity organization]? Or want to campaign for new members of an organization? Are things like this allowed then?

A: It's not ok to beg at the café. If you stick to this rule, there will be no problem. The staff at the café has to talk to the beggars. But it's hard, they are damned persistent! At the café, it's important that we deal with this in a good way. […] Something has changed in the last week: we had also thefts but have not reported them to the police. It takes a lot of energy to go on and not lose one's judgement. It's mainly a problem of the staff of the café – for example when food is taken without payment. […]

C: It could be something like: all guests are of equal worth. If fights or quarrels take place those involved are thrown out. The staff must be able to do this, they must react to put the situation in order. Harassments can't be allowed. We have different limits for what's ok![…].

F: One must look at the reasons behind them having to beg. They are in a severe life situation, and then to react with prohibitions to this provokes my soul. One must look at it from a human perspective. Everyone should be welcomed at the café, but now it feels like there is a lot of unsafety and tensions. I look also from the parents' perspective [of the youth frequenting the centre], I would feel unsafe.

[Field notes,, Open Cultural Centre, Gothenburg]

This unsettled discussion help us to illustrate how difficult it is, in many cases, to define, once for all, common rules and then implement them with or without explicit sanctions. It is extremely difficult when the conflicting 'values' at stake are equally relevant, as in this case. Here the staff members had to decide if it is more important to keep a place as 'safe' and 'pleasant' for visitors, or to let marginalized people entering the centre, using it as an economic resource for their living. Both the 'values', to feel safe and to have an opportunity for earning a living, need to be weighted when defining the possibility to access or not the place.

Concluding remarks

In this section, we illustrated that spatial appropriation practices performed by young people always entail a continuous negotiation of material, symbolic and social boundaries, i.e. a boundary work that shapes the distinction between insiders and outsiders, between who is actively involved in place-making practices and who is not. Moreover, we have distinguished between visible and invisible boundaries, considering their physical, symbolic and relational dimensions.

Boundary work varies significantly depending on the aims and the type of activities carried on by young people. If the activities are oriented towards the city or the society at large (with the idea, for example, of spreading a certain political orientation or civic values) the boundary between inside and outside could be highly permeable, aiming at increasing visibility and fostering access to the place. Otherwise, if the form of participation is oriented toward the group itself (towards the inside), the boundary, and thus the distinction between insiders and outsiders, could be more emphasized.

Moreover, the adoption of a territorial perspective has been fruitful to look at how young people manage their participatory settings . This entails to look at how young people control their spaces, establishing not only who can access, but also which behaviours, social norms and discourses are legitimised and which are not. The example provided in the previous paragraph of the discussion in Youth Centre in Gothenburg illustrates how territories are maintained and controlled, exerting a control over behaviours and limiting accessibility according to socially defined (explicit or implicit) rules.

7. Young people and public space

Thus far in the empirical section we have discussed youth participation and space mainly from a processual perspective. Focus has been on how young people appropriate spaces, make places and engage in boundary work. We will now structure our discussion in another way and start out from a certain kind of spatiality: 'public space'. As we have pointed out in the theory chapter, public space is often understood as a crucial part of what constitutes urban life and has important connections to participatory activities. This has to do with public space as an arena for collective encounters, 'sociability', and as a space for articulation of social values and ideological commitments, in short 'politics'.

In the following we will present examples from our empirical material of how young people find their ways in public space. The question we will deal with is: *To what extent and for what purposes do young people use public space and how is this connected to participatory practice?*

There is a number of empirical cases that are going to be considered in this section and these illustrate the great variety of uses and movements of young people in public space that we have documented in the PARTISPACE project. And it should be noted that this collection is not exhaustive; more examples could be added. We will discuss the distinction between 'public' and 'semi-public' in relation to the cases. As mentioned earlier many spaces don't entirely fit into any of the categories 'public' or 'private' and the dimension is therefore often differentiated through the use of the marker 'semi'. So, a 'semi-public' space is a space with a high degree of publicness, but where accessibility is in some sense restrained, for example by a requirement to pay for entrance and/or services.

The vantage point for the discussion has to do with the main purpose behind young people's appropriation of a public space – why are they there? Two such basic reasons have already been mentioned and these are not solely connected to young people. It is the tradition of holding political manifestations in public and the use of public space for social encounters. The first one of these will be referred to as 'voice' and the second one 'sociability'. Aside from these we can distinguish a third main purpose when young people use public space and this is centred around practical action: young people gather to 'do' something and it is this very practical engagement that compose the basic meaning of being there. We will refer to this as 'activity'. Of course all appropriation of public space often have all these three elements. There are always social relations, things to do and concerns to be articulated when young people meet in public spaces. However, the point here is to identify what is the basic reason and rationality of the appropriation.

Voice – messages in public space

Some of the cases are very clearly focused on voicing a meaning and sending a message.

> *Since March 36 (April 5), in Rennes, citizens opposed to the Labor Law are assembling Place du Peuple (formerly [or officially] Place Charles de Gaulle) to re-appropriate politics, invent another relationship with the public space and deepen democracy. Night Standing Rennes pursues two goals: in the short term, to defeat the Labor Bill. In the long term, we want to organise to regain control over politics (Field notes, NDE, Rennes).*

The NDE movement is an example of a 'classic' connection between political engagement and public space. It is a movement that started in 2016 in Paris with protests against proposed labour reforms and was then spread nationally. Different types of collective mobilization and demonstrations have been applied; among them nightly gatherings in public places ('night standing-up'). The first NDE campaigns in Rennes were organised by young people (students, high school students, precarious people, etc.), but adults also joined the movement (Batsleer et al, 2017, pp. 209-210). The quotation shows that the leaders of the movement are intrinsically aware of this association and explicitly use it to make meaning to the action. In this context, using a public arena is a way to spatialize democracy in the sense of civil opinion formation. And then it is important not to draw up boundaries, to create a 'territory' to defend, but rather invite everybody who share the view of the action. This emphasis on the collective is also combined with an identification between the NDE movement and other similar actions. So, though the event is situated in a certain local space in the city of Rennes, it shares its ideology and way of organizing with other movements around the world:

> *The initiative is not entirely original. The current movement in the "Place de la Republique" in Paris, "Place du Peuple" in Rennes, presents similarities with other movements of occupation of places: the "Arab Spring", "Indignants", "Occupy Wall Street". With a notable difference in that here there was no permanent occupation of the place, but a temporary and light occupation, reforming day after day. As if it were not a question of holding a territory, but rather of inventing another way of using it collectively (Field notes, NDE, Rennes).*

NDE extensively employs the Internet to communicate and make their message public to people who do not have the possibility to participate in the demonstrations. Such linking between physical, social and virtual spaces are common in the cases we have studied. In this way face-to-face meetings of public space are combined with the communicative possibilities of the public sphere.

The earlier referred Ecological Movement in Plovdiv shares many features with NDE in that it also articulates an apparent political voice in its engagement with local environmental and urban preservation issues. In the same vein, the Ecological Movement uses Facebook to create opinion and gather people to meetings and demonstrations.

A quite different way of voicing political matters is represented by the Formal Youth Organization in Gothenburg. This organization is modelled after the City Council and functions as part of the city's representative democratic structure with elections and a close connection to the municipality council. FYO was set up in 2004 and the 81 members are in the ages of 12-17 years and elected for one year. They come from all 10 city districts of Gothenburg (Batsleer et al, 2017, p. 197). The FYO uses the council's assembly hall for its public meetings. The spatial organization of this hall, with seats in rows and a speaker's tribune, directs the communication and proceedings to take on a quite formal character. This is another way to spatialize democracy, this time in its representative configuration. From a perspective of youth participation and learning, the FYO in many ways is spatialized as a training site for further engagement in the political system.

Then there are three examples of cases that all make space for voices that otherwise are disadvantaged and seldom heard. One is HIDDEN'S project Faceless, which is a film-project

that explores the invisibility of the asylum seeker and features two 'faceless' people and their interaction with a 'stranger'. The connection to public space is that the play was rehearsed and filmed in various locations in Manchester city centre. Further, it illustrates the experience of not being seen and recognized in public settings (McMahon et al. 2018).

A second example is the Box, an arts-based social care charity in Manchester that works with young men who are facing numerous forms of exclusion and disadvantage. Many of the men are, or has been, homeless and in an action research project a group of them (all in their mid- to late 20s) visualized their experiences of living as a homeless person in public space. This was done through the construction of five viewing boxes in which photos and artefacts illustrated aspects and troubles concerning how to handle issues around for example privacy, personal hygiene and safety when forced to live in the streets. The viewing boxes were then displayed in the city and there were walking tours organized. During these the men spoke about their life experiences and at the same time the participants could look into the boxes. This both illustrated the demanding situations the men were talking about and, simultaneously, aroused feelings of being a voyeur, peeping into people's private lives (McMahon et al. 2018).

The LGBTQ Youth Group in Gothenburg is a third example. This group consists of 10-20 young persons (late teenage and early 20s) who identify themselves as LGBTQ (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer). The members of the group have shared experiences of being exposed to hatred and condescending treatment from others, often in public and semi-public spaces, because of their gender identification and/or sexual orientation. The group is supported by the municipality and dispose of a meeting place and there is a youth worker to assist them. The gathering place is quite intimate and constructed as a safe place in relation to the outside. At the same time the youth group engages in public appearances and feel a responsibility to communicate their experiences and knowledge to others. So they have arranged an exhibition in the city museum, they take part in events like the local Pride parade and they participate in an international exchange-project meeting similar groups in other countries. By this, the activities of the group contains both public and almost semi-private dimensions (Batsleer et al, 2017, pp. 200-201).

All the three cases mentioned deal with issues concerning identities and belonging, about experiences of being put aside and not recognized. The two-sided significance of social life in public space becomes clear in the narratives of these groups. On the one hand the position of being excluded is often experienced through the encounters with people in public spaces. Many times it is strangers who think these young people embody difference in a way that should not be allowed and who, more or less openly, show antipathy and disrespect. This forms the basis of the young people's feelings of being put aside and causes difficulties to build self-esteem. On the other hand it is by turning to the communicative possibilities of public space that these groups counter their neglected position and tell another story. So, public space represents both the space where the exclusionary actions takes place and where inclusionary demands can be articulated and visualized. However, taking action is not easily done and has its price. It should be underlined that the engagements have not been an effortless task for the participants. Working with the projects has sometimes brought troublesome memories to the surface resulting in emotionally pressing situations.

There are a number of cases where the use of public space is not so evidently motivated by an intention to articulate a message, but were, according to the circumstances, a quite distinguished

voice can be heard anyway. One such example is the street musicians in Eskişehir. This is a group composed of young musicians mostly of Kurdish origins, from the south-eastern region of Turkey. The group consists of men, with the exception of one woman who joins the group occasionally. The group plays music in the most popular and crowded streets of the city centre, where young people hang out and spend their leisure time. In many situations, street music would be considered as mainly entertaining and part of what makes urban public life lively and amusing. Of course this is contested; street music is also considered annoying and often regulated by time and place restrictions. However, in Eskişehir playing Kurdish music in the street is in itself regarded suspicious by authorities and the street musicians are strictly commanded by local police. They also have to accommodate their performance in relation to where they play and who is listening:

> *I had conversations with senior citizens of the city, this situation dates back to 20-30 years ago. In the period of time when Turkish people had a conflict between left and right, the city was divided into neighbourhoods, the political view could change when you cross a bridge, or even mayor's political party could affect it. So you can feel this with your audience, you know what they expect and what their perspective is, for this reason, we are going to explain it in detail. Because of the problems we had with the municipal police, they drag us to certain places and we have to make music there for two different kinds of audience -we played near Doktorlar and near Kanatlı- for example, in the second location where we played, we are more comfortable there, we can sing in a more different language. On the other side, for example, when we go to Odunpazarı, it all changes. (...) Another thing, for example, you can feel how university students contribute to the economy and social life of this city, and as I said, this Baglar region, located down the river, is a region where so many university students live in. For this reason, this crowd formed by university students helps us feel more comfortable, find our inner selves and focus more on our music. On the other side we have to play what the audience wants, because their reactions can be tough and more strict. But when things go in parallel with what they want, they can even defend us against the municipal police and police officers, so we will need to talk about this more in detail (Group discussion, street musicians, Eskişehir).*

This account illustrates how public spaces rather become semi-public when integrated in a neighbourhood. What can be said and done is regulated by local manners and customs, which displays the contours of a political geography with sometimes considerable historical roots. Further, the example shows that there is a need for local understanding of differences between the cities in the project. The conditions for gatherings in public space varies among the eight cities.

Graffiti and parkour are other activities in public space whose voices are interpreted in quite different ways depending on who is watching. The criminalisation of much graffiti, depicting it as 'vandalism', is one illustration of this. Graffiti definitely leaves a memo behind, though a 'tag' is usually not a message that is intelligible by a broad public. Both graffiti and parkour are voicing alternative possibilities about how to use public space, but we will come back to this a little further in the text.

Sociability – meetings in public space

One important feature of public space is that it offers places to meet. Not the least to young people this is important since it is easy to access and is not connected to costs. The following

quotation is from a central square in Plovdiv, but the same scene, however with different actors, could have been registered in all eight cities:

> *There were several kinds of young people set on use this space for the sake of their intentions. The first one could conditionally be called "bikers": boys with their bicycles choosing it as a meeting point before heading to a nearby sports track. The second group consisted of about ten people, all of them with identical look: long hair, big beards and wide clothing. They were drinking beer while one of them was sitting on the ground with his face to all the rest and playing the guitar. The next group was also comprised of young people – there were love couples scattered around at three or four places and enjoying themselves (Field notes, Plovdiv).*

The notation shows a shared, and, at the same time, divided, meeting place. The young people use the square collectively, but belongs to different groups characterized by looks and doings. From the documentation we can't know to what extent cross-contacts are made, but it may well be that small territories are created in the square where the embodiment of different styles functions as signals of border-lines.

Often the important thing is to have a meeting-place, somewhere to go where you know that the important others will turn up. Some groups use certain places as their regular meeting place, like the informal group of girls in Frankfurt that we have referred to earlier. They use a Youth Centre as their meeting place where further activities can be planned:

> *Here, mainly, here. We also go to the, [park] sometimes to downtown [Barbara: but even then (incomprehensible) we meet up here [in the youth centre] first anyway and then [Sabrina: This is always like our meeting point and then we decide, where to go (Group discussion, Frankfurt).*

Sometimes there is a congruity between the content of the issues of engagement and the spaces chosen for sociability. This group interview from Plovdiv is done with the earlier mentioned Ecological Movement in the city. When they describe which places they prefer for meeting friends, they mention typically 'green' spaces:

> *Andrey: I like to fish in Maritsa. There are some places across the Adata island where I can catch some pike from time to time.*
>
> *Konstantin: It's very nice there, by the way.*
>
> *Ralitsa: There is a zoo farther to the east.*
>
> *Zlatka: Perhaps the Old Town, Kapana, the hill above them, those are the most popular and interesting places. Their cityscape is a bit more different, there is not so much traffic and people. Especially Kapana.*
>
> *Evgeni: In effect, mostly in green areas. That's why we gotta keep them, cause that's where we gather – the Rowing Base, the hills, the major city parks.*
>
> *Ralitsa: It will be so bad if they build stuff in them.*
>
> *Evgeni: We go there and play sports.*

Vasil: Even though in the City Garden sitting on the grass is not allowed.

Zlatka: Yes, that's silly.

(Group interview, Ecological Movement, Plovdiv)

Public arenas for sports may also be an important space for sociability. Young people who are fans of for example football clubs often put a lot of time in support efforts for the club, as in the case from Eskişehir. When it is match day a lot of fans gather all over the city to show their support of the club and to inspire others. There has been built a new football stadium, but some of the fans are not happy with that it has been located to the outskirts of the city. The old one was more central and this was better since it provided a more effective display of club symbols to supporters in the becoming:

> *I always think that the stadiums should be inside of the cities. It shouldn't be far away. Why? For example, I wear my scarf and go to the game. It is usually on the weekends and a family goes to the market with their child. The child sees me with my scarf and maybe he or she wants to go to the game, too. S/he sees a kid as the same age as them going to the game with his/her father. The goal is to show yourselves in the places like a market and gain the new generation. That's why I think the stadium should be inside the cities (Expert interview, Football fan, Eskişehir).*

Also the semi-public spaces are creating meeting-places as we have written about earlier. The Social Centre in Bologna organised recurrent public events with food and entertainment and the Open Education Collective in Zürich runs a café, which has been described earlier in the text. On the one hand these social arrangements function independently; they are spaces for having fun, meeting people and relaxation. On the other hand they are integrated parts of the whole action effort from the organization behind the centres. In this sense the social events are occasions where the ideological foundation of the centres can be made public and where visitors can be recruited to further engagement in other activities.

Activity – makings in public space

Naturally, all cases involve spatial activities. As we have discussed in the theory chapter a relational perspective on space underlines how space is produced by social actions and interventions. However, here we want to pay attention to certain kind of practice. Some of the cases are activity-oriented in the sense that the reason why young people gather in public space, the basic motive to meet, is about performing a certain kind of action. We're thinking of graffiti, parkour and street music. The link to participation in these cases lies in the activity, the 'voice' is in the doing.

These are spatial activities that are based on practical skills; the young people put an effort in attaining skills in order to perform the activity. And often a division between actors and audience is created. Parkour consists of rather athletic exercises and demand training and being bodily fit and the traceurs in Gothenburg organize training sessions for children:

> *The group is encouraged to put their bags in one of the corners. Then the leader starts the warm up. All participants follow him on a run around the playground which includes small jumps, walking on all fours and push-ups. Then he announces that it is now free training.*

> *A couple of the coaches put up an old bench against the border of the sandbox, and then perform some initial flips with this as a springboard. Instantly some guys join in, forming a queue and doing the same. All the while participants discuss the jumps between themselves, and give each other little advice on how they can refine their technique (Field notes, Parkour, Gothenburg).*

The challenges that traceurs have to take on must be built upon knowledge and experience of changes in material structure and surface. There is almost a fusion between body and matter:

> *Yes, I think that's really an important point. That's a big part of it. Because it's just really important, that's exactly what you have to learn, to deal with these different conditions, so that first of all you get to know your own limits, for example with the hits, and that you know, if it's like ice cold outside, how it is with your hands. Or if it's wet, when it gets slippery, that you like know all these different situations and that you don't get scared all of a sudden if you ever – even if it sounds stupid – in an emergency really need it. That's really what it's all about, that you are prepared in whatever way and know exactly, "How does a surface react? What's this like, what's that like?", and that's why it's actually even more important and should really be personally important that you go and think – even if the weather is really bad right now, or when it's sunny, "I'd rather be somewhere else right now!", I don't know, that you then think, "Alright, I want to test this right now", because in reality, yes, it's like you're totally pumped up, you want to try it out right away! (…) Well, parkour was made for the city, which is why it's just, you can do it in the woods and also, um, yeah, train in the woods, but it's like there're two kinds of parkour. It's feels different if I do it in the city or if I do it in the woods (Group discussion, Parkour, Zürich).*

Parkour, skate and graffiti represent spatial activities tied to the urban landscape. These activities revive and renew the city, but are also controversial and sometimes cause conflicts in relation to other urban dwellers, as we have shown earlier in the report. Therefore, one skill developed by these groups are knowing where and when to perform their activities and what risks they take in different locations.

There are similarities between graffiti and parkour in their use of public space, but also important differences. Both activities make space, but while parkour does it in an instantaneous action, graffiti is represented by the signs and symbols that the writers leave behind. Parkour exist in well visible bodily movements, which almost fuse with the matter upon which the movements are performed. To experience parkour as a viewer, you have to be there in exactly the moment when it is executed. After that it is gone and leaves no trace behind. Graffiti functions in the opposite way. Often the writing takes places during evenings and night-time when nobody is there. As a consequence, many people have never seen graffiti being produced in real time outside of films.

Clusters

As mentioned voice, sociability and activity are elements that can be identified in all cases. However, it is possible to identify a core activity, a main reason for the gathering in public space, that makes a clustering possible. We would then get this table:

Element	Cases
Voice	NDE, Ecological Movement, Youth Group/LGBTQ, Formal Youth Organisation, HIDDEN, the Box
Sociability	Informal Girls Group, Plovdiv Square, Football Fans, café OEC, public events Social Centre
Activity	Graffiti Group, Parkour Groups, Street Musicians

Again, this must not be read as a way to take away the complexity of each case. However, when grouped like this the multifaceted and variegated character of young people's movements in public space becomes clear.

There is a general worry about young people's interest in political issues, but as we can see from the documentation there are several examples of voicing political engagement in public space. And they take on formal as well as informal organisation. Several examples show groups working with issues concerning identity and belonging. Here dislocated and not so often heard voices and experiences are given a space. It is a statement concerning how important these matters are to young people.

Social gatherings of young people in public space show the need for young people to find places to meet and become visible. It is about to inhabit and enliven the city; to find places that can appropriated as their own. Often this is connected to style and collective belonging. This illustrate what Fraser has underlined that public places "are arenas for the formation and enactment of social identities" (1992, p. 125). In a very fundamental way this is about young people's right to their city.

Through spatial activities alternative uses of public space is constructed. There is an important gender division in these action-oriented cases: a majority of the practitioners of graffiti, parkour and street music are young men. This reflects the fact that historically the public/private divide was formed through gendered relations with masculinity associated with the public domain and femininity with the private and domestic (c.f. Weintraub 1997).

What then about participation in relation in relation to these different uses of public space? The cases where voice is central has an obvious political dimension, but what about the others? It is important to see that '(P)politics' can be write both large and small (cf. Kallio & Häkli 2011, p. 64). That is, there are political implications in spatial movements and gatherings also when no explicit ideology or opinion is guiding the effort. Kallio & Häkli (2011) has used the phrase 'voiceless politics' to describe the political impact of young people's gatherings in a city park. The gatherings had political consequences and not recognizing the young people as political actors risks to further marginalize them (2011, p. 63).

There is a 'politics of the social' (Batsleer et. al. 2017, p. 6), which is about the importance of young people being able to act and live as full citizens. As Skelton & Gough puts it:

However, these young people are not only in the city, but they are of the city; their lives are shaped by urban dynamics and they themselves are significant actors in, and creators of, the city (2013, p. 457).

Being able to inhabit public space and fill it with voice, sociability and activity is an important part of this participatory citizenship.

Frontstage and backstage

It is vital to see that the social life in public space that we have been discussing this far in several ways is connected to arenas that are semi-public or private. Using the famous distinction from Goffman (1959) there is both a 'frontstage' and a 'backstage'.

The LGBTQ Youth Group meets regularly in a small group. This is arranged as a very welcoming setting where the participants can feel free from the examining eyes of others and be able to speak freely from the heart supporting each other. This is described as a relief from the sometimes burdensome encounters with people in public. It is in this small group they get the strength to engage in making their experiences public and open to others. As mentioned earlier, the public engagement is often connected with strong emotions and tough memories. This is something this group shares with both HIDDEN and the Box in Manchester.

The Formal Youth Organization in Gothenburg provides with a quite different example. The formality of this organization is combined with quite informal ways of working. When the working committee in Gothenburg has its meeting, this time in localities used by the municipality services, the proceedings can take on this shape:

> *Again, the structure of the (committees)meeting is really very interesting: it is incredibly loose, Members really "hang out". Member A and member B starts e.g. suddenly discuss TTIP (EU-US Trade Partnership) without anyone interrupting – member C checks her telephone, member D gets up to retrieve a sandwich in the kitchen, and youth worker E is immersed in her computer screen. (…) It is interesting how members free style in their discussions, the space within which they are discussing and thinking really is free, nobody is questioning them (more than they themselves, through discussion), no one who masters and guides, I get the impression that interaction process is taking place on their terms (Field notes, FYO, Gothenburg).*

So, it should be recognized that organizations may have very different ways of functioning depending on the context.

The Social Centre in Bologna and the Open Education Collective in Zürich contains a variety of activities that combines public and private aspects. The Social Centre arranges public events, but also organize a kindergarten a social dormitory (semi-public activities) and moreover it includes homes for activists (private use of space). So, this is an organization that hosts activities all along the scale of public and private. The political dimension is important in this context, since the ideology keeps the whole effort together:

> *There is usually a collective that has the space that has the power to make political decisions and use a space. The space is 'its own,' it's owned by the collective. What is happening inside this social center is just a hybridization, an innovation. For the first time the political collective started a process that is to share space with other social subjects. So, the idea is to open up the space to a project that has its own political dignity and its own activity, although it is something different from the original political collective (Field notes, Bologna).*

It is interesting to see how the Social Centre wallpaper its premises in order to underline what they are working with and aiming at:

> *The walls of the kindergarten are all frescoed (the frescoes date back to when the building was a military barracks). In some places the frescoes were covered by children's work (colored hands on the wall, etc.). Drawings have been hung in some places. Adele explains me that the drawings were a gift received from the Kurdish children of Suruc. Last year, in fact, kindergarten kids "adopted" a Kurdish child, sending money collected through initiatives within the social center. Adoption was an opportunity to begin talking to the children about the war (in general) and about the war in Syria-Turkey-Kurdistan in particular, the presence of ISIS, Rojava and the Kurdish resistance. YPG (People's Protection Units) and YPJ (Women's Protection Units) flags also decorate the room (Field notes, Social Centre, Bologna).*

This way of spatializing values and core activities can also be seen in the facilities of the Manchester based humans rights organization HIDDEN. The work in order to meet the interests and needs of refugees and asylum seekers is made very explicit on the walls of the office. This helps to create a certain atmosphere:

> *HIDDEN has two rooms in the basement (soon to be three) one of which has some computers and other equipment, and the other of which has two tables and a sofa. Everywhere around - the walls, counters, windows and doors - there are newspaper cuttings, drawings, poetry, banners, and photographs which bring HIDDEN's work and history alive. In that sense, HIDDEN feels like a living and unique entity in its basement. Everyone is welcome - there are hugs and sometimes kisses and people are often happy to see each other (McMahon et al. 2018).*

Finally, in an interesting way NDE conflates the public with the private. By spending the night in a public square instead of going home, the square is symbolically equated with a really private space: the bedroom. This lends an aura to the political engagement of being grounded in both collectively shared visions and privately articulated beliefs.

Concluding remarks

We can identify a number of ways and purposes when it comes to use public space among young people in the PARTISPACE cities. Efforts in public can be used to express political views and gather around collective action. But public spaces are also important to build social relations and strengthen ties between peers. Then we see a lot of activities; some of which create new spaces and encounters. It is important to underline how different aspects, like voicing, sociability and activity, actually merge together. Often one dimension strengthens the other. However, still there are differences between groups of young people depending on a variety of factors.

It is also important to view the public dimension along a scale on which young people slide forward and back. Several efforts that we have studied make use of semi-public space and access to such spaces also play a crucial role to young people. It is vital that municipality resources and policies support young people's appropriation of public spaces. This can be done both by professional interventions and by supporting with different facilities. However, we also see a number of self-regulated efforts by young people which show a high level of social

responsibility and ambition. It is critical that also this kind of organizational efforts get the support they need.

Public space opens up possibilities when it comes to young people's sense of spatial belonging and opportunities to move around in their city. Obviously, many young people are in a process of understanding and negotiating their rights and responsibilities, their belonging and participation, assets which Lister define as characteristics of a 'lived citizenship' (2007, p. 55).

8. Conclusion

Throughout this report, we have looked at youth participation using a spatial lens. From a theoretical point of view, our reflection aims at bridging the gap between youth an urban studies (Farrugia & Wood 2017; Skelton & Gough 2013; Kallio, Häkli 2011). As we have seen in the initial section of this report, a certain amount of research has already been devoted to the analysis of youth participation in relation to space. Our effort is to contribute to this debate providing new empirical insights from the eight PARTISPACE cities, in order to highlight the processes of mutual production of space and of participative practices.

Since the beginning of the PARTISPACE project, space has been considered a focal aspect to take into account when investigating participation. The initial question we engaged in was: "*Where* do young people participate?". Broadening the definition of participation, our analysis has shown that the answer to this question is: "Principally everywhere!".

Adopting a *grounded* approach to the study of youth participation suggested us to look at space as a *processual* and *relational* asset (Löw, 2016; Hüllemann et al., 2017). To consider space as socially produced and reproduced through time, not neglecting its physical configuration, allowed us to look at processes of spatialization, namely to look not only at *where*, but also at *how* young people shape "their" place and "their" cities, adapting to it or challenging taken-for-granted hegemonic spatial patterns. Through the analysis of the empirical material, we thus tried to understand and illustrate *how* young people participate in the city.

Initially, we considered how young people relate to "their" participatory settings. Thus, our first research question was: "How do young people produce their participatory setting, transforming them into meaningful places and at the same time (re)producing their subjectivities?". We thus dealt with the notion of appropriation, meant to be a mutual mediation processes, and with the notion of place-making (sensu Belina and Cresswell), concerned as a process during which material, symbolic, relational and emotional spheres are intertwined, transforming spaces into meaningful places and at the same time transforming one's own identity (self-making). Through various empirical examples taken from our case studies (i.e., the Social Centre in Bologna, the Sprayers and the Informal Girls Group in Frankfurt, the OEC in Zurich, etc.), we showed how young people appropriate their participatory settings: this process implies transforming the material environment (the locale), negotiating and attributing a shared set of meaning to a given place, and at the same time re-shaping and "building" one's own identity, while acquiring new skills and competences. In particular, the analysis of the empirical material has shown that place-making often implies processes of domestication of spaces. Several examples, indeed, suggest that, when young people describe what for us was a potentially participatory settings, they refer to these places as home. Empirical material also shows that "being at home" means for young people feeling a strong connection with the locale and the people. Domestication of participatory settings, i.e. making places "looking as" domestic, could also have a strategic purpose of attracting new young people, reducing symbolic barriers to the access. In certain circumstances (as the cases of Sprayers and Informal Girls Group demonstrated) being at ease in a place also coincides with the possibility to experience certain degree of freedom from control (being outside the adult, youth workers, authorities, etc. sphere of control). Finally, turning spaces into meaningful places also means to experience conflicts with other social groups who live and go through the same urban spaces with different purposes and

understandings, as we illustrated through the cases of traceurs practicing parkour in Gothenburg and the Ecological activists in Plovdiv. In both cases, the conflict concerns the power to define the use of the urban space, and it involves social groups endowed with different degrees of power and different possibilities to determine the use value of the city. At least at times, young people seem to be aware about these power imbalances and try to address these inequalities through their participatory activities, engaging in conflicts with the municipal authorities in charge of "designing" the city in order to foster their alternative view on the use of the urban spaces (this is the case of the Ecological Network in Plovdiv, of the Social Centre in Bologna, and various other group we investigated).

Secondly, we shift our attention to the boundary between the inside and the outside (a place, a group, etc.), to look at how young people create and negotiate, day by day, this boundary and how they control it. In this sense, we connected boundary work with territorial practices. Here the questions we tried to reply was: *How do young people create and dissolve, open and close, negotiate and change boundaries through their territorial appropriation practices and how does this boundary work relate to processes of exclusion and inclusion?*

Through the examples provided by our case studies, we illustrated that spatial appropriation practices performed by young people always entail a continuous negotiation of material, symbolic and social boundaries, i.e. a boundary work that shapes the distinction between insiders and outsiders, between who is actively involved in place-making practices and who is not.

Boundary work varies significantly depending on the aims and the type of activities carried on by young people. If the activities are oriented towards the city or larger society (with the idea, for example, of spreading a certain political orientation or civic values) the boundary between inside and outside could be highly permeable, aiming at increasing visibility and fostering access to the place. Otherwise, if the form of participation is oriented toward the group itself (towards the inside), the boundary, and thus the distinction between insiders and outsiders, could be more emphasized.

In some cases, moreover, participatory settings are managed as territories. This means that young people's spatial appropriation practices also entail to control their spaces, establishing not only who can access, but also which behaviours, social norms and discourses are legitimised and which are not. The examples provided in this report, taken form the participant observation inside the Youth Centre in Gothenburg, illustrate how territories are maintained and controlled, exerting a control over behaviours and limiting accessibility according to socially defined (explicit or implicit) rules.

Thirdly, our focus of analysis moved to a specific kind of spatiality: 'public space'. The aim of this last empirical section was to look at how young people find their ways in public space. The question we dealt with was: *To what extent and for what purposes do young people use public space and how is this connected to participatory practice?*

In the analysis, we put in focus three element of youth publicness, that we named (1) voice, (2) sociability and (3) activity. We used these elements to cluster the cases studies according to the one that is deemed to be the main reason to gather in public space. In the cluster "voice", we included cases that show a 'classical' understanding of public space as an arena of democratic participation and direct politics. This is meant to be a way to spatialize democracy, to use space

in an accessible and open manner, and to make use of communicative possibilities to 'tell another story' addressing publicly the exclusionary pushes towards young people and claiming a more inclusive society. Among the cases included in this cluster, there are the NDE Movement, observed in Rennes, the Ecological Movement studied in Plovdiv, the LGBTQ Youth Group in Gothenburg.

In the cluster "sociability", we included cases that mainly use public space as a place to meet: groups of friends as well as groups interested in supporting football clubs use public space as a space of sociability in all the eight PARTISPACE cities. Public spaces are thus important to build social relations and strengthen ties between peers.

Finally, in the cluster "activity", we included cases that are activity-oriented, in the sense that the reason why young people gather in public space is to perform a certain kind of activity. We discussed in this report the practices of drawing graffiti, training in parkour or playing street music.

It is important to underline how the different aspects, like voicing, sociability and activity, actually merge together. It is also important to view the public dimension along a scale on which young people slide forward and back. It is vital that municipality resources and policies support young people's appropriation of public spaces. This can be done both by professional interventions and by supporting with different facilities. However, we also see a number of self-regulated efforts by young people which show a high level of social responsibility and ambition. It is critical that also this kind of organizational efforts get the support they need.

Based on the discussions in the three previous sections, we conclude this report with a number of reflections on recurrent spatial aspects of youth participation. Although our discussion has not proceeded case by case but along theoretical concepts that were used like a magnifying glass to zoom on certain aspects that we assumed to be relevant, it must have become clear that the spatialities of the discussed cases are fairly different from each other. Thus the following propositions must be understood as an intent of generalisation that omit specificities of single cases. Yet, they are based on our dialogue between theory and case studies, are of exploratory nature and can be deepened or tested in further inquiries.

1) There is a great variety of spaces used for participatory activities by young people; one of the element differentiating among them is the different type of power relations and the different degree of control (or freedom) experienced by young people when participating. Spatiality is connected to history, and spaces and places have embedded meanings and functions. These are represented in the materiality as well as coupled to the actors and the social relations of the space. So, the question is how much freedom to act and appropriate a space young people have in relation to what is regulated and blocked by the spatial dynamics that is already at hand?

This issue is often discussed as a tension between *conceived* and *lived* space (Lefebvre 1991). Conceived space is about how a space is planned and to what purpose. Lived space concerns what spatial actors actually do, how they move and use the space. Specifically, in relation to participation, a distinction between *invited* and *popular* spaces have been made (Cornwall 2002). Invited spaces are organized to allow and encourage participation, however, the possibilities for participation are guided by the interests of the inviting organization or institution. Popular spaces for participation are spaces that have been appropriated by the actors themselves.

So, the basic question here is: To what extent do the spaces where young people participate allow them to govern and form their own participatory practice and to which degree are the spaces managed by the controlling activities of other's interests?

When we look at the cases we find examples of both invited and popular spaces.

The most characteristic example of an invited space is the Formal Youth Organization in Gothenburg. As with similar organizations in the other cities, it uses facilities and spaces that are closely linked to the central political power of the city. The spatial organization and the symbolic qualities of these powerful spaces lend on the one hand seriousness to the effort, but direct on the other hand the participation procedure along a predefined track. This is a context where there is a high correspondence between what is spatially conceived and actually lived. It is at the same time interesting to note that this formality can be combined with a much more informal working style as shown in the quotation provided in the previous section from the meeting of the FYO committee.

Another invited space is the Youth Centre that the Informal Girls Group uses to get together and the same applies to the meeting-place particularly organized for the LGBTQ Youth Group. In spite of the invited character of these spaces, they allow the young people to utilize them in a quite informal way and access to these spaces is fundamental for the processes and sustainability of the groups. So, to what extent an invited space restricts the participatory activities of young people is highly dependent on the context. However, it should be remembered that in all of these spaces the possibilities of independent action and decision by young people are restricted by rules and regulations imposed by the organizing bodies. This is a basic condition for the invitation.

There is a number of popular spaces among the cases we studied, for example from young people's use of public space. The transgression of how a space has been conceived from the beginning is obvious in the makings of parkour traceurs and graffiti writers. The Social Centre of Bologna is another example of how young people manage to transform a space and add new social and spatial potentials, not foreseen in an earlier planning process. This transformation of space is sometimes controversial; it causes conflicts and must occasionally be negotiated with other users and/or local administration. The violent eviction of the Social Centre, the experiences of the Street Musicians in Eskisehir and the questioning of parkour and graffiti in several cities show this. Also, there are cases using popular spaces, for example the Open Education Collective, HIDDEN, the Social Centre and NDE, that are parts of larger social movements, which opens up for possibilities of steering processes based on organizational interests.

All in all, we can see that young people engage in participatory processes that transgress the assigned meanings of space and that this is done in a self-directed way. However, it is always important to take contextual factors into account. In the discussion of (on?) youth participation the efforts of using invited spaces is often in focus. With this in mind it is interesting to see that the participatory practice investigated by the PARTISPACE project to a high degree employs popular spaces. It is essential to make this visible.

2) The theory and empirical analysis on appropriation and place making have shown that the temporal or more durable appropriation of a place (including homes and territories) as a group endeavour allows young people to invest themselves in many interrelated construction

processes. By appropriating a place, be it through material construction and/or the attribution of new meanings to a place, young people forge social and individual identities, increase and improve professional and relational skills, develop specific uses of locales, build communities and form specific social relations with specific values. All of this happens during and in relation to the development of meanings and sometimes materialities of a place under construction. For instance, discussion on how a new room shall be built eventually are accompanied by discussions on values and on the functioning of the group. These processes are not abstract but involve concrete activities such as construction work or the testing of a new wall for a jump, thus the active engagement with different materialities (such as the urban infrastructure, one's own body, building material etc.). Thereby young people can develop specific relations to themselves and the world. Moreover, they acquire knowledge such as skills that can also be invested in other contexts (i.e. the labour market).

Thereby the temporality of engagement with locales can vary from short instances, such as in parkour, to longer periods, as in the cases of autonomous centres. In the latter, the creation of a material basis (generally a building used as a premise) is central for the generation of these processes and is key for the stabilisation and expansion of the groups' activities. However, it seems that the material durability also makes other actors responses more intensive (e.g. when police is commissioned to evict squatters). In the former case, of a more instantaneous appropriation, a specific activity relating the young people with the physical environment is in the foreground. In the case of parkour, strengthening one's position in the participation setting and beyond works through the strengthening of one's own body. Eventually, these appropriation processes through material engagement can be compared to Wenger's communities of practice (1998) as they involve social learning in a peer group, which is fostered by identity and meaning making.

From this proposition a number of conclusions can be drawn (that will be further extended in the "policy recommendation" section):

a) As place making is multi-layered and goes along with different social processes that are relational and polysemous, projects with the aim to have young people appropriate their world should not be conceived too narrowly focussed on a single function, goal or issue, instead they should leave room for ambiguities.

b) Both theory and the empirical examples have shown the importance of engagement with material objects to materially build but also to construct meanings. In order to find their "place" in this world, young people must be able to develop their own meanings through engagement with space, especially public space. This means that there need to be free spaces that can be appropriated; but this also mean that authorities as well as practitioners and youth workers should attempt to take young people's possibly different meanings and experiences of (public) space into account. To make concrete this possibility, there is a need to give young people the opportunity to voice different understandings of (public) space as well as to consider them as legitimate and meaningful acts of participation in the public space even if they do not fall into customary categories.

3) A specific variant of place making is home making. For young people, home is not always in private spaces (where they may be under parental control), home can also be in public or semi-public spaces. As we showed in the examples above, then public and private of the café-

kitchen mixes in the OEC. A home has strong emotional components and goes along with the attribution of great symbolic values to objects, practices and people who constitute home. Home making goes along with all the components mentioned above and it is crucial for identity and belonging. Home is also where one can relax, concentrate on (often strongly embodied) homely activities (such as cooking, doing one's hair, sleeping etc.) in one's own rhythm and knows that s/he will not be disturbed that easily. In a home, one can behave "naturally". Hence, home is connected to non-disturbance and self-determination. As such, offerings of homes in semi-public spaces such as in the OEC or in a youth centre can become attractive for various people. Homes can also stand in opposition to control of state authorities in public space or youth workers in a youth centre when their control is experienced as coercive. Thus, the search for a home outside of the private home (where parents may be conceived as controlling and disturbing) can but must not necessarily include the search for spaces out of control of the state or – in the case of younger youths – of adult supervisors. In this case, invisibility can become key for the experience of a home.

This eventually confronts authorities and youth professionals with fears of disconnection and possibly radicalisation of young people as well as eventually a need to balance control and leaving young people on their own. Although control might ultimately be their duty and sometimes meant in the best interest of young people, young people's necessity for spaces on their own where they can experience belonging through self-determination needs to be underlined. In this respect the call for open spaces (or in German: *Freiräume,* literally free spaces) needs to be reiterated. This can mean alternative spaces (such as in the Social Centre or the OEC) that aim at political change, and at the development of different values freed from constraints of a capitalist society – thus a kind of space that has a longstanding tradition. However, regarding the pronounced pressure caused by the transition from obligatory schooling to the professional world, for most young people, *Freiräume* in a first moment means spaces in which they have the freedom to determine the rhythms of their undertakings by themselves, in short, homes. This, however, is contrary to a rigid institutionalisation of spaces for young people and against any sort of narrowly conceived pedagogisation of youth participation.

4) The cases where territorial aspects are important showed that territoriality is under constant negotiation. This negotiation is not only connected to the building and managing of material boundaries (such as the installation of gates and the distribution of keys to access the place) but also to symbolic boundaries (e.g. the differentiation between roles, such as between the "activists", the "volunteers" and "visitors" in the Social Centre) that eventually erect social boundaries not only between insiders and outsiders but in some cases also inside the participation settings. Territoriality is a strategy to make the spaces manageable and durable, however, can lead to closures and homogenisation. This stands in contrast to the search for openness in the sense of being open to change, non-repressive and inclusive. Thus, the territorial cases that were discussed in this report are characterised by certain ambiguities. Yet, these ambiguities seem productive in the sense that the constant negotiation they produce seems crucial to achieve both openness and stability at the same time.

The moments of closure, that are inherent to territoriality, also confronts policy makers and youth workers with ambiguities. They need to find a balance between the claims of young people for spaces to appropriate (on the level of the public space of a whole city or inside a youth centre where a group of young people might become dominant) while at the same time

maintaining the city and youth projects inclusive. A strategy might be to emulate the aforementioned openness for constant renegotiation, including the recognition of inclusivity and the requisition of inclusivity vis-à-vis territorialised youth spaces. Another one is to not only leave space for durable youth places, but make sure that the city provides enough spaces of different sizes and qualities for temporal appropriation and make temporal appropriation easy in legal terms, so that not only the most resourceful young people can benefit.

5) From the explicitly political cases such as OEC, Social Centre, NDE, the Ecologists in Plovdiv and the various cases with an important relation to public space, we gain the general impression that young people are supported, granted or tolerated to create their own spaces by authorities or co-citizens and apply their own tactics as long as the states spatial strategies (or the core principles on which they rely, such as property rights, control of migration, etc.) are not put in danger. Similarly, young people seem to be able (allowed?) to make space in youth centres as long as they do not offend against general rules. In the case of conflict, various tactics of young people were observed: a) young people search for publics and create ways to address the public to acclaim injustices and utter alternative visions of the future. Most prominently, this is the case for NDE that creates its own form of public in public space, but also for the other explicitly political cases; b) they at least temporarily withdraw into their own territories where they are able to create spaces according to their needs and visions; c) they develop spatial tactics for their practices that leave no trace when they are visible (Parkour); or d) they leave traces but attempt to be invisible (Sprayers). Thus, three of the four strategies that are all related to expression of one's identity or political stances (voiced or voiceless), and are thus actually a claim of visibility, are constrained and end in some sort of withdrawal or self-restriction and thus at least become partial invisible.

This is connected to the partial absence of arenas, or in the words of NDE "agoras", where young people could negotiate their views and needs. Although young people have various rights to access public space and the public sphere, many issues are not taken up in the spaces of representational democracies as they do either not fit into the categories of political statements or are maybe voiceless (Kallio & Häkli, 2011) or are conceived by authorities as beyond the scope of negotiation – as usually in the case of private property rights. As such unrecognised statement do not fit into the executive and legislative's deliberations, they are usually not recognised as participation, either. In order to recognise them as participation in the sense of a valued contribution of individuals or groups to a democracy, new arenas have to be found. Considering that apart from the internet public space is the part of public sphere which is accessible easiest especially for young people, more attention should be paid to everyday politics in public space by young people. This means that on the one hand (temporal) appropriation of public space should be given more opportunity to develop and practices of everyday politics (politics of the social, including voiceless politics) need to be recognised and translated into processes of institutionalised democracy.

6) The analysis of the relation to public space has made clear that there is not one single meaning of public space in relation to youths and young adults. Consequently, there cannot be a single strategy to make public space compatible with youths' needs. Public space has potentially different affordances for different young people: increased liberty (e.g. in comparison to institutionalised youth settings or the private home), sociability, visibility and thus potential source for recognition and belonging, legitimacy for one's political claims (versus classical

politics) etc. Consequently, there are different public spaces: the public space of political communication, of opportunities for play, of accessible infrastructures, of loosened control etc. This multifacetedness of public space is not only relevant for public authorities to understand diverse claims on public space by young people but for the young people themselves. As such, public space is also a learning ground for young people to deal with the complexities of democratic societies, or in other words, to become involved urbanity and accompanying need for constant negotiation. In this vein, the right to the city can be thought of as the right to negotiate the uses of the city according to one's own ideas and be recognised as a legitimate user or creator of the city. This includes recognition for one's identity and the assertion of one's belonging.

In these negotiations not all actors use or act according to the same spatial categories such as private or public. Symbolic boundaries are blurred and crossed through speech and action of young people, which in some instances gives rise to conflicts with the dominant spatial patterns. Also the spatial categories used in PARTISPACE such as formal/non-formal/informal or adult-led/youth-led, political/non-political, inside/outside, frontstage/backstage were in some occasions put into question by the multifacetedness of young people's spatialities while in other cases they were consistent with young people's practices. Especially in contact with state authorities, the private and public dichotomy gains relevance repeatedly. In these encounters, the logics of the property right system are put on the negotiation table. Then the question is whether all the sides recognise that it lies there.

7) Finally, there are further topics and directions of analysis that could have been more fully explored in this report, for which further exploration seems beneficial but is unfortunately beyond the scope of time and resources available. Further research could explore a) online or virtual spaces of youth participation. Various cases showed many links between physical spaces and virtual spaces. Thereby often online spaces usually seem to complement or enlarge offline spaces. b) Regarding home making, private space could be further explored and starting from young people’s perspective, the enmeshment of homely private spaces with public spaces or semi-public spaces sees worth further investigation in order to more fully understand everyday participation. c) This report focused much on youth, however not so much on adulthood. What is the meaning of being or becoming and adult for the spaces under investigation and what are their roles, what do they contribute to the youth spaces and youth participation? This could lead to a further exploration of intergenerational relations and it could be related to a more elaborated understanding of different positions of young people within the same and different participation settings and the influence of gender and age, especially in regard to the difference between minors and young adults. d) Gender dynamics have not been in the main focus of this analysis. It was pointed out that public and private spaces are gendered spaces and as such gender influences both experience and making of space. For instance, it became clear that gendered-identities are produced and reproduced during home making by such everyday activities as applying make-up; and that consequently home making can contribute to the making of sexed bodies and gendered-selves. The elaboration of the gendered production and appropriation of space and place in a young age represents one of the most promising and stimulating aspects deserving further analytical attention.

9. Policy Recommendations

> *Young people are relevant actors in the city: "they make and remake, create and destroy, negotiate and appropriate, transform and transgress, navigate and circumvent the urban spatialities of which they are both a part, yet from which they are often excluded (Skelton & Gough 2013, p. 455).*

The purpose of PARTISPACE was to extend the definition of participation in order to be able to recognize and take into greater account young people practices, thoughts and ideas on participation. The present report contributed to this aim by elaborating spatial aspects of youth participation. At the same time, the purpose of our research was to contribute to struggle against young people exclusion and mis-recognition in the EU countries. Our findings permit to formulate some relevant recommendations addressed to policy makers and youth workers. Due to the exploratory character of our research, the set of recommendations are more fundamental in nature. They can critically inform the development of concrete measures adapted to specific national and local contexts and contribute to self-reflexivity of youth professionals.

We observed that too often policy makers' and practitioners' posture towards young people's practices does not show a similar openness and inclusivity. We acknowledge that the reasons for this lack of 'sensitivity' are quite often rooted in structural shortcomings (lack of economic resources, lack of time, etc.). Nevertheless, political myopia needs also to be tackled. The statements that follow, that do not pretend to be comprehensive, represent some of the outcomes of our investigation that on many more detailed aspects needs indeed to be deepened.

As we have tried to show, widely disusing the processes of appropriation, building (as a concrete physical activity as well as the building of relationships and community organising) seem to offer a high potential for appropriation of spaces and the exploration of boundaries, developing identities, community organising and social innovation. Building spaces both temporary (such as in NDE) and more durable such as in the case of the Social Centre or the OEC) can have the potential to trigger and accrue participation processes. However, building is time and often cost-intensive and stretching over a longer period of time. During these processes, there can be moments of solidification and stabilisation of socio-spatial arrangement, These moments on the one hand are important in order to make participation as something that worths one's investment of time, energy and possible financial means. On the other hand, stabilisation goes along with the aforementioned creation of too firm boundaries and possibilities of exclusion. Furthermore, in a context of cities that dispose of only little free unused spaces and investments in real estate market are lucrative, it can be necessary to actively provide spaces that can be appropriated through building activities by young people with restricted financial means and restricted possibilities of ownership. At the same time, when dealing with experiences of self-organization, actively promoted by young people through the occupation of public and private spaces (buildings, houses, squares, etc.), it can be necessary to avoid interventions exclusively aimed at re-establishing empty forms of legality, while it would be worth to recognize these experiences as occasions of empowerment and expression of young people agency. This has various policy implications.

Policies should be not exclusively aimed at giving young people a voice to take part in the decisions processes concerning pre-defined solutions to use the urban spaces, more and more

oriented towards a commodification and privatization of the city. Contrariwise, policies should be aimed at imagining new forms of governance of the urban spaces able to recognized the multiple expressions and facets of young people agency, giving value to the existing experiences and concretely enacting the young people right to the city.

→ Policies and youth work strategies should be reflective of the processual character of participation through place-making and territoriality (the creation of spaces), especially through building activities. This means that policies should foresee possibilities of land that young people can use for building activities either by providing such areas or by ensuring that alternative ways of space (co-)use are enabled by the legal framework (e.g. the recognition of occupations if possible, interim-uses and unconventional uses of space). One strategy to do so could be the creation of zones in zoning law for experimental usages (i.e. areas devoted to practices such as spraying, parkour, etc. in a safe and well-equipped manner). Another possible strategy could be to implement legal frameworks in order to recognize existing experiences, promoted by young people themselves.

→ A processual understanding of appropriation also implies being aware of moments where stabilisation of participatory settings can contribute to new exclusion. This urges to find mechanisms to cope with closing process by young people in order to allow spatial participation for as many young people as possible. One channel to achieve this could be contractual agreements established when providing infrastructure or land or recognizing occupations that guarantee openness to a wider public – however without at the same time putting on too numerous regulations on contents and processes of appropriation

→ As building activities can be time and cost-intensive, we recommend the examination of measures in order to support young people's creation of their participatory spaces by providing free consultancy, financial support and/or other material contributions.

Institutional openness or closeness is related to various boundaries, physical and discursive, that can limit the appropriation of spaces for young people. Highly institutionalised formal contexts aimed at (political) participation leave little room for negotiation of the boundaries of one's position and identity (Batsleer et al. 2017). In contrast to these settings that frequently offer too narrow possibilities to young people to voice their most important concerns, spaces opened up and built by young people themselves seem to be more conducive in marking and developing their own identities and *weltanschauung*. In many of the PARTISPACE case studies, these non-formal youth led settings correspond better to the above-mentioned requirement of openness to allow flexible blending of functions and different aspects of spaces of participation.

→ This addresses youth work practice and policy. Youth work seems to be in a particular position to reflect on the boundaries involved in participation settings due to its willingness to create permeable boundaries in order to include the excluded. Having said this conveys a plea for a reflective boundary work together with young people that includes both social and physical boundaries set by themselves and

other actors. This plea for an institutional openness and reflective boundary work can be extended to actors of municipal youth policy to encounter attempts by young people to create their ideal place with openness to negotiate boundaries of legitimate practices beyond the traditional thematic areas of youth participation.

→ This is however also a question of the institutional and political framework whether young people encounter enough openness to create spaces they can identify with and who give them a basis for satisfying meaningful participation – outside or inside the frames of adult-led youth work and policy. The political responses influence substantially whether the spaces young people create stay at the edges or have the potential to grow and have a social impact.

The interweaving of social and political aspects in participatory spaces constructed by young people, respectively the blending of aspects of voicing/visibility, sociability and specific activities (e.g. linked to culture and/or sports) questions established categories like youth political participation, cultural participation etc. They often rather respond to an institutional logic than the logic of the lifeworlds/life experience of young people. Although in some cases and at certain moments specific aspects come to the forefront, political and social aspects require each other or at least go along with each other. As such, spaces that enable successful participation by young people (in the sense that young people are active members of communities and societies, are creative actors, co-decide, and take on responsibility for themselves and others) need institutional openness and enough flexibility to accommodate a great array of different uses and thus different qualities of spaces that can exist. Too narrow framings by institutions seem rather contradicting and limiting the scope of possibilities in this regard.

→ Regarding policies targeting the use of urban public spaces, young people need access to spaces they can appropriate by their own means without pre-specified usages. This calls on the one hand for policies to secure the availability and young people's to spaces and on the other to regulate them as little as possible, which implies not predefining their usage by narrow expectations regarding the aim of these appropriation processes, predefining appropriation procedure and thus closing it off to young people's experimentation, or too rigid constructional/architectonic arrangements.

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